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*Articles and book reviews reflecting  
global evangelical theology for the purpose  
of discerning the obedience of faith*



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# Evangelical Review of Theology

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## Editorial: Revival

THIS YEAR, 2007, marks the centenary of the 'Great Pyongyang Revival' of Korea which is credited with shaping the remarkable story of Korean Protestantism, and giving that city the title, 'The Jerusalem of the East'. This year, our friends in Korea are joyfully celebrating this event and praying that it might be a trigger for great developments in their now sadly divided peninsula. So we present a series of articles in this (and later issues), commencing with one by Bonjour Bay of Korea outlining the history and spirituality of the Great Revival.

The early 1990s was a time of great activity around the world—notably the Welsh Revival of 1904-05, which will be the focus of an article in our next issue, and the Azusa Street revival of 1906 which gave rise to the Pentecostal movement. Yabbeju Rapaka gives some of the wider associations and precursors of Azusa Street in his study of Indian Pentecostalism in Andhra Pradesh.

There was a rich history of renewal in the 19th century leading up to the 1900 revivals. Walter Hampel discusses some of this in his article on 'Prayer revivals and the Third Great Awakening' of 1857, revealing developments in different countries, and showing some of the interesting ways

in which media and technology advanced the movement.

Detailed examination of particular examples of revival from this time are given in papers by two leading authorities on the topic, David Bebbington and Stuart Piggin. Bebbington describes vividly the course of the 1859 revival and its different streams in the fishing communities of Ferryden, Scotland. Piggin gives a similar analysis of revivals in 1875 and 1883 amongst strongly Methodist mining and farming communities in Australia. Both these papers identify key principles from these examples for understanding revival.

Finally, Emmanuel Hooper takes us to a later period, the 1930s, and the East African Revival. He examines the contribution of 'Trans-Atlantic Evangelicalism' (including the Keswick movement) to the nature and development of this highly important and long-lasting movement in aspects such as Bible study, confession, testimony and repentance.

Some of our book reviews also feature the topic of revival, showing how difficult and controversial it is to grasp, yet underlining how crucial it is in developing, shaping and energising our faith.

**David Parker, Editor**

# The Pyongyang Great Revival in Korea and Spirit Baptism

## Bonjour Bay

**KEYWORDS:** *Revival Wales, India, prayer, repentance, Bible study, evangelism, assurance, forgiveness, moral renewal*

### 1. Introduction

Many church leaders and theologians say that the 21st century is the period of spirituality for Christianity. Although most believers know the necessity and urgency of being empowered by the Spirit, they do not seem to find what they are searching for or arrive where they aim. While there are many sermons and Bible studies on spirituality, people are still seeking to experience and live out evangelical spirituality.

Many early missionaries to Korea reported that the Pyongyang Great Revival in 1907 was the most powerful manifestation of the Holy Spirit since the era of the Acts of Apostles.<sup>1</sup> With

the centennial anniversary of the Great Revival 1907 occurring this year, it seems be natural that Korean churches will be excited with the hope of true revival.

This paper will briefly introduce the Pyongyang Great Revival with its background and process,<sup>2</sup> and examine what spiritual power caused such a great revival. It will discuss especially the subject of 'Spirit Baptism' which was the terminology frequently used

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Revival. The Revival was so strongly marked in Pyongyang, now the capital of North Korea, (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), that by the 1920s it was the fastest growing centre Christianity in East Asia, and set the pattern for Korean Protestantism thereafter; hence it was often known as 'the Jerusalem of the East'.

<sup>2</sup> For more understanding of the Pyongyang Great Revival, refer to YongGyu Park, *Pyongyang DaiBuGungUnDong (Pyongyang Great Revival)* (Seoul: Life-Book Press, 2000), and also MyengSoo Park, 'SeingGyelUnDongGwa HanGukKyoHoeEi ChoGi DaeBuHung' ('Holiness Movement and Early Korean Great Revival'), *HanGuk GiDokGyoWa YekSa (Korean Christianity and History)*, No. 14 (2001), pp. 47-77.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Korea Mission Field (KMF)* offers a lot of fundamental resources on the early Korean Christianity. In these reports, many missionaries testified to the priceless value of the

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by missionaries and Korean church leaders during the revival period. If Spirit Baptism really existed then, and if the power of the Spirit could truly awaken and raise the Korean Church then, there must be real hope for the suffering churches even today.

## 2. Background of the Pyongyang Revival

### Revival in Wales and in India

Revivals in Wales and in India were closely related to the Korean Revival of 1907. When Dr. Howard Agnew Johnson visited Wales for the purpose of seeing revival meetings, he met Evan Roberts who was the contemporary representative revivalist there; he questioned him in detail about the secret of the revival. After that, Dr. Johnson went to India and witnessed the revival of the Kasia region which arose under the influence of the revival in Wales.

Afterward, Dr. Johnson travelled to various places in China, sharing about the revivals in Wales and in Kasia, India. He arrived in Seoul in September 1906, which was at the time of the Presbyterian assembly meeting, where he gave testimony about the revivals he had witnessed. Many missionaries were greatly impressed with his message, and as a result, they began to aspire to see revival among the Korean churches.<sup>3</sup>

The revival fire from Wales and India thus stimulated Korean churches. SeinJu Kil, who afterward became a representative revivalist of Korean churches, was also so much impressed with the report that he felt the urgency for church revival, and that he had a burning fire for souls in his heart.<sup>4</sup> After he experienced the awakening, Mr. Kil began to lead the revival movement which focused on repentance and Bible study, centring around the JangDaiHyen Church.

### The National Reality

Japan began to expand her influence throughout all regions of Korea, and began to exert her military and diplomatic control over the country. In 1905, Japan imposed her political influence through the Protectorate Treaty. Economically, Japan demanded the right of cultivation on the waste land of Korea so in June 1904 they plundered many parts of the country, although this measure was withdrawn when it met with the opposition of the Korean people. But, in 1907, the Japanese fulfilled their ambition by enacting the Law of Utilization of Non-Reclaimed Government Land under the supervision of the Residency.<sup>5</sup> Then, in 1910, the country was annexed under the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty. The dark situation inside and outside the country provided the motive for the Korean Church to prepare a movement for the renewal of faith. The Church

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3 W. D. Roynolds, 'YengGuk Wales, InDo, Chosen SeGosUi BuHung YenGyel' ('Connecting the Revivals among three places; Wales, India and Chosen') *SinHagJiNam* (March, 1935), p. 12.

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4 Roynolds, *Connection*, p. 8.

5 JaHyek Gu and others, *HanGukSa (The History of Korea)* (Seoul: HyungSul Pub. Co., 1984), p. 233.

began to experience the Great Revival in the agony and fears such as the racial crisis, the murder of the Empress Myeongseong (1895), the China-Japan War (1894-5), and the abdication of Emperor Kojong (1907).

Before the Great Revival of 1907 occurred, Korean Christianity had a strange consciousness of confrontation. 'The Korean Church before the Great Revival in 1907 was in serious conflict between two major streams; the nationalistic movement and the faith movement.'<sup>6</sup> While Korean Christians attempted to recover the national rights of the Church, many foreign missionaries regarded the anti-Japan political movement of the Church as a dangerous activity. Since the missionaries tried to separate the Korean Church under their control from political activity, many of the Korean Church leaders wanted to fulfil their national hope by the faith movement not by the initial nationalistic movement.

### 3. The Process of the Great Revival

#### Prayer Meeting at WonSan and Pyongyang

The Great Revival in 1907 did not take place instantaneously. Its origin was the week-long prayer meeting which was held by the missionary M. C. White

who came from China in 1903. Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries participated in the prayer meeting which was held from August 24th to 30th at WonSan, on the north-east coast.

In the meeting, a Canadian Methodist medical missionary Robert A. Hardie<sup>7</sup> confessed that his sinfulness caused his failures and frustration as a missionary in Korea.<sup>8</sup> He confessed publicly his superiority as a white man, his arrogance as a doctor, and the prejudice that he had towards Koreans. When the missionaries heard the confession, they also felt a sense of deep guilt in their hearts. All of them began to repent of their sins, and finally they realized that they were spiritually awakened and filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup>

After being filled with the Holy Spirit, Hardie at once shared his experience with Korean believers. When, in shame, he repented of his arrogance, stubbornness, unfaithfulness and all its results, the believers began to real-

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<sup>6</sup> KunHwan Kang, 'HanGug Protestant SeinGyoJeingChaigEi KiChin Nevius Plan Ei YeingHyang', (Nevius Plan's effect on the Mission Policy of the Korean Protestantism), *Sin-HagKwa SeinGyo (Theology and Mission)* (1974), p. 99.

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<sup>7</sup> Mr. Hardie was born in Canada in 1865 and became a missionary of YMCA, at Toronto University. He entered Korea in 1890, and joined the Southern Methodist Mission of US in 1898. He continued to work for Korea, and became the representative of the WonSan Revival in 1903. He was the second principal of the Methodist HyepSeing Seminary, and first published *SinHagSeGei (Theology World)* in 1916.

<sup>8</sup> William Scott, *Canadians in Korea* (Toronto: 1970), 1:55. Quoted from TaigBu Jein, *HaGuk-GyoHoe BaJJeinSa (History of the Korean Church Development)* (Seoul: GiDogGyoSeiHoi, 1987), p. 157.

<sup>9</sup> George Thompson Brown, *Mission to Korea* (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1962), pp. 58-9.

ize the necessity of a strong sense of conviction and repentance. Hardie told them they could receive the gift of the Holy Spirit by simple faith that believed in God's promise.<sup>10</sup>

This became a pattern for the prayer meetings held by many missionaries at WonSan in January, 1904.<sup>11</sup> In these meetings, a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, A. F. Robb, and other persons, so experienced the new spiritual grace from God that they prayed with weeping for many days. Many Koreans, such as GeiUn Jein and ChunSu Jeing, repented and prayed all night without sleeping; afterwards many went out to evangelise. So the main reason for the growth of the Korean church was faith renewal through the spiritual awakening movement.

After the missionaries experienced the new power of Holy Spirit, they also held a similar prayer meeting the next year. There the same experience occurred. Finally, the inspired Dr. Hardie and other missionaries determined to perform a nation-wide ministry.

The Pyongyang Great Revival in January, 1907 thus did not come accidentally and unexpectedly. As they met at the new year of 1906, the missionaries were praying with great expectation that they would greet the New Year January, 1907 as the year of

Great Revival all over the country. Expecting the Great Revival in 1907, missionary J. R. Moose wrote in January 1906:

The Lord's way was for the disciples to first tarry and be filled, then they were to be witnesses for Christ. It is all right to have study classes, I have not a word to say against them. But I do believe that what the Church needs just now more than anything else is a Revival. Let every worker in Korea pray as never before that the coming Korean New Year may be the time when this revival shall come and this be the real beginning of Korea's Pentecost.<sup>12</sup>

The work of Holy Spirit starting at WonSan spread over Pyongyang. About twenty missionaries who worked at Pyongyang decided to start a prayer and Bible meeting just as in WonSan; in August 1906, they invited Dr. Hardie to their meeting. They began by studying the First Epistle of John.<sup>13</sup> They joined together for a week and tried to gain the experience of deepening their spiritual lives. Exhorting each other, they were praying that God would give revival to Pyongyang just as he did for India. However, after one week, they thought that they could not experience God's grace to the level of their expectation. Finally, they determined to pray until they received

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10 NagJun Baik, *HanGukGaiSinGyoSa: 1832-1910 (A History of the Korean Protestant Church)* (Seoul: YenSeDaiHagGyo Pub. co., 1985), pp. 384-5.

11 TaigBu Jein, *HanGukGyoHoi BalJeinSa (A History of the Korean Church Development)* (Seoul: DaiHanGiDokGyoChulSa, 1987), p. 157.

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12 J. R. Moose, 'A Great Awakening', *KMF*, 2-3 (1906.1), p. 52.

13 JongHo Byen, *HanGukGiDokGyoSa (A History of the Korean Christianity)* (Seoul: SimWooWon, 1959), pp. 56-7.



grace and so they continued to pray for more than four months;

Most of the missionaries determined to pray continuously, believing that God would give them revival just as he did for the area of Kasia, India. They all agreed not to shorten but extend the prayer time. In order to do so, they altered their appointed prayer time to 4 p.m. Then there was a time for free private prayer until dinner. They focused on prayer only; sometimes when a person needed to speak to others for encouragement, his utterance was assimilated into praying. They continued to pray for four months. Not caring about their different denominational background, such as Methodist or Presbyterian, they thought only of being one in the Lord Jesus Christ. It was really a union of the churches. Such a union could come only from persistent enduring prayer, and this kind of prayer could only glorify the Most High God.<sup>14</sup>

William Newton Blair, a Northern Presbyterian missionary and the professor of Pyongyang Presbyterian Seminary, wrote,

In the prayer meeting at August, we realized that the transcendental power of Spirit Baptism could enable us and the Korean brothers to overcome the future tribulation. We felt that the Korean Church should repent not just only her sins of conflict and dissolution but also

all her sins obviously.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Blair was thus convinced that the great revival was needed by the Korean Church, above all, for repentance of sins and for experiencing the Holy Spirit. Missionaries decided to pray that God would give abundant blessing to the men's winter Bible conference which was expected to be held at Pyongyang in 1907.

In September, 1906, after the missionaries' monthly meeting was ended, the American missionary, Rev. Howard Agnew Johnston, visited Pyongyang and preached a sermon at JangDae-Hyen Church. When he delivered the message about the Welsh revival, most of the missionaries and believers gathered in that place were very much impressed with his sermon. In his sermon, Johnston asked them; 'Who will receive the Holy Spirit fully and lead the Korean Church? If there is any volunteer, raise your hand and come forward.'<sup>16</sup> Then SeinJu Kil, a theology student and elder of the church, raised his hand and went forward. Dr. Johnston prayed for him and promised that a great revival would take place in the Korean Church some day.

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<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Goforth, *1907 Nein HanKugUl HwibSein SeingLyeingEi BulGil (Holy Spirit Fire swept over Korea in 1907)*, tr. by YongLyein Kim (Seoul: Life Line, 1977), p. 13.

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<sup>15</sup> William Newton Blair, *Gold in Korea, SokHi YeiSu MiDuSiGiLeil BaRaNaEiDa (I Hope You Shall Believe in Jesus Soon)*, translated by SeingTai Kim, (Seoul: Tyrannus, 1995), p. 98; see also Blair, *The Korean Pentecost and Other Experiences on the Mission Field* (New York, 1908).

<sup>16</sup> JinKyeng Kil, *YoungGye Kil SeinJu* (Seoul: JongLoSeiJeik, 1980), p. 182.

In the Fall of 1906, J. L. Gerdine,<sup>17</sup> a missionary of the Southern Methodist Mission, led one of the services in MokPo (on the southern tip of the Korean peninsula), and as a result, there was a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit.<sup>18</sup> When a Presbyterian missionary, J. F. Preston participated in the meetings, he described this event and its result like this;

The most powerful revival meeting the writer ever participated in was recently held at MokPo.... As the Spirit through him (Mr. Gerdine) took the Word and reasoned of righteousness, and temperance, and the judgement, of the sinfulness of sin, and the necessity of cleansing, a deathlike hush fell on all, and it was as if the Word was a scalpel, cutting deep down into men's hearts laying bare secret sins and hidden cancers of the soul. Then it was that confession of sin poured out of scores of burdened souls and strong men wept like children. Then, as the yearning love of the Saviour was dwelt upon, it was as a healing balm poured in. Faces shone with new life and light, and the church rang the hymns of triumph, and men stood six deep, eagerly waiting their turn to testify of blessings received, sin forgiven, differences healed, victory over self, baptism of the

Spirit.... The influence of this meeting will be felt far and wide in South Chulla.<sup>19</sup>

Rev. Gerdine, the main speaker of the MokPo meeting, reported that the Holy Spirit gave remarkable signs to the meeting such as a deep awareness of sin, a pentecostal-style confession, and joyful victory.<sup>20</sup> This revival at last became the next step in the process of the development of the Pyongyang Great Revival in 1907. So, the Wonsan prayer meeting in 1904 gave birth to the MokPo revival in 1906, and the MokPo revival had an influence on the Pyongyang revival of 1907.

The Holy Spirit was at work not only in South Chulla, but also across the length and breadth of the land. In January, 1907, the missionaries at Pyongyang began to pray with great anticipation that the large men's Bible class then in session might become a vehicle for revival.<sup>21</sup> After that time, Elder SeinJu Kil was active as a main speaker in the Bible meeting of Hwang-Hae Province in December, 1906. Eventually, Kil agreed with the missionaries that they would hold the winter conference in January, 1907. This winter conference at JangDaeHyen Church would give rise to the begin-

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17 J. L. Gerdine entered Korea in 1902 and worked as one of the representatives of WonSan, MokPo Revival and Pyongyang Revival in 1907. He also taught as the professor at the Methodist Seminary at Seoul from 1926.

18 Brown, *Mission to Korea*, p. 59.

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19 J. F. Preston, 'A Notable Meeting', *The Missionary*, (1907.1), p. 21.

20 J. L. Gerdine, 'Growth and Spirituality', *KMF*, 2-11 (1906.9), p. 202.

21 Brown, *Mission to Korea*, p. 59, which is a fruitful source on this topic. Brown entered Korea as a Southern Presbyterian missionary in 1950 (Korean name MyongGwang Lee). He taught at KwangJoo Bible Institute and Jein-Nam University, and established the HoNam Seminary, of which he was president, in 1963.

ning of the Pyongyang Great Revival.<sup>22</sup> Kil led the day-break prayer meeting for the conference.<sup>23</sup> He made thorough preparation for the conference; the church members were eager for help, and, moreover, many unbelievers were greatly interested in news of the conference.

### Great Revival in 1907

The Men's Bible Conference at Pyongyang began on January 2 and finished on January 15, 1907. Besides the evening meeting, they decided to hold noon prayer-meetings daily during the period. Although more than fifteen-hundred men gathered in the conference, nothing unusual happened at first.

On January 9, when elder Kil preached the sermon titled 'Open your heart and receive the Holy Spirit', the congregation was so impressed by his message that they began to pray very loudly. On January 12, Rev. Blair preached on 1 Corinthians 12:27: 'Now you are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof', endeavouring to show that discord in the church was like sickness in the body; and 'and if

one member suffers, all the members suffer with it', striving to show how hate in a brother's heart injured not only the whole church but brought pain to Christ, the church's Head.<sup>24</sup>

After the sermon, many testified to a new realization of what sin was. A number confessed with sorrow a lack of love for others, especially for the Japanese. An elder stood up and confessed his sin, that he hated a missionary, and the missionary also made peace with him. Thus the walls of separation and conflict between Korean believers and missionaries tumbled down.

At the evening meeting of January 14, after Mr. Hunt's sermon, Graham Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, 'If you want to pray like that, all pray.'<sup>25</sup> And immediately the room full of men was filled with voices lifted to God in prayer.<sup>26</sup> As prayer continued, a spirit of heaviness and sorrow for sin came down upon the audience. Over on one side, someone began to weep, and in a moment the whole audience was weeping. Man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor and beat the floor with his fists in perfect agony of conviction.<sup>27</sup> The prayer went on until 2

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<sup>22</sup> YoungJae Han, *HanGuk GiDokGyo BaikNyen (100 Years of the Korean Christianity)* (Seoul: GiDokGyoMunSa, 1986), p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> 'The day-break prayer meeting which was initiated by Kil was permanently established as an unique characteristic of the church.... These prayer meetings became habitual gatherings in the church and continue to the present time.' InSoo Kim, 'Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism, 1885-1920: A Study of the Contributions of Horace Grant Underwood and SunChu Kil', (Ph. D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1993), p. 192

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<sup>24</sup> William Newton Blair & Bruce F. Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings which Followed* (Pennsylvania: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> G. S. McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyongyang', *KMF*, 3-1 (1907.1), p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 72.

a.m. next morning.

The conference, which ended with the meeting of Tuesday night, was a great awakening movement that heralded the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church. As soon as the conference ended, the good news of the cross and the grace of God began to spread over all the country. Many churches earnestly yearned for revival, and missionaries and church leaders went around the country, performing a powerful ministry of the Holy Spirit. For instance, S. F. Moore, the Northern Presbyterian missionary, reported the revival at the Bible conference of Jeing-Dong Methodist Church in January, 1906 as below;

The presence of the Spirit of God was manifest in the hearty confessions of sin, the preacher being stopped one evening by a woman rising and saying that in listening to the Word she saw her sins as she had not before, and there were also many testimonies to a quickened spiritual life. In response to the invitation men and women arose night after night to express their desire to follow Christ. A few times the inquiry room was quite full.<sup>28</sup>

It was true that only after the Great Revival was the Korean church for the first time equipped with spiritual power. It was important that the Revival would not only make the Korean Church grow rapidly but also that it would bring nationwide moral awakening and social reform.

The results of the Pyongyang Great

Revival in 1907 can be summed up as follows:

a) The Great Revival gave the Korean Church joyous forgiveness of sins and the assurance of salvation; afterwards it was connected with the evangelism campaign that delivered the gospel of salvation. In 1907, when the Pyongyang Great Revival took place, the Presbyterian Church gained 16,000, and the Methodist Church 10,000 new believers.<sup>29</sup>

b) The evangelical faith took root in Korean Christianity. Since then, the Korean Church has grown on the foundation of evangelical experience, the righteousness and love of God, the confession and forgiveness of sins, faith in the redemption of Christ, the assurance of the presence of Holy Spirit, the experience of answered prayer, the coming judgement, and hope for the next world, and so on.

c) Since the Revival, the Church has earnestly advanced Bible study and prayer life. When people were regenerated by the grace of Christ, the Church invited them to the Bible class or prayer group so they could be nurtured and strengthened by God's Word and prayer.

d) The Revival made a great contribution to the moral improvement of Korean people. As a result of the Revival, believers could confess their inner hidden sins and have purity in faith. Though the missionaries had stressed purity of heart from the beginning, many church members were not aware of it. Since the Revival touched the moral weakness of the early

28 S. F. Moore, 'The Revival in Seoul', *KMF*, 2-6 (1906.4), p. 116.

29 Han, *100 Years of the Korean Christianity*, p. 55.

Korean Church, it has laid the groundwork for the piety of the Church.<sup>30</sup>

e) The character of the Korean Church as a racial church was weakened by the expression of depoliticalization between the church and the state.<sup>31</sup> The character of the Korean Church could be described as a 'revivalist passion', with the revival meeting as the dynamic power, and rooted in a belief based on eschatological otherworldliness. In the revival meetings they laid stress on spiritual repentance and the community life which is based on forgiveness, love and reconciliation.<sup>32</sup>

f) Mutual understanding between Korean believers and missionaries was improved. Before, it was difficult for them to understand their different traditions and the thoughts they had about each other, but afterwards they came to a realization that they were all redeemed brothers and sisters in Christ. This realization became the bond of love that bound them together.

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30 HanGkGiDokGyoSaYenGuHoe, *HanGukGiDokGyoEi YekSa (A History of Korean Christianity)* (Seoul: GiDokGyoMunSa, 1990), Vol. I, pp. 273-4.

31 However, not all Korean theologians agree with this point of view. Some scholars like InSoo Kim, Professor. of Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Korea, denied that view. Dr. Kim wrote that the Christian evangelistic movement led to a reform of the church and also awakened desire for freedom from foreign domination. InSoo Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism*, p. 189.

32 GyengBae Min, *GyoHoeWa GukGa (The Church and the State)* (Seoul: DaeHanGiDokGyoChulPanSa, 1981), p. 114.

## 4. Great Revival and Spirit Baptism

### Experience of Spirit Baptism

Missionaries gave much attention to the explosive power of the Holy Spirit which took place at JangDaiHyen Church, Pyongyang in January, 1907. With great excitement, they tried to be the first to report the phenomena which was displayed in the meeting. The remarkable phenomena that missionaries witnessed may be summed up as follows:

a) They were definite phenomena, that is, very surprising scenes that every participant could see and hear:

Our entire community and the Korean church especially last night and today has received such a manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit as has not been felt or witnessed by most of us in all our lives.<sup>33</sup>

I am sure that most of the men in the room were praying aloud. It was wonderful!<sup>34</sup>

The prayer sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the participants were thus led by the spirit of prayer with the awareness that the Holy Spirit was powerfully present.

b) There was uncontrollable contri-

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33 G. S. McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyongyang', *KMF*, 3-1 (1907.1), p. 2.

34 McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyongyang', 3-1 (1907.1), p. 1.

35 Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 71.

tion and repentance of sins: 'The Spirit was present in wonderful power, compelling men to reveal what lay hidden in their past lives. Deceit, pride, worldly-mindedness, lust, greed, hatred, jealousy, and in fact almost every thing in the category of evil.'<sup>36</sup> People were forced to reveal their inner sins by the presence of Holy Spirit. Some of the missionaries became alarmed and tried to bring the congregation back under control. 'But there was no suppression of the burden of sin and anguish which each felt he must confess to find relief.'<sup>37</sup>

c) Sometimes very severe physical manifestations occurred:

The effect was like the falling of many waters, as man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down and weep, and then throw himself down to beat the floor with his fists in an agony of conviction<sup>38</sup>

Sometimes they beat their foreheads and hands against the floor, sometimes they literally writhed in anguish, roaring as if the very devils were tearing them, and then at last, when there seemed no more power of resistance left, they would spring to their feet and with terrible sobs and crying, pour out their confessions of sin. And such confessions!<sup>39</sup>

d) They continued to pray to be forgiven of their sins and to be filled with the Holy Spirit: 'Some were crying and pleading God's forgiveness for certain sins which they named to him in prayer. All were pleading for the infilling of the Holy Ghost.'<sup>40</sup> It was certain that they determined to keep asking God until they received the fullness of Holy Spirit; they believed that, in order to be filled, true repentance and the prayer of faith were necessary.

The meeting went on until 2 a.m. with alternate confessing, weeping and praying. The next evening the same phenomenon was repeated, only in intensified form.<sup>41</sup>

Daily we have been meeting there and praying for the Holy Spirit. We have no leader for the meeting: each one enters the room quietly, kneels down, and as he is led, prays. God is answering our prayers.<sup>42</sup>

As mentioned above, most of the missionary writings about the early Korean Church revival reported that it was characterized by the power of prayer, the radical repentance of sins and the outpouring presence of spiritual power.<sup>43</sup> Such characteristics were seen not only in the Pyongyang Great

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36 W. L. Swallen, 'God's Work of Grace in Pyongyang Classes', *KMF*, 3-5 (1907.5), p. 79.

37 Brown, *Mission to Korea*, p. 60.

38 Brown, *Mission to Korea*, p. 59.

39 William Martyn Baird, 'The Spirit Among Pyongyang Students', *KMF*, 3-5 (1907.5), p. 65.

40 McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyongyang', *KMF*, 3-1 (1907.1), p. 1.

41 Brown, *Mission to Korea*, pp. 59-60.

42 McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyongyang', *KMF*, 3-1 (1907.1), p. 1.

43 Refer to Arthur Judson Brown, *Mastery of the Far East* (New York: Fleming Revell Company, 1919), p. 528.

Revival but also in ongoing nationwide revival.<sup>44</sup>

### Pneumatological Analysis

How did the early missionaries to Korea understand the pneumatology of the Great Revival? *The Korea Mission Field* gives the fundamental resources to answer that question. *PyengYag DaeBuHungUnDong (Pyongyang Great Revival)* written by YongGyu Park, professor of ChongShin University, gives us perceptive insights and evaluations of the contemporary spiritual movement on the basis of the related resources. In particular, the appendix of this book shows a useful chronological table illustrating the presence and power of Holy Spirit before and after the Pyongyang Great Revival.<sup>45</sup> MyengSu Park, professor of Seoul Theological Seminary, indicates that the character of the early Korean Revival was fundamentally a part of the numerous late nineteenth and early twentieth holiness movements which stressed

purity of heart and the power of Holy Spirit.<sup>46</sup>

The nineteenth century spiritual movements in North America and England had a direct effect on the early Korean revivals through the missionaries to Korea. It was generally the case before the Revival that a distinction was made in the missionaries' writing between regeneration and Spirit Baptism, regardless of whether the writers were Presbyterian or Methodist; this was the major tradition of the nineteenth century spiritual movement.

Such an understanding of Spirit Baptism was also true for the first missionaries to Korea, Horace G. Underwood and Henry G. Appenzeller. Underwood was a Presbyterian, yet in his seminary years he experienced the fullness of Holy Spirit through contact with the Salvation Army. Appenzeller also was a Presbyterian, but later he experienced the Holy Spirit at a cell group of Methodist Church and became a Methodist. In 1890, he wrote, 'There needs to be a definite baptism of remission of sin and a strong power of repentance. I want to see that the Korean church members are astonished at awakening of their sin.'<sup>47</sup>

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44 There can be many references for this topic; e.g., there are some reports of L. E. Frey who was a dean of EiHwa School in 1912, *KMF* in which it can be seen that the female students experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; Lulu E. Frey, 'Revival Meetings in the Girl's School of the M. E. Church', *KMF*, 8-1 (1912.1), pp. 9-10. In 1915, *KMF* gave the Methodist missionary Swearer's reports that the power of Holy Spirit appeared at ChungCheing province, showing many cases; Lillian May Swearer, 'The Working of the Spirit in Choong Chung Province', *KMF*, 11-5 (1915.5), p. 130.

45 YongGyu Park, *Pyongyang Great Revival*, pp. 665-70.

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46 MyengSu Park, 'SeingGyelUnDongGwa HanGukGyoHoeEi ChoGi DaeBuHung' ('The Holiness Movement and the Early Great Revival of Korean Church'), *HanGuk GiDok-GyoWa YekSa (Korean Christianity and History)* No.14 (2001), pp. 47-77.

47 Appenzeller's letter, July 4, 1890, Missionary Research Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Martha Huntley, cited from *HanGuk GaiSinGyo ChoGiEi SeinGyoWa GyoHoiSeingJang (Mission and Church Growth of the Early Korean Christianity)*, tr. by JongSun Cha (Seoul: MokYangSa, 1995), p. 258.

In his letter in 1894, Samuel A. Moffett,<sup>48</sup> a Northern Presbyterian missionary, wrote, 'Those were the happy days to both me and the teacher to see many people come to the church of Christ. We are certain that there will be a harvest of souls among our first fruits when they are baptized with the Holy Spirit.'<sup>49</sup> Most of the early missionaries to Korea thus had a tendency to differentiate Spirit Baptism from regeneration, for they were much affected with the late nineteenth Wesleyan Holiness Movement or Reformed Spiritual Movement.<sup>50</sup> Both movements regarded Spirit Baptism as the second grace of indwelling Holy Spirit.

It can be confirmed that the Pyongyang Great Revival took a seri-

ous view of the experience of Spirit Baptism or being filled with the Holy Spirit, which was definitely a different experience from regeneration.<sup>51</sup> When he saw the pentecostal experience of Pyongyang Great Revival, Underwood wrote, 'The Korean Church received the Baptism with the Holy Spirit.'<sup>52</sup> When E. F. Hall sent a letter to Arthur Brown, he wrote that SeinJu Kil received the Spirit Baptism during the Pyongyang Great Revival.<sup>53</sup> Most of the early missionaries to Korea such as William Newton Blair, and J. F. Preston also worked on the basis that the experience of Spirit Baptism or Spirit outpouring was distinct from regeneration.

## 5. Conclusion

As we have seen, most of the early missionaries to Korea who witnessed the Pyongyang Great Revival stood firmly in the tradition of the late nineteenth-century Wesleyan and Reformed spiritual movements. Accordingly, the conclusion is that the tendency to differentiate Spirit Baptism from regeneration was quite natural during the early

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48 Samuel A. Moffett entered Korea in January, 1890, and started theological education at Pyongyang in 1901.

49 Samuel A. Moffett's letter to Ellinwood in January 12th, 1894, written just after he performed the first official Baptism and Lord's Supper at January of the year.

50 The late nineteenth century American Reformed spiritual movement generally followed the holiness conception which was based on the theory of counteraction or suppression of the sinful tendency; it rejected the theory of eradication of sinfulness which was held by the Wesleyan Holiness Movement. The recent Reformed Spiritual Movement explains that continuous victory from sin comes from empowerment of the Holy Spirit, and emphasizes Spirit Baptism as union with Christ giving power for service. The representatives of this line of thought were Evan Hopkins, Handley C. G. Moule, Asa Mahan, Charles Finney, Dwight L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey, Adoniram J. Gordon and A. B. Simpson. Bonjour Bay, *HanGukGyoHoiWa Sung-LyungSeLei (Korean Church and the Spirit Baptism)* (Anyang: Sungkyul University Press, 2004). pp. 14-5.

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51 Refer to the missionary reports: R. A. Hardie, 'Evangelistic Work on the East Coast', *KMF* 3-6 (1907.6), p. 95; L. H. McCully, 'Fruits of the Revival', *KMF* 3-6 (1907.7), pp. 83-4; Mrs. J. R. Ross, 'Meeting Wonsan Women', *KMF* 3-9 (1907.9), p. 136.

52 Horace Grant Underwood, *The Call of Korea* (New York, 1908), p. 6.

53 E. F. Hall, letter to Dr. Brown, March, 21, 1907. Likewise, YongGyu Park also criticized the view that SeinJu Gil received the baptism with the Holy Spirit in a Pyongyang revival meeting. YongGyu Park, *Pyongyang Great Revival*, p. 301.



revival period, regardless of whether the missionaries were Presbyterian or Methodist. Therefore, Korean-style revival meetings have since settled down into the tradition that regenerated people should repent and ask the Lord to be baptized by the Holy Spirit.

Now is the time for the heirs of the Pyongyang Great Revival to ask for the power of Spirit Baptism, just as the predecessors did one hundred years ago. The process begins with purity of heart and then spiritual fruit and the gift of the Spirit follow. More than any-

thing, the core of the experience is Christ's reign in the believer's life. Celebrating the centennial anniversary of the Pyongyang Great Revival, we are humbly praying, that God may have mercy on the Korean peninsula, and that he will allow the Korean Church, with all churches in the world, to receive Spirit Baptism and enable them to live in the power of Spirit. It is our prayer that God will through the Holy Spirit manifest his power through the churches so powerfully that he will heal the wounded lands and accomplish the evangelization of the world.

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# History of Indian Pentecostal Church of God in Andhra

Yabbeju (Jabez) Rapaka

**KEYWORDS:** *Indigenous church movements, Azusa Street, Spirit Baptism, CMS, Pandita Ramabai, Syrian Christians, Thomas, glossolalia*

PENTECOSTALISM HAS witnessed rapid growth in India, which ranks fifth largest in the world today with about 33.5 million adherents. 27.3 million of these adherents are Neocharismatics, 5 million are Charismatics, and 1.2 million are classical Pentecostals.<sup>1</sup> And one of the largest indigenous Pentecostal movements in India has been among the adherents of one group of Pentecostals, the Indian Pentecostal Church of God (IPC).

This article will present a brief history of the Indian Pentecostal Church

of God in the state of Andhra Pradesh. In doing so, this research will show that there were antecedent Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like movements in India prior in time to both the Topeka and Azusa revivals in the United States. The aim is to create a wider awareness of the indigenous nature of Indian Pentecostalism, i.e., to demonstrate that Indian Pentecostalism originated independently in India itself, rather than through a movement which spread to India from the West. Furthermore, this research will show that P. M. Samuel, P.T. Chacko, K. C. Cherian and K.E. Abraham were all co-founders, not Abraham alone, as some historians contend (including Roger Hedlund).

More recent research done by Roger Hedlund on indigenous church movements in India reveals that South India is a bastion of indigenous Christianity and the IPC is considered the largest indigenous Pentecostal movement in the country. He claims that the Andhra

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<sup>1</sup> David B. Barrett & Todd M. Johnson, 'Global Statistics' in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, (NIDPC), ed. Stanley M. Burgess (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 284-302.

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IPC was started by P. M. Samuel.<sup>2</sup> However, he also states<sup>3</sup> that K. E. Abraham was the founder of the IPC, a fact which I dispute. In fact, P. M. Samuel, K. C. Cherian and K. E. Abraham were co-founders of the IPC. In the preface to his autobiography, P. M. Samuel calls Apostle K. E. Abraham one of the founders of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God. Samuel writes: 'One of the founders of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God, Apostle K. E. Abraham wrote in his autobiography, "My brother, Apostle P. M. Samuel, will give you more details of our Indian Pentecostal Church of God and its service in his autobiography."<sup>4</sup> As a result, Samuel penned his autobiography at Abraham's request and at the request of many Christian friends.

## 1. Azusa Street Revival

Historically it is believed that modern Pentecostalism began at the dawn of the twentieth century on January 1, 1901, when Agnes Ozman, a Holiness preacher at Charles Fox Parham's Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, was filled with the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Parham states that, 'Humbly in the name of Jesus, I laid my hand upon her head and prayed. I had

scarcely repeated three dozen sentences when a glory fell upon her, a halo seemed to surround her head and face, and she began to speak in the Chinese language, and was unable to speak in English for three days.'<sup>5</sup> Two days later, when he returned from his preaching at the Free Methodist Church in Topeka, other students at Bethel Bible College also had experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit. According to Sarah Parham:

As he reached the top of the stairs, he could see a sheen of light, brighter than the light from the coal oil lamps, coming from the room. As he entered the room, he was overwhelmed by what he encountered. Some were standing and others were kneeling. Together, in perfect harmony as if led by an invisible conductor, they were singing *Jesus Lover of My Soul* in tongues. Sister Stanley, one of the more mature students, approached him, saying, 'Just before you entered tongues of fire were sitting above their heads.'<sup>6</sup>

By summer, Bethel Bible College had closed, because the building that they were renting had been sold, and Parham moved to Houston, Texas, where he once again established a small Bible school on January 1, 1906 with about twenty-five students. One of them was William Joseph Seymour, a

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2 Roger Hedlund, 'Indian Instituted Churches: Indigenous Christianity, Indian Style', *Mission Studies*, 16, No. 1 (1999), p. 35.

3 Roger Hedlund, 'Nationalism and The Indian Pentecostal Church of God', *Indian Church History Review*, 39, No. 2 (December 2005), pp. 91 and 93.

4 P. M. Samuel, *Autobiography* (Vijayawada: Zion Printing House, 1980), n. p.

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5 Sarah Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham* (Baxter Springs: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1930), p. 52.

6 Parham, *Life*, p 53, cited in Eddie L. Hyatt in *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Chicota: Yhatt International Ministries, Inc., 1996), p. 150.

local pastor of a Black Holiness church. Under his leadership the Pentecostal revival was to spread around the globe. After the Bible school session was over in the middle of February, Seymour left for Los Angeles to pastor a newly formed Holiness congregation. However, his first sermon in that church on the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues caused a great stir. When he returned for the evening service, to his surprise the doors of the church were padlocked. Then Richard Asberry, who lived on Bonnie Street, provided Seymour with accommodation in his residence where both Seymour and the Asberrys experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit themselves, including speaking in tongues.

The news about the charismatic experience and gifts spread far and wide and soon large crowds began to converge and experience the Spirit baptism at Asberry's home, eventually forcing them to look for larger facilities. They finally found a stable and warehouse, which used to be a Methodist Episcopal Church, at 312 Azusa Street in downtown Los Angeles, where they held their first meeting on April 14, 1906. Recognizing his own need for the power of the Holy Spirit and his continual guidance, Seymour spent much of his time in subsequent meetings praying behind the pulpit, with his head inside a shoebox.<sup>7</sup> As a result, great revival broke out. On April 18, *The Los Angeles Times* published a story on the front page about the spiri-

tual awakening that had occurred on Azusa Street. The cover story read: 'Weird Babble of Tongues; New Sect of Fanatics Is Breaking Loose; Wild Scene Last Night on Azusa Street; Gurgle of Wordless Talk by a Sister.'<sup>8</sup>

This revival continued for about three years until 1909. Hence, the notable western church historians, Vinson Synan, Cecil Robeck, Jr., and Walter J. Hollenweger, all trace the origin of modern Pentecostalism either from the dawn of the 20th century, January 1, 1901 or to the Azusa Street revival under the leadership of William J. Seymour. Synan writes, 'On January 1, 1901, a young woman named Agnes was baptized in the Holy Spirit...and she received a startling manifestation of the gift of tongues and became, in effect, the first Pentecostal of the 20th century.'<sup>9</sup> He further states that this humble event triggered the worldwide Pentecostal movement. However, Hollenweger seems to take a different stance from Synan and ties Pentecostalism to Azusa Street. He contends that if one considers Pentecostalism to be an oral missionary movement, with spiritual power to overcome racism and chauvinism, then one can cast one's lot with Seymour as the founder of Pentecostalism.<sup>10</sup> Robeck shared a

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<sup>8</sup> Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (Tennessee: Thomas Nelson, 2001), p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 42-43.

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<sup>7</sup> Eddie L. Hyatt in *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Chicota: Yhatt International Ministries, Inc., 1996), p. 155.

similar idea when he lectured on Azusa at Regent University in 2006 during the week of centennial celebrations of the Azusa Revival. In contrast, Donald Gee, in *Wind and Flame* (1967), and Paul Pomerville, in *The Third Force in Missions* (1985), argue that the Pentecostal movement originated in a series of spontaneous and universal beginnings in different parts of the world and no one should restrict its commencement to any one particular geographical location, such as Azusa, or to one particular leader.

The early Pentecostals from Azusa Street were fully convinced that their experience of Spirit baptism would spread all over the globe as the promised last-days revival prior to the Second Advent of Christ. 'The fire is spreading. People are writing from different points to know about this Pentecost, and are beginning to wait on God for their Pentecost. He is no respecter of persons and places. We expect to see a wave of salvation go over this world.'<sup>11</sup> However, Stanley Burgess argues that in Europe there had been numerous pre-20th century Pentecostal-like movements, including:

the Quakers in 17th century England, the Shakers in 18th century England, the Moravian Brethren in 18th century German states, the early Methodists in the 18th and 19th centuries in England, the Awakened in 18th and 19th century Finland, the Irvingites in 19th century England

and participants in the West of Scotland Revival in the 1830's.<sup>12</sup>

He further points out that these Pentecostal-like outpourings were not exclusive to Europe, but also occurred in 19th century Africa and Asia, and especially in India, which also witnessed such outpourings (according to research of such scholars as David Barrett and Gary B. McGee). McGee contends that:

Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like movements in *India* preceded the development of 20th century Pentecostalism in North America and Europe by at least 40 years. Apart from the revival under Edward Irving in the U.K. in the early 1830s, the most prominent revivals of the 19th century characterized by the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit occurred in *India*. When modern Pentecostalism began there in 1906, it developed independently from the influence of similar revivals in the West.<sup>13</sup> (emphasis added)

Paulson Pulikottil aptly comments that postcolonial historiography is purely Euro-centric in nature, and the conviction that Pentecostal history began with Topeka and gained momentum at Azusa will limit historians from exploring the possibilities of the work of the Holy Spirit in the rest of the world, and the ways in which people in

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<sup>11</sup> The Apostolic Faith, Los Angeles, 1:2 (October 1906), 1, quoted by Allan Anderson in *The Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century*.

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<sup>12</sup> Stanley Burgess, 'Pentecostalism in India: An Overview' in *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4:1 (January, 2001), 86.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley M. Burgess, ed., *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 2002), p. 118.

diverse parts of the world experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit and responded to the Spirit's manifestation. He further argues that the work of the Holy Spirit is universal and it is not limited to a particular place or time.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Eddie Hyatt admits that Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity is not solely a 20th century phenomena but rather that it has been in existence continually since the first Apostolic Church. However, like other western historians, he attributes the origin of the Pentecostal movement to Topeka in 1901. Hyatt states that 'there has been a veritable explosion of charismatic Christianity in the twentieth century. Beginning with the Pentecostal Movement in 1901, and revitalized by the Charismatic Movement beginning in 1960 and the Third Wave beginning around 1980, this explosion of charismatic Christianity has gained momentum and permeated every facet of Church life.'<sup>15</sup>

## 2. Earlier Movements in India

A. C. George, a prominent Pentecostal church historian in India, points out that:

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed powerful revivals in India: one in 1860,

another in 1873 and a third in 1895. In all of these revivals people experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with diverse manifestations including glossolalia. However, the recipients of these experiences did not know that they were speaking in unknown tongues as a result of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as taught in the book of Acts.<sup>16</sup>

The reason for this ignorance was the fact that the Bible was a foreign book to many Indian believers, because they were illiterate. Moreover, they had little or no teaching on spiritual matters and biblical doctrines from their clergy.

### Pentecostal Revival in Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) 1860-1865

The first Pentecostal revival took place in India in the state of Tinnevely (Tirunelveli, present-day Tamil Nadu) from 1860-65 among the 'Shanars', low caste people, under the leadership of John Christian Aroolappen, a native evangelist who had been trained as an Anglican catechist by Carl T. E. Rhenius, who was a Prussian missionary sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1814, and Anthony Norris Groves, an independent missionary from England who arrived in 1833. Aroolappen read about the revivals that occurred in the United States,

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**14** Paulson Pulikottil, 'As East and West Met in God's Own Country: Encounter of Western Pentecostalism with Native Pentecostalism in Kerala' p. 2 [cited 23 May 2006]. Online: <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj10/paulson.html>.

**15** Eddie L. Hyatt in *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Chicota: Yhatt International Ministries, Inc., 1996), p. 155.

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**16** L. Sam, *Pastor A.C. Samuel: A Brief Biography* (Trivandrum: Bethel Assembly Publication, 1983), 10. Cited in A.C. George in 'Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India' *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4:2 (July 2001), p. 221.

England and Ulster in 1857-59 and was greatly influenced by them. Then he earnestly prayed for similar revival in his native land. To his surprise, a great revival broke out in Tirunelveli on March 4, 1860. On August 8, 1860, Aroolappen recorded: 'In the month of June some of our people praised the Lord by unknown tongues, with their interpretation... My son and a daughter and three others went to visit their own relations, in three villages, who are under the Church Missionary Society, and they also received the Holy Ghost. Some prophesy, some speak by unknown tongues with their interpretations.'<sup>17</sup>

McGee states, 'The phenomena in the revival included prophecy, glossolalia, glossographia, and interpretation of tongues, as well as intense conviction of sin among nominal Christians, dreams, visions, signs in the heavens, and people falling down and/or shaking. Other noted features were restoration of the offices of apostle and prophet, evangelism, conversions of unbelievers, prayer for the sick, and concern for the poor.'<sup>18</sup> Ashton Dibb, a CMS missionary, reported that in Aroolappen's church, 'there was a baptism of the Holy Spirit which filled the members of this church with a holy enthusiasm; and caused them to go everywhere preaching the gospel, in

demonstration of the Spirit and of power.'<sup>19</sup>

As a faith preacher, Aroolappen did not depend on western money, but travelled to many places and preached the gospel in many Syrian churches without any salary or pledged support, thus bringing the people to deeper spiritual life. And, like Aroolappen, many indigenous missionaries and evangelists, including Ammal Vedanayagam, David (known as Tamil David), and David Fenn, followed the pattern of New Testament apostles and evangelists.

### Revival in Travancore 1873-1881

These travels led the itinerant Tamil preacher, Aroolappen, to Travancore (the southernmost region of present-day Kerala) a decade after the Tirunelveli revival began. He brought the revival message not only to CMS churches, but also to Syrian churches in Travancore. As a result, a revival took place there which lasted for about 9 years. The two prominent leaders of this revival were Koodarapallil Thommen and Yustus (Justus) Joseph, who had been converted from a high caste Brahmin family under the ministry of CMS missionary Joseph Peet. Justus later became a CMS priest.

A. C. George indicates that thou-

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**17** G. H. Lang, ed., *The History and Diaries of an Indian Christian* (London: Thynne, 1939), pp. 23-28, 114-145. Cited in Gary B. McGee in 'Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implications for Indigenous Church Leadership', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 20 (July 1996), p. 113.

**18** Burgess, ed., *NIDPC*, p. 118.

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**19** Anthony Norris Groves, *Memoir of Anthony Norris Groves, Compiled Chiefly from His Journals and Letters* (London: James Nisbet, 1869), 616. Cited in Gary B. McGee, 'Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implications for Indigenous Church Leadership' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 20 (July 1996), p. 113.

sands of people were attracted to Justus Joseph's ministry because of its Charismatic nature, including visions, prophecies, revelations and the like. However, he was branded as a heretic by the CMS when his prophecy that Christ would return in 1881 (stated as six years after May, 1875) was not fulfilled. Consequently the Revival Church, which he founded in 1875, began to decline and his followers came to be called the Six Years Party or the Five and a Half Years Party.<sup>20</sup> McGee adds that at the beginning, missionaries applauded what they viewed as positive aspects in the movement but later they looked on it with suspicion because of glossolalia and other spiritual phenomena. 'They also detected lingering traces of heathen culture in the lack of emotional restraint among the participants. Complaints also included Anglican criticisms of independent and unordained clergy, the establishing of the prophetic office, the pronouncing of controversial predictions, and the growth of schismatic congregations.'<sup>21</sup> However, the Revival Church started by Aroolappen continued into the 20th century, although in diminished proportions.

A. C. George provides three major factors that contributed to these powerful revivals. First was the New Testament-style preaching by native preachers; second was the availability of the Bible in two major South Indian languages, i.e., the Tamil Bible translated in 1715 by Bitholomaeus Ziegenbalg (the first Protestant missionary to India) and the Malayam Bible translated by Benjamin Baily in 1841. These Bible translations brought new life into the hearts of the Christians and new understanding of Christianity. Third, the congregations of Syrian Christians were tired of dead ritualism and mere formalism, characterized by traditions, ceremonies, and festivals honouring the saints of the church. These examples alone show that Pentecostalism in India preceded the Western Pentecostal movement by at least 40 years.

#### Revival in the Mukti Mission, Pune 1905-1907

Sarasvati Mary Ramabai, known as 'Pandita' Ramabai, was born in an upper caste Hindu Brahmin family. Her father was a scholar in Sanskrit as well as Indian literature, hence, he decided to give Ramabai a classical Hindu education. She lost her parents due to famine when she was about sixteen and in 1880 she married Bipin Medhavi, who was from a Sudra, low caste family. She had a daughter through this union, named Manoramabai, in 1881. Unfortunately, Pandita became a widow at the age of twenty-three, when her husband died of cholera in 1882. Ramabai went to England for further studies the following year, where she and her then two-year old daughter, 'Mano,' were baptized in the Church of

20 Burgess, ed., NIDPC, p. 119. Cited in A. C. George in 'Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India' *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4:2 (July 2001), p. 223.

21 W. S. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin, 1816-1916* (Kottayam, Kerala: Church Missionary Society Press, 1920), 160-68. Cited in Gary B. McGee, 'Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implications for Indigenous Church Leadership', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 20 (July 1996), p. 114.



England.<sup>22</sup> Ramabai visited the United States in 1886 at the invitation of the American Episcopal Church and spent two and a half years there. While she was in the U.S. she formed the Ramabai Association and also published her book, *The High-Caste Indian Woman* (1887).

Upon returning to India, she started a home and school called Sharada Sadan ('Home of Learning') for child widows in 1889. She expanded her mission of mercy in the late 1890s, because of bubonic plague and famine, to accommodate not only the high-caste Hindu child widows but also all widows and orphans, especially from Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, regardless of their caste or creed. In 1899, Ramabai founded Mukti Sadan, ('Home of Salvation or Liberation') at Kedgaon, near Poona, which soon became a haven for hundreds of child widows and orphans and a place for education, vocational training and religious outreach.

In 1905, a revival which grew out of a prayer meeting broke out in the Mukti mission. Each morning, women at the Mukti mission met for prayer, asking God 'for a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Christians of every land'.<sup>23</sup> As a direct result, on June 29, 1905, several women experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit at the Mukti Mission. Some were slain in the

Spirit and others experienced a burning sensation. The revival continued into 1906 and 1907. Methodist missionaries Minnie Abrams and Albert Norton were said to be baptized in the Spirit at the Mukti Mission during this time. Abrams published her book, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire*, in 1906. In the same time period, some of the girls at the Mukti Mission received a call to preach the gospel and others experienced glossolalia. In 1907, Ramabai wrote about the revival:

I have seen not only the most ignorant of our people coming under the power of revival, but the most refined and very highly educated English men and women, who have given their lives for God's service in this country, coming under the power of God, so that they lose all control over their bodies, and are shaken like reeds, stammering words in various unknown tongues as the Spirit teaches them to speak, and gradually get to a place where they are in unbroken communion with God.<sup>24</sup>

Allan Anderson indicates that Ramabai understood that the Mukti Mission was the means by which the Holy Spirit was creating an independent and indigenous Indian Christianity. He further states that *The Apostolic Faith*, the periodical from Azusa Street, mentioned the news of this revival in its November 1906 issue saying, 'Hallelujah! God is sending the Pentecost to India. He is no respecter of persons.' However, the periodical mentioned no

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22 Howard A. Snyder, 'Holiness Heritage: The Case of Pandita Ramabai', *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 40 (Fall 2005), p. 31.

23 Ramabai, 'A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure in Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words', p. 320.

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24 Burgess, *NIDPC*, p. 1018.

missionaries or Ramabai's mission. Anderson contends that the natives who were simply taught of God were responsible for the outpouring of the Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit were given to simple, unlearned members of the body of Christ, although *The Apostolic Faith* failed to name the Indian people, not even the famous Pandita Ramabai.

The Mukti revival had other far-reaching consequences, according to Anderson. He points out that the Mukti revival penetrated other parts of the world untouched by the Azusa revival, especially South America. In 1907, Willis Hoover, an American Methodist revivalist in Valparaiso, Chile, heard about the Mukti Mission through a pamphlet by his wife's former classmate, Minnie Abraham. She had worked with Pandita Ramabai. Hoover inquired about the Pentecostal revivals in other places, including Venezuela and Norway. Then a revival broke out in his own church in 1909, resulting in his expulsion from the Methodist Church in 1910. Eventually this led to the formation of Chilean Pentecostalism.<sup>25</sup>

McGee aptly comments that the revival at Mukti from 1905-1907 challenges the common view that modern Pentecostalism traces back to Azusa. Even before news of the Azusa revival had first reached India, a Pentecostal revival was already underway on the

Indian subcontinent.<sup>26</sup>

This article will focus next specifically on the history of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God, an indigenous Pentecostal movement which originated on Indian soil, not as a spin-off from the Azusa Street revival.

### 3. The Indian Pentecostal Church and Its Roots

Vinson Synan states that modern Pentecostalism was developed from Catholic and Anglican mystical traditions, then on through John Wesley's second blessing sanctification experience, and through the Holiness and Keswick movements.<sup>27</sup> However, the Indian Pentecostal Church (IPC) emerged from the Syrian Christian Community, which claims its origin in C. E. 52, when Saint Thomas, one of the twelve original apostles, came to India. According to *The Acts of Thomas*, the Apostle Thomas went to undertake the construction of a palace for an Indian king named Gondophares, along with preaching of the Gospel to India. A. E. Medlycott argues that proof of the existence of this Indian ruler came when coins of Gondophares inscribed in the Indian Pali language were found in Afghanistan in 1834 by Masson. (Today these coins of Gondo-

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<sup>25</sup> Allan Anderson, 'The Origins of Pentecostalism and Its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century' p. 18 [cited 23 May 2006]. Online: <http://www.ocms.ac.uk/docs/Allan%20Anderson%20lectue20041005.pdf>

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<sup>26</sup> Gary B. McGee, 'Latter Rain Falling in the East: Early-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism in India and Debate over Speaking in Tongues', *Church History*, 68, No. 3 (September 1999), 650. Cited by Allan Anderson in 'The Origins of Pentecostalism', p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), p. x.

phares are housed at the Bibliotheque Natiaonale and the British Museum.) An inscription of Gondophares was also discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, dated in the 26th year of his reign.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Indian tradition, St. Thomas came by sea, and first landed at Maliankara near Cranganore about the year 52 C.E. He converted high caste Hindu families in Cranganore, Palayur, Quilon and some other places, and visited the Coromandel Coast making conversions. He also crossed over to China and preached the gospel and then returned to India and organized the Christians of Malabar under some guides from among the leading families he had converted. He erected few public places of worship.<sup>29</sup> When the Apostle Thomas came to the southwestern Malabar Coast, he met Hindu priests who were performing their rites in the water-tank and sprinkling water from it on the people, believing that the water was sacred and would wash away their sins.<sup>30</sup>

Saint Thomas was not only astonished at their customs, but also pitied their innocence and ignorance. He set forth a challenge for the Hindu priests,

to which they agreed. The challenge was: if a groove would remain in the place where they collected the water from tank, and if the waters would not fall back when they threw it into midair,<sup>31</sup> then he would follow their god; otherwise the Hindu priests would follow the Lord, Jesus Christ, whom Saint Thomas was serving. The Hindu priests tried a number of times to meet the challenge, but without success. To their surprise, Thomas the Apostle was able to perform the miracle against the law of gravity and the law of surface tension. Then the Hindu priests fell at his feet and attempted to worship him. Saint Thomas protested against their error and pointed them to Christ by preaching the gospel to those high caste Hindu Brahmin priests, many of whom became Christians. The names of the Brahmin families that were converted by Thomas were identified as Kalli, Kaliankara, Sankarapuri, Madapur, Vympilli, Muttedal, Kottakar, Panackamattom and Pakalomattom.<sup>32</sup>

Later he planted seven churches there on the Malabar Coast in the various centres of his missionary work, such as Maliankara, Palayur near Chavakad, Kottakayal near Parur, Kokkamangalam or South Pallippuram, Niranom near Thiruvalla, Chayal near Nilackal, and Kurakkenikollam (Quilon).<sup>33</sup> From there he went to the

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28 A. E. Medlycott, *India and The Apostle Thomas: An Inquiry, With a Critical Analysis of the Act A Thomae* (London: David Nutt, 1905), pp. 1-3, 13.

29 H. C. Perumalil and E. R. Hambye, *Christianity in India: A History in Ecumenical Perspective* (Alleppey: Prakasam Publications, 1972), p. 18.

30 Still Indians believe that taking a ritual bath in rivers like Ganges will cleanse people from their sin. In the State of Andhra Pradesh, during the time of 'Pushkarams', thousands of Hindus come to the sacred rivers Krishna and Godavari to take a dip.

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31 P. M. Samuel, *Autobiography* (Vijayawada: Zion Printing House, 1980), p. 4.

32 C. V. Cheriyan, *A History of Christianity in Kerala: From the Mission of St. Thomas to the Arrival of Vasco Da Gama, A.D. 52-1498* (Kottayam: CMS Press, 1973), p. 1.

33 C. V. Cheriyan, *A History of Christianity in Kerala*, 2.

East coast and established more churches. In 72 C. E., some high caste Hindu Brahmins speared Thomas to death. His tomb exists to this day on a mount in a place called Mylapore (modern-day Madras) in the state of Tamil Nadu, presently known as St. Thomas Mount.

The Indian Pentecostal Church founders, P.M. Samuel, K.E. Abraham, and K.C. Cherian, came from the Syrian Christian Community which Saint Thomas founded. P. M. Samuel, the first president of the Indian Pentecostal Church, trained to become a Syrian Orthodox priest in their seminary. (It is commonly held that K.E. Abraham was the founder of the IPC; however, my research indicates that he was only one of its founders.) Abraham was a schoolteacher, and was raised to become a Syrian Orthodox priest. He became president of the IPC later, in 1939, and continued in that position until his death in 1974. After the demise of Abraham, P. M. Samuel was president until he died in 1981. K. C. Cherian was also from the Syrian Orthodox Church and a teacher in the church-run school.

These three Syrian Christian leaders left the Syrian church and formed the South India Pentecostal Church of God in Aranmula, Travancore (in present-day Kerala). This is considered to be the first indigenous Pentecostal denomination in India.<sup>34</sup> As this indige-

nous movement began to grow and spread to other places, such as Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), Mysore (Karnataka), and Madras (Tamil Nadu), the leaders of the South Indian Pentecostal Church of God decided to change its name to 'The Indian Pentecostal Church of God' in 1934.

#### 4. The Origin of the IPC in Andhra Pradesh

P. M. Samuel was born in Keekozhoor in the State of Kerala on July 1, 1903. His parents belonged to a traditional Mar Thoma Syrian Church. He had seven sisters and was the only son in the family. He was saved in August, 1920, at the age of seventeen. Two years prior to his conversion experience, he married a Syrian Christian named Mary. By 1924 he had completed his theological training to become a priest. In 1926, he was baptized in water, which created a conflict with his parents, and as a result, he was excommunicated from his family. His excommunication led him to become a street evangelist in Ranny, six miles away from his hometown.<sup>35</sup> On September 20, 1929, he received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in a convention at Lunav in Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) where he had been invited by Pastor Paul (the founder of the Ceylon Pentecostal Church).

Later, he heard the clarion call, 'Samuel, Samuel, go to Andhra Pradesh and preach the Pentecostal

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34 Paulson Pulikotttil, 'As East and West Met in God's Own Country: Encounter of Western Pentecostalism with Native Pentecostalism in Kerala' p. 1 [cited 23 May 2006]. Online: <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj10/paulson.html>.

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35 Roger E. Hedlund, ed., *Christianity is Indian: The Emergence of an Indigenous Community* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2004), p. 362.

truth,<sup>36</sup> in a special fasting and prayer meeting in 1932. As he was contemplating his call to Andhra, suddenly he received an invitation from Brother T. P. Gurupadam from Bandaru (Machilipatnam) urging him to come to Andhra. The same year, Samuel left Travancore and came to Eluru in Andhra Pradesh, along with Brother R. Coal. They started preaching the Pentecostal message in a rented house. Many accepted their message, including Brother A. Manoharam, K.R. John and B.S. Lukeson, who were pioneer supporters of their ministry. In 1935, K. E. Abraham and P. T. Chacko reached Eluru after their preaching tour in North India, and met P. M. Samuel, who had just returned from his tour of Tamil Nadu.

On December 9, 1935, they registered an organization called 'The Indian Pentecostal Church of God' with the government of India under the Societies Act XXI of 1860, with the registration number 9/1935-1936.<sup>37</sup> Samuel, Abraham and Chacko were assisted by Bro. Lukeson, a clerk in the Registrar's office, and Bro. John, a superintendent in the Irrigation Department, in the registration process. All three shared the registration expenses. Samuel was chosen to be the president, Cherian, vice-president and Chacko, secretary.<sup>38</sup> Hence my contention is that P. M. Samuel was the co-founder of the IPC along with

K.E Abraham. This was the genesis of The Indian Pentecostal Church of God denomination in India. Samuel writes in his autobiography:

I (P. M. Samuel) was ordained by God as His apostle and I was sent on His service to Tamilnadu in 1930. God spoke to me and ordered me to spread the gospel in the east side where there were few Christian churches. Pastor K.E. Abraham was working in the midst of people who speak Malayalam (Kerala). Pastor Cherian was sent to the Kannada-speaking people. *We started* the Indian Pentecostal Church of God in 1934 and we gave this new name out of great enthusiasm for the revival and glory of our Lord. It was registered in 1935. Before registration, it was known as the Indian Pentecostal Church of South India. (emphasis added)

Chacko moved to Eluru in 1936 with his family and worked with Samuel. In 1937, Samuel purchased a house in Eluru with the funds received from Swedish believers through Cherian and Abraham when they went on a mission trip. The house soon turned into a worship centre and became the first church of the IPC. Thus, the IPC church in Eluru is the mother church to all other IPC churches, both in India and other parts of the world.

## 5. Conclusion

Even though the IPC was started among the Telugus in Eluru in the State of Andhra Pradesh, Eluru was never made the national headquarters of the denomination because the founders of the IPC were Malayalis

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<sup>36</sup> P.M. Samuel, *Autobiography*, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Hand Book: The Indian Pentecostal Church of God* (Kumbanad: IPC General Council Office, 1999), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> *Hand Book: The Indian Pentecostal Church of God*, p. 9.

from the State of Kerala. Later on, Samuel moved to Vijayawada in 1940, about 40 miles from Eluru, and made it the state headquarters for the IPC in Andhra Pradesh. Nevertheless, the IPC originally began in Eluru with one church, and today it has nearly 4,000 churches in both India and abroad, including the Gulf countries, the United States, Canada and Australia. And in the State of Andhra Pradesh alone, the IPC currently has 660 churches with nearly 86,000 adherents.<sup>39</sup> As Hedlund aptly says, Andhra Pradesh is the main centre of indigenous movements in India today, more so than Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, along with numerous indigenous Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal denominations,

the Indian Pentecostal Church (IPC) being prominent among them.<sup>40</sup>

And even after the demise of the first and second-generation leaders, the IPC in Andhra Pradesh is still experiencing rapid numerical growth. At present, about every six days a new church is being pioneered. From this article it is evident that the Holy Spirit has been at work all over the world, both in the U.S. and in India and other parts of the globe simultaneously. Scholars from the East and the West alike need to continue to do research to bring to light other non-western Christian traditions which have also played a major role in the global Pentecostal movement like IPC. I hope this article will be a stimulus for such explorations.

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39 *Hand Book: The Indian Pentecostal Church of God*, p. 38.

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40 Burgess, ed., *NIDPC*, p. 782.

## **Alexander Boddy** **Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer**

Gavin Wakefield

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# Prayer Revivals and the Third Great Awakening

Walter Hampel

**KEYWORDS:** *Revival, telegraph, newspapers, prayer meetings, preaching, clergy, laity, Christian unity, repentance*

THE CALL FOR A spiritual revival of God's people can be found as far back as biblical times. This call is reflected in the soul-felt cry: 'Revive us, and we will call on your name.'<sup>1</sup> In the 18th century, 'concerts of prayer' were promoted by the American theologian Jonathan Edwards and members of the Scottish clergy. Their purpose was to call the church to pray that God would bring a true, heaven-sent revival. Edwards wrote: 'this prophecy [Zech. 8:20-22] parallels many other prophecies that speak of an extraordinary spirit of prayer preceding that glorious day of revival and advancement of the Church's peace and prosperity.'<sup>2</sup> The

revivals of the Third Great Awakening provide strong evidence that prayer is the key to any true revival. These were revivals birthed in prayer and international in scope. While not well-remembered one hundred fifty years later, the number of people and church institutions impacted remains enormous.

## 1. Foundations in North America

The residual effects of the Second Great Awakening in North America laid the groundwork for the Revival of 1857-1860. The preaching of Charles Finney was still in the memory of Americans in the mid-1850s. In those years, the then future leader of the Fulton Street prayer meetings, Jeremiah Lanphier, came to Christ under Finney's preaching. Finney's preaching also strongly influenced Humphrey Jones, a Welsh expatriate living in America, who would later return to Wales to preach there.

The Second Great Awakening also gave birth to the Holiness Movement. It was founded on John Wesley's theology of entire sanctification which held

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1 Ps. 80:18 NIV

2 Jonathan Edwards, *An Humble Attempt To Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer*, <[http://www.reformed.org/eschaton/ha\\_page\\_s/humble\\_attempt\\_part1.html](http://www.reformed.org/eschaton/ha_page_s/humble_attempt_part1.html)> accessed 4 August, 2006.

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to the belief in ‘the complete orientation of the heart toward God and away from sinning’.<sup>3</sup> As early as 1840, Phoebe Palmer of New York City was a recognized leader of the movement. Along with her husband Walter, Phoebe preached in numerous holiness revival meetings in the United States and Canada.

## 2. America at the start of the 1857 Revival

In Deut. 8:10-18, God warned Israel not to forget him once they had settled in the Promised Land and enjoyed its material prosperity. Similarly, mid-1850s America enjoyed a booming economy. They too had slowly drifted from God in their material prosperity as Israel did.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the citizenry grew polarized and divided over the politics and morality of slavery. The United States was in desperate need of revival. The start of the American revival is often traced to Jeremiah Lanphier, who in July, 1857, was commissioned by the Dutch North Church in New York City as a lay missionary. He immediately sought the Lord’s guidance on how to reach the lost souls of New York. He settled upon the idea of a weekly prayer meeting to be held at the Dutch North Church at Fulton and William Streets, only ten blocks from the then-future site of the World Trade Centre. In his journal, he wrote:

One day, as I was walking along

the streets, the idea was suggested to my mind that an hour of prayer, from twelve to one o’clock, would be beneficial to business men, who usually, in great numbers, take that hour for rest and refreshment.<sup>5</sup>

Lanphier distributed handbills which announced a weekly prayer meeting to be held at the North Dutch Church. It would begin at noon on 23 September, 1857, and last one hour. At that first meeting, he was the only one in attendance for the first half hour. When the meeting ended, six others had joined him. At the next meeting, 20 people attended. The following week, the attendance was between 30 to 40 individuals. Starting 8 October, 1857, the Fulton Street prayer meetings were held daily. A stock market crash two days later boosted attendance at the prayer meetings. The available rooms of the church had filled. Within months, thousands attended prayer meetings all over the city. The noonday meetings overflowed into prayer meetings held morning, noon and night.

A March, 1858 account of the New York revival indicated its scope. Prayer meetings were still occurring at the Dutch North Church. On March 19th, news arrived of a Virginia man who organized noon time prayer in Richmond after attending the Fulton Street meetings. In several Indiana towns ‘the progress of the revival was distinctly marked’.<sup>6</sup> Revival was occurring in Boston, Springfield, Hoboken,

<sup>3</sup> *Christian History & Biography*, Issue 82 (Carol Stream: Christianity Today International, 2004), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The drift began with Israel’s first generation in the Promised Land (Jud. 2:10).

<sup>5</sup> Journal of Jeremiah Lanphier, found in Peter Marshall & David Manuel, *Sounding Forth the Trumpet* (Fleming H. Revell, Grand Rapids, 1997), p. 417.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, 20 March, 1858, p. 5.



and numerous cities throughout America. Evidence of the revival could be found from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts. Converts were numbered in the tens of thousands.

With the growing interest in the revival, church buildings were no longer the only sites of the prayer meetings. *The New York Times* reported: 'Churches are crowded; bank-directors rooms become oratories; school houses are turned into chapels.'<sup>7</sup> Places associated with worldliness became sites of prayer. One example was Burton's Theatre in New York. The *Times*' account stated: 'Instead of noisy laughter, excited by play-actors, in low comedy and farce, those present listen quietly and seriously to earnest words from earnest men on the most solemn and earnest of themes.'<sup>8</sup>

### 3. News of the Revival Crosses the Atlantic Ocean

News of the revival in the United States soon reached across the Atlantic. Charles Spurgeon mentioned the revival during a sermon in June, 1858, making reference to the noon prayer services in Philadelphia. He observed:

...this great work in America has been manifestly caused by the outpouring of the Spirit, for no one minister has been a leader in it. All the ministers of the gospel have co-operated in it, but none of them have stood in the van. God himself has been the leader of his own

hosts. It began with a desire for prayer. God's people began to pray;<sup>9</sup>

Spurgeon desired similar revival in England. He reminded his hearers that 'the Holy Spirit will not come to us as a church, unless we seek him'. He noted that morning and evening prayer had started in Norwich and other towns. Of them, Spurgeon commented: 'The Lord hath put prayer into their hearts and therefore they were willing to come.'

In 1859, Dr. B. Evans delivered a lecture in Scarborough, England, entitled 'The American Revivals'. It recounted the details of the revival in the United States. Evans observed: 'The work originated with, and has been sustained by, prayer. This is its universal characteristic; and the fact admits of no doubt.'<sup>10</sup> He asked his audience to ponder several questions. First, he asked: 'Do we need such a revival, such manifest and manifold tokens of the power of the Divine Spirit?'<sup>11</sup> His implicit answer was 'yes'. He pointed to opportunities to spread the gospel in previously closed lands such as China, Japan and the 'wilds of Africa'. Yet, English society had devolved into ignorance and indifference. Evans painfully noted:

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Spurgeon, *The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit*, 20 June, 1858, <<http://www.spurgeon.org/sermons/0201.htm>> accessed 1 July, 2006.

<sup>10</sup> B. Evans, *The American Revivals*, <<http://www.revival-library.org/index.html?http://www.revival-library.org/catalogues/world4/evans/title.htm>> accessed 3 July, 2006.

<sup>11</sup> B. Evans, *American Revivals*

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<sup>7</sup> *New York Times*, 20 March, 1858, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, 20 March, 1858, p. 5.

Upon millions in this land of ours religious truth has exerted no saving influence.... Glance for a moment at the majority in our congregations, gradually ripening for perdition under the ministry of the Word, perishing amidst the atmosphere of prayer, and dying within sight of the fountain of healing and eternal life!

Evans further asked: 'If a revival is needed, the second question I would ask is not less vital and thrilling in its interest—can we have one?' He answered his question with another: 'Why not?' He reminded his hearers that God is not the God of America only. His shower of revival blessings was not exhausted upon America and Canada. His third and final question: 'Will you seek one [revival]?' He challenged his audience to adopt the thinking that 'Holier and higher motives must prompt our actions, and mould our character'. Evans' concluding advice was not to 'force the great work. Let God appear.' It could not be done through human effort. It should not be impeded by pride, selfishness and vanity. For it to be true revival, it must be God's work.

#### 4. The Revival in Other Countries

##### Ireland

In the Irish town of Ballymena in November, 1856, James McQuilken<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *The Ulster Revival of 1859* by William Henry Harding, lists McQuilken's first name as Jeremiah.

accidentally overheard a conversation between two women. The first one had a reputation for discussing predestination. As she steered the conversation toward predestination, the other woman, Mrs Colville of Gateshead, knew about this woman. Colville replied: 'You have never known the Lord Jesus.'<sup>13</sup> The effect of those words on the first woman is unknown. However, the words strongly convicted McQuilken. He was a professing Christian. Yet, he believed Colville's rebuke applied to him too. After two weeks, he found peace in Christ. Over the next year, James McQuilken studied the Bible and read the writings of the famous prayer warrior, George Müller. McQuilken had also heard of the revival in the United States. All these factors prompted him to ask: 'Why may we not have such a blessed work here, seeing that God did such great things for Mr. Müller, simply in answer to prayer.'<sup>14</sup>

McQuilken prayed that God would have him meet with those liked-minded about prayer. Through McQuilken's influence, Jeremiah Meneely became a Christian. These two men along with John Wallace and Robert Carlisle (the 'Kells Four') began to pray together every Friday night at the Kells Antrim

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<sup>13</sup> William Henry Harding, *The Ulster Revival of 1859*, Chapter 1 <<http://www.revival-library.org/index.html?http://www.revival-library.org/catalogues/maincat.htm>> accessed 30 June, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Arthur T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol and His Witness to a Prayer Hearing God*, Chapter 23. *God's Witness To The Work* (Old Tappan: Fleming H. Revell, 1899) <[http://www.biblebelievers.com/george\\_muller/g-m\\_ch23.html](http://www.biblebelievers.com/george_muller/g-m_ch23.html)> accessed 13 August, 2006.

Schoolhouse, in the parish of Connor, in the autumn of 1857. At their fellowship meetings, they engaged 'in reading of the Scriptures, prayer, and mutual exhortation'.<sup>15</sup> During this time, the number of local converts grew steadily.

In early 1859, James McQuilken and Jeremiah Meneely conducted prayer meetings at Presbyterian churches in Ahoghill, Ballymena and Belfast. Soon, prayer meetings could not be confined to church buildings. Meetings took place where the people could physically gather. It might be an inside location such as a barn or school. It might be an outside location such as a highway, quarry or open field. The revival spread throughout Ireland. Over the next few years, Ulster, Londonderry, Coleraine, Bellaghy and Ballyclare felt its effects. Prayer meetings would often go on all night. At Belfast's Botanic Garden, twenty thousand had gathered, with Bibles and hymnbooks in hand. A minister at Ballymena recognized an irony. Once, it had been difficult to get people in the church. The difficulty now was in getting them out.

The revival generated a change in Ireland's moral character. In one place after another, people became convicted of their sinfulness. They cried out to Christ for mercy. They rejoiced in the burden of sin lifted from them in Christ. In Broughshane, an individual who had lived a life of alcohol abuse for over fifty years experienced conversion. He testified:

My heavy and enormous sin is all gone, the Lord Jesus took it all

away, and I stand before you this day not as a pattern of profligacy, but a monument of the perfect grace of God. I stand here to tell you that God's work on Calvary is perfect. Yes, I have proved it. His work is perfect.<sup>16</sup>

Some Irish clerics challenged the legitimacy of the revival, referring to it as a delusion of Satan. One convert responded that it must then be the work of a new devil as the old devil wouldn't do anything like this. Another convert wryly observed: 'Certainly, it was not Satan who took me away from whiskey drinking.'<sup>17</sup>

## Wales

News of the American revival was the impetus for many in Wales to pray that God would bring revival to them. Humphrey Jones, a Welsh-born preacher, ministered to Welsh settlers in America. While there, he saw the effects of revival and wanted it for his homeland. Jones returned to his native village of Tre'rddol to begin preaching. He partnered with Calvinistic Methodist minister David Morgan. At first, Morgan did not agree with Jones' direct approach to prayer and the gospel. They agreed that they could not 'do much harm by keeping prayer-meetings'.<sup>18</sup> They started nightly meetings, alternating between the Wes-

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<sup>16</sup> Harding, *Ulster Revival*, Chapter 2.

<sup>17</sup> Harding, *Ulster Revival*, Chapter 2.

<sup>18</sup> J. B. Johnston, *The prayer-meeting, and its history, as identified with the life and power of godliness, and the revival of religion* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1870), p. 272.

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<sup>15</sup> Pierson, *Witness*.

leyan and Calvinistic Methodist churches. David Morgan eventually assumed leadership responsibilities. Humphrey Jones had begun prophesying a date-specific visible return of the Holy Spirit and start of the Millennium.<sup>19</sup> Along with a failed prophecy, Jones' preaching regimen damaged his health. Thus, Morgan was forced into a more prominent role in the revival.

News of the revival in America also prompted the Methodist annual assembly of 1858 held in Aberdeen to set aside Sunday, 1 August, 1858 'by all the churches and congregations of our association, to pray unitedly and earnestly for the outpouring of God's Spirit'.<sup>20</sup> The weekly prayer meetings became daily in February, 1859. Like the American and Irish revivals, trans-denominational cooperation was a hallmark of the Welsh revival. William Griffiths recorded: 'All religious denominations are cordially united in social prayer-meetings.'<sup>21</sup> A distinct aspect of the Welsh revival was a loud, sounding forth of praise to God. On the night of 3 September, 1859, a correspondent for the *Welsh Standard* noted: 'After the meetings had passed away, loud praises were heard in the surrounding fields till midnight—one of the most wonderful things we ever witnessed.'<sup>22</sup>

### Scotland and England

The *Scottish Guardian* in August, 1859

indicated that the winds of revival had reached the Glasgow region. It reported:

The Holy Spirit has been manifesting His gracious power in a remarkable manner in this neighbourhood during the last few days. Our readers are aware that ever since the news of the great revival in America reached Scotland, *prayer-meetings* for the purpose of imploring a similar blessing, have been held in Glasgow, as well as in other places.<sup>23</sup>

The United Presbyterian Church reported 25 per cent of their communicants were involved in private prayer meetings.<sup>24</sup> During Scotland's Free Church General Assembly of May, 1861, the clergy were polled. Of 169 ministers/probationers polled, 86 reported revival activity. They noted that past revivals were regional. Yet the revival in progress seemed to be spreading throughout Scotland.

The revival which C. H. Spurgeon prayed for arrived in England. He preached on revival several times in those years. He visited Ireland in January, 1860 to witness the revival there. He told his Exeter Hall congregation:

It has been my lot these last six years to preach to crowded congregations, and to see many, many souls brought to Christ; but this

19 Eifon Evans, *Fire in the Thatch* (Bryntirion, Bridgend, Wales: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1996), p. 200.

20 Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, p. 273.

21 Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, p. 274.

22 Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, p. 275.

23 Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, p. 266.

24 J Edwin Orr, *The Awakening of 1859 in Britain and Elsewhere*, (audio sermon) <[http://www.sermonindex.net/modules/mydo\\_wnloads/viewcat.php?cid=11&min=60&orderby=titleA&show=20](http://www.sermonindex.net/modules/mydo_wnloads/viewcat.php?cid=11&min=60&orderby=titleA&show=20)> accessed 20 July, 2006.

week I have seen what mine eyes have never before beheld, used as I am to extraordinary things...God is about to send times of surprising fertility to his Church.<sup>25</sup>

Other English ministers and lay persons visited Ireland to study and observe the revival. In London, this led to increased numbers of prayer meetings and instructional meetings to reach the spiritually lost of London. London's experience was similar to New York's regarding the use of buildings for the prayer meetings. Robert Lescelius tells us:

Great crowds gathered for prayer and evangelistic preaching in such places as St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey (100,000 aggregate in the latter). Theaters were used to house the crowds, such meetings being convened both by the Church of England and the Free Churches.<sup>26</sup>

Several English ministers became famous for their role in the revival. William Haslam ministered at St. John's, Hayle during the height of the revival. He was converted by his own 1851 sermon on conversion. It must be remembered that some of the clergy did not support the revival. This caused Haslam's dismissal from his post at Hayle immediately after a successful period of evangelism. His rec-

tor, suspicious of the revival's validity, believed that those converted were 'no [real] churchmen'.<sup>27</sup> William Booth preached in Gateshead. He conducted prayer meetings, preached three times each Sunday and four times on weekdays. His chapel, attended by two thousand, developed the nickname: 'The Converting Shop'. Booth also preached at outdoor revival meetings.

### Australia

The revival in Australia followed similar patterns to those in the United Kingdom. Religious publications spread the news about the revival. News of the American revival arrived by June 1858. *The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record* contained a detailed account of the New York revival. These newspaper reports, as well as personal observations by British immigrants, brought accounts of the American and British revivals to Australia. Though news of the revivals was already six months old, there was a growing sense among the faithful in Australia to ask God to bring revival to their land. As in America, Ireland and Wales, inter-denominational prayer meetings for revival were held in numerous cities across Australia.<sup>28</sup>

Though the call for revival crossed

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<sup>25</sup> Charles Spurgeon, *A Revival Sermon*, 26 January, 1860, <<http://www.spurgeon.org/sermons/0296.htm>> accessed 20 July, 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Lescelius, *Spurgeon and Revival* <[http://theresurgence.com/robert\\_lescelius\\_1994-04\\_spurgeon\\_and\\_revival](http://theresurgence.com/robert_lescelius_1994-04_spurgeon_and_revival)> accessed 4 August, 2006.

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<sup>27</sup> William Haslam, *From Death Unto Life*, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14578/14578.txt>> accessed on 25 July, 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Evans, *Early Evangelical Revivals in Australia* (Open Book: Adelaide, 2001). <<http://www.chr.org.au/fpbooks/Early%20Evangelical%20Revivals%20in%20Australia/Early%20Evangelicals%20Revivals%20in%20Australia%201%20to%205.doc>> accessed 22 July, 2006.

denominational lines, the infrastructure of the Methodist 'circuits' played a large role in how the prayer meetings were conducted. Unlike the United States, where the prayer meetings quickly outgrew the church buildings, Australian prayer meetings were typically held in churches. Some were held in other facilities, such as school rooms and meeting halls of organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association.

Revivals occurred in a number of locations across Australia. Newtown, Sydney, Botany Bay, Parramatta, Windsor, the Turon Gold Fields and the Manning River were only a handful of the locations which experienced revival. Not all aspects of the revival in Australia were documented in the newspapers of the time, either secular or religious. The situation was similar to the chronicling of the American revivals. Contemporary accounts found in the major New York newspapers as well as books such as Samuel Prime's *The Power of Prayer*, became the publicly-known 'de-facto' history of the movement. It eventually became clear that other accounts and perspectives of the revivals were preserved in media such as personal journals. Kathryn Long points to this in referring to the historical glimpses which come 'from diaries, memoirs, and other accounts'.<sup>29</sup> Gaps in reporting did exist. *The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, was not published between January 1862 and March 1864, leaving

a void of over two years in their record of the revival.

In the Australian revivals, the clergy played a larger role than in America or Ireland. John Watsford preached in revival services before 1859. So did Tom Brown, a former prize fighter who experienced his own revival after a post-conversion struggle with alcohol. William 'California' Taylor preached revival services across Australia during the 1860s (Taylor was from the California Circuit which earned him his nickname). In the course of preaching along a circuit, Taylor was known to stay in one location for extended periods, an innovation on John Wesley's approach of preaching only once or twice at a location.

The revival spread to other areas as well. Historical records indicate signs of awakening in Germany, Norway, Sweden, India, Jamaica and South Africa. Paris was the sight of a revival which started among its English-speaking residents.<sup>30</sup> The South African revivals involved Andrew Murray, who would go on to greater recognition in the Holiness Movement, as well as 'California' Taylor (who had preached in the Australian revival).

## 5. A Quieter Revival Led by Clergy and Laity

The Third Great Awakening reflected a large degree of lay leadership. Jeremiah Lanphier was a lay missionary. James McQuilken, the Kells Four and Phoebe Palmer were lay leaders. Despite resistance from some of the

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<sup>29</sup> Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 46.

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<sup>30</sup> Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, pp. 280-281.

clergy (i.e. Roman Catholic in Ireland, high-church Anglican clergy in England), there was remarkable cooperation between clergy and laity during this revival. Lay persons were often prayer meeting leaders. Ministers would often preach at the prayer meetings. The large number of people involved required this level of cooperation. The Irish clergy, for example, relied on the help of the laity as the number of people seeking salvation in Christ was in the thousands.

Another feature of the revivals was their quiet demeanour. In Ireland, there were those who openly cried out to God as they became convinced of their sinfulness. Sorrow for their sin stopped them in their tracks. When Jonathan Edwards gave his famous sermon, 'Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God', a similar reaction was observed. During that service in July, 1741, there were loud cries to God by those begging his mercy and forgiveness.

However, the 1740s American revival and several others in American history (i.e. Cane Ridge in 1801, Brownsville in 1995) had those who manifested barking, roaring and uncontrolled laughter. These phenomena were absent from the 1857 revivals. *The New York Times* reported: 'All this great movement goes on moreover quietly; there is but little nervous excitement or extravagance so far as we have heard.'<sup>31</sup>

Two unusual incidents in Australia will be examined here. One may reflect a level of fanaticism. The other may bear the mark of the supernatural.

Robert Evans noted:

During the revival which took place at Jerriwa Creek in the year 1858, or '59, there was considerable excitement and more noise than commended itself to some critics. In defence of these manifestations of the Holy Spirit's workings, he [revival preacher Old Tom Brown] preached a memorable sermon on 'The Valley of the Dry Bones'. His text was Ezekiel 37:7. He said in effect, where there is life there will be noise, and so when the breath of God's Spirit moved upon the slain, and bone came to his bone, there was clattering and noise enough; and so, when the Spirit of the Lord moves upon men who are spiritually dead, and arouses them to a new life, there will be some noise and outward manifestations of the new life within.<sup>32</sup>

The other incident concerned a dream of Mrs McDonald of Sydney. She prayed and fasted for a revival in Sydney. In a dream, she saw a messenger from God riding above the city in a chariot without horses. He was 'sowing seed broadcast, and proclaiming in the name of the Lord'.<sup>33</sup> In her dream, she was careful to remember the messenger's face. She believed that this would be the man God was sending in response to her prayer. She later recounted this to 'California' Taylor, when he came to York Street Wesleyan Church. She said: 'As soon as I entered the door and saw you standing by the pulpit I recognised you at a glance as

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31 *New York Times*, 20 March, 1858, p. 4.

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32 R. Evans, *Revivals in Australia*.

33 R. Evans, *Revivals in Australia*.

the man I had seen in the Gospel chariot three months ago.<sup>34</sup>

## 6. Christian Unity and Expansion

This set of revivals was marked by strong unity of Christian believers in the arranging and organizing of the prayer meetings. The demonstration of unity was primarily among the Protestant groups. Yet, the working together of Methodists (Wesleyan and Calvinist), Presbyterians, Baptists and others in these revivals was evidence that more than human ingenuity was at work. Such unity was seen as evidence of the Holy Spirit's influence. Denominational differences were not ignored or obliterated. Often, compromises were arranged to continue a prayer meeting (i.e. the alternating control of some London prayer meetings by Anglican and Free Church clergy). Denominational differences were considered important but secondary to the purpose of seeking God's face in prayer.

One might expect the model of the revival's spread to be like a lightning strike in a forest. In this model, a single bolt sets one tree ablaze with surrounding trees catching fire afterward. Such a model accounts for some but not all of the aspects of the 1857 revivals. While there is a definite spread of the revival from the Fulton Street meetings in New York, the foundations for the other revivals were already being laid. In some cases, revivals had occurred shortly before (i.e. Australian revivals in 1854-1857)

or happened simultaneously and independent of Fulton Street. The Canadian revivals in Toronto and Hamilton led by the Palmers in the summer and autumn of 1857 were independent of the New York revival. There were calls to prayer for revival in Ireland as early as 1855. The Fulton Street revival was a catalyst for the revivals which happened across the world. History is clear that God had already prepared other nations for revival by calls to prayer or through local revivals.

## 7. Technology and the Media

The technology of the 1850s played a major role in the spread of the revival. The telegraph, already in use for over a decade, allowed news of the revival to travel at the speed of electrons through a copper wire. In the United States, news items concerning revival events in New York or Philadelphia were relayed to cities further west via the telegraph, possibly on the same day they occurred. Those holding prayer meetings at Philadelphia's Jayne's Hall and those holding meetings in three New York City locations were in daily telegraphic communication to keep each other informed of the news of the revival.<sup>35</sup>

The impact of the telegraph on Christianity in America was enormous. The widespread use of the Internet and electronic mail during the 1990s provides some degree of contemporary comparison. The telegraph's perceived potential for real-time communication across vast distances was understood in millennial terms. In 1850, a writer

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34 R. Evans, *Revivals in Australia*.

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35 *New York Times*, 20 March, 1858, p. 5.



for a women's Methodist magazine said:

This noble invention is to be the means of extending civilization, republicanism and Christianity over the earth... Then will wrong and injustice be forever banished. Every yoke shall be broken, and the oppressed go free... Then shall come to pass the millennium<sup>36</sup>

In 1858, Trans-Atlantic telegraph service was about to begin. The potential for real-time communication across the Atlantic Ocean was mind-boggling. In August, cable operations began. They included congratulatory greetings between Queen Victoria and U.S. President James Buchanan. When news of the start of Trans-Atlantic telegraph service reached an assembly at Andover Seminary, a chorus was sung: 'Jesus shall reign where e'er the sun.'<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, the potential of the Trans-Atlantic telegraph to spread news of the revival was short-lived. The cable overloaded and stopped working less than a month later.

Newspapers were another means by which revival information spread. Numerous American newspapers covered the revivals. The New York papers started their coverage in February, 1858. While the secular newspapers aided the spread of the revival in the United States, they were not the earliest catalysts. Thousands were already attending noon prayer meetings in New York before any of the city's major

newspapers began coverage. Religious newspapers assisted the spread of the revival too. These publications not only helped to inform other Christians of the revivals but also inspired them to pray that similar graces would be visited upon them. They also served to provide patterns of how the organization of prayer meetings could be imitated.

Technology played a role in how the news of revival crossed the oceans. With the rise of the steamship, passage across the Atlantic could be made in less than two weeks. It no longer took three or more months when ships depended on winds and current to make the same passage. The news of revival was still fresh when it reached the other shore.

Lastly, the news spread from person to person. The history of these revivals is replete with accounts of those who attended prayer meetings in one city and transferred that news and desire to another city or country (i.e. Humphrey Jones). The revival movement was regarded at the time as a type of 19th century Pentecost.<sup>38</sup> In the Pentecost account of Acts 2, Jewish pilgrims visiting Jerusalem heard the gospel and carried it to the reaches of the Roman Empire. In the same way, over eighteen centuries later, the gospel of Christ and revival were also carried to the nations by personal contact.

## 8. Lasting Effects

The Third Great Awakening had many enduring effects. Church membership dramatically increased, especially in

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<sup>36</sup> James H. Moorhead, *The Millennium and the Media*, found in *Communication and Change in American Religious History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 222.

<sup>37</sup> Moorhead, *Media*, p. 222.

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<sup>38</sup> Johnston, *The prayer-meeting*, p. 274.

the United States.<sup>39</sup> The Holiness Movement, birthed before the 1857 revivals, played a significant role in those revivals and did so well into the 19th century. Phoebe Palmer, who led the Canadian revivals of 1857 also preached in the British Isles in 1859. The Holiness Movement spread throughout America and into Britain. The Keswick Movement, established in 1875, was a British development of the Holiness Movement. Its stated purpose was to be a 'Convention for the Promotion of Practical Holiness'.<sup>40</sup>

Many of those who preached during the revivals continued to make an impact on the world. Andrew Murray, who preached in the South African revival, became a part of the Keswick Movement. William Booth, who preached in the English revival, founded the Salvation Army in 1878. Dwight L. Moody, who began his preaching career during the American revivals, continued to evangelize throughout the United States, Canada, England, Scotland and Ireland to the end of the 19th century.

## 9. Prayer Revivals of the Past

A call to prayer, as well as ongoing prayer itself, has often preceded numerous occurrences of God-given revival. Robert Evans observes: 'There is one great lesson which the revivals of the past seem to teach us all. It is this, that a spirit of expectation and desire has often preceded a great out-

pouring of the Spirit of God.'<sup>41</sup>

In 1723, Herrnhut was founded where the borders of current day Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic converge. Herrnhut, (German for 'The Watch of the Lord'), provided a haven for outcast evangelical believers to practise their faith unhindered by political impediments. In late August, 1727, 24 men and 24 women of Herrnhut covenanted to maintain an 'hourly intercession' in which prayer would be offered during every hour of the day. They understood their prayers as an offering rising to the Lord on an altar whose fire should not go out.<sup>42</sup> The number of those involved in hourly intercessions grew. These prayers continued for over a century.

Within fifteen years, Herrnhut sent missionaries to North America, Turkey, the Virgin Islands and other sites at a time when Protestant missions had not fully begun. The calm of their missionaries in the midst of a storm during an ocean voyage attracted John Wesley's attention. Their theology and practice were instrumental in changing Wesley into the powerful preacher who ministered to England as a circuit rider for the next fifty years.

## 10. The Call for Revivals in 1857 and in the Present

Prior to the Fulton Street Revival in New York, there were calls for awakening among the Baptist and

<sup>39</sup> Long, *Revival of 1857*, pp. 144-150.

<sup>40</sup> J. Robertson McQuilken, 'The Keswick Perspective' found in *Five Views of Sanctification* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), p. 153.

<sup>41</sup> R. Evans, *Revivals in Australia*.

<sup>42</sup> The Herrnhut community view Leviticus 6:8-13 as a biblical pattern for such round the clock prayer.

Methodist clergy in America. During a revival which occurred in mid 1857, the congregation of Anson Street Presbyterian Church of Charleston, South Carolina prayed for spiritual awakening. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America recorded in the minutes of their 1857 General Assembly:

This longing for revivals we cannot but consider a cheering indication of the noblest life. Next to a state of actual revival is the sense of its need, and the struggle to attain it at any sacrifice of treasure, toil, or time. We trust that the period is not distant, when this state of actual, general, glorious revival shall be ours.<sup>43</sup>

Dr. A. T. Pierson's words apply here: 'There has never been a spiritual awakening in any country or locality that did not begin in united prayer.'<sup>44</sup>

In our time, similar calls to prayer have been issued. In the United States, organizations such as Intercessors for America have been rallying Christians in America to pray for revival as well as providing information about key individuals and events needing prayer. In England, the London Prayer Net <<http://www.londonprayer.net/>> uses the Internet to coordinate round the clock prayer for the city of London. A

third instance is that of the 24/7 Prayer Movement. Its origins in England in 1999 have been chronicled in *Red Moon Rising*. This movement is linked by print literature and the Internet <<http://www.24-7prayer.com/>>. It promotes the development of 24/7 Prayer Rooms with the understanding that 'when thousands of people all over the world spontaneously develop such a longing for God's presence that they will rise in the night and sacrifice food, such a hunger comes from God alone'.<sup>45</sup>

The revivals of the Third Great Awakening as well as other known revivals in church history are more than items for mere historical or theological study. In the late 1850s, those who heard about the revivals did not respond with indifference. They desired that God would grant them the same blessing. As we read these accounts, may our attitudes toward this subject be more than merely historical or theological. He who was God in 1857 is also God in 2007. May we pray that in our time and our nations God would visit us in revival as he did our ancestors of one-hundred fifty years ago. The world has changed dramatically in one-hundred fifty years. The human need to know and relate to God in prayer has not. 'Will you not revive us again, that your people may rejoice in you? Show us your unfailing love, O LORD, and grant us your salvation.'<sup>46</sup>

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43 *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America* (New York: Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, 1857), p. 418.

44 J. Edwin Orr, 'Prayer and Revival' in *Renewal Journal* #1 (Brisbane, Australia: Christian Heritage College, 1993), p.13.

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45 Pete Greig & Dave Roberts, *Red Moon Rising* (Lake Mary, Florida: Relevant Books, 2003), p. 251.

46 Ps. 85:6-7 NIV.

# Contrasting Worldviews in Revival: Ferryden, Scotland, in 1859

David W. Bebbington

**KEYWORDS:** *Fishing industry, Andrew Bonar, Ulster, physical phenomena, visions, Romanticism, Calvinism, New England theology, worldviews*

REVIVALISM, ACCORDING to a jaundiced correspondent of the *Montrose Review* in 1859, was 'a vortex of mad excitement', usually 'the result of mental derangement'.<sup>1</sup> Revivals are often thought to be irrational affairs, hysterical outbursts of unleashed emotion that are devoid of intellectual content. Consequently they are often dismissed by historians as hardly worth examination. Two recent works, however, go a long way towards showing how misconceived are the historical neglect and the disdainful estimate on which it is based. In an examination of the

awakenings of the period 1858-62 in the north-east of Scotland, Ken Jeffrey has shown that revivalism was an internally variegated phenomenon reflecting the work patterns and social structures of different adjacent areas.<sup>2</sup> In a second book Janice Holmes has laid bare how contested were the practices of the Ulster Revival of 1859, with some commentators in Britain as well as Ireland condemning what others approved.<sup>3</sup>

Revivals, it is clear from these accounts, were complicated happenings which sympathetic Evangelicals assessed in different ways. The present study, which is based on a single revival in the village of Ferryden con-

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1 *Montrose Review* [hereafter *MR*], 4 November 1859, p. 6.

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2 K.S. Jeffrey, *When the Lord Walked the Land: The 1858-62 Revival in the North East of Scotland* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002).

3 Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland, 1859-1905* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), chaps 1 and 2.

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temporary with those researched by Jeffrey and Holmes, takes their analysis a step further by exploring the ideas of the people involved in the awakening. It examines the contrasting attitudes of various groups of preachers and converts participating in the events at Ferryden, bringing out their differences of opinion and identifying the roots of their disagreements. It tries to suggest that around a minor episode rival worldviews came into collision. In the microcosm of Ferryden we can witness a clash of some of the cultural forces that competed for the soul of Victorian Britain.

### 1. The Revival at Ferryden

Ferryden is a village near the mouth of the River South Esk facing the port of Montrose on the north bank. The village stands within the parish of Craig and in the county which in the nineteenth century was called Forfarshire but which is now known as Angus, on the east coast of Scotland about half way between Dundee to the south-west and Aberdeen to the north. Like most other coastal settlements in the region, the village had an economy that was based almost entirely on exploiting the North Sea. In 1855 there were sixty-eight boats and 186 fishermen in a village of about 1200 souls, with many of the other men in related work and nearly all the women regularly occupied in baiting lines.<sup>4</sup> The revival there in 1859 made a profound impact on the community, leading, according to a

careful estimate, to some two hundred professions of conversion. A local minister, William Nixon, went round transcribing the experience of twenty-four of the converts from their own lips.<sup>5</sup> Thus, very unusually, we have an insight into the mental world of the converts as well as knowing a good deal about those who preached amongst them. The Ferryden revival is therefore particularly rewarding for careful scrutiny.

It will first be useful to outline the course of events. During October and into November 1859 there was a series of twice weekly evangelistic meetings in the village run by laymen from Montrose.<sup>6</sup> A few individuals, including two of the cases whose testimony was recorded by Nixon, became anxious about their souls and underwent conversion in their own homes.<sup>7</sup> On Wednesday 9 November a gentleman evangelist who was due to preach in Montrose, Hay Macdowall Grant, visited Ferryden and was pressed to hold a meeting.<sup>8</sup> A former West Indies merchant as well as an Aberdeenshire laird, Grant was used to making precise calculations of the spiritual temperature of a place. He was said to have 'computed the influence of the Holy Spirit in fractions'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> P.F. Anson, *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland* (London: J.M. Dent, 1930), p. 269.

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<sup>5</sup> William Nixon, *An Account of the Work of God at Ferryden*, 2nd edn (London, 1860), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> William Mitchell, *Brief but Bright Wilderness Journey* (Montrose, 1860), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Nixon, *Account*, pp. 18, 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Montrose Standard* [hereafter *MS*], 11 November 1859, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Charlotte E. Woods, *Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken* (London, 1928), p. 80.

Recognising that Ferryden was ripe for significant developments, he visited again two days later and returned the following evening to preach, warning the members of the congregation to consider what would be the result of dying that night as unbelievers.<sup>10</sup> While Grant was speaking, five people fell down with prostrations. Crowds thronged to hear another address by Grant on the Sunday evening, and, though there were no prostrations during the sermon, there were more cases at an after meeting for serious enquirers.<sup>11</sup> On the Monday, as a convert recalled, 'all the town was in a stir'.<sup>12</sup> On the Tuesday, the Free Church minister preached in the evening on the wages of sin and the gift of God. One fisherman found himself 'seized with a terrible shake', sank into a semi-comatose state for a quarter of an hour and felt a great gloom before springing up with thankfulness to God for his goodness.<sup>13</sup> On the following evening during a calm address, when, as it was said, there was 'as little to excite as in the ordinary preachings', men and women were 'overwhelmed, crying out, and falling down'.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently there was less public display but there was a continuing series of nightly meetings attended by many professions of conversion. Sightseers flocked to Ferryden, earnest lay evangelists made a beeline for the village and ministers were drafted in from outside to preach

and counsel the anxious. There was scarcely a day without a packed evening meeting down to the end of December.<sup>15</sup> For a few weeks Ferryden was the talk of Scotland.

The spirit of an earlier revival was behind the outburst of 1859. The Free Church of Scotland, which alone was represented in Ferryden, saw itself as the champion of revivals, for Kilsyth, Dundee and elsewhere had been marked by awakenings during the 'Ten Years' Struggle', the period immediately before the Disruption of 1843 when the Free Church was in gestation. In the autumn of 1846, there was a movement in the Free Church of Ferryden itself. Andrew Bonar, the biographer of the earlier revivalist Robert Murray McCheyne and himself an eager participant in awakenings, was summoned to help with counselling the distressed. In September Bonar was aware of thirty who were deeply convicted of sin, and two months later, when he returned to assist the minister conduct a communion, he discovered that some had 'found rest, though most are still tossed with tempests'.<sup>16</sup> One in this category, a young girl who had been deeply swayed but not transformed by the events of 1846, reached that point as a mother in the revival of 1859. The texts and hymns she had learned in the earlier episode returned to her mind thirteen years on.<sup>17</sup> The precedent of the first awakening smoothed the way for the second.

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10 Mrs Gordon, *Hay Macdowall Grant of Armdilly* (London, 1876), p. 135. A, p. 49.

11 *MS*, 18 November 1859, p. 5.

12 Nixon, *Account*, p. 52.

13 Nixon, *Account*, p. 43.

14 Nixon, *Account*, p. 31.

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15 *MS*, 30 December 1859, p. 5.

16 Diary for 20 November 1846, in Marjory Bonar (ed.), *Andrew A. Bonar, D. D.: Diary and Letters* (London, 1893), p. 99.

17 Nixon, *Account*, p. 34.

Revivals elsewhere, however, played an even larger part. In the new village reading room the people found newspaper accounts of the Businessmen's Revival of 1858 in America and then of the powerful Ulster Revival of 1859.<sup>18</sup> On 9 November, the day when Grant arrived in Ferryden, two correspondents of the *Montrose Review* took up their pens to defend revivals against a critic in the newspaper who was at least as convinced as they were that one was coming.<sup>19</sup> Anticipation of revival was in the air. So it is not surprising that the first Ferryden convert interviewed by Nixon explained that her initial experience took place while speaking to her sister about 'what was going on in Ireland'.<sup>20</sup> Crucially, among the Scots who flocked over to witness the scenes in Ulster was the lay secretary of the interdenominational Montrose Home Mission named Mudie and a group of friends from the area. On their return, inspired by what they had seen, Mudie and his party held meetings in Ferryden urging the people to seek salvation and look for revival on the Ulster pattern. The first convert heard an address by Mudie, who also prayed with her. It was Mudie who took Grant on his first visit to Ferryden, forging the link that was to precipitate the first outbreak of religious excitement.<sup>21</sup> There can be no doubt that the Ferryden revival was in large

measure inspired by what had happened in northern Ireland.

## 2. The Fishing Community

The types of people involved in promoting the Ferryden revival were all species of Evangelicals. They can be divided, however, into very different groups, and to their analysis we must now turn. In the first place there were those who were converted among the fisherfolk. The fishing community, conditioned as it was by the life of the sea, generated a distinctive set of attitudes. Some of the most compelling experiences during the awakening took place in the North Sea. One fisherman, while shooting out a baited line, heard beautiful music that was the prelude to an awareness of Christ in the boat.<sup>22</sup> The great waters were also the source of imagery used by fisherfolk to express their experience. A woman, in describing her conversion, felt that her sins were forgiven. 'And', she continued, 'looking out from the window there to the ocean, I saw Him take them all from off me, and cast them into the depths of the sea.'<sup>23</sup> The perils threatening seafarers were a significant factor in fostering a sense of ultimate issues. Six of the converts spoke of their thoughts about death as a precipitant of their change of direction. Apprehensions about the future concentrated on death rather than hell, which, like heaven, was mentioned in only two testimonies. According to the stereotypes of revival, the prevailing preoccupation should have been with

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<sup>18</sup> Nixon, *Account*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> *MR*, 4 November 1859, p. 6; 11 November 1859, p. 6; 18 November 1859, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *MR*, 11 November 1859, p. 4. Mitchell, *Wilderness Journey*, pp. 7, 8, 12. Gordon, *Grant*, p. 135.

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<sup>22</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 54.

the terrors of hell, but in reality the risk of death, so much nearer everyday experience, was much more prominent in the Ferryden mind.

The physical constitution of the village also had its effects. As in most small fishing settlements, the houses were huddled together as close to the sea as possible. Neighbours were inevitably thrown together in a tight-knit community life. Everybody knew everybody else's business so that news flew with amazing rapidity from mouth to mouth. Quarrels might fester, and in fact one of the consequences of the revival was a healing of breaches in the community, something recounted by three of the converts. But a spirit of camaraderie predominated. Inter-marriage within the community was normal, the schoolmaster remarking that it created the potential risk of idiocy.<sup>24</sup> So many individuals shared the same surnames that, as in many fishing places, everybody was known by a nickname: Buckie, Straikey, Tarvet's Davie, Whiten Beckie, Drummer Sawie's Jemima and so on.<sup>25</sup>

The crews enjoyed a strong solidarity forged by common ownership of the boats and shared experience of danger at sea. Consequently it is not surprising that one fisherman who had seen his spouse converted 'spoke continually to my neighbours in the boat about what had happened to my wife'.<sup>26</sup> But female sociability was even stronger. One woman was crying at night, as she

explained, 'till the neighbours heard me' and some of them came in.<sup>27</sup> Most significantly, the report of the conversion of a young married woman in the early hours of Saturday 12 November brought crowds to her home and helped precipitate the revival excitement from that evening. She was, as Nixon justly remarked, 'the most powerful of all the sermons they heard'.<sup>28</sup> In the setting of Ferryden revival was contagious.

The family structure of the village also affected what happened there. Repeatedly converts declared that they had been swayed by relations. A sister followed her brother in finding peace; that sister was followed in turn by her husband. Another two cases were sisters, with both being counselled by their aunt. The commitment of wives to bringing their husbands to Christ shines through some of the narratives. One, knowing her husband was in Montrose, 'said she could walk across the water to tell him, and he must come to Christ'.<sup>29</sup> Women also tried to influence the other members of their families, one mother being 'full of the belief that her children will all be saved'.<sup>30</sup> In the later stages of the revival during December it was principally the young who professed conversion.<sup>31</sup> But the zeal of the women did not mean that they had a monopoly on the unusual phenomena of the revival. Although

24 Andrew Douglas, *History of the Village of Ferryden*, 2nd edn (Montrose, 1857), pp. 25-6.

25 D. H. Edwards, *Among the Fisherfolks of Usan and Ferryden* (Brechin, 1921), p. 8.

26 Nixon, *Account*, p. 29.

27 Nixon, *Account*, p. 34.

28 Nixon, *Account*, p. 16.

29 Nixon, *Account*, p. 34.

30 Nixon, *Account*, p. 35.

31 MS, 9 December 1859, p. 5. BA, 13 December 1859, [p. 3]. Diary for 19 December 1859, in Bonar, *Bonar*, p. 160.



sixteen of the twenty-four cases in Nixon's collection were female, only two of the six prostrations, two of the four visions and one of the four auditory experiences were reported by women. It is possible that this distribution is the result of deliberate editing by Nixon, who might not wish to convey an impression of female hysteria, but it remains true that a majority of the recorded strange experiences belonged to men. Revival was not gender-exclusive; it was more a family concern.

The people of Ferryden displayed another characteristic that is highly relevant to the awakening of 1859. Fisherfolk in general were known for their superstition, but this village was still supposed, well into the twentieth century, to have preserved a particular awe for signs and omens. If fishermen walking to their boat saw a pig or a minister, it was a portent of disaster and they would refuse to put to sea.<sup>32</sup> It is clear that the *mentalité* of the fisherfolk expected physical indications of unseen happenings, often those still to come. Buzzing in the ears was a sign of malicious gossip, itching in the eyes a warning of sorrow and tickling on the feet a premonition of a journey. Physical actions, furthermore, could ward off ill luck. If an inauspicious word such as 'pig' was uttered, it could be remedied by touching cold iron.<sup>33</sup> The physical was an expression of a supernatural world, the two having no sharp boundary. Sometimes Nixon's interviewees showed the influence of this way

of thinking, demonstrating their meaning by gestures. One, in recalling how she rebuked Satan, 'suited the action to the word'.<sup>34</sup> What was called superstition was often a sense of the unity of the world, seen and unseen, and the power of human actions to express its reality.

The everyday assumptions of the fisherfolk inevitably coloured their conversion narratives. What they *felt* took pride of place as an irruption of the supernatural into their lives. The favourite metaphor to convey their experience was acquiring a sense of peace, the word or its equivalent 'rest' occurring in no fewer than fifteen of the twenty-four reports. To 'get peace' was virtually a technical term for conversion. The immediate consequence of undergoing the new birth was often joy (a word that occurs in four reports) or happiness (which is in five). The converts generally testified their joy and happiness, a newspaper noted, in singing, which was both very popular and often admired by strangers in the village.<sup>35</sup>

Another common description of their experience, one reported by eleven of the interviewees, was the sense of a burden weighing them down beforehand but then being carried away. Thus a married woman felt 'dreadfully burdened' but later 'my burden left me'.<sup>36</sup> An observer remarked that many used the word 'heavy'.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps influenced by *Pil-*

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32 Edwards, *Usan and Ferryden*, p. 56.

33 P. F. Anson, *Fisher Folk-Lore* (London: Faith Press, 1965), pp. 47, 38.

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34 Nixon, *Account*, p. 37.

35 *MS*, 25 November 1859, p. 5.

36 Nixon, *Account*, pp. 36, 37.

37 *Brechin Advertiser* [hereafter *BA*], 3 January 1860, [p. 3].

*grim's Progress*, this form of language again indicated the sheer *physicality* of the change of life as it was conceptualised by the people of Ferryden. One husband could not get rest, according to his wife, 'to his soul or body'.<sup>38</sup> The two, everybody took for granted, were intimately connected.

That is the context for what outsiders found the strangest aspect of the Ferryden revival, the physical phenomena. Many converts spoke of bodily symptoms, not being able to eat or sleep, a strong pain rising from the feet to the heart or sins coming up the throat to choke them.<sup>39</sup> Commonest was 'a great shaking', which was sometimes the prelude to being stricken by a full prostration.<sup>40</sup> 'The person "struck"', explained the *Mon-trose Standard*, 'is first seized with violent trembling, accompanied, seemingly, by great bodily and mental agony, in which the body is convulsed, and large drops of perspiration start from every pore, the person affected the while uttering piteous cries for mercy.'<sup>41</sup> There were variations on the theme. One woman 'fell back in a swoon; her pulse appeared to stop, she looked like a thing without life, and she remained in this condition for perhaps five minutes'.<sup>42</sup> A man reported being one of the five or six who at an evening meeting 'went off, one after another, like a shot'.<sup>43</sup>

Such happenings were by no means unique to Ferryden or even to fishing villages, for they had occurred in abundance in Ireland, they took place in roughly half the Scottish revival centres during 1859-60 and in November 1859, at the time of the events in Ferryden, there was an instance in the city of Dundee.<sup>44</sup> But as many as six of the converts told Nixon about a prostration. Their frequency in the early stages of the awakening at Ferryden bears witness to their congruence with the worldview of the inhabitants. At the supreme crisis of life, the physical gave evidence of the spiritual.

Several of the interviewees also spoke of seeing or hearing strange things. There were four each who had visions and unusual auditory experiences. Thus a woman 'told what she saw in heaven'; and a man declared that during a prostration he heard singing.<sup>45</sup> One account, however, stands out for its vivid detail and deserves quotation in full. It is the experience of an old man who fell into a trance for an hour:

I was in a room full of benches, with no chair but the one I occupied. A man came to me with a book in his hand, and a pencil in his mouth, and said three times, Do you believe?...Then five small figures came, the first holding in each hand a large-stalked tumbler, containing what I understood to be

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38 Nixon, *Account*, p. 40.

39 Nixon, *Account*, pp. 18, 31, 53.

40 Nixon, *Account*, p. 41.

41 *MS*, 25 November 1859, p. 5.

42 Nixon, *Account*, p. 33.

43 Nixon, *Account*, p. 44.

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44 H. M. MacGill, On the Present Revival of Religion in Scotland: A paper read at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (London, 1860), pp. 6, 7. *MR*, 25 November 1859, p. 7.

45 Nixon, *Account*, pp. 35, 45.

wine, and offered it to me to drink; then a larger number of persons made their appearance, and I heard them singing, and the singing seemed to be at once loud, and yet at a great distance. The single man who first appeared stood always looking on me; but he spak naething [*sic*] to me, nor I to him, till I was just coming out of the room, when he said, It is all done.<sup>46</sup>

This remarkable account is clearly influenced by Bible knowledge: the single man is reminiscent of the guiding angelic figures in Ezekiel and Revelation; the repeated query recalls the threefold question to the apostle Peter at the end of John's gospel; and the final remark that it is all done is like the cry of Christ from the cross in the same book. But there is also extra-biblical imagery. Perhaps the smaller figures represent elders, one of whom proffers communion wine to the subject of the vision; and the singers may stand for the full congregation. On that reading the convert is being received into the fellowship of the true church by the single individual, Christlike as well as angelic, who possesses something like the Lamb's book of life and a recording pencil. Dreams were held to be significant, often predictive, in fishing communities.<sup>47</sup> Here was one that conveyed the reality of acceptance by the Saviour in profoundly meaningful terms. It formed a further expression of the cosmology of the converts of Ferryden.

### 3. The Radicals

A second group falling under the Evangelical umbrella consisted of the radicals who were specially sympathetic to the excitement among the fisherfolk. They numbered in their ranks Hay Macdowall Grant, the original outside speaker, Mudie, the man who took Grant to Ferryden, and Gordon Forlong, another gentleman evangelist.<sup>48</sup> Forlong, formerly an Aberdeen lawyer and still technically an Episcopalian, was a forthright layman who travelled round Scotland stoking up revival fires. He was already moving towards his eventual allegiance as a leader of the so-called Plymouth Brethren whose work in New Zealand he later pioneered.<sup>49</sup>

Another figure edging towards a Brethren position was Donald Ross, an evangelist who may well have visited Ferryden during the revival. As secretary and superintendent of the North-East Coast Mission, founded in the previous year to evangelise fishing communities from Thurso down to Ferryden, Ross had a measure of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the village. He took great satisfaction in the awakening and probably spoke there.<sup>50</sup> The laymen from Montrose who had witnessed events in Ulster were used to their uninhibited style and so were disinclined to discourage similar happenings in Ferryden. The revival there also attracted eager young men from

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<sup>48</sup> *MR*, 24 February 1860, [p. 4].

<sup>49</sup> Henry Pickering, *Chief Men among the Brethren*, 2nd edn (London, n.d.), pp. 67-9.

<sup>50</sup> C. W. Ross (ed.), *Donald Ross, 1824-1903* (Glasgow, 1987), pp. 37, 92, 124.

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<sup>46</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 46.

<sup>47</sup> Anson, *Fisher Folk-Lore*, p. 47.

Aberdeen, where thronged meetings under another gentleman evangelist, Reginald Radcliffe, had been proceeding earlier in the year.<sup>51</sup> A circle of lay outsiders criticised by more sober Evangelicals as ‘a few crazy enthusiasts’ and ‘ignorant expounders’ was the core of the radical presence in Ferryden.<sup>52</sup>

The true radicals were laymen, but a number of ministers from outside the area adopted a position that was close to theirs. Although these men co-operated closely with the local ministers around Nixon, their stance was discernibly different. Alexander Moody Stuart, of Free St Luke’s, Edinburgh, who was called in to conduct services when Ferryden’s minister collapsed under the strain, was the leader of a pietistic group of Free Church clergy whose members were particularly well disposed towards revival. Moody Stuart had been to Ireland, where he concluded that the physical phenomena were no obstacle to the work of grace.<sup>53</sup> He stayed in Ferryden for just under a week, from Friday 25 November onwards, visiting homes and preaching nightly.<sup>54</sup> The visitor, who believed in pulpit spontaneity, was thought ‘rather eccentric’ and censured in the press for ‘preaching in a manner not calculated to compose the minds of his hearers’.<sup>55</sup> Moody Stuart arranged for a

succession of his intimates to follow him in the Ferryden pulpit during December: James Hood Wilson from Edinburgh, Andrew Bonar from Glasgow and Joseph Wilson from Abernethy near Dundee.<sup>56</sup> Each of them showed affinities for the radical brethren, with Bonar, for example, urging the instant conversion that we are about to encounter.<sup>57</sup> This section of opinion was purveying a different style of spirituality from the usual more rational variety favoured by ministers.

Although, like more moderate Evangelicals, the radicals believed in conversion, their understanding of the experience was different. Their distinctive position was eventually to be crystallised in the motto of the *North-east Intelligencer*, the journal of the organisation that Donald Ross was to found as a successor to the North-East Coast Mission:

Eternal salvation is a free, present, attainable, inalienable, imperishable gift – that is, any man or woman in this world, be he or she the blackest sinner in it, may in one moment be justified for ever from every charge of sin, and may rest as sure of eternal glory as he is certain that in himself he never had deserved, and never will deserve, anything but eternal damnation.<sup>58</sup>

That was deliberately formulated as a manifesto to challenge existing assumptions in Scottish Evangelical

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51 *Reminiscences of the Revival of '59 and the Sixties* (Aberdeen, 1910), pp. 13, 79-81.

52 *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 4.

53 Kenneth Moody Stuart, *Alexander Moody Stuart: A Memoir, partly Autobiographical* (London, 1899), p. 138.

54 *BA*, 29 November 1859, [p. 3].

55 *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 5. *MR*, 2 December 1859, p. 4.

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56 *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 5; 30 December 1859, p. 5. Moody Stuart, *Moody Stuart*, pp. 141, 55, 181.

57 Bonar (ed.), *Bonar*, p. 161.

58 Ross, *Ross*, p. 146.

circles. Conversion, it was generally accepted at the time, is commonly a protracted experience, involving much soul agony. Likewise the general Evangelical view was that assurance of salvation, though desirable, was not an essential requirement before a person could be pronounced a Christian. On both these points the radicals disagreed with the received opinion. Justification, according to Ross's manifesto, could take place 'in one moment'; and a convert could be 'sure of eternal glory'. Instant conversion and full assurance of faith formed the kernel of the 'artificial, hollow, and distempered piety' that, according to a newspaper correspondent, was being spread about by 'ill-informed, unteachable men'.<sup>59</sup>

Behind the specific beliefs of the radicals was a whole cultural ambience. The conviction that it was possible to choose to enter a relationship with God in a moment was a sign of their high estimate of the powers of the will. Again, their strong doctrine of assurance was an indication of their conviction that human beings could be persistently conscious of the divine. The exalting of the will and the insistence on supernatural awareness were both symptoms of the movement of European thought that was known as Romanticism. Although taking its rise around the opening of the nineteenth century in such works as the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, views moulded by Romanticism were steadily diffusing through the religious world during the later years of the century. There was a consistent downgrading of

the powers of reason associated with the preceding Enlightenment and, in its place, a stress on faith and simple obedience. These attitudes were formative of the Brethren movement into which Forlong and Ross were moving.

There was much more tolerance of emotion in circles affected by the new cultural mood, so that the radicals were willing to endorse the excitements of the revival at Ferryden. Romantics, furthermore, typically idealised the common people and their folkways, so that physical phenomena posed few problems for them. Knowing that prostrations were often connected with conversions, radicals had no desire to discourage them. On the contrary, visitors of that school accused those who tried to restrain the physical phenomena of having 'quenched the work of the Spirit'.<sup>60</sup> Moved by presumptions drawn from the latest developments in high culture, the radical Evangelicals identified closely with the happenings shaped by popular culture at Ferryden.

#### 4. The Moderates

The third group of Evangelicals participating in the revival can usefully be called moderates so long as it is appreciated that they had no affinity with the party of that label that had once dominated the Church of Scotland. Those who took a moderate line at Ferryden included in their ranks a large number of clergy. Hugh Mitchell, an amiable bachelor who served as the Free Church minister in the village, was active in counselling converts as well

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59 *MR*, 11 November 1859, p. 6.

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60 Nixon, *Account*, p. 44.

as preaching before he collapsed under the strain after only about a week of revival and was taken away suffering from 'brain fever'.<sup>61</sup> William Nixon, the man who interviewed the converts, had a long-standing interest in Ferryden because he had preached there at the Disruption.<sup>62</sup> As senior Free Church minister in Montrose and, as we shall see, a man of domineering spirit, he naturally took over the co-ordination of ecclesiastical affairs in the village.

Nixon's colleague John Lister, minister of Free St George's, Montrose, joined him in visitation in Ferryden and preached in the village on the first Sunday morning that Mitchell was ill.<sup>63</sup> The other preacher, apart from Nixon, that day was Henry Marshall, the minister of St Peter's English Episcopal Church in Montrose, who did much to encourage the awakening. There was also sufficient involvement in the revival by Robert Mitchell, no relation of Hugh's, a definite Evangelical who had been parish minister of Craig since the Disruption, to induce him to consider issuing a pamphlet about it.<sup>64</sup> But the last two men were exceptional, for the great bulk of the clerical participation was from the Free Church. Other local ministers of the denomination were drafted in to conduct special services: John Bain from Logiepert and Alexander Foote from Brechin.<sup>65</sup> Overwhelmingly the official Christian presence in

the village during the revival was that of the Free Church of Scotland.

The moderate Evangelical position, however, was also upheld by a number of laypeople. A lay missionary named Kerr who had previously served in Ferryden conducted, with others, an evening meeting on 23 November shortly after Hugh Mitchell's departure.<sup>66</sup> Miss Petrie, the infant school before the 1846 revival, once more served in 1859 as a counsellor to anxious souls.<sup>67</sup> She had been responsible in the summer for commencing a regular meeting among the village women to pray for revival.<sup>68</sup> A farmer, a substantial employer, fulfilled a similar function as a male member of the congregation, regarding himself as apart from 'the people'.<sup>69</sup> A man of even higher status, one of the other landlords of Craig named Patrick Arkley, who served as a sheriff-substitute in Edinburgh, also acted as a spiritual adviser. His family residence outside the village was used by visiting preachers during the revival.<sup>70</sup> Three of the people interviewed by Nixon also embraced views similar to his own. One, a married woman who seems to have been more well-to-do than most village inhabitants, is described by Nixon as 'a very satisfactory case'.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 43. BA, 29 November 1859, [p. 3].

<sup>62</sup> Douglas, *Ferryden*, p. 33.

<sup>63</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 35. Mitchell, *Wilderness Journey*, p. 10. MS, 25 November 1859, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> MS, 16 March 1860, p. 5.

<sup>65</sup> MS, 9 December 1859, p. 5.

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<sup>66</sup> MS, 25 November 1859, p. 5. Douglas, *Ferryden*, pp. 55-6.

<sup>67</sup> Douglas, *Ferryden*, p. 22. Thomas Brown, *Annals of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1893), p. 773.

<sup>68</sup> Mitchell, *Wilderness Journey*, p. 7.

<sup>69</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 55. Moody Stuart, *Moody Stuart*, p. 141.

<sup>71</sup> William Nixon, *An Account of the Late Work of God at Ferryden* (London, 1860), p. 2.

Unlike the others in the village, she deprecated experience, 'what I see and feel', as a source of truth.<sup>72</sup> The other two instances, both married women from the fishing community, received Nixon's approbation—paradoxically—because they could not relate any definite conversion, but had simply become 'more decided' in their religion.<sup>73</sup> That frank confession, contrasting with the transports of delight encouraged by the radicals, Nixon found entirely acceptable. So there were people of moderate opinions among the laity and even among the fisherfolk.

### 5. Calvinism

The moderate section of the Evangelical community was still firmly attached to the Calvinism professed by the Free Church. Nixon, who had been taught systematic divinity at Glasgow in the early 1820s by the Evangelical Calvinist Stevenson MacGill, published two years after the revival a very orthodox sermon on *The Doctrine of Election*, expounding Romans 9:11-13.<sup>74</sup> He saw the revival events as a vindication of the doctrine of justification by faith and delightedly reported the converts' affirmation of the perseverance of the saints.<sup>75</sup> Nixon approved of spiritual growth that proceeded gradually rather than taking the form of a sudden leap. The interviewee whom he pronounced a 'very satisfactory case' mentioned that the Spirit had been

working in her since infancy, so that it was 'no new-begun thing with me'.<sup>76</sup> Likewise growth in grace continued after conversion. The farmer, described by Nixon as a man of 'thorough good sense', declared that it was a great mistake to believe, with the radicals, that the work of God was done 'when sinners get into Christ'. 'There is then', pointed out the farmer, 'the warfare to begin, with the flesh, with its lusts, with evil tempers, and lots of things'.<sup>77</sup> The Free Church minister and those who thought like him were champions of the Calvinist inheritance of Scotland.

It is possible, however, to be more precise in defining the theological attitudes that prevailed amongst the moderate majority. In decrying the exaggerated appeal to experience of the radicals, Nixon urged that sinners should be taught not just to love and serve Christ for the comfort that he brought them, but also for '*His own sake*'.<sup>78</sup> Nixon was offering a distant echo of the teaching of the American theologian Samuel Hopkins, who in *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness* (1773) had contended that self-interest, even a desire for personal salvation, must not be the basis of motivation in the regenerate. He went so far as to suggest that penitent sinners should be willing to be damned in order to show that they were truly converted.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 60.

<sup>73</sup> Nixon, *Late Work*, p. 2. A, pp. 37-8, 54-5.

<sup>74</sup> William Nixon, *Autobiographical Notes* (Perth, 1929), p. 8; *Doctrine of Election*.

<sup>75</sup> Nixon, *Account*, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>76</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 58.

<sup>77</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 32.

<sup>78</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 58.

<sup>79</sup> P. D. Jauhiainen, 'Samuel Hopkins', in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), p. 310.

Nixon was indebted to the tradition of New England theology that included Hopkins, though stemming from Jonathan Edwards and including several other distinguished American theologians of the later eighteenth century. This body of thought was at once broadly loyal to the Reformed doctrinal legacy and in harmony with the chief premises of the Enlightenment. It was rational and imbued with the spirit of investigating the world. This was the theological stance of Thomas Chalmers, the prime mover in the foundation of the Free Church of Scotland, who lauded Edwards but thought he had not moved far enough in the direction of inductive method.<sup>80</sup> The colossal stature of Chalmers in the Free Church ensured that his doctrinal position was normative in its earlier years. Amongst other places, Ferryden felt the influence of this enlightened version of Calvinism.

There were several symptoms of the acceptance of Chalmers's doctrinal paradigm. Nixon showed a high estimate of the importance of the mind. New converts, he wrote, began to treat their children 'reasonably'; and his highest praise for members of the Ferryden congregation was that they were 'intelligent'.<sup>81</sup> Again Nixon conducted the investigation of his subjects in a scientific spirit. He possessed the temper of a careful observer, judging only those cases that had come 'under my own notice'.<sup>82</sup> He had once, as a young man, attended Chalmers's *Astronomi-*

*cal Sermons*, a triumphant integration of science into an Evangelical worldview.<sup>83</sup> Hugh Mitchell, Free Church minister in Ferryden, was himself a distinguished amateur geologist, discovering a fossil fish that was named after him and delivering an address to the British Association at Aberdeen on the subject in the very year of the awakening in the village.<sup>84</sup> These were circles in which the harmony of science and religion could safely be assumed, treating as an aberration the case made out by Charles Darwin in the same year that the universe did not need a divine designer. As two letters in the local press avowed, the moderates believed they could proceed by 'induction' and were familiar with 'mental phenomena' in a way that the radicals were not.<sup>85</sup> The intellectual expertise of the Scottish Enlightenment was on their side.

It was this scientific perspective that the moderates brought to their understanding of the revival. They assumed a fundamental antithesis between, on the one hand, the mental and spiritual and, on the other, the tangible and physical, which was altogether on a lower plane. Conversion, said a correspondent of the *Montrose Standard*, was 'an inward and spiritual work' having nothing to do with 'outward manifestations'.<sup>86</sup> The prostrations of the awakening therefore posed a particular problem for them. The fits

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<sup>83</sup> Nixon, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 25.

<sup>84</sup> *A Brief Memorial of the Rev. Hugh Mitchell, M.A., LL.D.* (Aberdeen, 1896), pp. 27-31.

<sup>85</sup> *MR*, 9 December 1859, p. 6. *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 4.

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<sup>80</sup> Nixon, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 46-52.

<sup>81</sup> Nixon, *Account*, pp. 9, 30, 32.

<sup>82</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 22.



afflicting the people of Ferryden seemed to be connected to real conversions and yet they were irreducibly physical. Hugh Mitchell, according to a biographical sketch, took a 'common-sense view' of them, not dismissing the whole movement because of their occurrence.<sup>87</sup> Nixon tended to be more actively critical, holding that in most instances the 'bodily manifestations' had nothing to do with 'the work of the Spirit'.<sup>88</sup> He saw the fits as pathological, freely using the terminology of medical science in discussing his 'cases': they suffered from a 'malady', might have a 'relapse' and were under the influence of 'infection'.<sup>89</sup> He shared the analogy of illness with a critic who on the eve of the awakening censured the entire business of revivalism as an 'epidemic'.<sup>90</sup> For the opponent of revivalism, everything about an awakening was symptomatic of illness, but for Nixon and his friends who wanted to defend what was happening at Ferryden, the great task was to differentiate the spiritual and mental side of events, which was the authentic work of God, from the physical and debased side, which was something else. The result was a dualistic analysis of the revival that contrasted sharply with the monistic conception of the radicals or of the fisherfolk themselves.

## 6. Tensions

The worldviews of the different groups came into collision over a range of con-

nected issues. In the first place, there was tension over prostrations themselves. At the height of the excitement the people of Ferryden were eager to be 'stricken' as a seal of the reality of conversion.<sup>91</sup> Nixon, however, took a strong line with this aspiration. His comment on the desire of one man to be 'struck' as well as for his heart to be changed was tart: 'It would have been more scriptural, and better for him, to have cherished only the last wish of the two.'<sup>92</sup> Secondly there was the related question of visions. When a visiting minister accompanying Nixon round the village heard an account of the elaborate dream of the old man that has already been recounted, the minister 'from his own experience of similar things when his physical frame is disordered, happily showed how little of the supernatural there was in the vision'.<sup>93</sup> This deflating response allocated the vision to the category of the physical and so, on moderate assumptions, immediately distanced it from the supernatural.

In the third place there was disagreement over instant conversion. The people expected that any process of conversion would come to a climax in a felt experience at a particular moment. The moderates accepted that sudden conversion could happen, often encouraging it,<sup>94</sup> but did not regard it as essential. 'Gradually light wore on in my soul', said a man whose experience Nixon approved, 'and still it

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<sup>87</sup> *Brief Memorial*, p. 21.

<sup>88</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 20.

<sup>89</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 22.

<sup>90</sup> *MR*, 4 November 1859, p. 6.

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<sup>91</sup> Nixon, *Account*, pp. 33, 34, 45, 52.

<sup>92</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 45.

<sup>93</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 45.

<sup>94</sup> *Brief Memorial*, p. 18. Bonar (ed.), *Bonar*, p. 161.

increases.<sup>95</sup> It was not always possible, the moderates held, to fix a time when a person passed out of spiritual darkness. And in the fourth place there was conflict over the need for psychological certainty of salvation. The popular quest was for 'peace', a felt sense of assurance. A woman who lacked a sense of peace was on contested ground: her Ferryden friends supposed that, since she had no peace, she was not yet a Christian, but Sheriff Arkley, like Nixon himself, encouraged her to think that she might well be one already.<sup>96</sup> They were adhering to the older Reformed view that assurance was not intrinsic to faith. In each instance of disagreement, the problem, in the eyes of the moderates, was that the ordinary people were being carried away by their demand to possess a concrete awareness, a physical sense, of what they believed.

The fault of the radicals, according to Nixon, was to encourage these village sentiments.<sup>97</sup> The Free Church minister was suspicious of laymen preaching at all. In his early ministry, at Hexham in Northumberland during the early 1830s, on one occasion a prominent attender of his Presbyterian congregation preached at a Congregational church. Nixon was horrified by the breach of church order, rebuked him soundly and the man left.<sup>98</sup> Now in Ferryden similar unauthorised laymen were intruding into the work of the ministry. The resulting tension was exacerbated by the growing feeling

among those such as Forlong and Ross who were moving in the direction of Brethren principles that clergy were, as Ross put it, 'the greatest hindrance in the country to the people's salvation'.<sup>99</sup> Ministers, in his view, were failing to give adequate spiritual guidance and so would better be abolished. Although Nixon minister praised Macdowall Grant as an 'excellent and earnest layman from the north', he very much disapproved of how Grant operated.<sup>100</sup> On the first Saturday of the revival, Grant held a so-called after-meeting, an innovation drawn from Aberdeen services earlier in the year.<sup>101</sup> The scheme was that when a preaching meeting was concluded, those anxious for their souls were invited to stay behind for prayer and counselling. It was at the after-meetings that most prostrations occurred.<sup>102</sup> So tensions over the role of laymen, including even the highly respectable Macdowall Grant, reinforced the ideological differences between moderates and radicals.

The resulting conflict was played out during the events of the revival. After the intense excitement, with many physical fits, of Wednesday 16 November, Nixon determined that it was time to put a stop to them. On Thursday evening he took charge of the evening meeting, and, although there were two further prostrations during his address,<sup>103</sup> he announced

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95 Nixon, *Account*, p. 36.

96 Nixon, *Account*, p. 55.

97 Nixon, *Account*, p. 23.

98 Nixon, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 78-9.

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99 Ross (ed.), *Ross*, p. 39.

100 Nixon, *Account*, p. 15.

101 Gordon, *Grant*, p. 136. [Jane] Radcliffe, *Recollections of Reginald Radcliffe* (London, n.d.), p. 81.

102 *BA*, 22 November 1859, [p. 3].

103 *BA*, 22 November 1859, [p. 3].

that there would be no after-meeting. Yet on both Thursday and Friday some people insisted on remaining to pour out their distress of soul. The three Sunday sermons by different preachers were 'of a soothing nature', and at the evening service Nixon told the congregation there would be no revival service the following evening at all. The radicals were driven to blank resistance. Some 'zealous laymen', with the church closed against them, held a meeting in the infant school instead. In the face of this lay opposition, Nixon reversed his strategy. He decided to take over the evening meetings. On the Tuesday 22 November his Free Church colleague John Lister conducted the service in the infant school, announcing that from the following evening meetings would once more be held in the church. Safe men were put in charge on Wednesday and Thursday evenings.<sup>104</sup> The dampening down worked: over the following week there were no known prostrations.<sup>105</sup>

But then Nixon's scheme suffered another setback. Moody Stuart, the minister from Edinburgh with sympathies for the radical approach, arrived for a week, and his preaching was by no means calming. So Nixon played his master-card: on Monday 28 November he persuaded the Free Church presbytery to appoint him moderator of the session at Ferryden during the illness of the minister.<sup>106</sup> That gave Nixon the formal control he needed. He undertook visitation, arguing down converts

who put stress on fits or visions.<sup>107</sup> The chief risk now, from his point of view, was that fresh disorder would break out at the approaching communion season, a traditional time among Presbyterians for outbursts of revival. He therefore ensured that he himself conducted the opening Fast Day service of the communion season on Thursday 8 December, with a respected and experienced colleague, Alexander Foote, to conduct the Sunday services.<sup>108</sup> There was more excitement during the week than for a while before, but in general it now seemed 'a great work going on quietly'.<sup>109</sup> Nixon had won the tussle for control of events and the radicals were vanquished.

## 7. Conclusion

The Ferryden revival was therefore a complex phenomenon. At one level it was a challenge to the rough culture of the village by the combined forces of Evangelical religion reinforced by the social aspirations of the people. In that sense it was an undoubted success, changing the ways of the village, generating capable lay preachers and leading to a further, though lesser, revival in 1883.<sup>110</sup> But at another level it was a struggle for ascendancy between different sections of Evangelical opinion. It was not simply a rivalry between clergy and laity, for, although the legit-

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<sup>107</sup> Nixon, *Account*, p. 19.

<sup>108</sup> *MS*, 9 December 1859, p. 5.

<sup>109</sup> *BA*, 13 December 1859, [p. 3].

<sup>110</sup> Edwards, *Usan and Ferryden*, pp. 11-18. James Wells, *The Life of James Hood Wilson*, 2nd edn (London, 1905), p. 216.

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<sup>104</sup> *MS*, 25 November 1859, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> *MS*, 2 December 1859, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> *MR*, 2 December 1859, p. 4.

imacy of lay leadership was at issue, laypeople were found in alliance with the assertors of ministerial authority and a set of ministers had sympathies with the advanced revivalists.

Nor was there merely a division between folk religion and official religion, for the collision was between three parties, not two. The fisherfolk, conditioned by seafaring practices and kinship patterns, were inclined to express their religion in tangible ways, expecting the coming of faith to affect their bodies and so to be something felt. The radical Evangelicals from outside the village, untrammelled by institutional and confessional traditions, looked in particular for instant conversion and full assurance of faith. The moderates, by contrast, insisted on a type of Calvinist theology and a scientific understanding of the world. Here were convictions that diverged in their estimate of human nature: for the fisherfolk, human beings were embodied souls; for the radicals, they were essentially volitional and emotional; for the moderates, they were preponderantly rational. For all their shared ground in the fundamentals of theology, the three groups diverged over the nature of anthropology. They embraced outlooks that, although uniformly Evangelical, were strikingly different.

Consequently the awakening in which all three sections of opinion par-

ticipated was a contest of ideas. It was not an incomprehensible bout of frenzied irrationalism, but an intellectual disputation between contrasting points of view. Although the battle was fought out in an obscure backwater, major cultural movements came into collision. At Ferryden there was a competition between popular culture, the incoming Romantic influences of the times and the reigning Enlightenment paradigm. Three of the leading worldviews shaping the religion of Victorian Britain were at odds. The radicals, representing the Romantic spirit, were to enjoy greater success in other fishing villages, leading to the creation of a host of non-Presbyterian congregations along the Moray Firth.<sup>111</sup> In Ferryden, however, the moderates marshalled by Nixon were the victors, ensuring that the currents of vigorous spirituality in the village ran into the institutions of the Free Church. No other denomination established a presence there. Within the village, the Enlightenment beat off the Romantic inroads and disciplined the manners of the people. It may be surmised that, since similar forces were at work throughout the Evangelical world, many other revivals were as ideologically charged as this one. But what is clear is that in 1859 Ferryden was the setting for a clash of cultures.

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111 Jeffrey, *When the Lord*, pp. 224-8.

# Two Australian Spiritual Awakenings: Moonta Mines 1875 and Loddon River 1883

Stuart Piggin

**KEYWORDS:** *Disaster, suffering, revival, revitalisation, Cornwall, Methodism, preaching, capitalism, class, Marxism, Finney*

'THERE HAS NEVER been a religious revival in Australia.' This was the dogma on which I was raised and which reinforced the greater dogma that Australia is the most secular nation on earth. Both dogmas are false. How I came to question the former dogma is curiously related to the Welsh revival of 1904/5 which this number of the *Evangelical Review of Theology* is designed to commemorate.

In the late 1970s I was engaged in research on Australia's biggest peacetime land disaster, the Mt Kembla mine disaster of 31 July 1902.<sup>1</sup> In studying

the period immediately before the disaster in the local press, I was astonished to discover that a very remarkable revival indeed had occurred in the village of Mount Kembla and in the surrounding district just months before the disaster, and 25,000 were added to the church throughout country New South Wales. It was a discovery which set me looking for other local revivals in Australian history, and because of its fateful proximity to the disaster, it also set me speculating on the divine purpose in sending revivals prior to events of considerable human suffering.<sup>2</sup>

But what has all that to do with the Welsh Revival? It was reported in the local press<sup>3</sup> that at the coal mines

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart Piggin and Henry Lee, *The Mount Kembla Disaster* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).

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<sup>2</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Firestorm of the Lord: The History of and Prospects for Revival in the Church and the World* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), pp. 140-147.

<sup>3</sup> *Illawarra Mercury*, 26 February 1902.

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swept by the 1902 revival, swearing disappeared and the pit ponies in the mines stopped work as they could no longer understand their instructions. It would be hard to credit were it not reported in the secular press. The same phenomenon was reported in the Welsh revival,<sup>4</sup> and has become legendary, but it is interesting that it occurred in New South Wales two years before it was reported in old Wales.

It is a little incident that raises questions about just how unique the Welsh Revival was. In a recent article on the Welsh Revival, the author seeks to demythologise it, but, in endorsing Tudur Jones' claim that it was 'the starting point of an immense spiritual movement',<sup>5</sup> he may have failed to demythologise it sufficiently to entertain the possibility that it might have started elsewhere, perhaps on the other side of the world. Even historians intent on demythologisation will not be able to demystify revivals entirely!

In this article, however, I would like to report on earlier revivals in two other Australian colonies, the relatively well-known revival in the copper mining town of Moonta in South Australia in 1875, and the never-before reported revival on the Loddon River, Victoria, in 1883. We will describe what happened, then reflect on what happened, and then draw some lessons to be learned from them.

## Revivals at Moonta and Loddon River

Moonta is on the western coast of the Yorke Peninsula in South Australia. Just over a kilometre from the township of Moonta was the settlement known as Moonta Mines. Eighteen kilometres to the North of Moonta is Wallaroo and eighteen kilometres north-east is Kadina. The population in the triangle bounded by the copper mines at Moonta, Kadina and Wallaroo in the 1880s was about 20,000. Most came from Cornwall in south-west England and the area was known as 'Little Cornwall' and was reputed to be the largest Cornish settlement outside of Cornwall. The mines closed in 1923, but from the early 1860s until then—a period of sixty years—Cornish culture and Cornish religion reigned, and Cornish religion was Methodism: Wesleyan Methodism, Primitive Methodism and Bible Christian—and Cornish Methodism meant frequent revivals, of which that in 1875 was the most remarkable.

Three deaths seem to have been the sparks which ignited the fires of this revival. On 15 March 1875, Hugh Datson, a mine manager or 'captain', was fatally injured in a rock fall at Moonta. He had been brought to saving faith in Christ through the preaching of Matthew Burnett, an evangelist from Yorkshire. Datson had been a model Wesleyan, never failing in his attendance at class meetings and prayer meetings. He would pray to the point of exhaustion for the conversion of sinners. His funeral service was attended 'by gracious evidence of God's saving power',<sup>6</sup> and, for a week after his

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<sup>4</sup> J C Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Pope, 'Demythologising the Evan Roberts Revival, 1904-1905', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 3 (2006), p. 527.

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<sup>6</sup> *Methodist Journal*, 26 March 1875.

funeral, services were held daily in the Wesleyan church and a number of conversions were reported.

Then the action switched to the Bible Christian church at Moonta Mines. On Sunday evening, 4 April, a funeral service was held for Kate Morcombe, a young woman from the Sunday School. In the prayer meeting following the sermon, fifteen souls, affected by the early death of a much loved friend, were won for Christ. Meetings were held daily in the ensuing week and a further 45 were converted. Then on Sunday, 11 April, the evening prayer meeting was accompanied by cries for mercy and much distress and the determination to break the chains of Satan and flee to Christ. Forty more were added to the church. A circus was in town that day, but no one was interested in attending. Much greater excitement was to be found in church. The circus left the next day.

Revival returned to the Wesleyan church the following Sunday, 18 April, when the death of a third person was the focus of the service, and in the ensuing week 90 more claimed to have found forgiveness through Christ. Most of the converts were men and women aged between 16 and 25. In the same week a further 60 came to Christ in other Wesleyan churches in little Cornwall. By Sunday 25 April the river of life was flowing freely, and 'the penitents were seeking salvation from early morning to late at night',<sup>7</sup> and by now the congregation at the Primitive Methodist Church was experiencing the same blessing. By 9 May 198 new members had been added to the Bible Christian

church, doubling its membership.

The revival river was still flowing in Moonta a year later. It flowed through Penang, a farming community nearby, and there several Aboriginal people were saved: 'It was pleasing to see these poor blacks on their knees, and hear them cry for mercy. Black and white all one in Christ... Glory to God.'<sup>8</sup> The number of conversions in all the churches was estimated by the Bible Christians to be 1,250 and by the Wesleyans to be 1,550.

The Loddon River revival in Victoria occupied much of 1883. An unusually full account of this revival among farming communities on the plains north of the gold-mining town of Bendigo has survived and has never been published.<sup>9</sup> The early 1880s had witnessed exceptional growth in rural Victorian Methodism. Revival was endemic. The year 1883 was characterised as 'this year of grace, so memorable for the extensive revivals of religion throughout Victoria'.<sup>10</sup> There was in that year 'a great ingathering of persons to the fold of Christ'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*, January 1876.

<sup>9</sup> C. W. Kentish, *The Story of the Kentish Family in Australia*, unpublished typescript., 1940?. It was written by Cecil Kentish for the benefit of his family. The account is vague on dates as it was written about sixty years after the revival he here describes when Kentish was about 76 years of age. Nevertheless, it preserves, in the best tradition of oral history, accounts of many remarkable and therefore unforgettable incidents.

<sup>10</sup> W. L. Blamires and John B. Smith, *The Early Story of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria* (Melbourne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1886), p. 195.

<sup>11</sup> Blamires, *The Early Story*, p. 195.

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<sup>7</sup> *Methodist Journal*, 30 April 1875.

Ebenezer Taylor, appointed superintendent of the Wesleyan circuit north of Bendigo and west of Echuca on the northern river plains of Victoria, was a deeply spiritual man. He sensed that the area, made up of farmers' families on new selections, was ripe for revival. So he arranged for a mission to be held there. Three farmers—Edward Holloway, a wealthy squatter, Mr Baker, a poor selector, and Walter Kentish, another selector's son—offered to help with the mission. In the event the 1883 mission lasted for a year. There were so many centres to visit (14 permanent centres, each with its own church, and other more temporary centres) and so considerable was the response in each centre, and so great was the conviction of sin from which the convicted sought relief at any time of the day or night, that the three local preachers had to roster themselves—two on duty, one off—in order to get sufficient rest.

They held meetings every night of the week except Saturdays, and the meetings were usually crowded, and the harvest abundant as the people came expecting to meet with God. The three local preachers did not bother to preach for very long before inviting seekers to the penitent bench, which often was so full that they were soon asked to vacate the bench and make room for others. When the meetings were over it was necessary to remove the detritus of the pre-converted life which the penitents left behind: tobacco, playing cards, unsavoury literature and gaudy jewellery. 'They forsook their idols to serve the true and living God', observed the wondering evangelists.

The atmosphere of those meetings is embalmed in the memories of Walter

Kentish's younger brother, Cecil. There was the illiterate convert who was so keen to read his testimony at such a meeting that he learned how to read and write in 'an incredibly short time'. His crudity was only equalled by his effectiveness. In appealing to parents, he said: 'Now, here is the penitent form, it is for you to show an example to your children and come forward. You have seen an old sow going across the paddock to the waterhole and her young ones following, so, mothers, it is for you to set the example'. At this a young boy called out, 'Go on mother', and so she went forward, followed by some of her children. A bullock driver, a bachelor with a reputation for dishonesty, held out for longer than most before surrendering to Christ. When he did, he attended no more meetings, but immediately saddled his horse, and with cheque book and swag, set off on a hundred mile trek to make reparations to those he had exploited financially. A group of five young men, all reputedly over six feet tall, attended a number of meetings, and held each other by the hand so that they would be able to restrain each other from going forward. But the Spirit descended on them all at once, so they all went out together, still holding hands. Remarkable!

The most remarkable of all the conversions in Cecil's experience was of a young woman of about twenty years of age who was the only member of a numerous family to remain undecided. For months, her anxious family took her from one church to another, following the course of the mission, that she might find Christ. After months of searching, the change came in a flash. At the invitation in Cecil's own church



she suddenly jumped to her feet and, when she turned to face the audience from the penitent's seat, her face was shining, like that of Stephen the first martyr, because of the indwelling Holy Spirit. 'Her face was shining like wax and appeared as though there was a light beneath her skin, and rays of light seemed to radiate from her face.' The congregation knew that they were in the presence of eternity, and the silence deepened. Then she raised her arms and cried out, 'I've found the Lord! I've found the Lord!' Joyful tears flooded the church.

Edward Holloway, at the Annual Wesleyan Conference for 1883, speaking of a part of the circuit known as Canary Island, a large part of the district where the Loddon river divides and then rejoins, reported that the cry had gone up 'the whole island for Jesus'.<sup>12</sup> Twice in his account, Kentish insists that practically all the 'non-Christians', the 'unsaved', in the entire circuit were gathered in.

### Reflection

In the 1891 census, 80% of the population of South Australia's little Cornwall identified itself as Methodist. The largest group were the Wesleyans, closely followed by the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians. Between them they had built at least 31 churches in the area. The largest of them, the Wesleyan church at Moonta Mines, which still stands, could seat 1,200. The congregations were not

wealthy. Employment in the mines was episodic, subject to downturns and booms, and, in the low times, the miners struggled to make a subsistence wage.

But there were wealthy Wesleyans, those who had learned well from John Wesley how to make the best of both worlds, and who heeded his advice not only to make all they could and save all they could, but also to give all they could. The best-known of the Wesleyan plutocrats was Henry Richard (Captain) Hancock. Throughout the week he was the superintendent of both the Moonta and Wallaroo mines. On Sundays he was the superintendent of the Sunday School which, for thirty years, with over 600 members, was the largest in the colony. The Wesleyans to their credit allowed gifted laymen to exercise their gifts in the organisation of the church.

Captain Hancock was gifted in leadership. He once called the entire mining community together—about 1500 of them—and shared with them that the mine was in peril because of a downturn in trade. Expecting to hear the bad news of numerous retrenchments, they heard him instead outline his visionary plans for expansion and putting on more staff so that new ore bodies could be opened up which would lower the average cost of production and therefore make their product more saleable. They were aware that their destiny was in his hands and they knew how to defer to him. When Captain Hancock and his family entered the church, it is said that the congregation stood out of respect. The managers under Hancock, also known as captains, a title going back to Elizabethan days, wore coat tails to chapel

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<sup>12</sup> Robert Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia, 1880-1914* (Hazelbrook: Research in Evangelical Revivals, 2005), p. 136.

and took up the collection. Methodism, as E. P. Thompson, the Marxist historian, observed, was the religion of both the exploiter and the exploited.

But this is too solemn a judgement arising from the Marxist conviction that there is no greater or more pervasive sin than social control. In practice, the controllers were not allowed to be out of control in their control of the controlled! Both controllers and the controlled were under the control of Jesus. They were Methodists, and the Captain of their salvation was superior in rank to Captain Hancock, whose humble subjects, even if they attended 'the boss's chapel', the Wesleyan church at Moonta Mines, would not let him minister to them in areas for which he was not gifted. Captain Hancock's attempts at preaching were not acceptable to them because he could not preach extempore sermons. His habit of writing out his sermons beforehand and reading them was dismissed as 'Not fitty!'

Cornish Methodism was the most emotional expression of evangelicalism in Australia probably because it had to be. The life of a miner was always at risk through danger of accidents and the slow death of inhaled dust. It was also hard and tedious work. Methodism offered dramatic relief with the wholehearted singing of its choirs and congregations and the fervent oratory of its preachers. It offered fun and laughter: church services were not dour affairs, and preachers, who were expected to preach for fifty minutes without notes, did not have to be educated, but they had to be enthusiastic and entertaining. Their gaffs were forgiven, but not forgotten. 'Let us not forget the words of the good

old Book,' one of them declaimed. 'Hingland expects that every man will do his dooty.' James Jeffrey, for forty years a Wesleyan local preacher of Cornish quaintness, gave the Lord this interesting challenge at Moonta: 'We thank thee, Lord, for what little spark o' grace we do possess; oh, water that spark!'<sup>13</sup>

Cornish Methodism offered solace and mutual support in times of death and suffering. It also offered a way of dealing with the conflicts between masters and miners through nerving the men to stand up for their rights during times of industrial disputation. In 1874, the year before the great Moonta revival, the miners went on strike and then formed the Moonta Miners Association. The leaders of this trade union were Methodist local preachers. They were not Marxist revolutionaries. They wanted social justice without socialism. Their Methodism was displayed by their call for prohibition and by their holding a service of thanksgiving at the end of the strike. The Union president was Dicky Hooper, a Wesleyan local preacher, who in 1891 was elected to the House of Assembly to represent Wallaroo.

The most celebrated of little Cornwall's Methodist politicians was 'Honest John' Verran. He was a Primitive Methodist local preacher with a reputation for charismatic oratory. He was elected to parliament in 1901 and was Labor Premier of South Australia from 1910 to 1912. On becoming premier, he travelled to Moonta, and to a crowd of 2000 he gave credit where it was due

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13 O. Pryor, *Australia's Little Cornwall* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1962), p. 170.

by announcing that he was an MP because he was a PM (Primitive Methodist). From all parts of the crowd came cries of 'Amen' and 'Glory'.<sup>14</sup>

Revivals are easily criticised. They are too emotional, it is said, and their converts do not stick. They are unreliable ways of growing churches since they cause membership to fluctuate wildly. They are chiefly a means for strengthening Christians, not for converting the unchurched. Revivals did grow churches more by strengthening members than by adding to their number. There were two classes of chapel goers: professors and adherents. Revivals, more than anything, promoted adherents to professors. That was not without value. Those who were converted from within the church tended to stick. It was the unchurched who happened to find themselves caught up in revivals who tended to fall away. It was of the former that John Verran observed: 'Some come back for a coat of whitewash every time a revival broke out, but in the great majority of cases the change was permanent.'<sup>15</sup>

Revival was not required, either, to translate the district from a sink of iniquity to a holy community. It was already holy in the conventional sense. It was no place to make a fortune as a hotelier as the majority of the population were teetotallers. A temperance demonstration on New Year's Day 1873 started with 700 supporters and ended with a thousand. True, the sport of kangaroo and wombat hunting

sometimes extended over Saturday night and trespassed on the Sabbath, but this was widely held to be a violation of God's law before revival reinforced the conviction.

The fact that the 1875 Moonta revival was sparked by three deaths suggests that the real value of revivals must be looked for in terms of their power to make sense of human extremity. Revivalistic Cornish Methodism was ideally adapted to helping mining populations to cope with the challenges of hard labour, economic stringency, danger, suffering, and death. In the hothouse of revival strong communities were forged with a surprisingly rich culture in spite of isolation. The strength of these communities may be attributed to the shared experience of religious intimacy. Jesus had visited and cleansed each soul personally and tangibly, the Holy Spirit was the greatest power in a world where powerlessness and vulnerability were too often felt, and God's will was sovereign over the powers of darkness and death. The shared experience of a palpable God was celebrated in exuberant community hymn singing and in fervent prayer in capacious chapels or in the even more capacious open air.

With the closing of the mines in November 1923 following the boom years produced by the demand for copper in the First World War, the population of the district evaporated, and so did the conditions which made this style of Methodism so successful. In other places and other times in other conditions, evangelical Christianity had to turn itself into something else to win the hearts and commitment of the community in which it was placed. But it rarely did it as effectively as the

<sup>14</sup> Pryor, *Australia's Little Cornwall*, p. 130.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Pryor, *Australia's Little Cornwall*, p. 107.

revival-minded Methodists of little Cornwall had done in the six decades from 1862.

Concerning the Loddon River revival, gold fever had abated by 1883, but the gold rushes were displaced by the land rushes. Up until then, settlement had been limited to Melbourne, some coastal centres, and the gold districts. But there was such pressure brought on these centres by population growth that the cry went up to unlock the land. Large areas of land in different parts of Victoria were made available for free selection under the 1869 Land Act. The Wesleyan Methodists, habituated to taking advantage of every new opportunity, formed home missions to allow their work to expand with the population. In 1875 the Home Mission reported to the Annual Conference:

We have an opportunity of doing a blessed work among the thousands who are selecting land in almost every part of the country.... From Kerang, on the north Loddon, through the Terricks to Echuca, a distance of about 60 miles, all the land is taken up by free selectors.<sup>16</sup>

This area is around the Loddon River and its tributaries, and I have therefore called this the Loddon River awakening. In the early 1870s many hundreds of selectors, took advantage of the new land laws to settle on 320 acre-blocks on well-watered land ideal for wheat growing. The Wesleyans appointed in 1875 a missionary, John

Clarkson, to organise ministry to the settlers. He was ideal for the job. He was tall and strong and, best of all, experienced in things of the bush. Among his greatest supporters was George Holloway, a wealthy squatter who did not oppose the advent of the selectors. He rather welcomed them and did all he could to support the Methodist cause. It also helped that many of the selectors also in the district were good Methodists: the Kentishes, Woods, Midgleys, Neales, 'and many others'.<sup>17</sup>

Only then did the work settle down into 'the usual order'. Why did the blessing not continue? wondered Kentish. Some years later the class meetings were abolished, and he believed this was a retrograde step and was sure that the majority of the Methodist people agreed with him. No longer were the Methodist people under the responsibility of witnessing to their faith, and the luke-warm were no longer challenged to move from being adherents to professors.

### Lessons

One of the perennial issues which historians and theologians of revival love to debate is the extent to which they may be produced by human means. The Calvinists, led incomparably in their thinking by Jonathan Edwards, thought of revivals as always 'surprising works' of a sovereign God. It was a belief still strong in the Welsh Revival, and Eifion Evans enthused over its supernatural character: 'In its origins there so much of God's presence, in its

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<sup>16</sup> Irving Benson, *A Century of Victorian Methodism* (Melbourne: Spectator Publishing Co, 1935), p. 172.

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<sup>17</sup> Blamires, *The Early Story*, p. 246.

extension so little of man's design; its effects were so evidently supernatural, its fruits so patently holy, that none could reasonably deny its divine source.<sup>18</sup>

But by the time of the Welsh Revival, for many Charles Finney had long displaced this understanding by a more mechanical one, the product of the use of the appointed means. By the time of the Moonta and Loddon River revivals the Methodists believed that they knew what was involved in producing revivals, and in their zeal for souls, they were faithful in acting out their belief. They were in the vanguard of evangelical Christians in colonial Australia and exploited opportunities vigorously. They realised that social and demographic changes are most positively approached if viewed as providential, that they are always opportunities for strategic ministry. Gold and Land Acts in Victoria, and copper mining in South Australia, were opportunities for ministry to be exploited immediately, energetically and strategically.

Their revival strategy was to send in the shock troops first as soon as the propitious opportunity was identified. Methodist local preachers—'brave hearts and tender spirits'—started to evangelise in new areas very soon after they were opened up. Then ministers were sent in to co-ordinate the work, but they still worked with the local preachers and the committed, experienced lay men and women, trained for

evangelism and schooled in prayer in the Methodist class meetings. So the church became a large army of revival troops, headed by well-trained generals and experienced captains. Revivals come, Methodists demonstrated, when a significant proportion of the church membership expect them and work for them. Or to change the metaphor, to quote a Methodist historian reporting on a notable revival on the Victorian goldfields in 1866/7, the 'harvestmen, clerical and lay, rejoiced to gather in the sheaves'.<sup>19</sup>

Another lesson we learn from these two revivals is that while revivals are caught rather than taught, theological orientation may not be irrelevant. Methodists of the second half of the nineteenth century believed in the sufficiency of Christ's grace, and the universality of his atonement for human sin, to hold out the offer of life to the most unlikely. Each person is looked on as the blood-bought property of Jesus, and is embraced in the promise of pardon, even if he or she has given the prime of life to Mammon, and has left only the poor dregs of life to give to God.<sup>20</sup> Methodists never gave up on anyone because they were utterly convinced that Christ had died for everyone.

The theology which is consistent with revival sets no limits on the power of the Spirit or the breadth of the gospel, and it is a theology which is felt viscerally as well as believed in the mind. To touch the hearts and move the will of those whose lives are hard,

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<sup>18</sup> Eifion Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Bridgend: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1989), p. 199.

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<sup>19</sup> Blamires, *The Early Story*, p. 185.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, *The Early Story*, p. 182.

impoverished, or dangerous, felt experience and emotion are necessary. Souls in extremity, souls under stress, need dramatic relief which is provided by wholehearted singing and the fervent oratory of preachers who are on fire. And, contrary to the advice of the great preacher, Martyn Lloyd Jones, jokes are in. Weary folk need fun and laughter. Church services must not be boring. Genuine support in times of death and suffering will be offered by any church on the road to revival.

The sort of faith which begat these revivals bridged the divisions created by capitalism. The wealthy, the bosses, the people of influence in the community, shared the same faith as the workers, the employees and the needy. Revivals lift the eyes of all above the class struggle to see the reality which is more real than materialism. They make people happier than materialism and pleasure can, because they give engagement (deep fellowship) and meaning (living to please Jesus and glorify God).

The historic irony of revivals, which like all irony is difficult to grasp, is that revivals normally come to people who are aware that they are in some form of extreme need, yet they come from:

- churches which are not cold dead, but which are near boiling point,
- church members rather than from those outside the church,
- churches which are alongside other churches which have caught fire,
- within communities which care a lot about morality and standards, that is from holy communities rather than unholy ones.

Such churches and communities create the cultural plausibility in which revival fires can be ignited and take

hold and the infrastructure and support to maintain those who have been converted. It seems incredible to us today that there could be whole geographical districts where all the unsaved are brought into the Kingdom, but in the Loddon Valley of Victoria this became plausible to those with the eye of faith and the evidence coming from experience of the power of God.

The Moonta and Loddon revivals well illustrate the proposition that precisely because revivals meet the deepest needs and are responses to stress and suffering, they usually pass when the need and the stress pass. They cease when the social and cultural conditions which made them so beneficial also cease.

### Revitalisation

The two revivals here studied do illustrate well the theory advanced fifty years ago by anthropologist, Anthony F. C. Wallace, that revivals are good examples of 'revitalisation movements'. Such movements can have political or economic motivations, as well as religious. Politically the New Left was such a movement in the early 70s or the environmental movement a decade later. Why such movements capture the hearts and minds of significant numbers of people is that they address some widespread anxiety in the community. Wallace contended that all 'revitalisation movements'<sup>21</sup> go

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<sup>21</sup> Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements", *American Anthropologist* April 1956. This article has been republished repeatedly in anthologies on the anthropology of religion.

through a process. Of necessity, processes have a beginning and an ending. It is not surprising that revivals cease. The process is fivefold:

1. The community is in a steady state. Looking back on this, the revived regard this as deadness.
2. There is a period of increased individual stress. Revivals often begin with individuals.
3. There is a period of cultural distortion—the community is generally disrupted. Accounts of Revivals often report that whole communities become distressed and concerned about the things of another world.
4. There then comes the period of Revitalisation. Wallace argues that this involves:
  - (a) 'Mazeway reformulation', that is the development of new world views, new mental models of the world around them—in a revival this is a new theological insight into what matters to God;
  - (b) communication—here's where powerful preaching kicks in—so often preaching seems to follow from rather than initiate revival;
  - (c) organisation—the facilitating structures for the revival, eg. the nightly meetings, the penitents bench
  - (d) adaptation—going with the flow of the river of the Spirit; accepting new ways and the legitimacy of the role of emotion
  - (e) cultural transformation—revived churches are never the same as they were
  - (f) routinisation—Wesley's class

meetings, the channels for maintaining as much of the flood tide as possible.

5. A new steady state. 'the usual order' as Cecil Kentish described the Loddon valley after the revival.

So, our two revivals help us to answer another question which interests all students of revival: Why do revivals come to an end? What is the best one can hope for after a revival? That there will be no 'after'—that it will just go on? No. One cannot reasonably expect ongoing revival. It is an achievement to attain a steady state again. Revival is God's way of bringing stability again to a disrupted community. The challenge, and this is the best that you can hope for, is that this steady state will be a new steady state, and that the newness will reflect more of the values of the Kingdom of God.

The Methodists had the opportunity to deliver such to the lasting benefit of Australia in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. They started well. Their revivals brought harmony and progress to mining and rural communities alike, and to the cities they gave that strong instrument for the relief of the sufferings of the inner-city poor, namely the Central Methodist Missions. They initiated a labour movement which created and manned labour unions and labour parties. But they lost the initiative in the withering fire of class conflict when they retreated to middle-class respectability, and then World War, when they identified the glory of dying for one's country with the glory of God and the death of each young man as an expression of that greater love which put Christ on the cross.

# The Theology of Trans-Atlantic Evangelicalism and Its Impact on The East African Revival

Emmanuel Hooper

**KEYWORDS:** *Keswick, hymns, Cambridge, Scofield Reference Bible, confession, testimony, repentance, assurance*

THE EAST AFRICAN Revival occurred in the context of the religious, political and colonial history of the area, and has major religious and socio-political significance for the expansion of Protestantism. It was notably the longest revival in African history, spanning three generations. The three main phases of the Revival movement were as follows: Phase 1: 1930-1940s, Phase 2: 1950-1960s and Phase 3: 1970-1980s.

The Revival began in Rwanda (Ruanda)<sup>1</sup> in the early 1930s as a

movement of renewal, and was characterised by confession, repentance and reconciliation among the local people and the missionaries. Among the main figures in the movement was Dr. John Edward Church, a graduate of Cambridge and a medical missionary, and his medical colleagues of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).<sup>2</sup>

The revival contributed towards the settlement of disputes and misunderstandings, both religious and socio-cultural, among missionaries and African Christians and the wider society. The circle of the participants included members of the Rwanda Mission (CMS), other CMS missionaries and some Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists who were sympathetic to the movement. In due course, more

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1 Historically the country was called 'Ruanda' but currently it is known as 'Rwanda'; the latter is used in this paper except in verbatim quotes and footnotes.

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2 Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1981), pp. 54ff.

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evangelical Christians shared in the movement for holiness, integrity, righteousness and a deeper Spirit-filled life. Although, to some extent, the Revival movement was initially, viewed with suspicion by some leaders of the churches such as the AIC (AIM) and the Anglican churches, many participated later in the movement. The movement gained more support from evangelicals who strove for holiness, and the eradication of corruption, bribery and rivalry among even the religious communities.

## 1. Contribution of Keswick Theology

An analysis of the theology of the East African Revival movement provides perspectives into its origins which can be found in the British Keswick theology.<sup>3</sup> A closer examination of the theological origins of the revival movement reveals various significant aspects of the movement.

First, there is a need for an analysis of the theological origins of the 'Balokole'—'saved ones'. The popular definition of the movement has been the term, 'balokole', commonly defined in all major literature<sup>4</sup> as the 'saved

ones'. In fact, the original meaning of the word, 'balokole' in Luganda language, was the 'shining ones', not the 'saved ones'.<sup>5</sup> The root word, *balokole* is defined in the Luganda language in terms of *amulokole*—singular for the 'shining one', and *abalokole*—plural for the 'shining ones'.<sup>6</sup>

A second major point to clarify is that the Revival brethren did not call themselves the 'balokole'. They were referred to as the 'balokole', which implied the 'shining ones', by their neighbours and members of the community, who observed them and witnessed the changes in their lives. Thus the term originated from their external observers, and was not the choice of the leaders of the Balokole movement.<sup>7</sup> The medical missionary, Dr. Robin Church stated:

They did not say we are the shining ones. It was others who said, 'Look there are the shining ones.' It was like when 'the disciples were first called, "Christians" in Antioch.'<sup>8</sup> Their neighbours saw their whole lives. They knew who they were, and they saw that their lives were

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<sup>3</sup> It is critical to understand the theological influence of British evangelicalism. See Kamuri, K'Patrick. G.. 'Repentance: The Theological and Historical Significance of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda', MPhil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996. There was a significant contribution from British Keswick evangelical theology to Protestantism and evangelicalism East Africa.

<sup>4</sup> Kamuri, 'Repentance: Theological and Historical Significance of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda', pp. 32-62.

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<sup>5</sup> Interviews with Dr. Robin Church, at Henry Martyn Centre Seminar, Cambridge University on 6 February 2003, and at his home in Cambridge on 20 February 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Interviews with Kenyan informants, including Dr. Chris Rutto, Birmingham, 5 May 2003 and Gloucester, 17 June 2003; and Dr. Jonathan Gichaara, Birmingham, 4 and 5 May 2003; Interview with Dr. Robin Church at his home in Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> See Acts 11:26; Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

changed... they did not start out by saying, 'let us have a theology'. They experienced revival... It was out of their experience of revival, that they started sharing their experiences of Christ and what he had done for them in saving them... The Americans came and asked my father (Joe Church), 'Give us the formula for revival; What is the formula?' But there was no formula. The Africans did not say, 'let us have a revival'. They experienced revival.<sup>9</sup>

The revival movement was largely among non-clericals, and their theological views emerged out of their experiences of revival. Thus the Revival theology could be considered as practical theology—a theology based on practice, instead of a theoretical theology, based on abstract theological formulations. Adrian Hastings observed the non-clerical nature of the adherents of the revival movement:

The most considerable and best-known area of independent initiative within the mission churches was that of the 'Revival in Eastern Africa, the Balokole...' Instead of it being a short, sharp renewal of religious commitment engineered as so often in Europe and America—by famous preachers, the East African Revival developed as an essentially lay community of prayer and fellowship; while it did indeed draw on mass conventions and

passing preachers and included clergy in its ranks, it remained a very unclericalised movement.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the revival being largely a lay movement, it was also for the most part, spontaneous. Hastings' use of the terms, 'short, sharp religious commitment engineered' needs qualification, since religious commitments could not be necessarily be described as 'engineered' by famous preachers in Europe and North America.<sup>11</sup> Although famous evangelists such as D. L. Moody were catalysts in revivals, he could not have 'engineered' the revival at Cambridge, during his visit that resulted in the missionary commitments of the 'Cambridge Seven', which were long lasting in the missionary enterprise.<sup>12</sup> This is due to the two-stage process of the 'revival'—an initial *awakening* to life, marked by confession of sin and repentance and salvation; and the subsequent stage of long-term *transformation* of moral life and social outreach, which may be viewed as an institutionalised way of

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003, Interview remarks on 'The Theology of the Revival.'

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<sup>10</sup> Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 1986), pp. 52-53.

<sup>11</sup> See detailed studies on the Great Awakenings such as the 1858 Awakening in America and Europe, which were largely lay prayer movements.

<sup>12</sup> John Charles Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (London: Marshalls, 1953), pp. 5-90.

life.<sup>13</sup> Hastings' point that the Revival ministry was based on teamwork within a 'lay community of prayer and fellowship' is valid. This contrasts with the focus on well-known evangelists in the West.

Another major definition which needs clarification is that the 'revived' Christians were 'known as the *Abaka*'—the 'on-fire' ones.<sup>14</sup> This distinguished them from those who considered themselves to be Christians but did not experience revival.<sup>15</sup> This implied that the revived believers' theological view was that if one was not seen to be 'on-fire' with the same zeal as theirs, then one's Christian experience was to be challenged. Henry Osborn, a missionary observant of the revival stated:

There were, among the *Abaka*,

some who were seen to be aggressively harsh to all who did not see things their way. They had been privileged to 'see the light' of what was sin and to know the forgiveness which God gives through the Cross. They felt very sensitive to what they saw as 'sin' in the lives of others. They challenged this, often with little grace. In the other group were those who considered themselves to be Christians, but did not accept or experience revival.<sup>16</sup>

The distinctives of 'seeing the light', 'shining ones', and 'walking in the light', were clear theological emphases, which resulted in the practice of questioning others on the validity of their Christian experience. Joe Church and Lawrence Barham resolved to defuse the tensions through 'a combination of Biblical Truth and personal experience of ministry in Revival'.<sup>17</sup> Osborn made the following observations on the conference at the Rwanda Mission's headquarters in Buye, Burundi, in 1939:

The form of expression of 'inner revival' in any individual depends on personality as well as on obedience to the truth revealed. Grace in relationships is as essential as maintaining Biblical truth. The two founders of the Ruanda Mission—both present—commented on this conference: Dr. Leonard Sharp, 'We all felt deeply thankful to God for bringing us to a new unity,' and Dr. Algje Stanley Smith, 'We never

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13 This is the view of RFB based in part, on the Keswick holiness movement at Cambridge. See Reports in Revival Brethren Publications, Joe E. Church, ed., 'Front Line News', 2 November 1944, pp. 1-10, in archival Files of Lee Papers, Lee 4/1, Cambridge University, Martyn Henry Centre; Osborn, Herbert Henry. *Pioneers in the East African Revival* (Winchester, Hampshire: Apologia Publications, 2000), pp. 150-170; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110ff.; Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 150-170; Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25.

14 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175; Bill Butler, *Hill Ablaze: Bill Butler one of the Team at the Heart of the East African Revival* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), pp. 9-10.

15 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175; Herbert Henry Osborn, *Revival: A Precious Heritage* (Winchester, Hampshire: Apologia Publications, 1995), pp. 7-129.

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16 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175.

17 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175.

want to go back to the old complacency.<sup>18</sup>

While the Rwanda Mission founders were aiming to avoid schisms based on theological differences or emphases, they were equally determined not to return to the 'old complacency' of 'nominalism'. Osborn's observation on 'personality' and 'grace in relationships' appears to under-estimate the significance in the perspectives of the African revived, 'shining' and 'on-fire' ones who saw the reserved 'personality' of the British missionaries as a form of pride which needed to be addressed and dealt with theologically. The theology of the revived Africans was based on the exposition of sin, and its open confession and discard. In this regard, they considered that 'grace in relationships' or the reserved 'personality' could be a means for covering up one's real reluctance to deal with sin and experience revival. The director of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (B.C.M.S.), Rev. J. Roger Bowen, a graduate of Oxford, and a missionary in Kenya and Tanzania, during the revival, made the following observation: 'The British are known to be reserved—they are Anglo-Saxon, I am Celtic, Welsh... The Africans express themselves differently... You could not transport the revival (expressions) to England.'<sup>19</sup> This demonstrates the role of culture, such as

spontaneous expression in the Revival.

## 2. Origins and Significance of 'Tukutendereza'

The significant contribution from the Revival under George Pilkington's ministry in 1893 in Uganda was the introduction of Western hymns including Wesleyan and Anglican hymns.<sup>20</sup> The following is the Revival Fellowship Brethren's (RFB) version of the Revival Chorus: *Tukutendereza Yesu*

Luganda:

Tukutendereza Yesu  
Yesu Omwana gw'endiga  
Omusaigwo gunaziza  
Nkwebaza, Omulokozi

English:

We praise you Jesus,  
Jesus Lamb of God  
Your Blood cleanses me,  
I Praise you, Saviour.

The Original Hymn in English:<sup>21</sup>

Precious Saviour, Thou hast saved me;  
Thine, and only Thine, I am;  
Oh, the cleansing blood has reached me!  
Glory, Glory to the Lamb!

<sup>20</sup> Interviews with Robin Church, 20 February 2003; J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003; Robin Church, 20 February 2003; and Rev. Richard Bewes, 2 March 2003. See Children's Special Services Mission (CSSM) *Chorus Hymnal Book 1* (London: CSSM, 1920).

<sup>21</sup> See Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25; Church, *Quest for The Highest*, p. 271. The original hymn in English was written by L. M. Rouse, with music by D. Boole and reproduced in the Keswick Hymn Book as the 'Cleansing Blood'.

<sup>18</sup> Charles F. Harford Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda* (London: Marshall Bros., 1898), pp. 220-225; Osborn, *Revival*, p. 175; Herbert Henry Osborn, *Pioneers in The East Africa Revival*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

*Glory, Glory Hallelujah!*  
*Glory, Glory to the Lamb!*  
*Oh, the cleansing blood has reached me!*  
*Glory, Glory to the Lamb!*

Long my yearning heart was striving  
 To obtain this precious rest;  
 But, when all my struggles ended,  
 Simply trusting I was blessed.

Trusting, trusting every moment;  
 Feeling now the blood applied,  
 Lying in the cleansing fountain,  
 Dwelling in my Saviour's side.

Consecrated to Thy Service,  
 I will live and die to Thee;  
 I will witness to Thy Glory;  
 Of Salvation, full and free.

Yes, I will stand up for Jesus,  
 He has sweetly saved my soul,  
 Cleansed my soul from sin's corruption,  
 Sanctified, and made me whole.

Glory to the Lord who bought me,  
 Glory for His saving power;  
 Glory to the Lord who keeps me,  
 Glory, Glory evermore!

The Revival hymn is a local adaptation of the original hymn in English. The local version, which became a popular hymn for the RFB, emphasized 'cleansing' for forgiveness, and 'praise' for gratefulness. The origins of the hymn 'Tukutendereza Yesu' can be traced to the hymn used by D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey<sup>22</sup> who held a mission at Cambridge University in the fall of

1882.<sup>23</sup> Bowen stated:

There were lots of songs... "Tukutendereza". It was an American song, it was a Sankey and Moody song, which spoke about being cleansed by the Blood of the Lamb. But everyone in East Africa sang it in Luganda, and the word, "Tukutendereza" is Luganda. They didn't even bother to translate it, they knew what it meant... All about the Blood of the Lamb, it's about being washed in the Blood of the Lamb.<sup>24</sup>

The hymn was also published by the Children's Special Services Mission (CSSM), and was used to influence Cambridge students during the summer camps.<sup>25</sup> Rev. Richard Bewes stated, 'I was born into revival', as he sung the hymn, 'Tukutendereza Yesu'

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<sup>23</sup> See the impact of the visit of Dwight L. Moody to Cambridge, and especially its influence on the CICCU, in John Charles Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement: A History of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 20-210. John Charles Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven*, pp. 5-90.

<sup>24</sup> Interviews with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

<sup>25</sup> See also, CSSM *Chorus Hymnal Book 1*; Joe Church's conversion was through the influence of a similar CSSM hymn at their summer mission in Whitby, on 29 August 1920: 'Cleanse me from my sin, Lord, put Thy Power within Lord, take me as I am, Lord, and make me all Thine own. Keep me day by day, Lord, underneath Thy sway, Lord, make my heart Thy palace and Thy royal Throne.' Katharine Makower, *The Coming of the Rain. The Life of Dr Joe Church: A Personal Account Revival in Rwanda* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), p. 25; Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 55.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

in Luganda.<sup>26</sup> Almost all missionaries interviewed who went to Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya or Tanzania, as well as Revivalists from these countries, sang the 'Tukutendereza Yesu' hymn in the Luganda language. This demonstrates the widespread unifying influence of the revival hymn. Robin Church stated that the Christians who remembered the words of this hymn, which Pilkington taught them during the revival of 1893, were grateful for its adaptation in the vernacular into 'Tukutendereza Yesu.'<sup>27</sup> A similar hymn, which influenced the revival movement was, 'Behold The Lamb', by Charles Wesley.<sup>28</sup> Adrian Hastings observed the influence of Tukutendereza:

The movement had begun in Ruanda in the 1930s and spread waves, first across Uganda and then through other Protestant churches of East Africa, carrying everywhere its triumphant Luganda hymn 'Tukutendereza

Yezu': 'We Praise Jesus'. In 1950 it was at the height of its influence and making a particular impression both in central Kenya and in Northwestern Tanganyika. While it had many of the characteristics and group mechanisms from the Keswick Conventions and the 'Oxford Group' of Buchman, it quickly developed an African form and impetus of its own.<sup>29</sup>

Although Hastings, like many scholars, noticed the influence from Keswick, and to some extent, the Oxford group, he was unaware of the contributions from Moody and Sankey in the formulations of the 'triumphant Luganda hymn'. The movement's influence from the study of Scofield's Bible by Joe Church and Simeoni Nsibambi in 1929, in Uganda, was also overlooked. The revival can be traced from this influence of Church and Nsibambi's meeting in Uganda, before it emerged in Rwanda and then returned to Uganda.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Biblical Studies on the Holy Spirit

The Scofield Bible influenced the Biblical studies on the Holy Spirit in the East African Revival movement.<sup>31</sup> The

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**26** Interview with Rev. Richard Bewes, Rector of All Souls Church, London, 2 March 2003. Both Church and Bewes, like their fathers, were influenced by the East African revival, as well as the CICCUs Keswick theology.

**27** Interview with Rev. J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003. This was the first line of the Chorus in Luganda. The English version was 'Glory, Glory Hallelujah! Glory, Glory to The Lamb! For The Cleansing Blood has reached me. Glory, Glory to The Lamb!' The hymn was originally written by L. M. Rouse, and its music by D. Boole. It was No. 170 in Keswick Hymn Book-'Cleansing Blood.' See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 271.

**28** Joe E. Church, *William Nagenda: A Great Lover of Jesus* (London: Ruandan Mission, CMS., ca. 1973), pp. 8-9.

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**29** Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, p. 52.

**30** Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

**31** Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 11, 45-46, 132-180; Lindesay Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.* (London: Ruanda Mission, C.M.S., n.d.), pp. 49-50; Osborn, *Revival*, pp. 58-59.

significance of Joe Church's study was not that it was merely a topical presentation using Scofield's chain reference Bible, but that it was focused on the filling of the Holy Spirit for revival. This was based on Keswick double emphases on 'testimony' and 'commitment'—referred to as the 'second blessing'.<sup>32</sup> This implied the need for a complete surrender to the Holy Spirit for effective Christian experience and ministry.

Pilkington related a similar experience in the 1893 revival. When he recognized his emptiness, he went alone for a visit to the island of Kome (one of the Sese Islands in Lake Victoria). It was there that he learned 'the great secret of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit', while reading an account of the Tamil revival by a revivalist, which transformed his life.<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, he returned to Uganda with 'renewed vision and zeal', and preached in a mission in December 1893, which resulted in revival.<sup>34</sup> It was from the remnants of the small groups of African Christians that Simeoni Nsibambi emerged in 1929, who along with Joe Church, became catalysts for the East African Revival.<sup>35</sup> While much attention has been given to Joe Church, very little study has been done on Nsibambi's spiritual quest before he met Church. Nsibambi was

greatly influenced by his reading of the Bible, his studies on the Holy Spirit, and Christian literature from 'Britain and elsewhere', since he was versatile in both English and Luganda. Nsibambi recollected his theological development:

There were a number of tracts, booklets and books from Britain and elsewhere which helped me to understand the ministry of the Holy Spirit. For a whole year I gave myself to the study of Scriptural materials with prayer. The reading of my Bible led me to complete commitment, and God filled me with the Holy Spirit. This is what I wrote in my Bible as a commitment, 'I have committed myself to God the Father. As from today I desire to be genuinely holy and never intentionally to do anything unguided by Jesus.' After the commitment, I was filled with the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>36</sup>

This demonstrates the influence of 'Scriptural materials' from Britain and other parts of the world on Nsibambi, apart from the Rwanda Mission's Keswick teaching. Thus the theology of both Nsibambi and Church were formulated from scriptural teachings on the Holy Spirit, which became the hallmark of the Revival theology.

The Revival Brethren studied the Bible and consulted each other on various aspects of their lives.<sup>37</sup> Bowen stated that the revival touched the whole of life: 'The Revival wasn't just

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32 Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 156.

33 C. F. Hartford-Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda*, pp. 220-225; John Gehman, 'The East African Revival', *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1986, p. 36.

34 C. F. Hartford-Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda*, p. 225.

35 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 55.

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36 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 17.

37 Anne Coomes, *Festo Kivengere*, pp. 109-111.

a religious thing; it affected the whole of life. If someone wanted to get married, they would ask the Revival brethren to find them a wife. If they wanted to buy a car, they would ask the Revival brethren to help them find a car.<sup>38</sup> Thus the 'revived' Africans seriously consulted the Bible and aimed to obey its teachings in every aspect of their lives. Robin Church emphasized that 'they were reading it in their language for its meaning more than even the missionaries'.<sup>39</sup> The emphasis was on Bible reading, prayer and holiness.<sup>40</sup> It was not inductive Bible study, but a devotional Bible study with meditation, intended for spiritual growth along with practical implementation. Bowen stated clearly how the communal aspect of the 'revived' African's theology differed from that of the missionaries:

The Europeans brought what we call a 'segmented Christianity', it was religion; but for the African it was holistic, and it was community, the community was essential. They did their Christianity completely differently from the missionaries. For example, the missionaries, because they were evangelicals, they used to teach people to have a 'quiet time' (devotional time) in the morning; get up read their Bible and pray, each person by himself. The Revival brothers didn't do it

like that. They used to get up *very* early in the morning, much earlier than the missionaries, and they used to meet together!<sup>41</sup>

Joe Church designed a Bible study material for use by the Revivalists, which eventually resulted in the Book, *Every Man a Bible Student*.<sup>42</sup> Thus the Revivalists were influenced in part by Church's Keswick teachings. The Revival movement was distinguished by its emphases on conversion, biblical and Christocentric orthodoxy. It shunned and repudiated alcoholism, smoking, gambling, dancing, games, second marriages (adultery), polygamy, etc., which they considered were evil in their society. In addition, it opposed racial, ethnic, tribal discriminations and prejudices. C. Robins defined some of the emphases of the movement:

Their emphasis on the necessity of a conversion experience following the evangelical paradigm of intense guilt relieved by open confession and 'acceptance of Jesus as personal Savior,' is largely consistent with Anglo-American Protestantism and with the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, in whose traditions the movement is historically rooted.<sup>43</sup>

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38 Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

39 Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

40 Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

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41 Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

42 Joe E. Church, *Every Man A Bible Student* (Exeter: Paternoster Press Ltd., 1976), pp. 2-15; Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 62; See also, Joe Church's Papers, Files: 'Call to Mukono, 1935-1940'; 'New Way Memorandum'; 'New Way, The Mukono Crisis', William Nagenda to Joe E. Church, 'New Way', Joe Church to A. Stanley Smith, 26 March 1943.

43 Church, *Every Man A Bible Student*, p. 9.



These were the religious roots of the revival movement, which enabled them to function within the Protestant denominations of East Africa. The 'Balokole' Revival, as Robins acknowledges, was a 'largely orthodox non-schismatic movement operating within several Protestant denominations in East Africa. In Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, for historical reasons, it has been largely confined to the Anglican Church.'<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. Open Confession and Personal Testimony

Another significant aspect of the theological distinctives of the revival movement was open confession and personal testimony.<sup>45</sup> Prior to the revival, the influence of 'Western civilization', and 'formal Christianity' were prevalent.<sup>46</sup> Lindsay Guillebaud noted these problems:

Many letters from the field tell of heartbreaking disappointment and of backsliding on a very large scale; again and again a longing is expressed for the convicting power of the Holy Spirit, so that crowds who sought baptism might enter not a visible Church only, but the Church of Christ, which is His body. Western civilization was beginning to sweep through the country, and it was easy to accept formal Christianity as part of a new learning.<sup>47</sup>

Subsequently there was theological emphasis on the convicting power of the Holy Spirit—'God's convicting Spirit'.<sup>48</sup> Joe Church and the Rwanda Mission taught the Keswick theology of the fullness of the Spirit and the conviction of the Spirit for revival. The Rwanda Mission had received guarantees from the CMS. following the liberal conservative splits and tensions in the 1920s that their mission would be evangelical. During the crisis of the liberal versus evangelical debate of 1922, some of the Anglican evangelicals seceded from the CMS. on the authority of the Bible, and formed the BCMS. According to Bowen, the former director of the BCMS, the CMS is now more evangelical, with little difference between the BCMS (now Crosslinks) and CMS:

Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society was founded in 1922. It was more evangelical. It came out of CMS on the issue of the authority of the Bible. That was the point of issue. The CMS at that time was sending out missionaries who did not necessarily believe that the Bible was inspired and without error. It was a big crisis, and in 1922 the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society was founded by a group of CMS people who came out of CMS and founded the Bible and Churchmen's Missionary

<sup>44</sup> Church, *Every Man*, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 177.

<sup>46</sup> Lindsay Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>47</sup> Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> The RFB based this theology on the following Scriptures: 'But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my (Jesus) name, he will teach you all things', John 14:16; 'When he has come, he will convict the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment', John 15:8; *Ibid.*, p. 51ff.

Society in Britain. It was a small society, it always was smaller than CMS. It's still small, but now it's called Crosslink. They still have missionaries, it's still an Anglican Missionary Society—evangelical. But now there is not so much difference between CMS, because CMS has become much more evangelical, they (CMS) have changed their views.<sup>49</sup>

The Rwanda Mission was determined to work within the CMS. The Rwanda Mission may be considered as in the 'middle' between the BCMS and the CMS. They were evangelical but did not intend to separate entirely from the CMS. Thus the CMS agreed after much discussion to form 'The Rwanda Council' in 1927, as a self-supporting mission. The aim was that it should be 'composed of members of CMS in whole-hearted sympathy with the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the society'.<sup>50</sup> The theological perspectives of the Rwanda Mission were as follows:

1) The Rwanda Council and the missionaries of the Rwanda General Medical Mission stand for the complete inspiration of the whole Bible as being, and not only containing, the Word of God. 2) Their determination is to proclaim full and free salvation through simple faith in Christ's atoning death upon the Cross. 3) They are satis-

fied that they have received from the CMS full guarantee to safeguard the future of the Rwanda General Medical Mission on Bible, Protestant and Keswick lines.<sup>51</sup>

Thus Rwanda Mission missionaries including, Church and Barham, together with 'revived' African Brethren such as Nsibambi and Blasio Kigozi, lamented the desperate conditions of the Church preceding the revival. Hence they taught the need for true conviction and confession of sin. Blasio Kigozi describe the conditions of the Church prior to the revival:

1. What is the cause of the coldness and deadness of the Ugandan Church?
2. The communion service is being abused by those known living in sin and yet are allowed to partake. What should be done to remedy this weakness?
3. What must be done to bring revival to the Church of Uganda?<sup>52</sup>

The result of the change in the theology of many leaders and missionaries of the CMS was a broad definition of

<sup>49</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942* (London: SCM, 1971), p. 267.

<sup>51</sup> Ruanda Mission Constitution, Ruanda Mission Papers, Ruanda Mission, Kabale, 1921; Papers of Ruanda Mission 1933-1934; Group 3, Committee Original Papers, 1933-1934, CMS Archives and Manuscripts, University of Birmingham; Lindsay Guillebaud, 'The Ruanda Council', *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.* (London: Ruanda Mission, C.M.S., n.d.), p. 30; Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25.

<sup>52</sup> Blasio Kigozi, in Joe E. Church, *Awake, Uganda!* p. 13; Patricia St. John, *Breath of Life: The Story of The Ruanda Mission*, pp. 114-115.

salvation. The typical sermons preached were based on baptism for salvation. Gehman stated:

A gradual change occurred in the theological perspective of many in the CMS. The favourite verse preached in the pulpit was Mark 16:16, 'he who believes and is baptized will be saved.' As Katarikawe observes, 'No matter how one lived so long as he was baptized, was a ticket to heaven. This was the kind of gospel they often heard from the pulpits.' Thus salvation was through baptism.<sup>53</sup>

When revival eventually came through prayer and Bible devotions, there was deep conviction and confession of sin. Although Lonsdale attributes the revival among the Kikuyu in Kenya to the translation of the Kikuyu New Testament in 1926, instead of missionary influence, his focus was on the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya.<sup>54</sup> Besides, the translation was only one factor, since repentance and obedience to the Scriptures were essential.<sup>55</sup> In the

early phase of the revival in Rwanda and Uganda, the teachings of confession of sin and the cleansing by the Blood of Christ, had direct contribution from the teachings of Keswick.<sup>56</sup> Even Lonsdale concurred: 'When Revival "proper" came to the mission churches, its brethren not only attested to the cleansing power of the Blood of the Lamb, they confessed sin publicly.'<sup>57</sup> The RFB based the confession of sin on the biblical text:<sup>58</sup> 'If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness' (1 John 1: 7).

## 5. Repentance: Evidence of a Changed Life

The theology of the revival was based not only on the confession of sin, but also on the forsaking of sin and true repentance, and the evidence of a change in one's life.<sup>59</sup> The message preached was that of a decisive departure from sin.<sup>60</sup> This theology was imparted through the Revival leaders' 'teaching on sin, the holiness of God,

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<sup>53</sup> Gehman, 'The East African Revival', *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1986, pp. 51-53.

<sup>54</sup> John Lonsdale, 'Revival-Kikuyu Christianities' in David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds., *Christianity and The African Imagination. Studies of Religion in Africa. Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa*. Paul Gifford, Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, eds. (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), p. 178.

<sup>55</sup> See the testimony of Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 48-50; Testimonies of other Kikuyus in T. F. C. Bewes, *Kikuyu Conflict*, pp. 5- 49; Many accounts of other Kenyan tribes, including Kikuyus in D. W. Smoker, *God's Triumph*, pp. 5-200.

<sup>56</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 165-180, 176-186.

<sup>57</sup> Lonsdale, 'Revival-Kikuyu Christianities', in *Christianity*, p. 179.

<sup>58</sup> Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127; Bewes, *Kikuyu Conflict*, p. 20-70; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 20-196.

<sup>59</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 177; See numerous accounts of Repentance, restitution and salvation in D. W. Smoker, *God's Triumph*, pp. 5-200. Interview with Dorothy Walker, Smoker, 4, 11 January, and 10 August 2003, Alhambra, California.

<sup>60</sup> Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 139.

the new birth, repentance, faith, prayer, the Holy Spirit, sanctification, the Christian walk, and the second coming'.<sup>61</sup> Dr. Joe Church and a team of ten Africans, including Blasio Kigozi and Simeoni Nsibambi, conducted missions following invitations, in South-West Uganda in Kigezi and Ankole. The teaching and Bible readings were focused on 'sin, repentance, the new birth, separation or "coming out of Egypt", the Holy Spirit and the victorious life'.<sup>62</sup>

Lawrence Barham clarified the effect of this doctrine in the revival: 'Confession of sin, restitution, apologies followed; many had dreams, sometimes receiving strong impressions to read certain verses of the Bible, which led them to put away sin... Preaching bands have gone all through the districts, and many are stirred.'<sup>63</sup> The evidence of a change was based on deep repentance without compromises or excuses.<sup>64</sup> True repentance, implied a change in lifestyle and not merely repetitive confession of the same sins.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Joe Church reported that the Revival 'broke the surface' in Uganda on 22 June 1936. Bishop Stuart of the CMS supported this theological emphasis. He planned a mission at

Bishop Tucker Theological College at Mukono for Joe Church, Lawrence Barham, and Simeoni Nsibambi. Church emphasized the importance of this theological exposition:

At Mukono the whole college met in the big hall with the staff sitting around the platform in their academic gowns. The atmosphere was tense. But very soon as we went on expounding verse after verse conviction came and it became easy to speak.'... Each day was spent on one subject in this order: sin, repentance, the new birth, separation, the victorious life, [on June 28, Sunday]. People kept coming forward who had decided for Christ until they numbered about forty.<sup>66</sup>

Besides this theological exposition, the contribution of George Pilkington was evident as Church illustrated. 'Pitt Pitts was with us and helped us to counsel each one. He pulled out an old concordance from the shelves to look up a text and found Pilkington's signature on the cover and the date was 1893.'<sup>67</sup> The converted students and others influenced by this teaching spread this theology of the Revival through Uganda, which emerged the following year in Kenya.<sup>68</sup>

The theology of repentance included restitution. Restitution involved amendments for sins committed in the past.<sup>69</sup> This provided the

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61 This was the message at the convention held at Gahini, Ruanda, Hospital during the Christmas of 1933. See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 98-99; Genham, 'The East African Revival', p. 41.

62 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 142; Genham, 'The East African Revival', p. 42.

63 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 117.

64 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 142.

65 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 112.

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66 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 128.

67 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 128.

68 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 129-150.

69 Joe E. Church, 'Ruanda Notes', CMS Archives, No. 40, pp. 18-19; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 103.

means for reconciliation and the restoration of fellowship with the Brethren. Thus forgiveness was truly possible when there was open confession and restitution.<sup>70</sup> John V. Taylor recognized this significant aspect of the revival:

It was primarily an answer to the unconverted state of a great part of the Church, and of some of the clergy. It was revulsion from the hypocrisy of long concealed sins, expressed in the release of open confession and restitution. It was a discovery on a large scale that the Gospel is an offer of actual rescue from the grip of sins.<sup>71</sup>

Humility and brokenness were also essential for the establishment of harmony between revived Africans and missionaries.<sup>72</sup>

The 'aggressiveness' of some of the Revival Brethren needs an analysis. The 'aggressiveness' of some preachers may constitute part of the behaviour of some Revivalists. In the definition of 'revival', the actual experience of revival starts with conviction of sin, confession and repentance. The process ends with a commitment to Christ for salvation.<sup>73</sup> The invitation to

experience revival itself does not constitute 'revival'. But it is clear that the loud aggressive preaching used by some Revivalists was unacceptable to the established Anglican Church in both Uganda and Kenya.<sup>74</sup>

The process of inviting someone to be revived may include preaching, but preaching styles themselves may differ from one Revivalist preacher to another. Interviews conducted with several missionaries and local Africans seem to suggest several reasons for this friction between some revivalists and others, including some CMS and AIM missionaries.<sup>75</sup> First, during the early stages of the revival, not all who participated in the meetings could be clearly identified as 'revivalists'.<sup>76</sup> Secondly, aggressive preaching seems to have developed later in the absence of the emphasis of the early Revivalists (1929-early 1940s), such as Joe Church and Nsibambi, versus later Revivalists (late 1940s-1960s), on the significant role of the Holy Spirit in the conviction of sin. This contrasted the preaching of others, which were seen as comprising condemnation, accusations and faultfinding.<sup>77</sup> Kevin Ward's

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<sup>70</sup> Bill Butler, *Hill Ablaze*, p. 12; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 197-206.

<sup>71</sup> John V. Taylor, *The Process of Growth in An African Church* (London: SCM, 1958), p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>73</sup> For RFB perspectives on Revival, see Blasio Kigozi, in Joe E. Church, *Awake, Uganda!* pp. 12-13; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 48-50; Herbert H. Osborn, *Pioneers in The East African Revival*, pp. 165-180, 176-186; Patricia St. John, *Breath of Life: The Story of The Ruanda Mission*, pp. 114-115.

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<sup>74</sup> See minutes of some of the Revivalists in 'Minutes of Revivalists', Kampala, Uganda, ca. 1950, pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, M.A., at Henry Martyn Centre Seminar, Cambridge University, 6 February 2003, and at his home in Norwich, 7 February 2003.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Dr. Jonathan Gichaara, Birmingham, 4 and 5 May 2003; Interview with Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003. See John Gehman, *Doing African Theology* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing, 1985), p.130.

later work after his PhD seem to suggest that those who were involved in this kind of aggressive preaching had seceded from the 'Balokole' movement, and became known as the 'Trumpeters'.<sup>78</sup> Ward stated:

He [Doctor Eliya Lubulwa] introduced a local man, Yutso Otunnu, to 'salvation' and Otunnu in turn became the driving force of the Revival throughout Northern Uganda. When Lubulwa arrived in the North he was already out of fellowship with the Brethren (as Balokole called themselves) in Buganda, and as a result Revival in the North developed a distinctive character. It acquired the name of 'Trumpeters', because Revivalists used megaphones to preach aggressive evangelistic sermons in market places and outside churches, disrupting the services taking place inside. Otunnu and Luwum were arrested for disturbing the peace in Kitgum in 1948.<sup>79</sup>

The early Revivalists may not interpret this aggressive preaching as revival, but it was clearly part of the method of preaching used by the aggressive preachers.

Rev. John Haselden Dobson, gradu-

ate from Oxford and AIM missionary to Kenya from 1961 to 1972 in the West Nile gave his assessment of the revival during this latter stage:

My experiences of the influence of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda in the period 1961-1972 was mostly very positive... An offshoot of the Revival movement known as the 'Strivers' or the 'Trumpeters' (because of the long megaphones through which they shouted their message) were extremely divisive. At times their message would centre on the call to turn away from sin and to believe in Christ. But their message would contain condemnation of all who were not members of their group.<sup>80</sup>

Although this particular group, the 'Strivers' were an 'offshoot' of the 'Balokole' they sometimes preached a similar doctrine to that of the 'Balokole', on the need to 'turn away from sin and to believe in Christ'.<sup>81</sup> Dobson also attested to the faithful ones he identified among the 'Balokole':

Janani Luwum [Archbishop of Uganda, martyred by Idi Amin], like his friend Festo Kivengere [Bishop], was also someone who came to a deep faith and Christian commitment through the witness of those touched by the Revival. He was a marvellous and gracious person to be with, and as Archbishop,

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<sup>78</sup> Interviews with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003; Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003; Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003; Rev. Richard Bewes, London, 2 March 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Kevin Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and The African Imagination. Studies of Religion in Africa*, p. 206. Yusto Otunnu's son, Olara Otunnu, became a cabinet minister in the 1980s and now is a prominent official of the United Nations. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003; See also further accounts of his experiences in his book, John H. Dobson, *Daybreak in the West Nile*, pp. 3-48.

<sup>81</sup> Dobson, *Daybreak in the West Nile*, pp. 20-48.

a fearless critic of the evils committed by Idi Amin and his henchmen. From the moment of his conversion, Janani had determined that if he was going to be a Christian he wanted to be a faithful soldier and servant of Christ.<sup>82</sup>

Ward confirmed the impact of the Revival's theology on Archbishop Luwum: 'Luwum was seen to possess good social and pastoral skills, enabling him to gain the respect of different people. As a moderate Revivalist, committed to both church and fellowship, he was particularly sensitive to the need to respect impartially all sections of the church.'<sup>83</sup>

The various wings of the revival movement could be grouped in three main categories: the 'moderates', the ardent RFB members, and the separatists. The 'moderate' Revivalists were committed to maintaining the revival influence within the Church. Thus they attended their regular church services, and also met, although not regularly, with the RFB in their fellowship meetings. The moderates placed less emphasis on revival outside the established Church.<sup>84</sup> The ardent members of the RFB were the Revivalists who placed greater emphasis on the revival's influence through

the RFB than through the main established churches. Their primary allegiance was to the revival fellowship groups, and thus attended their meetings regularly, although they attended services at the mainline churches as well.<sup>85</sup> Joe Church and the early revivalists could be described as ardent revivalists, since their interest was more in furthering the revival cause, although Church would not advocate secession from the mainline churches.<sup>86</sup>

The separatists wing of the Revival movement were those who advocated secession from the main-line denominations, and thus did not attend their meetings since, in their view, the established churches compromised their religious and moral standards and therefore needed to be 'saved'. The separatists felt that the only way for revival was through separation from the established churches—Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.<sup>87</sup>

In the aftermath of Luwum's martyrdom by Amin and members of his regime, the Church appointed Silvanus Wani, who was also a 'member of the moderate wing of the Revival movement that worked for cooperation with the institutional church'.<sup>88</sup> Robin Church recollected the effect of the

**82** Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003.

**83** Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, pp. 210-211.

**84** See Osborn, *Pioneers in The East African Revival*, pp. 15-260; *Ruanda Notes*, No. 56 p. 12; No. 57, p. 8; No. 59, p. 16; No. 47, pp. 16-90; Obadia Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-59.

**85** See Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127.

**86** See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 5-196.

**87** See Barrett et al., *Kenya Churches Handbook*, pp. 40-125; John Gehman, 'East African Revival', pp. 37-54.

**88** Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, pp. 220.

revival's theology:

When the Revival came, there was a real change in the lives of those who were affected. There was repentance, public confession and joyful testimonies of the forgiveness and peace of God, which came with the repentance. This was followed by restitution, reconciliation of relationships in families, community, workplace, with authorities, between missionaries and Africans, and across tribal barriers.<sup>89</sup>

The effect of the implementation of this theology, was that they 'became public examples of a Christian way of living the whole of their lives, with joy, righteousness and Godly ways'.<sup>90</sup>

## 6. Salvation: Assurance of Conversion

The theology of salvation was based on the Pauline doctrine that it was by 'faith in Christ' and not merely by good works.<sup>91</sup> This theology of the Revivalists required good works after repentance and faith to demonstrate that conversion had occurred.<sup>92</sup> Assurance

of salvation is based on the atonement of the death of Christ and his resurrection for the believer.<sup>93</sup> The RFB taught that one must persist in the faith in Christ on a daily basis without a relapse into sin or complacency.<sup>94</sup> Bishop Bill Butler wrote from Kenya, after his speech at the Kitale 'Keswick': 'The Blood of Jesus has made Victory gloriously available to me and entering experimentally into that victorious life is dependent on just one thing: my willingness to keep saying "Yes" to Jesus!'<sup>95</sup> He cited Hebrews 12:2 to validate this teaching, 'Wherefore,... let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us; and let us run the race that is set before us. Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Perfector of our faith.'<sup>96</sup> This doctrine of making sure one was 'saved' was a major theological emphasis of the revival movement.<sup>97</sup>

In analysis of the theology of salvation, the Revival Brethren doubted as to whether one was saved if one's life did not comprise a constant 'habit of yielding... to the warnings of the Holy Spirit' in a 'daily walk with God' and 'cleansing by faith through the Blood of

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**89** Interview with Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February, 2003.

**90** Interview with Robin Church, Interview notes, p. 2.

**91** See Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-80; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127.

**92** See Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 25-250; *Ruanda Notes*, No. 56 p. 12; No. 57, p. 8; No. 59, p. 16; No. 47, pp. 16-90; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-59; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 20-90.

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**93** Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 58-59.

**94** Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 50-60; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 70-80; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-112.

**95** Bill Butler, 'News From Kenya', CMS, *Front-line News*, July 1945, No. 3, Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, p. 14-20.

**96** Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, p. 14.

**97** Joe E. Church, ed., *Ruanda Notes*, No. 47. p. 140.



Christ'.<sup>98</sup> Joe Church summarised the process leading to salvation as follows:

Salvation is a complete whole... It is complete in Him...there is the *act* (sic) of repentance, the coming out of the pit, and there is the *attitude* (sic) of repentance, the abiding habit of yielding, or being broken, to the warnings of the Holy Spirit in our daily walk with God. There is the act of being cleansed from all past sin, which is called justification, and there is the *attitude* of daily cleansing by the Precious Blood in keeping fellowship unhindered, which is Sanctification. There is the *act* of prayer, such as Peter's cry, "Lord save me!" and there is the abiding *attitude* of prayer, when the Lord is very near and real. This is the place of true communion with God, the place of real intercession.<sup>99</sup>

This theology can be located in the broader Christian theological tradition of the Keswick Holiness movement, in which the process of sanctification results in a pietistic life-style for the Believer. Although this challenged the complacency of the Calvinist theology of election, where salvation was based on predestination—those already chosen by God for salvation, with little

striving by the Believer;<sup>100</sup> the effects of such striving could also be anxiety for salvation, instead of faith in Christ.

In the theological perspective of the Revival Brethren, there was more emphasis on the word, 'saved' than 'Born-again', since the latter had connotations with baptism. Although many evangelical missionaries used both inter-changeably, the Revival brethren were determined to make their theological distinctives on 'salvation' unequivocal. Bowen expanded on the reason for emphasis:

You wouldn't call them (Balokole) Christians. To them the Christians are the ones who have been baptized. The Balokole, are the saved ones. They would say, and many people have said this to me, 'Oh, yes, I am a Christian, but I am not saved yet.' They all know what you are talking about. Even today, if you go to Africa you will hear people say, 'I am a Christian, but I am not saved yet.' And they also say 'yet', 'I am not saved yet.' Meaning that one day it might happen, but not yet. Ever so clear, totally clear. They didn't use the word 'born-again' very much, just 'saved.' The reason they didn't use the word 'born-again' very much was because with Lutherans, anyone 'born-again' is connected with baptism. When you are baptized as a baby that is the sacrament of

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98 Joe E. Church, ed., *Ruanda Notes*, No. 47. pp. 140ff.; Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, pp. 13-20.

99 Joe E. Church, *Out of the Pit: An allegory in picture form showing man's redemption from the pit of sin* (London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1958), p. 14.

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100 Weber, Max, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1948), pp. 95-127; Calvin expounded this theology in his Calvin's Institutes: Chapter III (of God's Eternal Decree), No. 3, No. 5.

regeneration... The whole society knew that if you were 'saved' you were different.<sup>101</sup>

The emphasis in the theology of salvation was that the Revival Brethren had to persevere in their faith in Christ. Redemption by the grace of God implied a daily cleansing by faith through the Blood of Christ towards greater sanctification—'The utmost for the Highest.'<sup>102</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

The significant contributions of the trans-Atlantic theology of the East African Revival and its subsequent impact on East African Protestantism were in terms of the rapid growth of the churches through the multiplication of fellowship groups, resulting in the formation of the Revival Fellowship Brethren. The subsequent social

impact was through influence of the Revival Fellowship Brethren within the home, workplaces, the community, and the wider society. The Revival was a major challenge to the decadence and corruption within the Kenyan society.

The contributions of the revival include endeavours to alleviate the suffering of their society, such as the oppression of the lower classes by the upper classes through bribery and corruption. This included their participation in programs towards social and political justice, assistance to the poor, needy, elderly, and the sick, and other philanthropic and benevolent activities such as refugee work, and medical and educational programs.

Furthermore, the education of the Revival Fellowship Brethren especially in phase two and the early stages of phase three of the Revival, provided its participants with prominent educational, social and political leadership positions in the society. This subsequently provided the means for a wider engagement of the participants of the Fellowship in efforts to curb corruption and bribery, and enforce moral standards of fidelity, integrity, and law and order in the society.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

<sup>102</sup> Joe E. Church, 'My Utmost for His Highest', CMS, *Front-line News*, July 1945, No. 3, C.M.S. Ruanda Mission, 'Private Circulation,' pp. 2-3; Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 176-186.

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Andrew Walker and Kristen Aune  
(eds.)  
*On Revival: a critical examination*

Reviewed by John Lewis  
John Howard Yoder edited by Mark  
Thiessen Nation  
*Karl Barth and the Problem of War: and  
other Essays on Barth*

Reviewed by Adriaan Verwijs  
Tharcisse Gatwa  
*The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the  
Rwandan Crisis 1900-1994*

Reviewed by David Parker  
Ian Stackhouse  
*The Gospel-Driven Church—Retrieving  
Classical Ministry for Contemporary  
Revivalism*

## Book Reviews

ERT (2007) 31:1, 90-91

### On Revival: a critical examination

Edited by Andrew Walker and  
Kristen Aune

Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003  
ISBN 1-84227-201-2  
Pb pp 251

*Reviewed by David Parker, Editor of  
Evangelical Review of Theology*

*On Revival* is a collection of 15 papers from a conference in London run by the two editors, covering a wide range of material and approaches—theological, biblical, historical, contemporary and multi-disciplinary. All of the authors are British, and several of them, especially in the first part, struggle to find appropriate techniques to analyse and even to define revival. In fact one essay proposes six different levels or kinds of revival, naming them 'R1' (personal renewal) all the way through to 'R6' (the 'revival' of Christendom)! At least there is a fairly common agreement that some distinction should be made between revival (God's action) and revivalism (human attempts to foster and produced revival), but the

relationship between them remains largely unilluminated.

A biblical basis for revival is even more difficult. As one essayist puts it, 'biblical scholars are mostly honest enough to admit that we cannot—except by some hermeneutical sleight of hand—derive much information from their principal academic subject matter'. He therefore suggests that 'the task devolves to church historians to plunder the 2,000 years since and to weigh up what phenomena might, or might not, answer to that description'. But even as a church historian, he has to concede that 'most of those 2,000 years are scarcely more useful to us than the biblical records in this search...'. William Kay, in his study of the Welsh Revival and the Azusa Street revival, is no more optimistic about the value of sociological and psychological approaches in understanding revival

Even so, the historical essays (in Part 2—the longest of the three) prove to be more realistic and helpful in explaining revival since they deal with observable and definite phenomena. The advantage of this is seen in the way that some focus on very particular instances—for example, there is a study of the founder of the

Elim Church, and then there is Mark Patterson's study of 'the Albury Circle' led by Henry Drummond; Kenneth Jeffrey's description of the 1859 revival in north east Scotland shows the remarkable variations that can occur in a revival by depicting events in the urban setting of Aberdeen, compared with those in the rural hinterland and, finally, those in the fishing villages of Moray Firth. David Bebbington brings forward good evidence to dissolve the myth that the Enlightenment and revival are polar opposites. Nigel Wright raises interesting questions about the after-effects of revival by comparing the Welsh revival with the Wimber movement, suggesting that the outcome may well be the opposite of what is expected—the 'deadening' of the church rather than its 'quickenings'!

The third and final section contains papers that are more general, and more imaginative, highlighting as they do insightful interpretations and possibilities. So Pete Ward shows how modern revivalism as seen in the Christian music movement is in fact 'selling worship [to the committed] and not evangelism [to the unbeliever], and intimacy rather than conversion'. Ian Stackhouse's paper, which closes the book, highlights the problems that a contemporary version of revivalism, 'Christian faddism', create for a proper understanding of the church and proper reliance on the gospel.

While it is clear, as the editors realize, that 'there exists no consensus' about the meaning of 'revival', or we might add, of many of its characteristics, these papers represent a deep, personal commitment on the part of their authors, a wide range of knowledge and skills, and a determination to deal rigorously—even 'critically', as the subtitle has it—with the subject. It is certainly not a book for the beginner, and by its nature as a collection of confer-

ence papers, lacks unity and focus, but as revival is undoubtedly 'an exhilarating word for a Christian', it is well worth studying. There are plenty of references cited at the end of each chapter but no index.

ERT (2007) 31:1, 91-93

**Karl Barth and the Problem of War: and other Essays on Barth**  
 John Howard Yoder edited by  
 Mark Thiessen Nation

Cascade Books, Eugene, OR, 2003  
 ISBN: 1-59244-357-5  
 Pb, pp188

*Reviewed by John Lewis, Adelaide, South Australia*

Mark Thiessen Nation, Associate Professor of Theology at Eastern Mennonite Seminary, Virginia, has edited this important collection of works penned by the late John Howard Yoder (1927-1997). Yoder was without doubt one of North America's most learned commentators on Barth's theology. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Basel and taught theology at the University of Notre Dame. He was also Professor of theology and President of Mennonite Bible Seminary.

As a Mennonite, Yoder was particularly concerned with Barth's thoughts on war and pacifism. He begins with a study of Barth's ethics, which he rightly sees as being 'provided by God in his revelation'. Christian action, therefore, just as in Christian thinking, 'must begin by admitting the priority of God's speaking over our speaking about God'. Yoder encapsulates Barth's agenda well when he states that in 'Christian moral decision, just as in Christian preaching, the basic event is the Word of God, and that Word is not in

human hands'. Indeed, Yoder notes that Barth, in the final section of *Church Dogmatics II/2*, is 'preoccupied with the difference between an ethic rooted in the Word of God and the way philosophical ethics normally proceeds'. Barth understood the Word as that which is spoken to humanity in Christ and makes Christian ethics possible because it includes his commandments which is spoken to every time and place.

Yoder discusses foundational assumptions about humanity that Barth established for his work on ethics. There are four ethical lines. 'First, man is man in that he is free before God for fellowship with God. Second, man is man in that he exists in togetherness with other human creatures: with woman, with his neighbor, with the community, with the nation. Third, man is man in that he is alive. He is the soul of his body. Fourth, it is constitutive of man to be limited.' Yoder proceeds to discuss the third of these, 'that which deals with man as a life, as alive (CD III/4, 324-564)'. This gives him the context he needs to discuss the general ethical question of the protection of life, before contemplating the protection of life in relation to the problem of war.

Yoder refers to Barth as stating that to 'wage war means not only to kill, but to kill without glory, without dignity, without chivalry, without limit, without reserve; it also means to steal, to ransack, to burn, to lie, to deceive, to dishonour, and to fornicate (CD 454)'. According to Yoder, Barth's revolution was in proclaiming that this form of killing is worse than abortion and suicide. Yoder's reflection on this is that '(i)n reversing the order of importance of these various kinds of disobediences to the order of God, Barth has already made a tremendous step toward a wholly new appreciation of the problem'. However, Barth does

not advocate pacifism. To be sure, '(n)either pacifism nor militarism requires the exercise of much insight'. What is required is the insight to see that the issue is to do with keeping the peace. What is required is the elimination of those conditions that lead to war. Indeed, '(w)ar is a sign of the state's failure'. Consequently the church is bestowed with a task in putting these vital questions to the state, and every individual: 'Do you see the horror of war? Have you worked for peace?'

Positively, Yoder believes that Barth 'is far nearer to Christian pacifism than he is to any kind of systematic apology for Christian participation in war. For him it is theologically not possible to construct a justification for war.' Where Barth differs from the pacifist, claims Yoder, is in his 'readiness to foresee exceptions to the generally admitted wrongness of war'. Barth's term for this was *Grenzfall*, which can be translated as 'borderline case', 'limiting case', or 'extreme case'. Yet this is not a concept with which Yoder has much sympathy. Indeed, it is at this point that Yoder is most critical of Barth's theology. Yoder feels driven 'to conclude that the *Grenzfall* is not a formal concept with validity in the discipline of ethics. It is simply the label which Barth has seen fit to attach to the fact that, in some situations, he considers himself obliged to make a choice which runs against what all the formal concepts of his own ethics would seem to require.'

To explicate his point Yoder turns to Barth's case study of Switzerland against Nazi Germany. It was Barth's conviction that an ultimate armed resistance against Hitler's Germany would have constituted the lesser of two evils. However, Yoder finds fault in Barth's proposition on three fronts. First, Barth was naïve in assuming that there were only two choices; then

Barth's proposal was inconsistent with his earlier comments that all means possible must be investigated and exhausted before war is contemplated, and finally, Barth made too many assumptions about the need for the Swiss state to continue as it was. Therefore, Yoder believes that a Swiss surrender should have been considered as a possible solution. Ultimately he appears disappointed that Barth's earlier pacifist position should be undermined by his concept of *Grenzfall*. To be sure, while Yoder is content to believe that Barth should go to war if God commands it, he is totally unconvinced that any such command would be given. Indeed, Yoder cautions everyone to 'give heed whether, being called to discipleship, it is either possible for him to avoid, or permissible for him to neglect becoming...[a]...pacifist'!

ERT (2007) 31:1, 93-94

### The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the Rwandan Crisis 1900-1994

Tharcisse Gatwa

Milton Keynes, UK /Waynesboro, USA, Paternoster: Regnum Studies in Mission 2005

ISBN 1-870345-24-X

Pb, pp 276, Index, Glossary, bibliog..

*Reviewed by Adriaan Verwijs, Eglise Episcopale au Rwanda, Diocese Kigali*

The Hutu, Tutsi and Twa tribes have lived together in Rwanda for ages and share the same language, culture and history in one of Africa's oldest realms. In 1994 hundreds of thousands of Hutu-extremists killed their fellow countrymen—most of them Tutsis—in a genocide lasting one hundred days. Rwanda today is still recovering. A bizarre detail

is that this crime occurred in a country where the vast majority—about 80 %—was baptized and belonged to a church.

The question Dr Gatwa tries to answer in his PhD study which he finished in Edinburgh 1998 is what the role of the churches was in the whole process that preceded the genocide. This book, published in 2005, is close to the literal text of his dissertation while the French version, published in 2001, is more popular and less detailed than the English edition.

Gatwa begins by investigating identity and ethnicity in Rwanda before the colonial period (roughly from 1900-1960). Both the unifying and dividing factors between the clans and ethics are mentioned. He explains how the terms Tutsi and Hutu were mainly related to the social position and thus the number of cows people possessed. The ethnic connotation came in when different Tutsi clans started to profile themselves and exclude others. This exclusion took place through the use of myths, which controlled one group and justified the privileges of the other group. This polarization was supported and even propagated as a racial ideology by the Belgian Colonialists. The Belgians generally exported their own problems to Rwanda (the division between Flemings and Walloons) and used physical characteristics to distinguish Hutus, Tutsis and Twa, measuring among other things their skulls, noses and body length. The Tutsis were supposed to be the born rulers: they were, apart from their skin, white people.

The Church (Gatwa refers mainly to the powerful Catholic Church in Rwanda) did not protest against these practices, but used a Hamitic theory to build a racial theology. This Hamitic theory is not the notorious one used to support the apartheid by saying that all black people derive from Ham and are therefore

cursed. In this Hamitic theory (related to the theory of Social Darwinism) the idea is that the Tutsis cannot be Bantu people as the Hutus are; they have to originate from elsewhere, from Europe or the Middle East via Ethiopia probably. They must be the descendents of Ham, in spite of the Bantu language they speak, and are thus superior to the Hutus.

The church privileged the Tutsis and discriminated against the Hutus. This meant that in daily life Tutsi people got the opportunity to study and to receive the best jobs, while the Hutus (the 85 % majority in Rwanda) and Twa were marginalized. The church changed her focus on the Tutsis and started to favour the Hutus just before independence in 1962, mainly because of the Tutsi opposition to the Belgian government and the church, partly as an effect of Liberation theology. Suddenly, the Hutu people received all the attention and privileges they had lacked for such a long time.

The fifth chapter deals with the role of the media and seems at first sight to be out of place in this study. However, the media played a key role in spreading the hatred of the Hutu extremists and the church failed to address it. Only during the crisis in the 1990s did the church release a series of pastoral letters at two key moments—one series related to the visit of the pope and another related to the invasion of the Rwanda Patriotic Front. These pastoral letters were, as Gatwa put it, letters that introduced a number of burning issues without analysing the real causes or proposing a solution.

Recapitulating, Gatwa shows how the Catholic and Protestant churches failed to speak prophetically and to act accordingly. However, a few exceptions are mentioned. In the period before the genocide, a group of Roman Catholic laymen took a clear and firm position, although hindered

by the Catholic hierarchy. The African Evangelical Enterprise (AEE) dared to speak prophetically during the Habyarimana regime in the 1990s. AEE member, Israël Havugimana, is one of the people mentioned in the list of Gatwa's friends who were murdered during the 1994 genocide.

The book concludes with a chapter about the healing of the church in the post-94 context of Rwanda. Repentance is a condition for real forgiveness and reconciliation.

Gatwa's study is an essential tool for historians, theologians, church leaders, missionaries and others who are interested in Rwanda or other places marked by a history of violence, colonialism and bad leadership. The report given on the Protestant revival deserves in my opinion a more profound and positive evaluation and is not always convincing. But in general I feel that it is amazing how Gatwa has been able to give a balanced report on the complex Rwandan history, even though he took an active part in the human rights movements on the eve of the genocide and lived and survived the atrocities. It is shameful to see how literally all parties involved failed.

Tharcisse Gatwa challenges the churches to fulfil their prophetic role and to focus on good leadership. Religious and political groups have to 'humbly confess and repent of their misdeeds and together become the means of reconciliation and reconstruction as foundations of a new relationship, even a new community'. What the role of the church has to be in a dictatorial environment is clear. But the cost is high, according to Gatwa: 'In choosing not to be the carriers of sin in the world and not to hold back in the face of absolute power and living ideologies of power, in choosing to oppose evil regimes, we must choose the route of martyrdom' (p. 253).

ERT (2007) 31:1, 95-96

**The Gospel-Driven Church—  
Retrieving Classical Ministry for  
Contemporary Revivalism**

**Ian Stackhouse**

Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004

ISBN 1-84227-290-X

Pb pp291 Bibliog

*Reviewed by David Parker, Editor,  
Evangelical Review of Theology*

In this book, Ian Stackhouse, pastor of Guildford Baptist Church, addresses the charismatic renewal movement in UK. He is deeply concerned that, as it moves on to the second generation, it has lost its way, especially since the time of the Toronto Blessing, which he views as a crisis point. He contends that the original charismatic renewal has now turned into revivalism. In this mode, it uses 'innovative strategies' which have 'little in common with classical modes of revival' but have been employed in the 'hope of bringing about the [expected] revival in very tangible and practical ways' and to 'maximise the impact of the gospel and realise substantial growth'. He concludes: 'In short, they are attempts from within the charismatic movement to make the revival occur.' As a result, the charismatic movement is now largely controlled by faddism and a pragmatic approach to Christian life and ministry. It is dominated by the need for success (measured by numerical growth) which, he shows, is a fatal compromise with secular values. He puts this failure down to 'theological amnesia' and a loss of connection with the gospel.

This is a strong criticism, which is well informed by years of personal experience in the movement, and detailed knowledge of numerous leaders, programs and trends.

One central argument of the book is that the charismatic movement is totally focused on an immediate experience of God, making instant responses a necessity. In worship, for example, this reveals itself as a focus on 'intensity' which 'displaces traditional concepts of Christian assurance by becoming the dispenser of grace itself.... [O]nly in and through the experience of worship, and the way we perform in worship, can grace be appropriated; hence, the pressure to make something happen.' The serious outcome of this state of affairs is that 'Worship as spiritual formation is sidelined in favour of worship as effect'. Charismatics have, therefore, lost sight of the church's distinctive identity as the transformed people of God, which, Stackhouse argues, is the proper basis and dynamic for mission and outreach. Ironically, mission pursued on the charismatic basis using numerical success as the motivating force destroys any claim to distinctiveness and authenticity, and will thus destroy the church.

This argument is tied in with another equally important one—the charismatic movement is too much focused on expecting to see revival and the vision of the kingdom fully realized in the present. No effort is spared to produce this outcome which is where the lack of theological and historical rootage proves disastrous. This 'spiritual utopianism' is naïve, and in the end frustrating, leading to despair which has disastrous pastoral and personal consequences. It also shows a lack of confidence in the gospel which witnesses to the victory of Christ already, although there is the hope of full redemption at the end.

In the body of the book, these themes are courageously and insightfully explored in several key inter-related areas, such as worship, prayer, pneumatology, preaching, the sacraments, pastoral ministry and



ecclesiology. The author makes a strong case for retrieving the classical ministries to reconnect with the gospel as the antidote to the despair evident in the second generation of charismatics who have been disappointed by the failure of the promised revival throughout the land. These classical ministries, which have been so decisively jettisoned by the charismatic movement, are in fact the God-given ways of producing the maturity needed by the church for its wellbeing and witness.

In line with the 'Deep Church' series (of which this book is the initial volume), it is the author's conviction that the Christian faith is historically grounded and Christian experience is mediated. Hence he emphasizes the importance of the sacramental, not only in terms of the biblical sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, but also by showing how preaching, worship, church and even tongues can be seen as 'sacramental' in the sense of being channels of grace and bringing Christ to the people.

*The Gospel-Driven Church* is not all negative, like many books of this type. In fact, one of its significant strengths is the way it shows how key Pentecostal and charismatic beliefs and practices (such as glossolalia and Spirit baptism) which have been detached from their biblical roots can be linked strongly with the gospel, as they often were in the earlier days of the charismatic renewal. So now there is the opportunity and the urgent need for them to be re-focused (or recovered) to provide better theological grounding.

Of great significance for charismatics, Stackhouse shows how the Spirit 'is the indispensable link' between the reality of salvation and call to discipleship: 'all Christian imperatives are predicated upon the indicative of grace in Christ, leading to the oft-quoted summary of Pauline ethics: "Be what you are".' Overall he pre-

sents a much broader and more comprehensive view of the role of the Spirit than the reductionist version typical of charismatics.

If the situation is as serious as this book alleges, the charismatic movement should take its critique very seriously indeed. However, the author is not optimistic that his theologically and pastorally sound suggestions will be adopted. But more generally, this is an important book for everyone because the call to strengthen the church in its distinctive identity as the people of God through remembrance and re-presentation of the gospel is an important task for all Christians today.

The book is not always easy to read, especially in the early part; as a published version of a doctoral thesis, it needs tighter editing for better direction, smoother flow and avoidance of repetition. Yet there is plenty of scope for the reader to wrestle with the many valuable insights it contains on almost all aspects of church life and witness.

Perhaps the key question raised by this insider's critique is whether he really remains a charismatic himself? The way he integrates distinctive charismatic and Pentecostal ideas (Spirit baptism and glossolalia) with the gospel and other key elements of traditional Christian belief and practice such as the sacraments makes him sound like an evangelical with a hearty practical confidence in the gospel and the power of the Spirit indwelling and empowering the believer and church. Stackhouse does realize that his proposal and the dominant ideas against which he is contending have 'very different theological presuppositions' but he does not resolve this point.

Finally, it is unfortunate that the binding of this paperback book has not stood up to the intensive study needed to digest its contents.

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Tharcisse Gatwa

Since the early years of the twentieth century Christianity has become a new factor in Rwandan society. This book investigates the role Christian churches played in the formulation and development of the racial ideology that culminated in the 1994 genocide.

**Tharcisse Gatwa** is Director of Clé Publications, Yaounde, Cameroon

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