


5-1980

American Revival Songs, 1820-1850: The Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs for Social Worship

Paula M. Kane '80

College of the Holy Cross, pmk@pitt.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://crossworks.holycross.edu/fenwick_scholar

 Part of the [Christianity Commons](#), [Liturgy and Worship Commons](#), [Music Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kane, Paula M. '80, "American Revival Songs, 1820-1850: The Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs for Social Worship" (1980). *Fenwick Scholar Program*. 19.

http://crossworks.holycross.edu/fenwick_scholar/19

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Honors Projects at CrossWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Fenwick Scholar Program by an authorized administrator of CrossWorks.

AMERICAN REVIVAL SONGS, 1820-1850: THE
CHRISTIAN LYRE AND SPIRITUAL SONGS
FOR SOCIAL WORSHIP

Paula Marie Kane

Fenwick Scholar Thesis
College of the Holy Cross
Worcester, Massachusetts

May 1980

TO MY PARENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
I. REVIVALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA	1
Definition and History of Revivals	2
Character of Revivals.	12
The Revival Experience: Divine Agency, Conviction and Conversion	17
The Theological Impact of Revivalism	27
The Ultimate Purposes of Revivals.	31
Revival Means: Standardization and Innovation	33
Types of Revivals: Camp, Protracted and Prayer Meetings	40
Components of a Revival: Prayer, Preaching and Song.	44
Anti-Revivalism.	55
Decline of Revivals.	63
II. NINETEENTH-CENTURY REVIVAL MUSIC	67
Function and Origin of Revival Songs	68
Use and Impact of Revival Songs.	77
Dynamics of Revival Singing.	80
Compilers and Colleagues: Finney, Leavitt Hastings and Mason.	85
Rival Songbooks: <u>Christian Lyre versus</u> <u>Spiritual Songs</u>	94
Song Texts: Oral Tradition and Revival Rhetoric.	122

	Page
Song Tunes: Profane Melodies Meet Scientific Music	136
The Tradition of Revival Songs.	141
NOTES	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	167

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Independent research is a misnomer for research that benefits from the efforts and inspirations of many people. My "independent" study of "American Revival Songs, 1820-1850" fulfills requirements for completion of the Holy Cross Fenwick Scholarship for 1979-1980. My special thanks to my primary advisors, Dr. Ross Beales of the Holy Cross Department of History and Prof. David McKay of the Music Department at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, for their scholarly assistance, guidance, and personal kindness over the past year. I am grateful to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, for the use of its hymnal collection and historical resources. My thanks to the staff of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. I would like to acknowledge Pearl Jolicoeur for her professional typing assistance, and Joel Villa, for his help with audio-visual materials.

I am grateful to my friends at Holy Cross College for their interest in and encouragement of my research. Special thanks to Jim Mullen for his chauffeur services and to Diane Manning for her endurance. Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my parents, who have inspired my interest and followed my progress in American history and music.

I. REVIVALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF REVIVALS

American revival songs emerged as a product of religious revivals and developed as a new genre of religious music, suited specifically for revivals and other forms of "social worship." Revival songs, which formed a significant part of nineteenth-century revival meetings, arose coincidentally with the appearance of religious revivals during the period, 1820-1850. Evangelical songs, part of Protestant oral tradition, had been part of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century revivals, but were not printed and collected until about 1830. By the Civil War, the early nineteenth-century revival song had been superseded by a commercialized and popularized type of music and musical collection. This thesis focuses on the period 1820-1850, the heyday of revivalism and revival songs.

"American Revival Songs, 1820-1850" has two major sections. The first describes the background, nature, dynamics and results of nineteenth-century revivals in order to provide the historical setting and theological climate for the emergence of revival songs. Primary sources are used extensively to present accurately the substance and flavor of nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism. The second half of this study examines the origins, development and use of revival music in general, with special

emphasis on two revival publications, the Christian Lyre, compiled by Joshua Leavitt, and Spiritual Songs for Social Worship by Thomas Hastings and Lowell Mason. The collections were published only months apart in 1831, and represented, in the compilers' minds, two opposing standards of musical taste. Leavitt supported the "plain-folk" with his simple, popular music and texts, while Hastings and Mason claimed to have purified and elevated church music according to rigorous standards.

"American Revival Songs 1820-1850" is based upon the examination of Protestant songbooks, primarily Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, in the hymnal collection at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. I have surveyed about eighty hymnals from the years 1800-1870, with special attention to the Christian Lyre, Spiritual Songs, and contemporary publications.

My analysis of nineteenth-century Protestant evangelicalism and revival song traces and analyzes:

- (1) the aspects of nineteenth-century American revivalism which established the need for a special type of music;
- (2) the historical role of revival song in evangelistic work;
- (3) the aesthetic controversies represented by the Lyre and Spiritual Songs;
- (4) the texts and tunes of both collections as

expressions of the compilers' intentions and of contemporary evangelical theology.

During the nineteenth century, Protestant ministers and evangelists declared that religious revivals were necessary to keep the church alive. Methodist revivalist Luther Lee¹ wrote in 1850 that

revivals are the life and the hope of the church, and . . . without them she would soon relapse into a state of dead formality, and become as destitute of the power of Godliness as those religious establishments, with whom membership depends upon birth-right and not a change of heart.²

Lee, active during the 1830s and 1840s, defined revivals as "an increased attention to religion, including an increase of zeal and effort on the part of Christians, and the repentance, conversion and reformation of sinners."³ James Porter,⁴ also a Methodist, similarly described revivals as "times of spiritual awakening, when different classes in community have their attentions directed to the great subject of salvation, and earnestly desire to lay up their treasures in heaven."⁵ Presbyterian revivalist Charles Grandison Finney described the importance of revivals in a letter to a British preacher: "If there be any true religion in the world, I have not the slightest doubt it is found its most unequivocal form as the fruits of our great revivals in America."⁶

These three contemporary accounts emphasize the nature of revivals as times of increased spiritual

awareness of individuals and of the church congregation as a whole. In fact, in nineteenth-century evangelical literature and music, revivals were often referred to as "times of refreshing" or "blessed seasons." Thus, revivals were a special time for intense religious renewal. A modern description further highlights the periodic nature of revivals:

The history of revivals is the history of the church. The great epochal movements which have characterized the development of religion may without impropriety be designated as revivals. In accordance with customary usage the term is generally applied to special religious services protracted for a term of days or weeks, when unusual efforts are put forth to reach the unconverted for the purpose of bringing them to repentance and winning them to lives of faith and obedience.⁷

The central purpose of religious revivals, as Beardsley noted, was to convert sinners to a reformed life of service to the Lord and to renew the faith of the already converted. As used in this thesis, the word "revivalism" refers to the practices, ideologies, and beliefs of American revivalists (and particularly Charles Finney) between 1820 and 1850. Finney's revivals are regarded as a turning point in the history of American revivalism because he standardized evangelical techniques for promoting and conducting revivals, and defended them as the necessary and desirable means for religious renewal in America. Finney's writings have been cited frequently in this thesis because of Finney's significance as the leading, most eloquent

revivalist of the years 1825-1850.

By 1830, revivals were not new religious phenomena in America: in the 1730s and 1740s the Wesleyan revivals, usually referred to as the Great Awakening, swept through the thirteen colonies and converted thousands of people. Again, in the years 1787-1808, the southern and western frontier areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio, and Virginia experienced a series of frenzied and powerful Presbyterian revivals due to the efforts of itinerant evangelists like James McGready⁸ and Methodist Peter Cartwright of Virginia.⁹

The most famous and emotional camp-meeting during the first phase of nineteenth-century revivals, 1787-1808, occurred at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801, where perhaps as many as 25,000 persons gathered for several days, singing, praying, crying, groaning, and being converted. Cane Ridge became notorious for the uncontrollable physical agitations experienced by converts, including falling, rolling, jerking, and barking.¹⁰ These "exercises" were considered signs of the workings of the Holy Spirit, but they may have resulted from hysterical states of the participants. This extreme behavior at revivals was limited to few instances and did not significantly contribute to them. Nor was such behavior directly encouraged by evangelists. When Peter Cartwright, to his dismay, saw five hundred people experiencing the jerks simultaneously,

he found that "it was, on all occasions, my practice to recommend fervent prayer as a remedy, and it was almost universally proved an effectual antidote."¹¹ According to John Boles, the emphasis of the popular religion engendered by frontier revivals was upon individual conversion¹² and Christian perfectionism, the same two components of Charles Finney's revival theology of the 1820s through 1850s. Thus, the revivals of the mid-nineteenth century can be viewed as the culmination and systematization of earlier ideas and techniques.

The limited Calvinistic appeal of the Great Awakening, 1730-1740, intending to revitalize religious devotion and interest, had given way to the all-embracing appeal of nineteenth-century revivals, where universal salvation through personal conversion was offered. Conversion itself had become regarded differently during the nineteenth century than it had been by eighteenth-century counterparts: from about 1825 onward, revivalists, influenced by Finney, viewed conversion not only as the end of a sinful life, but as the beginning of a new life of service to others.

Finney's message

changed the religious outlook of his followers. American revivalism had tended to make personal salvation the primary aim of the saved, while for Finney salvation was the beginning of a new religious experience, not its end. Far from escaping life, converts began a new life of greatest possible service.¹³

In the new nineteenth-century understanding of

revivalism, centered upon personal moral conversion, evangelists preached that society would automatically be perfected through the conversion of all individuals to Christ-like lives. From the 1830s onward, Finney advanced the doctrine of perfectionism, the process of the evolution of a perfect Christian, which he developed initially in two sermons delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, in 1836.¹⁴ He preached that converted Christians could attain a perfect, sinless state with God's help.

The doctrine of perfectionism, Charles Cole claims, was later associated with Finney during his term as a theology professor and his tenure as president of Oberlin College,¹⁵ where he gathered and taught a group of sympathetic followers.¹⁶ Finney accepted the post of theology professor on the condition that the main function of the institution would be to train revival ministers.¹⁷ It seems that Finney's doctrine of perfectionism evolved as a resolution of an issue which he constantly addressed during his early years as a preacher: the dangers of Antinomianism, or "cannot-ism," as he called it. In Finney's view, the Antinomians (or Old School Calvinists) believed in man's total depravity, pre-destination and divine sovereignty, and held that man had to wait for God to determine when he could be converted.¹⁸ Finney rejected the fatalism of Calvinism and preached, in contrast, that man could repent for his sins, be converted through his own action--prayer--

and become perfect, like Christ.

The impact of the so-called Oberlin theology upon Finney's religious practices was criticized by some of his contemporaries because it led Finney to reject orthodox Protestant beliefs of predestination and election, and to adopt controversial doctrines of perfectionism and sanctification, which were opposed by conservative Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Sanctification was the name given to the more mature state of grace received by a Christian following a radical conversion experience.¹⁹

There were two crucial questions raised by perfectionist theology: could a man obtain on earth any guarantee of his salvation; would the powerful experience of conversion achieve security for man against further sinning? Finneyites answered both questions affirmatively, explaining that regeneration of the heart through conversion rendered men willing to act virtuously.²⁰

Perfectionist and millennialist thought pervaded nineteenth-century American revivalism because the former assured man's perfectibility and the latter "constituted the social equivalent of individual benevolence and perfection."²¹ Post-millennialists, like Finney, prepared for the arrival of the millennium, the one thousand years of peace preceding Christ's second coming, by attempting to perfect themselves and to transform society through the conversion of individuals. Finney was so confident about

the power of individual conversion to effect immediate collective change that he declared, "If the church will do her duty, the millennium may come in this country in three years."²² The words of Calvin Colton, a Presbyterian minister from whom Finney borrowed many ideas, reflected similarly the millennial expectations of the day:

God has been "overturning and overturning," until the great centres of political sway and social influence upon the earth are ready to shake off the abuse of power with the abuse of religion. And when this crisis shall have come, we may hope that the "redemption of the world draweth nigh."²³

Besides being described as perfectionist and millennialist, revivalism has been characterized as a pietistic movement, meaning that personal, subjective experience of religion was emphasized over concern for the intellectual, dogmatic aspects of religion. New School revivalists, like Charles Finney, and conservative evangelicals, including Asahel Nettleton, Nathaniel Taylor and Lyman Beecher, stressed private, emotional religious experience, but were also concerned with documenting a "new" theology, in addition to relating revival means, preaching tactics and revival successes. However, the pre-eminence of individual conversion was still espoused by these revivalists, even above social reform. This was true because revivalists assumed that social reform would result immediately from the conversion of individuals. As Finney explained,

No man is truly converted who does not live to save others. Every truly converted man turns from selfishness to benevolence and benevolence surely leads him to do all he can to save the souls of his fellow-man.²⁴

Thus, one finds in revival literature varying commitment to nineteenth-century social reform movements.

CHARACTER OF REVIVALS

The revivals of 1820-1850 were generally inter-denominational among Protestants. In practice, rural revival gatherings and "camp meetings" were organized by a preacher or minister of a particular denomination, but the audience was likely to contain members of various beliefs, depending upon the types of churches in the geographical vicinity of the meeting. The New York Evangelist reported that in DeRuyter, New York,

We learn that a three days meetings has recently been held here, by the Presbyterians and Baptists united. It is thought that from 20 to 30 obtained hope; while 40 remain anxious. The work still in progress.¹

In urban settings, revivals and prayer meetings were noted by specific churches and were advertised in denominational newspapers and magazines. Camp meetings were generally confined to the frontier, yet, in 1804,

undaunted, and deeply pious, George Askins, made a bold push, and appointed a camp-meeting in a town, on a spot of public land. The members from the county erected a stand, fixed their seats, and pitched their tents; the people of the town attended, looked shy, and stood at a distance.²

Interdenominational solicitation for revivals was possible because of evangelical appeals for universal conversion, which transcended sectarian differences. Orson Parker, a Presbyterian minister in Massachusetts, advised

that

No move should be made or meeting held which has any denominational character or appearance; and the distinctive doctrines or differences should not be referred to in a revival. They do not necessarily stand in the way of a revival if left alone. A revival in a place which benefits one church will benefit others, if not prevented by opposition.³

In their quest for soul-winning, the revivalists apparently often succeeded in uniting denominations. The Western Recorder reported that "in Washington City, many interesting cases have occurred, especially among the young men of influence, and business. The Baptists as well as the Presbyterians, have shared in this influence."⁴

Orson Parker approved of

union meetings of the different denominations, when you can have unity as well as union, and you can meet and labor together solely as Christians. When the different denominations unite as denominations, the effort is seldom carried on with harmony or success; but when they lay aside their denominational distinctions and unite as Christians, a great blessing is almost sure to follow, and to be shared in by all the denominations engaged. In head we differ; in heart we agree. When these crystallized denominations dissolve in an assemblage of Christians, and each one engages heartily in a revival effort, and feels the meeting to be his own, denominational differences are soon forgotten, as when different streams tending to the same ocean meet and mingle into one.⁵

The Religious Herald of Athens, Georgia reported,

Truly it has been a Pentecostal season with us for these eight days past . . . the meetings have been held in the Presbyterian church until to day [sic]; they will now be continued in the Methodist church. There has been the most perfect harmony among Christians of different

denominations. Such a thing as Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist is entirely out of the question: but they all unite as brethren, and their only desire apparently is for the salvation of immortal souls.⁶

The denominations which gained the most new members as the result of revivals were the Methodists and Baptists, perhaps because of their already established tradition as the churches of the common people, and because of their large number of energetic itinerant circuit-riders and licensed preachers who made many converts on the American frontier.⁷ For example, in 1784 when the Methodists were organized as a distinct American denomination, they numbered fifteen thousand members and eighty-three itinerant preachers. By 1844, Methodists counted 1,069,000 members, 3,988 circuit riders and 7,730 local preachers. In the same year, there were 632,000 Baptists.⁸

An account of the history of Washington County, Ohio, described the local situation and local growth of frontier religion from 1808-1830. In 1808,

The relative standing of the principal Christian denominations in the county at present, is as follows: the Presbyterians have four ministers, 240 church members, and five meeting houses--two of them very good, the rest old, unoccupied, and in a decaying state. The Congregationalists employ a Presbyterian minister, have 180 church members, and one splendid meeting house. The regular Baptists have one meeting house, three small congregations, supplied by ministers from a distance, who visit them occasionally. The Methodists have two travelling, and four local preachers, 1,012 members, 13 meeting houses, and 14 other stated preaching places, where the congregations meet in school rooms and dwelling houses.⁹

The involvement of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in revivals could be traced to their denominational attachment to several Eastern colleges and universities: the Presbyterians gathered at Princeton, while Yale College and Andover were traditionally Congregational schools. During the nineteenth century, higher educational institutions served the purpose of training revival ministers,¹⁰ and among the Presbyterians existed a synod rule "limiting ministerial ordination to graduates of recognized European universities and New England colleges."¹¹ This rule had been defied in the first Great Awakening by the "New Side" Presbyterians, who were more concerned with evangelical religion and conversion of sinners than with formal training in church doctrine. The tensions between the Old School and New School traditions still existed through the 1800s. The Congregationalists held views similar to the Presbyterians, and originally deplored revivals. By 1836, however, the year when Charles Finney left the Presbyterian church to become a Congregational pastor, some Congregationalists had become convinced that revivals had a place in an institutional church. Congregational ministers were generally better educated than Baptist or Methodist preachers, and both the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had a tradition of insistence upon well-educated clergy and well-defined theologies. Oberlin College, where Finney was president 1850-66,

became a center of revival theology and stood as a theological midpoint between conservative Presbyterians and Congregationalists and markedly evangelical Baptists and Methodists.

THE REVIVAL EXPERIENCE: DIVINE AGENCY,
CONVICTION AND CONVERSION

The Presbyterian Magazine printed this examination
of the purpose and progress of revivals:

The object in recalling these gracious seasons is not the gratification of even a laudable curiosity, but a desire to promote the spiritual improvement of the churches more particularly interested, by encouraging and provoking them to love and good works, especially to earnest prayer . . . There are seasons, in the experience of most Christians, when they feel a special presence of the Holy Spirit. But when these manifestations are general and powerful, moving whole congregations and communities, under the plain and simple preaching of the Gospel, awakening simultaneously large numbers to unwonted impressions of eternal realities, convincing them of sin, leading them to apprehensions of the mercy of God in Christ, and to bring forth the fruits of holy living, who can question that it is the result of the power of God?¹

This article lists three ingredients of revivals that were deemed necessary by nineteenth-century evangelists: first, the presence and power of the Holy Spirit; second, awakening and conviction of sinners of their faults; finally, urging new converts "to bring forth the fruits of holy living." Of the three, revivalists were numerically most successful in "producing" converts, as shown by the large increases in church enrollments among the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

The question of how to determine the presence of God's Spirit among a congregation led to various controversies and became one of the anti-revivalists' major complaints about revivals: that they were induced by artificial means, by the skill of the preacher in arousing emotion, instead of through the true workings of the Spirit. The revivalists, on the other hand, claimed that emotional displays and dramatic exhortation were visible manifestations of spiritual presence, working in the preacher and in the sinners, and claimed that because convictions and conversions were so numerous and so widespread they must be the result of spiritual, not merely human, intervention.

Finney addressed the question of the influence of the Holy Spirit in his Lectures on Revivals of Religion,²

How are we to know whether it is the Spirit of God that influences our minds or not?

1. Not by feeling that some external influence or agency is applied to us . . . There is nothing else that can be felt. We are merely sensible that our thoughts are intensely employed on a certain subject . . . Do you ask what it is, that leads your mind to exercise benevolent feelings for sinners, and to agonize in prayer for them? What can it be but the Spirit of God?

He was convinced that one could recognize the benevolent influence of the Spirit and believed that it could be obtained through

fervent, believing prayer . . . Does any one say, I have prayed for it, and it does not come? It is because you do not pray aright

. . . You do not pray from right motives
 . . . A Christian should pray for the
 Spirit, that he may be the more useful and
 glorify God more; not that he himself may
 be more happy.

2. Use the means adopted to stir up
 your minds on the subject and to keep your
 attention fixed there . . . How is a sinner
 to get conviction? Why by thinking of his
 sins. That is the way for a Christian to
 obtain deep feeling, by thinking on the
 object.³

The sinner became ready for revival through prayer
 and concentrated thought, according to Finney, which secured
 the presence of the Spirit. Finney perhaps emphasized
 prayer more than some evangelists, who assumed its benefits.
 A similar conviction about prerequisites for a revival
 was expressed by Heman Humphrey,⁴ a conservative "Hopkinsian"
 from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, who opposed Finney on most
 revival issues:

That there can never be any true revival
 without the outpouring of the Spirit, and
 that it can proceed no further than it is
 caused forward by that divine influence;
 and that a revival is never to be expected
 but in answer to prayer.⁵

Thus, one precursor to a revival was an individual's readi-
 ness for a radical change, obtained by prayer which secured
 the Spirit to help transform the sinner. This individual
 type of conversion was in no way extraordinary or unusual,
 and might happen to anyone. Luther Lee wrote in his
Revival Sketches and Manual,

This increase of religious power is to be
 attributed to a greater degree of the Holy
 Spirit, which manifests itself in greater

faith, greater zeal, more vigorous efforts, and deeper feeling on the part of Christians generally. We will not pause at this point to parley with skeptics, who may deny the existence of what we call divine influence; all true experimental Christians know that the Spirit helpeth their infirmities, and that it helpeth more mightily at some times than at others.⁶

However, when the Spirit awoke many people simultaneously to a state of awareness about their sinfulness, and caused them to desire moral reform in their lives, then this constituted a revival of the sort discussed in this thesis. A local pastor or a travelling evangelist would apparently recognize an area's readiness for revival because of recognizable indications, and would follow up these signs by beginning a revival there.

The spirit of revival, once aroused, could be fragile as well as powerful. Evangelists Finney, Parker, Porter, and Bolles noted how at certain revivals, the spirit was temporarily lost or destroyed by sectarianism, by mechanical devotions, by loss of brotherly love, or by any of twenty-four events that Finney listed as hindrances to revivals.⁷

Finney and his colleagues frequently corresponded about potential locations for revivals, as in this letter to Finney from Theodore Weld:

Dear brother, the influence which the revival at R(ochester) and vicinity has had to do away prejudice against you is beyond calculation. Dont be in haste to leave that region I beseech; every blow you strike there now is a blow on the head. I dont believe, I cant

and will not, that you had better go to New York City now. Why not go to Buffalo and to the intermediate towns between there and Rochester? Once get that region thoroughly soaked and all hell cant wring it dry you know.⁸

Finney's lectures and letters contain similar revival imagery drawn from Old Testament passages, referring to prospective towns as sponges to be soaked, fruit to be picked, or fallow ground to be broken.⁹ In 1831 he wrote to Weld from Auburn, New York, "The whole region is ripe. Work increases here."¹⁰

Not all regions of the United States were regarded as equal prospects for evangelical work. Finney, for example, found in New Englanders "a high degree of general education, but a timidity, a stiffness, a formality, and a stereotyped way of doing things, that has rendered it impossible to work with freedom and power."¹¹ He listed seven conditions for a revival, including: special signs from God indicating that a revival is at hand; concern of Christians for the sinfulness of fellow men; a prevailing spirit of prayer among Christians; an emphasis on conversion of sinners in the preaching and actions of ministers; the willingness of ministers to allow divine agency to promote a revival.¹² In a later edition of the Lectures, Finney added that when the previous conditions exist, a revival is essentially already occurring, but that a "revival should be expected whenever it is needed."¹³ Evangelist preachers thus tried to gauge the temper of a

community. Apparently Finney had an almost uncanny ability for choosing locations, suiting his approach to the occasion, and using natural phenomena, rumors and dreams to enhance the crowd's state of religious excitement; sometimes he was able to convert a huge crowd after a dramatic public conversion of just one skeptic.¹⁴ His widespread influence stemmed from the fact that he consistently and successfully combined deep faith and dramatic techniques with sound, logical argumentation.

Finney asserted that "the providence of God" was indispensable to revivals, and he cautioned fellow evangelists not to undervalue the divine role in conversion. In his middle years he reflected on his earlier writings, regretting his lack of emphasis on spiritual influence upon sinners undergoing conversion:

I have thought that at least in a great many instances, stress enough has not been laid upon the necessity of divine influence upon the hearts of Christians and of sinners. I am confident that I have sometimes erred in this respect myself. In order to rout sinners and backsliders from their self-justifying pleas and refuges, I have laid, and I doubt not that others also have laid too much stress upon the natural ability of sinners to the neglect of showing them the nature and extent of their dependence upon the grace of God.¹⁵

The center of a nineteenth-century revival was personal conversion. Dramatic conversions were recorded in the journals and revival manuals of several evangelists, and in private correspondence and newspapers. Protestant revivalists were fond of recalling and citing the Biblical account of Paul's

dramatic conversion as defense against critics of the "animal," emotional excesses spurred on and promoted in revivals.

Finney's conversion, which occurred during a stroll through the woods in October 1821, is frequently recalled because of its sudden, dramatic nature and its immediate effects upon Finney.¹⁶ During conversion, he claimed, the doctrine of justification by faith was revealed clearly to him, he experienced an unsurpassed exaltation, and he was inspired to forsake legal training and enter the ministry:

I had no longer any desire to practice law. Everything in that direction was shut up, and had no longer any attraction for me at all. I had no disposition to make money. I had no hungering and thirsting after worldly pleasure and amusements in any direction.¹⁷

Orson Parker, converted by a colleague of Finney, deemed himself fortunate to have been persuaded from Universalism to the true faith and to have decided to enter the ministry during the course of a protracted meeting:

In 1831, under the labors of Jedediah Burchard,¹⁸ the evangelist, I became converted to the faith as it is in Jesus. My parents were not pious, and I early fell under the influence of Universalists of the Ballou stamp, whose doctrine then overspread the land . . . The early death of my first wife and my first-born child were the means, in God's hands, of turning my attention more particularly to the Bible and its truths, and led me to look carefully into the Christian doctrine founded upon it . . . Mr. Burchard was then holding a protracted meeting in Adams, N.Y. One night, when I was present, I heard him say, in a voice of heavenly harmony, "Earth hath no sorrow that heaven cannot cure," I asked myself the questions--"Is

this true? Is there a balm in Gilead for my soul? Is there a physician for Me?" . . . I saw that I had formed an erroneous opinion of the character of God.

I immediately left the law, in the practice of which I was then engaged, and went to Auburn Seminary and pursued my theological studies for a time, and then entered the ministry. I went with Mr. Burchard into some protracted meetings, and soon commenced holding them myself; a course which I have steadily pursued ever since throughout the Eastern, Middle, and Western States; having held, I think over four hundred protracted meetings.

Nineteenth-century evangelists and historians of religion recorded many accounts of the amazing results of revivals in altering not only individual, but also public sentiment and behavior. After Finney's remarkable revival at Rochester, New York, in 1831,

The moral atmosphere of the city was greatly changed. Grog shops were closed. Crime decreased and for years afterwards the jail was nearly empty. The only theater in the city was converted into a livery stable and the only circus was converted into a soap and candle factory. A large number of men prominent in business and social life were brought into the churches. It is estimated that forty promising young men, who had been converted in that revival, entered the ministry. Not only was Rochester and the surrounding country greatly moved, but the influence of that revival was felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, even extending across the water to England.²⁰

In 1855, at a revival in the same city, the Merchants arranged to have their clerks attend, a part of them one day and a part the next day. The work became so general throughout the city, that in all places of public resort, in stores and public houses, in banks, in the street and in public conveyances, and everywhere, the work of salvation that was going on was the absorbing topic.²¹

Among the reforms which Finney, as a typical revivalist, supported, were abolition, temperance, better education, and clean personal habits (tobacco, for example, he called a "filthy poison"). William McLoughlin notes that Finney attacked the sins of fashionable display and of luxurious living (including gluttony, idleness, dancing, novel-reading, theater-going and card-playing).²²

The task of the revivalist was to convince the sinner of the error of his preconversion worldliness and of his unclean state. In spite of the fact that abolition and temperance movements attempted to change society, Finney emphasized personal moral conversion as the most certain way to reform and improve the social order, even above political and legislative means. Finney's confidence about the ability of individual conversion to effect mass societal change was perhaps overly optimistic, yet characteristic of the short-sightedness of certain aspects of revivalism. Pre-Civil War revivalists regarded personal conversion as the goal of revivals to such an extent that they ignored the more complex roots of social problems and racial conflicts. From the revivalist viewpoint, society's evils would be ameliorated by the purification of each individual. Finney's preaching about the perfectibility of individuals through God's help was consonant with his belief in the competence of individuals to perfect society.

His certainty about man's ability to repent, convert,

and become sanctified (perfect), coupled with his faith in his own revival measures to cause these events, is summarized in his statement:

Sinners ought to be made to feel that they have something to do, and that is to repent; that it is something which no other being can do for them, neither God nor man, and something which they can do and do now. Religion is something to do, not something to wait for.²³

THEOLOGICAL IMPACT OF REVIVALISM

The theological tenets of Calvinism, increasingly challenged through the nineteenth century, were reoriented towards a more moderate Arminian viewpoint, which offered salvation to the many, and emphasized man's ability to repent for his sins, a major departure from notions of predestination and man's inability to atone for sinfulness. Some religious historians regard this shift from Calvinism to Arminianism as the fundamental transformation caused by the nineteenth-century revivals.¹ The defeat of "hyper-Calvinistic" (Finney's term) tenets indicated a dramatic reversal of Protestant notions of election, predestination, human depravity and moral inability to repent. Revivalist teachings proclaimed a loving God, free will of humans and personal moral ability to attain forgiveness through repentance.

Finney's successful religious appeals to educated and uneducated members of society may be attributed to his benevolent theology, a modified form of Calvinism which retained Calvinistic attention to ascetic personal habits while rejecting Calvinistic notions of man's inherent depravity. "Extreme Calvinists," wrote Finney, "have spoken of depravity, and of the pollutions of our nature, as if there were some moral depravity cleaving to, or incorporated with,

the very substance of our being."² Finney maintained instead that man was not pre-selected for salvation or damnation, but that he had freedom of will to shape the direction of his own life and to repent his sins. Revivalist William Walton, whose Narrative preceded Finney's first publications, described the importance or repentance for sinners:

There is, therefore, but one way of safety for him [man]; and that is immediate repentance. He must change his mind--cease from being a rebel--submit unreservedly and unconditionally; and while he confesses he deserves condemnation, give himself up to Christ, to be saved on the terms of the gospel.³

Man's ultimate goal, according to Finney's theology, was perfection, which he could attain after undergoing a religious conversion that would raise his spirit to an exalted state which he could maintain by leading an exemplary life. Finney defined this exaltation, sanctification, as "the consecration of the whole being to God . . . that state of devotedness to God . . . a state not only of entire but of perpetual unending consecration to God."⁴ Finney's belief in man's ability to repent and become perfect was exceptional and clearly distinguished him from adherents to Calvinistic tenets of moral depravity, predestination, and the absolute sovereignty of God.

The first Great Awakening paved the way for nineteenth-century revival theology by weakening acceptance of Calvinistic theology, and especially, the concept of

predestination. The "second Great Awakening," during the 1800s, destroyed Calvinist doctrine, which had been rooted in belief in man's moral depravity and inability to repent for sin. Nineteenth-century evangelists represented a more Methodistic (or Arminian) interpretation and practice of religion, meaning a greater faith in the spiritual autonomy of each man and in a merciful, forgiving God. Evangelists still preached God's sovereignty and man's dependence on God, but placed the burden of salvation on the sinner, by requiring him to reject God's grace or to repent and gain divine mercy.

As revivalists preached about the necessity for conversion to obtain salvation, nineteenth-century Americans asked, how could they, with God's help, regenerate their souls? Revivals represented the medium for conversion and offered the hope of personal salvation. The popularity of perfectionist/millennialist thought especially after 1830 stemmed from evangelical belief in immediate conversion: if man could be totally transformed through God's will, then so could society. One cannot overlook the social as well as religious functions of nineteenth-century revivalism, yet the reform impulse engendered by revivals was based on expectations of personal, moral reform, not on appeals for direct social action. As John Thomas explains:

The initial thrust of religious reform was moral rather than social, preventive rather than curative . . . But the moral reformers

inherited a theological revolution which in undermining their conservative defenses completely reversed their expectations for a Christian America. The transformation of American theology in the first quarter of the nineteenth-century released the very forces of romantic perfectionism that conservatives most feared . . . As it spread, perfectionism swept across denominational barriers and penetrated even secular thought.⁵

In searching for an understanding of the unifying basis for nineteenth-century Americans in a disparate collection of social issues which included abolition, temperance, Populism, and denunciation of gambling, one finds that all these causes had roots in the benevolent impulse of revivalism. Revivals inspired converts to adopt evangelists' positions on social issues in order to live holy lives. Robert Bellah found in nineteenth-century revivalism the forerunners of American civil religion because of its pervasive influence in enforcing a collective moral code.⁶ William McLoughlin called the breakdown of Calvinism one of the greatest theological and intellectual revolutions in American history, and which "made man and not God the measure of all things," and which "provided the driving power which thrust the United States into the forefront of western civilization."⁷

· ULTIMATE PURPOSES OF REVIVALS

The idea of the emergence of a Christian America and a renewed world excited revivalists and was linked to the perfectionism and millennialism inherent in evangelical Protestantism. Even the moderate Presbyterian minister, William Sprague, stated,

I can not resist the impression, that the revivals in this country are destined to exert a more remote influence in advancing the general cause of human society throughout the world. Where is even the superficial observer of human affairs, who does not perceive that the signs of the times, in respect to the European nations, tell fearfully of revolution? Who needs to be told that the fabric of society in those nations, which has stood firm amidst the shocks of past ages, begins now perceptively to totter, and that the day is probably at hand, when their civil institutions will be remodelled, and the whole face of society receive a new aspect? Now I do not suppose that I claim too much for our country, when I say that the eyes of the nations will be more likely to be directed to her as a model of social and civil renovation than any other on earth. It is no improbable supposition then that the influence of our revivals --these very scenes of divine power and grace in which we are permitted to mingle--may dart across the Atlantic, and be felt at the very springs of society there. Yes, those institutions to which, under God, we owe so many of our blessings, and which are sustained, in a degree at least, by the influence which comes from revivals, may be adopted by other nations.¹

Charles Finney, likewise, indicated his commitment to universal individual and collective reformation:

Since Christians supremely value the highest good of Being, they will and must take a deep interest

in whatever is promotive of that end. Hence their spirit is necessarily that of the reformer. To the universal reformation of the world they stand committed.²

According to mid-nineteenth-century revivalists, the ultimate goal of revivals was the conversion of the world, to be accomplished after America became the first Christian nation. Presumably, evangelists conceived of their work as beginning with individuals at the local, circuit level, finally proceeding to county and state levels, much like the progressive levels of government organization. A friend wrote to Finney,

I want to see our State [New York] evangelized. Suppose the great state of New York in its physical, political, moral, commercial and pecuniary resources should come over to the Lord's side. Why it would turn the scale and could convert the world . . . I shall have no rest till it is done!³

Yet, the basis for worldwide transformation rested on the conversion of individuals, as evangelist John Hinton explained:

A state of inactivity in reference to the conversion of sinners greatly diminishes the value of religious profession, and of religion itself as exhibited among men . . . So eminently has religion borne this character, that it could never have been considered as exaggeration to say, Convert but one man, and you make provision for the conversion of the world.⁴

REVIVAL MEANS: STANDARDIZATION AND INNOVATION

In 1832, the Reverend Calvin Colton published History and Character of American Revivals of Religion to describe the nature and progress of American revivals to British Christians. He pointed out that

revivals of religion in the United States have grown into a system of calculation, and the means of originating and promoting them are made equally a subject of study, as of prayer, and the ground of systematic effort.¹

The revivals of 1820-50 were a culmination and standardization of the motivations, ideas and methods of the earlier eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revivals. Techniques that were initially shocking or surprising in 1795 had been continued by revivalists because they proved practical and successful. By 1850, and at least as early as the 1830s when Finney published his widely-read book, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, and Colton's book appeared, revivals had been carefully analyzed and systematized. Even in the 1820s there are indications of the crystallization or revival means. William Walton (1793-1834) stated, "I lay it down then as a principle, that there are means which when perseveringly employed have always been blest to the revival of religion."² Walton recounted his 1823 travels with a friend of revivalist

Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844) who "knows Mr. Nettleton's views and plans of operation." Their techniques included meeting with groups of two or three in different sections of a congregation to entreat them to pray for a revival, meeting with young people, and conducting house visits and a Friday night meeting for professors only. As early as 1828 Lyman Beecher and Asahel Nettleton had rebuked Finney for his "new measures."³ The dates of the earliest documentations of revival means may have been even earlier: William McLoughlin points out that Sidney Mead and Charles R. Keller were able to describe the evolution of techniques among Lyman Beecher and the Congregationalists between 1812 and 1828.⁴

The need for revivals, their nature, prerequisites, and theological significance have been previously examined. The particular ways in which a revivalist "got up" a revival were called his "means" or "measures." Revival techniques, which differed with each preacher and congregation, nevertheless had the uniform goal of converting souls to God. Revival handbooks, periodicals and tracts of the 1830s to 1850s frequently mentioned the centrality of conversion in religious experience, and detailed revival techniques for producing converts.

The "new measures" of the early nineteenth-century evangelists and particularly those of Charles Finney caused considerable controversy between traditional Protestant

clergy and the evangelical ministers, preachers and circuit-riders. From a "conservative" clergyman's outlook, the revival system destroyed ritual worship service, undermined the purpose of baptism, and reduced the church to a voluntary society. Revivals promoted emotionalism rather than intellectual experience of religion, and spawned "rudest disorder" and "the most shocking irreverence and impiety." Finally, critics claimed, the results of revivals were not permanent.⁵

American defenders of revivals pointed to their many beneficial results: the unification of masses of all kinds of people throughout the United States in religious assemblies; a revived interest in religion in general, leading to increased denominational membership and public concern for moral reform; increased cooperation between laity and clergy and the development of religious structures (the circuit-system, for example) adapted to the American frontier and changing demographic conditions. In addition, revivals engendered a simplified, vivid preaching style which replaced the arid, didactic sermonizing of the eighteenth century.⁶ Finally, revival "theology" optimistically asserted the ability of men and women to repent and convert in order to obtain personal salvation.

Finney prevailed against the once-popular view espoused by Jonathan Edwards that revivals were the result of miracles. Finney argued that a revival was "not a

miracle, or dependent on a miracle, in any sense. It is a purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituent means--as much as any other effect produced by the application of means."⁷

Finney made several contributions to the development of revival means, including the "anxious seat," a place at the front of the revival assembly where convicted sinners sat to demonstrate publicly their readiness for conversion and to "offer themselves up to God"⁸ while the congregation prayed for them. Methodists probably first employed this measure, yet Finney popularized it. After introducing it at the 1830 Rochester revival, Finney recalled,

I had sometimes asked persons in the congregation to stand up; but this I had not frequently done. However, in studying upon the subject, I had often felt the necessity of some measure that would bring sinners to a stand. From my own experience and observation I had found, that with the higher classes especially, the greatest obstacle to be overcome was their fear of being known as anxious inquirers. They were too proud to take any position that would reveal them to others as anxious for their souls.⁹

Presumably, the anxious seat did allay the fears of even the "higher classes" because Finney recorded great success in converting "lawyers, physicians, merchants, and indeed all the most intelligent people" in Rochester in 1830 and in 1842¹⁰ and in several eastern cities. Anxious rooms were employed in urban revivals to provide locations for anxious sinners and converted Christians to

meet with a preacher who encouraged their efforts in God's service. The New York Evangelist printed this report about a Connecticut revival:

A correspondent in a recent letter to the editor of the New England Evangelist, says I noticed in my last paper, an account of the Three Days Meeting and awakening in this and the neighboring towns. Since that meeting it has been an interesting season here. We have since had a meeting for two or three days, only one of my brethren in the ministry was present. Our anxious room was crowded.¹¹

Once sinners became awakened and convicted of their sins they were called "mourners"; after they underwent conversion and became "converts," it was necessary to prevent them from slipping again into sinful habits and joining the ranks of the "backsliders." Members of all of these categories may have been present at any camp meeting or revival.¹²

To use the 1842 Rochester as a typical example of revival techniques, Finney's

measures were simply preaching the gospel, and abundant prayer, in private, in social circles, and in public prayer-meetings; much stress being always laid upon prayer as an essential means of promoting the revival. Sinners were not encouraged to expect the Holy Ghost to convert them, while they were passive; and never told to wait God's time, but were taught unequivocally, that their first and immediate duty was, to submit themselves to God, to renounce their own will, their own way, and themselves, and instantly to deliver up all that they were, and all that they had, to their rightful owner, the Lord Jesus Christ.¹³

Like his fellow evangelists, Finney dwelt upon the immediate nature of Christian conversion through personal submission

to God. He also mentioned prayer and preaching, two of the three major ingredients of a revival, along with singing. Finney's comments indicate that he distinguished between at least four types of prayer: agonizing prayer, individual prayer, prayer in smaller groups, and in large, public assemblies. Finney objected to song at prayer meetings because it usurped time which could be better spent with the new converts, and because joyful song diffused the proper religiosity which should accompany the sinner's mood of travail, agony and supplication:

If the hymn be of a joyful character, it is not directly calculated to benefit sinners, and is highly fitted to relieve the mental anguish of the Christian, so as to destroy the travail of soul which is indispensable to his prevailing in prayer.¹⁴

Finney was an exception among revivalists in his aversion to religious music at prayer meetings, while his use of prayer and preaching as crucial parts of a revival was characteristic of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revivalism.

In addition to the anxious seat, Finney used other "new measures" which were first criticized and then adopted by evangelists, including holy bands and lay exhortation. The holy bands, groups of mostly housewives, sustained religious intensity between morning devotions and evening prayer meetings at a revival by travelling from house to house in a village, praying, singing and giving witness. Lay exhorters were an instrumental means

at revivals because the success of a revival depended on the creation of a community of "like-feeling." Individuals in the same emotional plane, according to Finney, could more easily perceive the same truth. He therefore utilized personal testimony of converts in order to encourage sinners and backsliders, and was well-known for his custom of calling forth individuals in the assembly by name. He departed from earlier custom by allowing women to participate vocally in revivals. To his contemporaries, "audible praying of females in promiscuous assemblies" was unseemly. Finney's revival means brought successful results, so he continued their use, explaining,

I have often found it necessary to take substantially the same course in revivals of religion and sometimes, by doing so, I have found that I gave offense; but I dared not do otherwise.¹⁵

Like Walton, Finney understood the use of means and the role of the preacher as God's principal agent: "The connection between the right use of means for a revival and a revival is as philosophically sure as between the right use of means to raise grain and a crop of wheat."¹⁶

TYPES OF REVIVALS: CAMP MEETINGS, PROTRACTED
MEETINGS AND PRAYER MEETINGS

What was the format of a revival? From about 1800, revivalists used their experiences as a guide to their techniques. If fiery sermons worked in one town, or at one camp meeting, an evangelist was likely to attempt the same method at his next revival. Nineteenth-century Americans recognized certain distinctions among types of religious gatherings: camp meetings, prayer meetings, protracted meetings, and revivals. Camp meetings were a religious (and social) ritual "first held around 1800 as a twofold response to frontier conditions. The most obvious stimulus was an environment in which people were sparsely settled and had neither the funds nor the wherewithal to erect church buildings."¹ The camp meeting, probably originating with Southern Presbyterians, evolved with the expanding American frontier and took the form of a community social holiday and religious event, following the precedent set at Cane Ridge, Kentucky. Evolving as it did in the Southern frontier states, the camp meeting was regarded by New Englanders as a forum for barbaric ravings and excessive practices disguised as religion. The Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant reported from the Haverstraw, New York, Rockland Circuit:

We have held two camp meetings on this circuit, the first, in Haverstraw, commenced on the 19th of August and continued till the 24th; at this meeting there were fifty-two tents and about 30 preachers.²

Before a camp meeting or revival meeting occurred, the site and the preacher were usually announced through advertisements in local newspapers, broadsides and hand-bills. In a forest setting, smaller trees were cleared, leaving the taller branches to suggest an outdoor cathedral, as well as permitting space for pitching tents.³

As a crowd assembled, tents were erected for families and for young men and women, who were segregated in shelter and seating arrangements. Poet John Greenleaf Whittier was moved by

the white circle of tents--the dim wood
arches--the upturned, earnest faces--
the loud voice of speakers burdened with
the awful symbolic language of the Bible
--and the smoke from the fires rising like
incense from forest altars carrying one back
to the days of primitive worship.⁴

Song opened the first service, often held at night. According to Dickson Bruce, there was no sermon in this service or in any night service; rather, services were an alternation of ministerial exhortation and congregational singing.⁵ Early in the morning, families prayed together in their tents. The crowd gathered for morning prayer at five o'clock, followed by the morning service of song, prayer, and sermon. The principal sermon was the only prepared address. After the mid-day break, the afternoon services

repeated the morning's format, omitting the principal sermon. Evening services closed with a song.⁶ The camp meeting survived long after frontier communities advanced culturally and economically into thriving towns because it was "endeared in the memories of people to whom in the days of their first struggles it had brought much religious and social comfort."⁷

The protracted meeting was a series of successive religious gatherings and sermons held during a three-to-four-day period, when a community abandoned all social activity. The meetings served to "break down" even the most unlikely conversion prospect through sustained emotional appeal and through the repetition of revivalist tenets expressed in prayers and lectures. Protracted meetings were the village equivalent of frontier camp meetings and could likewise take place on the frontier, or in more settled areas. In urban areas revivals or protracted or prayer meetings took place in available auditoriums, churches, and even factories. They demanded certain sacrifices, since local business ceased during the meeting. At a Utica mill revival, Finney encountered this situation:

The owner of the establishment was present and seeing the state of things, he said to the superintendent, "Stop the mill, and let the people attend to religion; for it is more important that our soul be saved than that the factory run." The gate was immediately shut down, and the factory stopped;

but where should we assemble: The superintendent suggested that the mule room was large; and, the mules being run up, we could assemble there. We did so, and a more powerful meeting I scarcely ever attended. It went on with great power . . . and in the course of a few days nearly all in the mill were hopefully converted.⁸

Successful application of revival means could change a protracted meeting into a full-scale revival, as was the case in North Milford, Connecticut, in 1831:

A four days meeting was held in N. Milford the last week and closed on the Sabbath, which was the fifth day. A revival has followed, or rather accompanied the means.⁹

THE COMPONENTS OF A REVIVAL: PRAYER,
PREACHING AND SONG

Prayer at Revivals

Prayer, preaching and singing (which was sung prayer) constituted the primary elements of a revival. (Revival music is examined in the second part of this study.) Of the three elements, prayer preceded and sustained a revival. As Finney noted, "Prayer is an essential link in the chain of causes that lead to a revival; as much so as truth is."¹ In addition to relying on prayer as an instrument to initiate revivals, Finney employed it as a means to direct conversion during revivals. As Calvin Colton wrote, "Prayer is always proper--social prayer and public prayer, and that too for the conversion of sinners."² A letter written to Colton provided a practical comment on how prayer served this end:

The means made use of have been the prayer of faith, the preaching of the words in a plain and practical manner, pressing home upon the sinner's conscience his guilt before God, and the duty of immediate repentance.³

Two types of prayer, private and public, were featured at revivals, although individuals were encouraged to practice prayer whenever possible. Public prayer formed

the core of a prayer meeting and a major portion of a revival. The preacher, or lay exhorter, led praying, which Finney called prevailing, effectual, or agonizing prayer. Finney concluded his "Lecture on Prevailing Prayer" with the question:

Now, my brethren, I have only to ask you, in regard to what I have preached tonight, "Will you do it?" Have you done what I preached to you last Friday evening? Have you gone over with your sins, and confessed them, and got them all out of the way? Can you pray now? And will you join and offer prevailing prayer, that the Spirit of God may come down here?⁴

Revivals were often referred to as "prayed down" if caused by spiritual influence, and "got up," if aroused by a preacher's devices. More appropriately, as Finney and Colton agreed, revivals both relied on divine agency and human instrumentality. As Colton wrote:

I say of originating [revivals], and as I have reason to believe, means or instruments are equally appropriate in this office, as in promoting revivals after they are begun.⁵

In Finney's terms, personal prayer was and should be an arduous process, a painful laboring of the soul and body for conviction, while communal agonizing prayer (called "travailing in birth for souls") strove to unite Christians and new converts.⁶ Through the continuing prayer of the whole assembly for the struggling and soul-searching of the unconverted, and by their prayerful support for the continued holiness of the new converts, the gathered

community experienced a shared purpose for individual and collective benefit. Finney recounted several instances in his Memoirs where he witnessed the agonizing of a soul waiting for conversion, which was usually manifested by groaning or other forms of physical or mental distress, followed by an exuberant peace and joy accompanying conversion. Finney frequently used the terms "to lead out" or "to break down" sinners to conversion, suggesting his faith in prayer as the guide to repentance and salvation.⁷

As a revival means, prayer was valuable because it preached "individuals whom the preaching of the gospel could never reach."⁸ It also kept the spirit of group prayer alive in revived communities, where groups of the same sex, age or residence held "sectional prayer meetings" of the devout. The active participation of the preacher, sinners, and converts in prayer united all groups at a revival in reception of the "special and manifest outpouring of the Spirit of God."⁹

Revival Preaching

Revival preaching stirred up excitement within a congregation and readied sinners for conversion by combining emotional oratory with religious instruction. According to Finney,

One grand design in preaching, is, to exhibit the truth in such a way as to answer the questions which would naturally

arise in the minds of those who read the Bible with attention, and who want to know what it means, so that they can put it in practice.¹⁰

Preaching served a coercive purpose: to persuade sinners of the need to be born again as God wished, to awaken sinners to their faults, and to convince them of the necessity of repentance. In other words, revival preaching performed three functions: it caused sinners to think about their lives, to feel emotionally and spiritually moved, enough to act in earnest in becoming converted.

Among the qualities that distinguished revival preachers from ordinary ministers and eighteenth-century predecessors were their simplicity of message and directness of delivery. William Walton declared,

I have also been more than ever convinced of the necessity of plain, pungent, discriminating preaching . . . we should aim as much as possible to simplify divine truth, by employing such illustrations as are familiar, and easy of comprehension.¹¹

This is precisely what Finney intended: to present God's Word to the masses in a form that was understandable and applicable to daily life, in terms that were earnest but not pedantic, and with the expectation of tangible, immediate results:

Before I was converted I had a different tendency. In writing and speaking, I had sometimes allowed myself to use ornate language. But when I came to preach the Gospel, my mind was so anxious to be thoroughly understood, that I studied in the most earnest manner, on the one hand to

avoid what was vulgar, and on the other to express my thoughts with the greatest simplicity of language.¹²

As a preacher, Finney's practices resembled those of Calvin Colton, who described revival preaching as

a studious effort to combine the cardinal principles of original and evangelical law, and a persevering application of those principles, in their various Scriptural forms, through the understanding and reason, to the consciences of impenitent sinners--until they come to repentance.¹³

Yet, Colton admitted his rule was not inflexible:

The rule, however it may be . . . understood, is general. It is not indispensable, it is impossible that it should be applied invariably in any particular and definite form--in any set phrase of speech.¹⁴

Further, he admitted that an exclusive evangelical preaching style did not result from nineteenth-century revivals:

On the contrary, revivals have prevailed in multitudes of places, where, comparatively, the character of the preaching, though generally orthodox and faithful, has yet been very diverse--in one place, where the preaching has been almost exclusively doctrinal, in another, where it has been rather exhortatory, than didactic.¹⁵

Finney's extraordinary preaching ability was described by contemporary Charles Thompson (1839-1924):

As to his manner and style of preaching, it is not too much to say that he introduced a new era, the era of simplicity, directness, and earnestness; looking for definite and immediate results. He discarded technical terms and talked to the people so that they knew he meant them and was talking about their interests; and that they were guilty and in danger, and had something to do to escape the wrath to come. Like John the

Baptist, he came preaching repentance. The notion prevailed somewhat, at that time, that sin is more a misfortune than a fault; it is inherited; it comes with our blood, and we can not help it. On the contrary, Mr. Finney from the first preached "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself"--showing that sinners are the guilty authors of their own destruction; not the victims of a terrible calamity.¹⁶

Because of his ability to conjure up vivid images, to know when to frighten and when to coax, Finney's style was imitated by many successors. Finney once preached on the text, "The wages of sin is death." As reported in Thompson's words:

he rung the charges on that word "wages" as he described the condition of the lost soul. "You will get your wages; just what you have earned, your due; nothing more, nothing less; and as the smoke of your torment, like a thick cloud, ascends forever and ever, you will see written upon its curling folds in great staring letters of light, this awful word wages, wages, WAGES!"

As the preacher uttered this sentence he stood at his full height, tall and majestic--stood as if transfixed--gazing, and pointing toward the emblazoned cloud, as it seemed to roll up before him; his shrill, clear voice rising to its highest pitch and penetrating every nook and corner of the vast assembly. People held their breath. Every heart stood still. It was almost enough to raise the dead; there were no sleepers within the sound of that clarion voice. And yet that same mighty man, when speaking of the love of Christ or the peril of a soul in its sins, was as great in tenderness and pity as before in majesty and truth; himself moved to tears and entreaties enough to break a heart of stone. Many seem to think of him only as the stern, uncompromising preacher of righteousness. He was that, and more also--a Paul in doctrine, but touching and

tender as John himself in his delineations of divine love. But he did not preach love as a mere instinct, or a weak, mawkish, and indiscriminating sentiment. His God was not all pity; but was also a God of majesty and of law and justice; his love all the more glorious because intelligent, and because it saves from wrath deserved.¹⁷

Thompson's praises may have been more histrionic than Finney's sermons, yet Finney successfully captured the attention of congregations for forty years in the United States as well as in England, Scotland, and Wales, where he travelled in 1849 and 1850.

Emotional appeal to the "heart" in revival preaching had been especially associated with Methodist preachers and circuit-riders, who were regularly criticized for their scant theological background. German scholar Philip Schaff (1819-1893) who travelled extensively in nineteenth-century America, described Methodist preachers as having

in general, little or no scientific culture, but, on an average, a decided aptness for popular discourse and exhortation, and they often compensate by fidelity and self-denial for their want of deeper knowledge. They are particularly fitted for . . . aggressive missionary pioneer service, and for laboring among the lower classes of the people.¹⁸

In addition to being noted for zealous orators, the Methodists were associated with the circuit-rider system. The Methodist Church divided the United States and its territories into circuits which were serviced by itinerant preachers who visited as often as possible, enduring poor travel conditions and frontier dangers of Indians, privation, and unruly

crowds. The system allowed one preacher to aid several towns or settlements at once. In each circuit during the preacher's absence, there were occasional classes for the converts headed by a layman, as well as lectures by "exhorters" and "local preachers," often gifted speakers or former circuit-riders.¹⁹ Life was not always easy for circuit-riders, as Peter Cartwright of Virginia reported:

Our last quarterly-meeting was a camp-meeting. We had a great many tents, and a large turnout for a new country, and, perhaps, there never was a greater collection of rabble and rowdies. They came drunk, and armed with dirks, clubs, knives, and horse-whips, and swore they would break up the meeting. After interrupting us very much on Saturday night, they collected early on Sunday morning, determined upon a general riot. About the time I was half through my discourse, two very fine-dressed young men marched into the congregation with loaded whips, and hats on, and rose up and stood in the midst of the ladies, and began to laugh and talk. They were near the stand, and I requested them to desist and get off the seats; but they cursed me, and told me to mind my own business, and said they would not get down. I stopped trying to preach, and called for a magistrate . . . A regular scuffle ensued. The congregation by this time were all in commotion . . . The mob then rushed to the scene; they knocked down seven magistrates and several preachers and others.²⁰

The Methodists had great success in evangelization and experienced rapid denominational growth because of their large supply of effective preachers. After about 1830, Baptists also evangelized many areas of the American frontier. This denomination's ministers were laymen who felt "called" to preach, and who did not have to undergo

a seminary training.

Elder Jacob Knapp (1799-1874), one of the first Baptist evangelists, conducted meetings in Finney's territory of upstate New York during the 1820s and 1830s, denouncing the evils of liquor, gambling, gaming, Unitarianism and other "vices." He was scorned by Presbyterian critics because he was "blunt and coarse . . . and energy rather than deep religious feeling dominated his life,"²¹ yet his revivals produced innumerable converts and results comparable to Finney's, who was himself (until 1836) a Presbyterian. In Boston in 1841, after Knapp's revival,

Several of the places of amusement were closed; billiard tables and bar-rooms were neglected; and you could scarcely meet a man in the market or on the street whose countenance did not indicate seriousness, and whose language was not subdued. The streets at midnight were deserted, and the stillness of the hour was disturbed only by the voice of prayer or the song of praise, as they were wafted from counting-house, garret, or parlor.²²

From a broader perspective, revival preachers were themselves revival means: they removed the burden of promoting and carrying out revivals from the local pastor, if necessary. "Ordinarily," wrote Orson Parker,

the pastor is not able to do all the preaching during a revival efforts, and perform the necessary labor among the impenitent. When he attempts it without aid, his task becomes too great for him, and he is obliged to submit to a limited blessing, or overtax his powers. When a neighboring pastor is called in, even if he has the requisite experience, he cannot

often leave his own people long enough to complete the work he has commenced, hence the labor of a judicious and experienced evangelist at such a time is an inestimable blessing to the pastor, the church, and the people.²³

As a disadvantage, however, itinerant revivalists left any problems generated by revivals in the hands of the local pastor.

A major duty of revival preachers, in addition to renewing religious interest and converting sinners, was to prevent backsliding of converts and to encourage backsliders to return to a virtuous life. Finney devoted an entire lecture to the subject, defining a backslider as anyone who was once converted, but who no longer prayed profoundly, delighted in Scripture, or shunned sinful practices.²⁴ The major offense of backsliders was that they forsook their converted state, placed worldly affairs uppermost in their minds and hearts, and became satisfied with superficial piety. Backsliders not only injured their own happiness, but also became stumbling blocks for other sinners and, thus, hindrances to revivals.

Finney compared spiritual decline to alcoholism:

In much the same way, persons became backsliders by little and little. They do not intend to backslide, but they take the first step without knowing where it will lead, and then they more easily take the second, and so on. The only security is in adopting the principle of TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM SIN.²⁵

When Finney and itinerant evangelists returned to a

"converted" area, they faced the task of aiding backsliders to return to their commitment to live holy lives. On the American frontier, where preachers' visits were sporadic, it is easy to understand why revivals were criticized if their short-lived intensity was "followed by seasons of corresponding moral declension."²⁶

ANTI-REVIVALISM

Anti-revival voices had been present in America since its first revivals. During the years 1820 to 1850, revivals were associated primarily with the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, with the Methodists and Baptists wholeheartedly embracing evangelical activity. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists remained divided in opinion, and their conservative members often attacked revivalism from two bases: the nature of the revival system and the character of its means and results.

First, critics objected to a revival "system" because it ignored spiritual growth according to "the ordinary and appointed means of grace" of organized religion, which were baptism, Christian nurture, and gradual change of heart and life.¹ Revivals undermined baptism by introducing the "false notion" that "a definite period of conversion is necessary to ensure salvation" of all Christians.² According to general Protestant belief, baptism committed a child to Christian living, which was learned through the help of parents and pastor. Only if a child grew up to be godless did it need to be reconverted and renewed. Secondly, revivalists' emphasis on instantaneous conversion as the only way to salvation equated religion

with "something to be 'got' as a man gets a cold," according to anti-revivalists,³ rather than something that is developed gradually. Horace Bushnell,⁴ although considered heretical by orthodox Protestants, accepted revivals but deemphasized conversion. He believed that a conversion experience was unnecessary in a properly nurtured person because parents should raise a child so that he never knew that he was anything except a Christian. Finney supported sudden conversion against these arguments:

Afraid of sudden conversions! Some of the best Christians of my acquaintance were convicted and converted in the space of a few minutes. In one quarter of the time that I have been speaking, many of them were awakened, and came right out on the Lord's side, and have been shining lights in the church ever since, and have generally manifested the same decision of character in religion, that they did when they first came out and took a stand on the Lord's side.⁵

Moderate Presbyterian William Sprague admitted the abuse of too much "human machinery" at revivals, but cited Biblical examples in defense of sudden conversion:

Who will say that the Bible does not warrant us to expect sudden conversions? What say you of the 3000 who were converted on the day of Pentecost? . . . This instance then is entirely to our purpose; and proves at least the possibility that a conversion be sound, though it be sudden.⁶

Mid-nineteenth-century revivalists' perception of conversion contains a certain ambivalence. Theoretically, once converted, Christians need not undergo further conversion,

except for the anticipated continued maturing of one's state of grace through the process which Finney called sanctification. If a convert became a backslider, his indiscretions were regarded as blemishes on his converted state, but did not alter the permanence of his conversion and his membership in the society of Christian converts. Seemingly, the purpose of conversion would have been undermined and rendered useless if it needed to be a repeated event, yet Finney suggested exactly this during his discourse on "Hindrances to Revivals":

a revival will decline and cease, unless Christians are frequently re-converted. By this I mean, that Christians, in order to keep in the spirit of a revival, commonly need to be frequently convicted, and humbled, and broken down before God, and re-converted . . . It is impossible to keep him in such a state as not to do injury to the work, unless he pass through the process every few days.⁷

Finney's rationale for frequent repetitions of the breaking-down process for converts, preachers and ministers was that a revival would cease if an individual's heart "crusted over" and lost "exquisite relish for divine things; his unction and prevalence in prayer abates, and then he must be converted again."⁸ To maintain converted fervor and moral constancy, Finney claimed, continued breaking-down was a necessary remedy.

Secondly, critics claimed that revivals disregarded the ordinary channels of Christian revelation through

Scripture and an enlightened conscience by accentuating only direct confrontation with God, which led "many people to regard the wildest vagaries of the human mind as revelations of the Spirit."⁹ Revivals did, in fact, highlight individual conversion, while preaching stressed divine confrontation, but these emphases could also be viewed as advantages: they offered a way for sinners to experience a radical release from sinful guilt and to start a new, holy life as the "shining lights" of virtue praised by Finney. Evangelists confronted sinners with simple choices: wickedness or piety, heaven or hell. Revivals provided the medium for their decisions.

William James, in one of the first attempts to analyze the psychology of religion, studied the revival theology of being twice-born and concluded:

In the fully evolved Revivalism of Great Britain and America we have, so to speak, the codified and stereotyped procedure to which this way of thinking has led. In spite of the unquestionable fact that saints of the once-born type exist, that there may be a gradual growth in holiness without a cataclysm; in spite of the obvious leakages (as one may say) of mere natural goodness into the schema of salvation, revivalism has always assumed that only its own type of religious experience can be perfect; you must first be nailed on the cross of natural despair and agony, and then in the twinkling of an eye be miraculously released.¹⁰

Anti-revivalists believed that the revivals destroyed the traditional development of Christian life and character by undermining baptism and by exaggerating the need for

conversion. The "pernicious" final result was the prevalence of several false notions among the believers: first, that religion was merely a voluntary society for the exercise of religious exertions; second, that religion was acquired through an instantaneous experience; third, that religious feeling and experience were governed by the emotions and imagination.¹¹

The third notion aroused controversy about revival means. John Hinton, who typified revivalist thought on the relation of emotion to intellect, observed that: "the renovation of the heart does not depend so much on the amount of knowledge as on the state of mind at the time of its reception."¹² The revivalists' duty, then, was to promote in the sinner a receptive attitude toward conversion. Revivalism's opponents objected to the artificially generated excess excitement and enthusiasm which converts mistakenly took for true religious feeling. The Presbyterian Magazine reported that "unnatural excitement is unfavorable to health, and hence it cannot be long sustained without a reaction,"¹³ while the Reverend Pitkin of Albany wrote that "excitement began to be regarded as a thing desirable in itself. Instantaneous conversions were thought much better and more certain marks of grace; than a gradually developed Christian character."¹⁴

When the excitement of a revival faded, the anti-revivalists said, so did the "boasts" of converts. Heman

Humphrey claimed that converts became backsliders who regretted that

We thought we were converted when we joined, but are now convinced it was mere animal excitement: we have no more religion than we had before, and have no right to be counted as Christians, and come to the Lord's table.¹⁵

Finney was not unaware of the complaints against religious enthusiasm and sudden conversion. He dedicated a lecture to "True and False Conversion" to help evangelists and converts distinguish between the two, and he offered detailed instructions to converts to keep them in the ways of grace.¹⁶ Nevertheless, his thoughts on religious excitement changed as he aged. As a young evangelist he considered enthusiastic displays as valuable revival means and as indications of spiritual inspiration. By the 1840s he reflected,

the more I have seen of revivals, the more I am impressed with the importance of keeping excitement down . . . I have learned to . . . feel much more confidence in apparent conversions that occurs where there is greater calmness of mind.¹⁷

Finney imparted a greater role to the intellect in religious activity than was generally supposed of revivalists, for he characterized religion as "the heart's obedience to the laws of intelligence, as distinguished from being influenced by emotion or fear."¹⁸ Finney thus played down enthusiasm as a necessary accompaniment to revivals, and established this rule for governing it:

Now just so much excitement is important in revivals as is requisite to secure the fixed and thorough attention of the mind to the truth, and no more. When excitement goes beyond this, it is always dangerous. When excitement is very great, so as really to carry the will, the subjects of this excitement invariably deceive themselves.¹⁹

Finney maintained that excitement produced by perceived truth was healthy, intellectual, and desirable, but that mere enthusiasm stemming from "excited feelings" did not constitute true religion.²⁰ In 1868, as he surveyed almost fifty years of revivals, and he answered critics' accusations of "disorder" at revivals:

In an intelligent, educated community, great freedom may be given in the use of means, without danger of disorder. Indeed wrong ideas of what constitutes disorder, are very prevalent. Most churches call anything disorder to which they have not been accustomed . . . But in fact nothing is disorder that simply meets the necessities of the people. In religion as in every thing else, good sense and a sound discretion will, from time to time judiciously adapt means to ends.²¹

Finney's understanding of religion as a combination of common sense, intelligence and spiritually-influenced feeling made him a sound defender of revivals. The hysterical excitements of the frontier camp meetings or in urban settings may have indicated the need for a suitable replacement for the stale legalism of Old School Calvinism, which churchgoers found in revivals.²² When emotion was guided by the Spirit and complemented by the intellect, religious excitement proved an effectual influence on conversion.

William James describes the conversion event as "real, definite and memorable." "Throughout the height of it," he writes, the sinner "undoubtedly seems to himself a passive spectator or undergoer of an astounding process performed upon him from above . . . At that moment, it [Protestant theology] believes, an absolutely new nature is breathed into us, and we become partakers of the very substance of the Deity."²³ Whether or not nineteenth-century revivals found the proper balance between emotion and intellect, it seems partially justified to comment that Americans "have never been able to forego the exquisite pleasure of prostituting their intellects to their feelings. It is so much easier to feel good than to think straight."²⁴ The significance of the revival system was that it created networks of devotional practice as attempts to ensure moral reform by Christian example and mutual support, outside of the established church.

DECLINE OF REVIVALS

The decline of nineteenth-century revivals began in the 1840s, and their gradual cessation, called "the chill of spiritual declension" by the Oberlin Evangelist, was apparent to a generation of Americans who had witnessed and experienced almost continuous, nationwide revivals since 1797. The Evangelist reported that

Some of our religious journals deplore, and all attest the fact that revivals have almost ceased in our churches. It is long since a period of so general dearth has been known.¹

Various explanations were proposed, including the Evangelist's amusing claim that the "immense" agitation preceding the 1844 Presidential election was the cause. As a remedy, the paper suggested a unification of national purpose through revivals:

Let us seek our country's salvation, not merely nor chiefly in the ascendancy of this party over that, but in the ascendancy of good morals over immorality . . . For this end we need and must have revivals . . . How shall we begin? Each one at home.²

The Evangelist was merely reiterating, but with less success, the revivalists' faith in the power of individual perfection to change the entire country's interests.

Charles Finney attributed the decline of revivals to over-commercialization of revival means, which he himself

had helped to popularize:

Efforts to promote revivals of religion have become so mechanical, there is so much policy and machinery, so much dependence upon means and measures, so much of man and so little of God, that the character of revivals has greatly changed within the last few years.³

His own activities during the 1840s included the famous Rochester revival (1842) and the publication of four books, yet he and several other evangelists preached to a European audience in the latter part of the decade.

Heman Humphrey asserted that the trend of revival decline continued into the 1850s, when "a money mania pervaded not only our commercial cities, but the whole country more or less, involving all classes."⁴ The money mania to which Humphrey referred led to a national economic crisis in 1857 and 1858, the dates of the last revival wave before the Civil War. The revival, concentrated in urban areas (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis), was a response to the monetary panic, which makes it unique among revivals.⁵ Revival means had grown into a lay, commercial enterprise, gaining national and international recognition for the 1857-58 revival and for American religious literature in general. Richard Carwardine states that in 1859 "the coverage of American events reached the saturation point."⁶ He notes also that urban settings for revivals demanded adjustments in their organization and presentation:

the sheer density of an urban population, with its internal mobility, its constantly changing character produced by migration from country areas and from northern Europe, and its cultural and social heterogeneity meant that the city minister, unlike the small-town pastor, had to search out a congregation and to work more aggressively than in an area where Church attendance was the norm.⁷

Two advertisements for a New York prayer meeting suggest the degree to which revival means had become standardized:

Exhortations never to exceed three minutes.
The leader will call time when the rule is disregarded. . . .

No person will exhort and pray the same day.⁸

Thus, by 1858 revivals differed in character and methods from the type launched and popularized by Finney thirty years earlier. According to Charles Cole, the 1857-1858 revival marked the end of a religious era.⁹ The original nineteenth-century evangelists had aged and left the revival scene, industrialization had created a more prosperous, more complex, and more mobile society, and the urgent message of the evangelical gospel had become outmoded for contemporary political, social and scientific issues.¹⁰ A likely explanation for the gradual waning of revivals is that it was impossible to sustain a movement, which was by definition seasonal, periodical, and transient in its original form, for an indefinite period. Revivals, as led by Finney and his colleagues, were suited to an America which was mostly rural and non-industrial, and whose religious temper was ready for change. By the late 1850s

economic and political affairs had captured public attention and had superseded religious concerns. Changes affecting American society, including immigration, westward expansion, and industrial growth required different revival methods to secure popular interest and involvement. The extravagances of the new measures of the 1820s were taken for granted by the 1850s, and had evolved into the calculated and contrived revivalism of the post-Civil War decades.

II. NINETEENTH-CENTURY REVIVAL MUSIC

FUNCTION AND ORIGIN OF REVIVAL SONGS

Religious revivals inspired the development of evangelical music, a new genre especially intended for use at revivals and protracted meetings, private devotions, and social worship. The musical tunes of nineteenth-century revival songs were composed for revivals, or were inherited from the oral tradition of evangelical singing, or were traditional European tunes. The texts of revival songs likewise came from varied sources: seventeenth- and eighteenth-century evangelical English hymnists, transcriptions from oral tradition, or nineteenth-century American revival song composers.

The need for collections of revival music was answered by songbooks such as Joshua Leavitt's (1792-1873) Christian Lyre and Thomas Hastings' (1784-1872) and Lowell Mason's (1792-1872) Spiritual Songs for Social Worship. Revival song publications paralleled the emergence of revival manual publications in about 1830 since revival techniques crystallized by that date. The history, contents and impact of these two songbooks will be examined in the following sections.

The term revival songs, as used in this study, refers to those songs (words and music together) used in and associated with revival, prayer and protracted meetings

that were part of the identifiable periods of revivals in the United States between 1820 and 1850. "Revival songs" distinguishes that corpus from traditional eighteenth- and nineteenth-century hymnody used at orthodox religious services. Somewhat confusingly, revival songs texts were still called "hymns" by nineteenth-century music compilers and composers. Revival songs are also referred to in contemporary literature as spiritual songs, revival hymns, and revival spirituals. For sake of clarity, I shall use only the name "revival song," which does not clearly define a unified musical corpus, yet which designates a body of songs (texts and music) possessing recognizable commonalities, including association with the oral tradition, simple harmonic structure, secular influences and thematic similarities.¹ I shall refer to revival song collections and publications as revival songbooks, again to distinguish them from standard church hymnals. Historically, revival songs were preceded by "folk hymns" of the oral tradition, 1790-1820, and succeeded by "gospel hymns" of the post-Civil War period.

Revival songs and song collections represent a transition period in American church music from reliance on English psalm tunes and eighteenth-century hymn texts, to emergence of American composers and lyricists during the nineteenth century. Even nineteenth-century American texts represented, according to Henry Wilder Foote, the

survival or conscious revival of English balladic style, and tunes were often popular English songs or variations of other secular melodies.² Revival songs were forgotten soon after their brief heyday when American religious music composers returned to favoring European styles of instruction and composition. The Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs represent a combination of musical and textual styles through their incorporation of eighteenth-century European hymns and tunes, in conjunction with contemporary compositions. When the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs were printed, their compilers believed that they represented opposing musical standards, but within two decades, and even more so today, we have grouped them because of chronological proximity, as examples of the same tradition.

The revival song was a new genre of religious music, arising out of the American revival tradition. Together with the mid-nineteenth-century revivals arose the desire and need for special sacred songs as opposed to traditional hymnody, which "gave but imperfect expression to the ardent feelings of the worshipers."³ "Traditional" hymnody in America included primarily the compositions of Isaac Watts (1674-1748), John Wesley (1703-1791), Charles Wesley (1707-1788), and John Newton (1725-1807) whose eighteenth-century hymnals contained the standard texts for most Protestant denominations until the nineteenth century.

English colonists were familiar with John Rippon's publication, Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to Be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns (London, 1787), which contained texts of English Baptist hymnists. The influence of Isaac Watts in America was demonstrated by the publication of Watts's Psalms of David in 1801 under the supervision of Timothy Dwight of Yale and other Connecticut Congregationalists. Watts's dominance continued into the nineteenth century: through 1840, for example, Calvinistic Presbyterians only authorized use of Dwight's Watts (1802) and Psalms and Hymns (1831), a collection of mostly Watts hymns, which explains the scarcity of Old School Presbyterian contributions to revival hymnals from 1800-1840.⁴ By 1800, conservative elements of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians regarded Watts as the undisputed source for sacred lyrics, much as New Englanders revered The Bay Psalm Book (Cambridge, Mass., 1640) in the previous century.⁵

The tradition of psalm-singing as part of ritual worship was brought to the American colonies by European settlers whose use of metrical psalmody and the lining-out technique survived in America for about a century, until hymnal publication rendered lining-out superfluous, and until the time of the early nineteenth-century revivals when revival songs challenged the dominance of psalmody.

Until the eighteenth century, Puritans restricted sacred music to the psalms or a few metric scriptural texts.

Cotton Mather (1662/63-1727/28) wrote:

The Churches in New-England admit not into their Publick Services, any other than the Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated into English Metre.⁶

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists, like the Episcopalians, were slow to change from psalmody to hymnody, maintaining, like the Puritans, that only divinely-inspired texts were suitable for worship. Conservative musical standards prevailed as late as 1846, when George Hood affirmed the superiority of metrical psalmody, as an inheritance from Martin Luther, as the most desirable form of sacred music:

Free in its melody compared with any then in use, it partook nothing of the vulgar and irreverent lightness of our so-called "revival music," a style as hostile to the progress of true religion as it is to the cultivation of good taste.³

Only the Lutherans and the Moravians arrived in America with a thriving hymn tradition.⁸ The Moravians' influence on revival song was notable because the group produced many evangelical hymns and their lively singing style was commended and imitated.

By 1800, revival songs were already challenging the newly legitimized hymns, finding them unsuitable for revival needs.

The Baptists and Methodists, on the other hand, were among the first denominations to turn from psalmody to hymnody in the eighteenth century, and then, to compose and popularize evangelical folk music, or revival songs. Foote notes that in the mid-eighteenth century, colonial folk hymnody "began among the Baptists, and even more conspicuously among the Methodists, who, as has been noted, as early as 1784, had found the musical and literary standards of founder John Wesley too severe for many of their congregations."⁹

In 1784, the year when Methodism became an established American church, a Methodist Conference in Baltimore addressed the issue, "How shall we reform our singing?" The conference affirmed Wesley's dominance: "Let all our preachers who have any knowledge in the notes, improve it by learning to sing themselves and keeping close to Mr. Wesley's tunes and [taste in] hymns."¹⁰ The last warning phrase, addressed to already emerging supporters of camp-meeting songs, indicates that even before 1800 the Methodists recognized two diverging hymn traditions. Foote designates the early musical efforts of these two denominations as forerunners of nineteenth-century revival songs and gospel hymns, and as part of successive stages in meeting the demand for popular hymnody, which developed as a parallel tradition to standard church hymnody.¹¹

The late eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-

century folk hymns of the New England Baptists and Methodists were sung widely by these groups in New England and especially on the Southern frontier. Fry explained how the early folk hymns became incorporated into revival tradition:

The deficiency here [i.e., lack of adequate music for camp-meetings] was principally supplied [i.e., remedied] by the preachers. Hymns, or "spiritual songs," as they were more frequently called, to the cultivated ears rude and bold in expression, rugged in meter, and imperfect in rhyme, often improvised in the preaching stand, were at once accepted as more suited to their wants. These were quickly committed to memory, and to a considerable extent usurped the place of the older and more worthy hymns. The most of these hymns are now entirely lost; for some of them were never written at all.¹²

Even many of the improvised revival songs which were transcribed failed to gain publication in northeastern songbooks like the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs because of their ephemeral nature and because of the bias of some compilers. The conservative Asahel Nettleton, for example, believed that most revival songs in existence by the late 1820s were "entirely destitute of poetic merit," and thus were omitted from his collection. He stated that revival songs

should be confined to seasons of revival: and even here, they ought to be introduced with discretion; for on this, their principal utility must depend . . . With respect to the hymns of a lower grade, I fully unite in the opinion of a much respected correspondent: "That the safest course is to leave them generally out--That the warm heart of a young

convert will take a strong hold, and that with pleasure and profit too, of many things, from which, in a more ripened state, he would derive neither.¹³

Memorization of words and tunes was necessary because there were few existing hymn-books in 1800. Often, the itinerant preacher owned a single copy of his favorite collection, which he brought with him wherever he evangelized. In other cases, the congregation tore up an available hymnal, distributing the pages to as many people as possible. Some melodies and lyrics appearing in the Lyre and Spiritual Songs are not easily memorized, implying that revivals had become standardized by 1830 to a degree that songbooks were available for the assembly. The popularity of revival songs was due to their interdenominational appeal and simple nature, which was heightened by the method of their performance. At revivals, the preacher led singing, if he was musical, or he deferred to a chanter. The crowd responded in unison, with no harmony, sometimes with free interjections, and perhaps with a simple accompaniment, depending on the availability of instruments and performers. Most frequently, however, the congregation sang the melody only. As publisher-compiler Joshua Leavitt (1792-1873) noted in the preface to the Christian Lyre (1830), "the religious effect of the hymn is heightened by having all sing the air only." Leavitt's statement implies that the private emotional experience of conversion was now an aspect of the public sphere. Both the Lyre and Spiritual Songs

intended to answer the need for songs used at social worship, as their titles revealed. Leavitt's compilation was suited for "social worship, families, social parties of christians, and prayer meetings; and particularly in revivals of religion,"¹⁴ while Spiritual Songs for Social Worship was "adapted to the use of families and private circles in seasons of revival, to missionary meetings, to the monthly concert,"¹⁵ and other occasions of special interest." These collections, like many similar ones, were distributed by subscription and by personal dispatch. Leavitt, for example, sold the monthly "numbers" of the Lyre through his newspaper, the New York Evangelist, beginning in 1830, and sent copies of the work to interested friends and revival ministers, including Charles Finney, for their comments and use. Leavitt asked Finney,

allow me to request of you the favor to aid in circulation particularly in your own place. If you and some other friends would raise a few dollars and procure 50 or 100 of No. 1 and scatter them with your prayer meetings the work would be introduced at once and with very little expense.¹⁶

Hastings and Mason, although disdainful of Leavitt's musical taste, likewise originally offered Spiritual Songs in monthly installments, totalling eight numbers,¹⁷ which were later bound in two volumes. Hastings, like Leavitt, publicized Spiritual Songs in the newspaper which he edited, the Western Recorder (Utica, New York).

USE AND IMPACT OF REVIVAL SONGS

On Saturday morning, soon after daylight, we had family prayers. At sun-rise, we had a general prayer-meeting before the stand . . . in the afternoon we had a sermon from Jeremiah, vii, 21. There were prayers offered almost constantly in the tents, both night and day. There was also a good deal of singing.¹

This report from an Oneida, New York, revival attests to the presence of music at a nineteenth-century religious meeting. Revivals, as ritual processes which generated and intensified religious feeling, relied on prayer, preaching, and song as their primary means. Revival songs and group singing were as important to revivals as preaching and prayer because they too, aided in the conversion process. Just as prayers and sermons intended to produce converts, so was music utilized in order to promote and deepen religious feeling. Sacred sung music served to intensify and sustain the emotional impact of a religious gathering and to unify the congregation at a revival. The mid-nineteenth-century evangelists used singing as a "means" which like preaching, readied the hearts of sinners for conversion. Orson Parker believed that revival singing unified a congregation more effectively than preaching.

The singing of appropriate hymns performs a very important part in promoting revivals. I believe there is as much conviction lodged in the mind by singing as by preaching. The

melody softens the feelings, and the sentiment of the hymns leaves its stamp upon the melted heart and ripens into fruit. The singing calls out charms, and keeps the people together more than the preaching.²

Parker claimed further that music was necessary to the success of any public event during the nineteenth century:

The great public attraction of all gatherings is the music. You cannot carry on a dance, a show, a circus, a theatre, or a war, without music.³

Luther Lee advised that

Singing during a revival is an important part of religious exercise. Words should be well selected so as to meet the feelings of the congregation; or so as to be suited to the case of awakened sinners. An appropriate verse, well sung, at the right time, will sometimes do more to assist the struggling spirit to take hold on Christ by faith, than a long sermon or a long prayer. The words may be a prayer clothed in the charms of music, so that while they have all the power with God that any prayer can have, it reacts on our own hearts with a redoubled influence.⁴

Evangelists' recognition of the power of music to sway individual and group sentiment to conversion made revival music a valuable tool, when used wisely. The Presbyterian Magazine reported that

The frequent interspersion of hymns, and encouraging every one to sing by the use of well-known and simple tunes, have a powerful effect in engaging and interesting the congregation in the meeting. All the revivals have been intimately connected with the love and use of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs.⁵

Surprisingly, evangelist Charles Finney, who was responsible for developing and standardizing successful revival techniques,

objected to the use of singing at prayer meetings because it destroyed the desirable mood of solemnity. Finney's objections to singing at prayer meetings stemmed from his understanding of the spirit of prayer, which he regarded as "a spirit of travail, an agony of soul, supplicating and pleading with God with strong cryings, and groanings that cannot be uttered."⁶ Joyful music, although suitable for already convicted sinners, was detrimental to sinners because it destroyed the state of mental anguish which preceded their conviction. Apparently, Finney approved of solemn singing, "but not that joyful kind of singing, that makes everybody feel comfortable, and turns off the mind from the object of the prayer meeting."⁷

Presumably, Leavitt, as Finney's friend and journalistic associate, embraced Finney's brand of evangelism. Thus it seems curious that Leavitt sent copies of the Christian Lyre for Finney's use when Finney publicly disparaged use of song for certain forms of social worship. I have not located evidence indicating that Finney used the Lyre at his revivals; however, among the few references directly linking Finney and revival music are the following: when he became pastor at the Chatham Street Chapel in 1832, "The Voice of Free Grace," which is in Volume 1 of the Christian Lyre, was sung at a morning rehearsal. When Finney died, his last song was "Jesus, lover of my soul," which also appears in the first volume of the Lyre.⁸

. DYNAMICS OF REVIVAL SINGING

Most revivalists accepted revival songs as a successful way to "deepen feeling." In addition to helping transform sinners into repentant converts, revival songs served to reinforce the message of the preaching and introduced basic doctrinal beliefs to the American populace. As John Boles states, "Chanted, sung, and memorized, these simple tunes served to reinforce the messages presented in a sermon context."¹ By 1820, sacred music composed for religious services was accepted as part of ritual church service. During the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries only Biblical psalms and Scripturally-inspired texts were permitted for use as sacred music. The psalms were sung, without instrumental accompaniment, by having a cantor "line-out" two lines at a time, which the audience repeated. Revivalists at camp and revival meetings successfully adopted a similar clergy-congregation response technique, which, according to Louis Benson, explains the origins of many revival songs in the spontaneity of chanting between the preacher (or cantor) and members of the crowd.¹⁹ Preachers and cantors at a camp meeting lined out already composed songs or preachers and participants concocted rough and irregular couplets or stanzas out of scripture phrases and everyday speech, with liberal

interjections of hallelujahs and Amens.

The beliefs expressed in revival texts were necessarily simple because of the brevity and redundancy of the songs. In the context of a revival setting, the short, repetitive songs were easily learned by a large congregation.

Shorter songs were desirable for another reason, as Nathan Beman pointed out:

Long hymns and long prayers are death to the Spirit of a revival . . . A grand practical principle is singing must be short, or its effect will be lost.³

Luther Lee stated more specifically:

Though frequent singing may be useful, long singing by all means should be avoided; it cannot fail to be hurtful. From one to four verses is all that should be sung at a time in revival meetings.⁴

Secondly, in addition to simplicity and brevity, revival songs were not destined for expression of theological arguments because their appeal was intentionally emotional, not intellectual, as was the case with the revivalist movement. B. St. J. Fry agreed that the goal of sacred singing is emotional response, not doctrinal instruction:

Singing, as part of divine worship, is not to be considered a device of man's invention, but a product of the activities of his spiritual nature when it disposes itself for worship. The hymns of the Church are not primarily designed to afford instruction in doctrine, but to open a channel for the expression of feeling; and we find that those which the

Church has permanently incorporated into her devotions have been the production of individual minds deeply imbued with piety, the outflowing of the many phases of religious emotion, glowing with passion purified by the new life.⁵

He concluded that revival songs were subject to the same criteria as traditional hymns.

Thirdly, the simplicity of the doctrines found in revival songs is further characteristic because revivals were frequently interdenominational, and any tenets expressed in song texts encompassed several denominations.

As Fry stated:

Generally the subjects of the hymns are those doctrines held alike by the whole orthodox Protestant Church; there is so great a silence of denominational phraseology that no one could tell, from internal evidence with which branch of the Church the authors were connected . . . indeed, it may be said, that in all wide-spread revivals denominational differences are ruled out by the very intensity of the interest to save souls from an impending ruin.⁶

Theologically and musically, simple revival songs encouraged full congregational participation: members were likely to join singing when part of an emotionally-charged crowd, and when the songs embodied common beliefs and images.

In her study of the dynamics of Victorian hymns and hymn-singing, Susan Tamke explains that

Hymn-singing is a vital part of the communal aspect of public worship. The act of rising (or sitting) as one body and singing as one voice creates a bond of community within the congregation. It is a palpable confirmation of the idea that the church is the faithful gathered together. If the hymn is a familiar

one, if the music is not so difficult that the singers become individually self-conscious, if the congregation throws itself into the singing--if, in other words, the hymn-singing successfully creates a feeling of shared experience--this part of the worship service can be most affective . . . Emotionally, hymn-singing is probably the most important part of the worship service . . . Performed again and again, this ritual act of hymn-singing has the power to tap emotional wellsprings that are not wholly conscious or rational.⁷

Tamke's statement may be validly applied to American revivals of 1820-50 and to eighteenth-century American revivals as well, because the tradition of religious song-singing as a unifying force at American revivals had been established by John and Charles Wesley in the 1730s. John Wesley formulated seven rules for singing Methodists:

1. Learn the tune.
2. Sing them as they are printed.
3. Sing all. "If it is a cross to you, take it up and you will find a blessing."
4. Sing lustily and with a good courage.
5. Sing modestly. Do not bawl.
6. Sing in time. Do not run before or stay behind.
7. Above all, sing spiritually. Have an eye to God in every word you sing. Aim at pleasing him more than yourself, or any other Creature. In order to do this, attend strictly to the sense of what you sing, and see that your heart is not carried away with the sound, but offered to God continually.⁸

As a method for promoting group unity and harmony, revival songs were successful and revival singing earned a reputation for its enthusiasm and volume. Rev. Samuel Asbury, a descendant of Methodist circuit-rider Francis Asbury, reported:

The immediate din was tremendous; at a distance of 100 yards it was beautiful; and at a distance of a half-mile it was magnificent.⁹

COMPILERS AND COLLEAGUES: FINNEY, LEAVITT,
HASTINGS AND MASON

The lives of Charles Finney, Joshua Leavitt, and Thomas Hastings intertwined through their efforts to promote revivals or to aid the progress of church music, although representative of different aesthetic standards. Both Leavitt and Hastings had connections with Finney. Lowell Mason knew only Hastings, and collaborated with him for Spiritual Songs and in other "formal associations."¹ Finney, Leavitt and Hastings had their most frequent associations between 1832 and 1837, which are sketched in the following pages.

Joshua Leavitt's early years paralleled Charles Finney's, since both men received legal and ministerial training. Born in Heath, Massachusetts, Leavitt was graduated from Yale in 1814 before entering the Congregational ministry. Finney, from Warren, Connecticut, chose not to attend Yale, preferring to teach instead of pursuing an advanced degree. He entered the legal profession in 1818, and left it after his conversion in 1821. Finney was ordained as a "Presbygational" minister in Oneida, New York, in 1824, where the Presbyterian and Congregational churches had been united since 1801 to allow more effective missionary work. Both Leavitt and Finney concentrated their

efforts in New York, where Leavitt edited several city newspapers and participated in the emerging anti-slavery movement, and Finney conducted frontier revivals in the western part of the state. For Finney, the transition from the law to evangelization was simple: "I was bred a lawyer. I came right forth from a law office to the pulpit, and talked to the people as I would have talked to a jury."²

In New York City on 6 March 1830, Finney founded the New York Evangelist, a newspaper devoted to the promotion and extension of revivals. During November of the same year, Leavitt had already begun printing the first numbers of the Christian Lyre, which he sent to Finney, as recorded in the letter previously cited (p. 76). In the next two years, the Lyre gained increased circulation and popularity, running to numerous editions.

Leavitt first met Finney in New York City in 1832 when he became editor of Finney's Evangelist, a position he held until the paper folded in 1837. As Finney recalled,

The paper changed editors two or three times, perhaps, in the course of as many years; and finally Rev. Joshua Leavitt was called, and accepted the editorial chair. He, as everybody knows, was an able editor. The paper soon went into extensive circulation, and proved itself a medium through which the friends of revivals, as they then existed, could communicate their thoughts to the public.³

Also in 1832, Finney accepted the pastorate of the Chatham Street Chapel (the Second Free Presbyterian Church) in New

York at the request of his friends, abolitionists Arthur and Lewis Tappan. The chapel was the site of numerous reform society meetings through the 1830s.

Thomas Hastings also arrived in New York City in 1832, leaving Utica to become music director for twelve New York City churches as part of an experiment to improve congregational singing. Finney's chapel was among the group. From 1824-1832 Hastings had edited the Western Recorder in Utica and had written its music column. In his articles he continually criticized prevailing "abuses" in church music, offered practical remedies to aid church musicians, and described the necessity for music education.⁴ After Hastings had spent several months in the New York church experiment training choirs at nightly meetings, he believed that his efforts were worthwhile, as he wrote to his brother, "I feel encouraged and think something important is likely to be effected."⁵ Hastings also accepted private pupils, aided daytime choir rehearsals and continued issuing revisions of previous publications. For whatever reasons, and despite Hastings' optimism, the church music experiment disintegrated during 1833 and Hastings became the choir director at the Bleeker Street Presbyterian Church, New York City.⁶

Leavitt, in 1833, helped found the New York Anti-Slavery Society, which met at Finney's Chatham Street Chapel. Finney's health had been poor, so he spent January

to July 1834 on a Mediterranean voyage. Hastings spent summer 1834 in Princeton, New Jersey, returning to New York City in the fall to work with the Chatham Street choir, as well as with other congregations. Leavitt, during Finney's absence, had almost ruined the New York Evangelist through publication of unpopular anti-slavery material. Subscriptions declined drastically, so that, as Finney recalled,

On my return to New York, in the fall, Mr. Leavitt came to me and said, "Brother Finney, I have ruined the Evangelist. I have not been as prudent as you cautioned me to be, and I have gone so far ahead of public intelligence and feeling on the subject (of slavery), that my subscription list is rapidly failing," . . . He said if I could write a series of articles on revivals, he had no doubt it would restore the paper immediately to public favor.⁷

Finney's twenty-two Lectures on Revivals of Religion, printed weekly in the Evangelist, beginning in December 1834, were so popular that the paper soon regained its circulation, and led Finney to declare that Leavitt "was an able theologian, a man of broad views and profound acquirements, and in his hands the paper soon became an immense power for good. The revival measures were vindicated."⁸ Leavitt, unlike fellow evangelists, was more famous for his writings than for his preaching. His numerous publishing activities led abolitionist Theodore Weld to claim that Leavitt "revolutionized the character of the religious periodical

press."⁹

Beginning in 1835, Finney, Leavitt, and Hastings met less often. In May, Finney moved to Ohio as a professor of theology at Oberlin College. He maintained pastorship of the Chatham Street Chapel by returning to New York in the winter, until 1837, when he relinquished the position. Hastings began new projects, including a monthly, The Music Magazine, which he considered as a forward step in public music education:

Musical intelligencers which have circulated to some extent in this country, have not been without their use . . . Something farther seems however to be demanded for securing the best interests of the art; and a monthly magazine, appropriated to all the important branches of theoretical and practical music, will to say the least, be regarded as something new.¹⁰

As a further indication of his professional concern for elevating American musical tastes, in May 1835 at the Chatham Chapel, Hastings became a founder of The New York Academy of Sacred Music.¹¹

During the 1820s Hastings had met and corresponded with Lowell Mason, who was then working as a bank clerk in Savannah, Georgia. Hastings referred to Mason in the Western Recorder as the "distinguished musician in Savannah."¹² The two men evidently recognized similar musical tastes (Hastings had published his Dissertation on Musical Taste in 1822) and planned to collaborate in a publication:

It may not be uninteresting to the friends of psalmody [Hastings' general name for hymns] to know that the editors of these two publications [i.e., Mason's The Handel and Haydn Society Collection, Boston 1821, and Hastings' Musica Sacra, Utica 1815] have for several years maintained a regular and friendly correspondence on the subject of uniformity in the revised harmonies of our plainest standard tunes; that a personal interview has recently been held for the same purpose; and that strong hopes are entertained of a final accomplishment of the desired object.¹³

Four years later, in July 1831, the Western Recorder printed the prospectus for Spiritual Songs for Social Worship, and the first numbers were issued sometime between 5 July and 16 August.¹⁴ Although Hastings and Mason publicized their plan in the Recorder, it is uncertain how many numbers were issued before Volume 1 was collected and bound during 1831: "After the numbers are completed, and a little time is gained for careful revision, a permanent edition may then be expected on a page somewhat enlarged."¹⁵

Before their 1827 "interview" occurred, and while Hastings and Leavitt were active in New York, Lowell Mason, a Congregational layman from Medfield, Massachusetts, had come to Boston in 1827 from Savannah, where besides working as a bank clerk, he studied harmony with an immigrant, F. C. Abel.¹⁶ In Robert Stevenson's words, Abel

set Mason on the track he was to follow throughout his long teaching and composing career of always turning to German treatises and German musical practices for the only true and "scientific" models.¹⁷

In Boston, Mason became president and conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society, where he had already published a successful music collection in 1822. Henry Wilder Foote reports that Mason travelled through Europe in about 1830, studying with professional musicians.¹⁸ More precisely, Mason's first European visit was not until 1837, after he had already written many hymn tunes during an especially fertile period of composition between 1830 and 1832. Among the tunes written during these three years were: Laban, Rockingham, Watchman, Hebron, Wesley, Cowper, Uxbridge, Boylston, Downs, Bethany and Olivet.¹⁹ Only Hebron, Uxbridge and Olivet appeared in Spiritual Songs.

Like Hastings, Mason became a church choirmaster. He taught at Lyman Beecher's Bowdoin Street Church in Boston from 1831 to 1844, but is best remembered for his hymn tunes and for his dedication and contribution to improving the musical education of Americans. Robert Stevenson states that "no American has ever written so many hymn tunes that have endured."²⁰

In addition to his musical contributions, Mason supported musical training for teachers and children. In 1832 he established the Boston Academy of Music to instruct children in vocal music, and by 1838 his plan to include musical instruction in the Boston public school system was adopted. By 1829 Mason had been espousing Pestalozzian principles of education, that is, an inductive method of

teaching tune writing, based on the work of Pestalozzi in Europe, which taught pupils the rules of composition as they learned to compose.²¹ In other words, compositional skills were built up, instead of the universally used system of beginning with a complete tune and correcting errors as they occurred.²²

In 1834, Mason published for teachers the Manual of the Boston Academy of Music for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music on the System of Pestalozzi (Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1834). However, Howard Ellis comments that it was "in reality a mere annotated translation of G. F. Kubler's Anleitung zum Gesang-Unterrichte in Schillen, published at Stuttgart in 1826."²³ In any case, Mason's work and publications indicated that he was profoundly influenced by European musical and pedagogical methods, and attempted to establish them in the United States.

Hastings agreed with Mason on the subject of development of American church music:

Europe has no style strictly devotional that compares at all with what we are cultivating in this country. Mr. Mason says the same--others also concur in the statement. This places us in a most responsible attitude.²⁴

Both men were determined to create unique American church music based on, but surpassing, European models. However, their harmonious relationship grew less cordial through the

1840s, perhaps because Mason believed that his presence in Boston made it the center of the music world. Hastings, located in New York, watched for signs of the decline of Mason's popularity. In 1848 he wrote,

A multitude of Mason's old adherents have become our patrons. This no doubt galls him, but we cannot help it. If his next publication is not better than the two preceding ones, he will I should think, about use himself up.²⁵

Hastings' predictions did not come to pass as immediately as he had hoped. Besides coveting Mason's popularity with the American music market, Hastings may have envied his salesmanship and prolific compositional ability. Hastings himself was a shrewd salesman, using European pseudonyms for his tunes to increase their commercial appeal.²⁶ Today, a large repertory of Mason's tunes are still printed and sung (there are thirty-two Mason entries in the 1935 Methodist Hymnal),²⁷ while only three or four of the approximately one thousand Hastings tunes have survived.²⁸

RIVAL SONGBOOKS: THE CHRISTIAN LYRE
VERSUS SPIRITUAL SONGS

The design of Joshua Leavitt's Christian Lyre was hailed as an improvement over earlier hymnals because it included both song texts and tunes, with corresponding words and music on facing pages. Previous publications placed texts and music in separate books. For example, the music in Simeon Jocelyn's¹ Zion's Harp (1824) was intended to accompany texts in Asahel Nettleton's Village Hymns (1824).² Of course, many traditional hymn tunes were already familiar to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century churchgoers. During the nineteenth century, publication of words and music together in inexpensive volumes as Leavitt did extended availability of revival songs and popularity of revival singing.

The folk hymns of 1790-1830, as identified by Paul Kaatrud, were inspired by oral tradition, and remained unwritten and unpublished until the early nineteenth century, first appearing in songbooks like Jeremiah Ingalls' The Christian Harmony (Exeter, NH, 1805).³ Ingalls' collection, containing transcriptions of songs from the oral, secular folk heritage, as well as eighteenth-century English hymns, was popular in northern singing schools, but was not

followed by a book containing selections from oral tradition until the Christian Lyre appeared. Recall that original revival tunes were not even written or published in America until about 1830, when compositions of American composers were introduced. Some of these "composers," however, were nothing more than adapters or compilers of previously written material.

The few revival song publications appearing in the first three decades preceding the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs included Nathaniel Ibbetson's Revival Hymns, Asahel Nettleton's Village Hymns (which claimed not to contain revival songs), Enoch Freeman's Selection of Hymns, and Orange Scott's New and Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book.⁴ These pocket "songbooks" contained texts only, and often merely included eighteenth-century hymns from standard sources. As discussed previously, Nettleton did not locate many extant revival hymns while preparing his work, and settled upon a combination of Watts' hymns, the Hartford Collection of Sacred Harmony (designed for singing schools and musical societies⁵ [1807]), and some original works. Freeman claimed to include a few original songs, "designed to aid the friends of Zion in their private and social worship," although the total original texts number only eleven out of 286. Of these four compilers, only Scott stated that his work "contains many hymns never before published in camp meeting hymn books, though often sung in

social meetings, at camp meetings, and in revivals of religion," while omitting revival songs "destitute, either, of good sense, good poetry, or sound divinity."⁶

Volume 1 of the Christian Lyre was first published in New York in 1830 and ran through twenty-six editions by 1846. Because of the Lyre's immediate success, Leavitt decided to continue subscription sales "as long as the Christian public shall see fit to call for it."⁷ One separate edition was published in shape-note notation in 1832.⁸ Volume 2 appeared in 1831, with entirely different contents. Later editions combined both volumes together with an 1831 Supplement to the Christian Lyre in a thicker, but still conveniently-sized songbook. The Supplement, containing 106 psalm tunes only, was a response to friends' wishes for such a collection "printed in a shape to be bound with the Christian Lyre, for use in family worship and in prayer meetings."⁹ In fact, the Supplement contained many traditional European tunes.

The original Lyre contained 148 texts and 101 tunes; the second volume, 182 texts and 102 tunes. Successive volumes were printed from the same type plates, and only minor alterations appear in "revised" editions, including shortened prefaces, additional advertisements, and slightly varied contents. Two thousand copies were printed in each edition, making a total of 54,000 copies. Leavitt's songbook was distributed at least as far north as Vermont, as

far south as South Carolina, and as far west as Ohio, according to his correspondence. Apparently, the Lyre's circulation was considerable for contemporary songbooks. B. St. J. Fry reported that Thomas Hinde's The Pilgrim Songster (Cincinnati, 1810, 1815, 1828) reached (only) a circulation of ten thousand copies, which was considered large for the period.¹⁰ The Quarterly Christian Spectator also attested to the Lyre's popularity because it "met the approbation of a very extensive portion of the Christian community." The Spectator reported that eight editions of two thousand copies each were sold in little more than six months.¹¹

The layout of the Lyre was superior to that of eighteenth-century oblong songbooks because it printed the texts between the musical lines, which allowed easier reading and permitted inclusion of several texts on a page.

Leavitt's musical sources were varied. First, since he was not a musician or lyricist, he used solicited compositions for his collection. The New York Evangelist requested that "Persons having music, either written or printed, suitable to the design of this book, are invited to communicate it, free of expense, to the subscriber, No. 3 William St., NY. Joshua Leavitt."¹² Some songs were attributed and composed "expressly for the Lyre," while the majority remain anonymous. Secondly, Leavitt printed texts of the Wesleys, Watts, Newton, and Cowper drawn from

previous publications. Thirdly, he incorporated tunes from oral and popular tradition.

I have selected the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs for Social Worship for study because both claimed to represent the popular culture: the Lyre was the first widely-circulated revival songster to include music and words; Spiritual Songs was conceived and published as a reaction to the Lyre, with the intent of substituting more suitable songs to replace Leavitt's offering. Hastings and Mason published their first numbers of Spiritual Songs soon after Leavitt's first numbers appeared in April 1830, in an attempt to combat Leavitt's "frivolous" taste, and more specifically, his use of secular tunes for religious purposes. Their collection, deemed "more elevated and chaste in its character--music, which, while it enlivens and animates the affections, shall also be freed from every unhallowed and unpleasant association."¹³

The original preface to the Lyre reveals Leavitt's purpose: to aid "the progress of Christ's cause" through supplying

hymns and music of a different character than those ordinarily heard in the church . . . It is intended to contain a collection of such pieces as are specially adapted to evening meetings and social worship, and chiefly such as are not found in our common collections of sacred music.

Clearly, Leavitt distinguished between revival song writers and "scientific musicians," a nineteenth-century catchword

for composers, like Hastings and Mason, who employed a technical understanding of composition and who revered European models as the norm for sacred music. Leavitt's compilation purported "to profit plain Christians" with currently popular revival songs, not to please scientific musicians. The term "scientific musicians" appeared frequently as a complementary attribution in the writings of Hastings and Mason. Hastings once praised a contemporary as "probably one of the most scientific musicians now living,"¹⁴ while Mason equated "highly scientific music" with learnedness and intelligence, and in reference to Schumann and Mendelssohn, described them as "advancers of scientific knowledge." American interest in both religion and the science of music in the nineteenth century is illustrated by these comments:

The science of mathematics, of chemistry [sic], etc. have each their appropriate professor, and in this we all rejoice . . . But can it be said that the spiritual, the eternal interests of the community, are more vitally concerned with the science of chemistry than with the science of sacred music? . . . Why then shall not the science of sacred music take its rank among the kindred sciences?¹⁵

Leavitt, as a minister, newspaper editor, and anti-slavery leader, was unconcerned with current musical trends and compositional controversies, freely admitting his ignorance of music theory and the fine points of text and tune selection. The real importance of the Christian Lyre, in

Leavitt's opinion, was that it published revival songs which had existed in evangelical Protestant oral tradition since the late eighteenth century, but which had been excluded from previous publications by scientific musicians.

He wrote:

People will sing music that means something and that meets their feelings more than ordinary psalm-tunes. It is astonishing to learn the rich variety of such music which is thus preserved by tradition, and preserved thus because it is excluded from books. There are tunes now sung in prayer-meetings which have, in this way, outlived whole generations of what is called scientific music. Is it not time that we should act a little from facts and experience and leave musical theories to their proper sphere?¹⁶

Because the increase of devotion was his main object, Leavitt simplified the music of the songs he printed by reducing them to melody lines only, or melodies with an occasional bass line to complement the melody. There are several two and three parts songs also in the collection. He reasoned that the religious effect of a song was enhanced when everyone sang the melody only.

The preface to the 1831 fifth edition (revised) of the Lyre declared that the music was intended to be

easy, yet effective; simple, touching, animating, moving; such as will, by its melody, affect the mind in correspondence with the language; music, in short, which will produce a religious effect, rather than that which is only calculated to please a musical ear.

Leavitt's concern for suitable revival music

evidently mirrored the general concern of many contemporary sacred song compilers. Nathan Beman's¹⁷ Sacred Lyrics and Select Hymns (Troy, NY, 1832) serves as a contemporary comparison to Leavitt's collection, although Beman's book contains texts only, and was merely "intended as a Supplement to Watts." In their prefaces, both compilers "had special reference to those seasons of God's mercy which are denominated Revivals of Religion,"¹⁸ and expressed the desire to remedy the faults of previous publications. Beman was further anxious to provide texts "on subjects of a lyric character," meaning lyric poetry about religious subjects "for the expression of strong emotion." He criticized tunes "whose associations are entirely secular, if not profane, and whose tendency is to inspire any other feelings rather than those of devotion."¹⁹

Beman did not attempt a remedy for profane tunes by including more suitable music in his collection, yet he assured the reader that his texts possessed a "lyrical merit in their execution."²⁰ A reviewer from the Western Recorder approved Beman's collection because the theology of the texts did not contradict revival preaching, as was the case in Asahel Nettleton's Village Hymns. The reviewer voiced sentiments similar to Finney's remarks about the need for solemn music, claiming that "this book, in this aspect, may now be used to advantage, as auxiliary to close solemn, impressive preaching. The singing and

preaching will now be found to speak the same language."²¹ It is not surprising that the Recorder approved of Beman's book since Thomas Hastings composed songs for Beman, arranged others, and allowed Beman to include some compositions from Spiritual Songs.²² A casual examination of the 330 hymns in Sacred Lyrics reveals that many of the texts also appear in the Lyre; eleven are taken from Hastings and Mason.

The appearance of the same texts in different songbooks indicates that compilers were familiar with recent publications, and freely borrowed from each other, as well as from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources. A difficulty with obtaining correct attributions for revival songs is due to this frequent borrowing and to editorial alterations of texts. Beman, for example, admitted that he reduced and altered some hymns to render them suitable for singing.²³ Enoch Freeman, like Leavitt, relied on the British school of Watts, Wesley, Steele, Doddridge, and Samuel Stennett, as well as a few less familiar names: J. Stennett, J. Marsden, J. N. Brown, Ovington's Selection, and Cudworth's Collection.

Contemporary reaction to the Christian Lyre was mixed. Reviewers included the Princeton Review, the Western Recorder, and the Quarterly Christian Spectator. The first two newspapers commented on early numbers of the Lyre, while the Yale Spectator published a lengthy review

of both volumes.

The Princeton Review simultaneously praised the book's spirit and evangelical character and deplored the "secular lightness of many of the melodies, and still more the attempted adaptation of spiritual songs to airs which are by association connected with ungodly poetry."²⁴ Hastings and Mason's Spiritual Songs was cited as a model of superior musical and textual choice. The Review's statement alludes to the basis of conflict between Leavitt and Hastings and Mason over the use of secular, popular tunes for sacred hymns and revival music: Leavitt supported and incorporated popular music, using songs of American, British, and Moravian origin. Hastings and Mason claimed proudly to have avoided any songs with "unhallowed associations" in accordance with their aesthetic standards. Their differing opinions represent two types of early nineteenth-century musical taste, popularists versus purists.

Thomas Hastings, in the Western Recorder, also objected to Leavitt's use of popular tunes, especially the "Marseilles" (the "Marseillaise"), "Indian Philosopher," and "Young Man's Wish," which were adapted to revival texts, along with other "old English street ballads, and American melodies of the most shapeless character." Hastings claimed that

the application of such music as this, in a collection designed for general circulation, is one of the greatest

outrages on musical adaptation that can well be imagined.²⁵

In sum, Hastings found the Lyre totally unacceptable because of its secular tunes and poorly chosen texts. He concluded his remarks by levelling personal criticism at Leavitt:

We are truly sorry that any minister of the gospel, and especially the worthy Secretary of one of our National Societies, should have associated his name with such a wretched publication as this; and after all the light which has been recently shed upon the subject of musical adaptation, in various parts of the country, the thing, we are constrained to say, admits of no apology.²⁶

Hastings' comments in his Dissertation on Musical Taste clarify further his disapproval of Leavitt's compilation of revival music. Hastings, who was primarily a singing teacher and church musician, viewed church music, in a traditional worship service, as a divine institution,

designed for the express purpose of assisting the devotions of the pious. But when frivolous trash or unmeaning jargon is substituted for church musick, no such result can be rationally anticipated.²⁷

In contrast to the Western Recorder, the Yale Quarterly Christian Spectator, printed at Leavitt's alma mater, defended the use of secular tunes in the Lyre:

There is no reason why a Christian may not adopt a good tune wherever he can find it, and use it for edification and improvement . . . The great objection to these tunes, viz. the associations connected with them, is also decided by experience, to be more imaginary than real; for men are so much creatures of habit, that no one, after singing these secular airs a few times,

set to suitable words, in the way of religious and social worship, need find any difficulty in making it the vehicle of the most chastened and elevated devotion.

With this view, we cannot but think that our stores of music for the church, have been considerably enriched by the labors of Mr. Leavitt.²⁸

The Spectator reviewer further noted that Leavitt's tunes had an added legitimacy because some had been used by Pennsylvania Moravians thirty years earlier. "Who, that has any acquaintance with that excellent people, will not bear testimony, that their singing has preeminently operated to animate and invigorate their piety?"²⁹ Leavitt's Moravian-inspired tunes included at least "Moravian Hymn."³⁰ The reviewer found the tune "The Resolve" detrimental to the Lyre, and objected to revisions made to two other tunes in later editions, yet, generally approved of the publication. He praised Leavitt for making a significant step in the publication of convenient and acceptable revival song collections, even if the Lyre did not completely succeed "according to our beau ideal of such a work."³¹

The musical standards expressed in the Spectator in support of the Christian Lyre differ dramatically from Hastings' opinions. Where Hastings idealized high aesthetic quality as the criterion for judging good church music, the Quarterly Christian Spectator tested the merit of a song by the religious effect it produced. Thus, the Spectator implied subordination of taste to effect, asking, what is

the use of music which appeals mainly to the intellect and which exhibits the composer's skill, instead of music which improves religious devotion?

Leavitt's lack of pretension about his musical skills, and his own musical preferences led him to publish tunes and texts which he thought would have a religious effect rather than a merely musical delight, as he stated in the Lyre's preface. He believed that such songs had been previously excluded from songbooks and singing schools "by the fastidiousness of scientific musicians." Comments from recipients of the Lyre indicate sympathetic musical tastes. For example, Rev. Asa Mead of East Hartford, Connecticut stated that

Scientific musicians are, in general, by no means judges of what will move a few pious hearts. They judge from the effect of full choirs, in large rooms, or numerous assemblies; and often what will move those who attend a theatre, rather than those who live by faith.³²

The New York Baptist Register found Leavitt's tunes those

which we have been long accustomed to sing in such meetings, though there are several new and excellent ones among them, such as the Marseilles and Missionary hymns.³³

Ironically, use of the French national anthem for religious purposes had been condemned by Hastings, and "the Missionary Hymn" was written by his collaborator, Lowell Mason. Rev. Elisha Cushman of Bridgeport, Connecticut, even lauded Leavitt for choosing pieces calculated to cherish good

taste, and the Religious Intelligencer commended the design, selection, and execution of the work. The songs were described as "simple, heart-cheering and soul-edifying."³⁴

The comments about the Lyre also reveal a respect for the spirit of Methodist singing, which paralleled the evangelists' admiration of Methodist exhortation. The Reverend J. B. Waterbury, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, suggested that

we [the Presbyterians?] sacrifice too much to taste. The secret of the Methodists lies in the admirable adaptation of their music and hymns to produce effect; they strike at once at the heart, and the moment we hear their animated thrilling choruses, we are electrified. We, on the other hand, are slow, cold and formal, and ring our monotonous changes in common and long metre.³⁵

As will be examined later, the Lyre, like many revival songsters, included unusual and uncommon meters. Rev. Asa Mead hinted that all Christians would be wise to follow the Methodists' example in suiting songs to the special occasion of revivals: "They do not hesitate to use a good tune, such as will move the heart, wherever they may find it."³⁶ Leavitt may have already followed Mead's advice because several songs in the Lyre also appeared in earlier Methodist collections like Orange Scott's New and Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book (1830). Among the approximately twenty duplicated songs are "And Am I only Born to Die," "Farewell Dear Friends," "How Firm a Foundation," "How Lost Was My Condition," and "Vain, Delusive World, Adieu." Thus,

one may conclude that Leavitt was familiar with Methodist evangelical hymnody in contemporary publications.

Spiritual Songs for Social Worship

Spiritual Songs for Social Worship was issued in periodical form beginning in July or August 1831,³⁷ in response to Leavitt's Christian Lyre, whose first volume was issued in April 1831, and whose second volume appeared in October.³⁸ Volume One of Spiritual Songs was bound in 1831 and Volume Two in the following year. Also in 1832, both volumes were combined into one edition. Editions after 1832 were expanded by the addition of 179 entries to the original 221 texts.³⁹ Spiritual Songs was printed in six editions between 1832 and 1839, in Utica, New York, and Philadelphia. In volume of publication and distribution it in no way surpassed the Lyre, which continued to be widely sold in the early 1850s.⁴⁰ Instead, Spiritual Songs had an immediate, short-lived success at evangelical activities, but enjoyed little influence among traditional denominations, not even the Presbyterians, with whom Hastings was deeply affiliated as a composer and musical arbiter.⁴¹ In that capacity, he served as musical editor of the Presbyterian Psalmodist.⁴² Leavitt's collection, by contrast, was popular with both Congregationalists and Presbyterians.⁴³ Of course, revival songbooks did not seek to become standard church fare, and revival song compilers

intended the use of revival songs for the specific milieu of revivals and for other forms of social worship.

Spiritual Songs, compiled by Thomas Hastings and Lowell Mason, according to the authors' preface, was to provide a manual of more familiar, melodious and easily executed music for "lovers of devotional song" and "for the use of families and social religious meetings." As its title suggested, the book was meant for social worship, including revivals, prayer and family meetings, as opposed to public worship, or traditional services, where "psalmody will continue to hold its appropriate place." Hastings and Mason strove to aid social worship "by elevating the standard music, and in enlivening the devotions of the pious," not by lowering themselves to Leavitt's standards.

The term and use of spiritual songs, as opposed to standard hymns, had origins in New Testament days, and were distinguished in that context by the Congregational Review:

Precisely what is meant by spiritual songs, or how these differed from hymns, it is impossible to say; they may have been odes-- that is the literal meaning of the words-- expressive of the different varieties and emotions of Christian experience. And hence the appropriateness of the term "spiritual" as applied to them;--songs in which the experience of individual Christians found musical expression, as distinguished from those which were designed as offerings of praise to God.⁴⁴

Appropriately, or conveniently, spiritual songs of the period

1820-1850 were often grouped in songbooks by topical headings which described various aspects of Christian experience. This practice probably followed the example of Watts's hymnals, or of John Wesley's practice of arranging hymns by areas of spiritual concern, as in A Collection of Hymns for the Use of People Called Methodist (1780).

Ibbetson's topical headings for Revival Hymns, for example, followed the progressive stages of an individual's conversion. The first texts were for "professors," a nineteenth-century reference to a passive church member, as opposed to a "Christian," who had become an active servant of God through conversion.⁴⁵ Following are texts addressed to careless sinners, anxious sinners, convicted sinners, sinners submitting to God, and young converts. Leavitt used no subject groupings, while Hastings and Mason loosely indexed songs by subject in such a way that many texts and headings overlapped, or were easily interchanged.

Hastings and Mason were prompted to publish Spiritual Songs as an alternative to the "trivial melodies" and "ungrammatical" texts in Leavitt's Lyre. The partners deemed the Lyre an unfortunate addition to a stream of revival song publications in circulation continuing "insipid, frivolous, vulgar and profane melodies" which disparaged the disciplines of art and musical reform.⁴⁶

The central complaint of Hastings and Mason against Leavitt was his use of secular tunes as religious music.

They claimed that, in the abuses evolving out of three centuries of church music, the Christian public had been wronged by "every publisher [including Leavitt] who is unacquainted with music, directly in defiance of the principles of the art."⁴⁷ Because of compilers' musical ignorance, they claimed, the public had been subjected to devotional texts unsuitably paired with

current love songs, the vulgar melodies of the street, of the midnight reveller, of the circus, and the bar room, the very strains which of all others, we are told, are the best adapted to call forth pure and holy emotions, in special seasons of revival! In some instances, too, tunes have come to us, not as old acquaintances partially recognized, but in all the freshness of their corruption, still reeking, as it were, with the impure associations which prevail in the haunts of moral pollution!⁴⁸

Castigated thus, one wonders how revival music could be defended! Hastings and Mason assured their audience that no song in their collection "has been injured by unhallowed associations."⁴⁹ Hastings' article about Spiritual Songs in the Western Recorder further differentiated between the two collections:

Our work, as to its intrinsic character, does not resemble the Lyre . . . Many of the hymns have not appeared in this country . . . And as to the music . . . but one (tune), so far as we have seen, is found in this work.

What then have we borrowed from the Lyre, or its plan of publication? Nothing, absolutely nothing.⁵⁰

Hastings' boast is not entirely true. First, although Leavitt

used only two Mason songs, "The Missionary Hymn" and "Saturday Night," in his collection, the two rival song-books contain at least 28 of the same texts. Secondly, concerning similarities in the "plan of publication," one notes that in format Spiritual Songs imitated the pattern of the Lyre, with texts and music on the same or corresponding pages, and with the words printed between the musical systems.

The Quarterly Christian Spectator reviewed Spiritual Songs three years after its publication, praising its excellence "and its adaptation to the wants of the christian community at the present time."⁵¹ The reviewer admitted that the popular Christian Lyre, previously reviewed, served the cause of musical reform by supplying songs for social worship and by enabling more Christians to share singing as a part of worship. But, according to the author, "the christian community, at least a portion of it, is now looking for and desiring a kind of music which is more elevated and chaste in its character--music which, while it enlivens and animates the affections, shall also be freed from every unhallowed and unpleasant association."⁵²

Thus, the reviewer implied, the musical needs of the public had altered since introduction of the Christian Lyre, and that Spiritual Songs better suited prevailing preferences for those interested in the "science" of music. The Spectator added,

The truth of this remark is, we think, fully substantiated, by the reception which the Spiritual Songs meets with among the more intelligent part of the community. Not a few there are within our own knowledge, now learning to sing, who, had it not been for this book, would have remained in ignorance of the principles of the science.⁵³

Thus, the reviewer regarded Spiritual Songs not only as a valuable songbook, but also as a pedagogical device. Yet, he conceded that a few of the tunes "too fine for popular purposes" required more musical training than would have been possible at social worship meetings.

The Spectator commended four aspects of Spiritual Songs: its original content, chaste and simple music, suitability for both public and private worship, and adaptation of the tunes and texts to each other. Calling musical adaptation "a point which, so far as its philosophy is concerned, has hitherto received but little attention," the reviewer cited "The Cross," "Solitude," "The Lord is My Shepherd," "Go Forth on Wings," and "The Judgement Seat" as being peculiarly expressive of the sentiment of their appropriate hymns. They evoked proper emotions and images which combined to "connect chaste simplicity with the fervor of devotion."⁵⁴

To fulfill the object of their publication, Hastings and Mason furnished the remedy for the declining state of church music by adhering to "established rules of musical adaptation" corresponding to "the dictates of sound sense, and the history of past experience." By attempting to

employ rules for adaptation based on these two criteria, they distinguished themselves from Leavitt, who admitted musical ignorance, did not rely on rules of musical adaptation, and did not try to please scientific musicians who did.

Hastings and Mason listed two primary factors for determining the suitability of devotional tunes:

1. Do the tunes, when selected, have an intrinsically appropriate nature which will evoke the right emotions?
2. Do the tunes have any profane associations?

Hastings and Mason admitted the existence of a suitable place for a convert's private expression of joy for which "the rudest of strains" of spontaneous song burst forth "in private, in his family, and in the smaller praying circles," if more appropriate music is unavailable. But, they found it unthinkable to seize

this circumstance for the purpose of forcing such unseemly melodies in circulation, is just as preposterous as it would be to publish all the broken petitions of prayer, or the imperfect expressions of christian experience that fall from the lips of the new-born soul.⁵⁵

In other words, the compilers recognized the sincerity of converts' emotions, but did not regard sincerity as a desirable prerequisite for evaluating the worth of a devotional song. They accused Leavitt of propagating and printing material which would have been better left uncirculated. Hastings' and Masons' credo of "Taste rules

all" stood in contrast to Leavitt's willingness to subordinate musical taste to religious effect.

To insure the correct performance of the music in Spiritual Songs, the compilers included two and one-half pages of "Hints to Laymen, and to the Clergy" detailing preferred means of performance for certain songs. For example, "Watchman Tell us" and "Response" were most effectively sung as dialogues, and not by an entire congregation without consulting the songleader. The tunes "Chester," "Invitation" and "Return, O Wanderer" were primarily for solo performance.⁵⁶ These and additional specifications indicated that Hastings and Mason were more concerned than Leavitt for the particulars of church music and for methods of devotional singing.

The "Hints" also suggested that Christians should memorize songs more extensively than previously; that a few familiar hymns should be selected to increase devotion rather than an "endless variety"; and that lining-out be abandoned as unnecessary as well as detrimental to "the effect of these simple melodies."⁵⁷

Hastings' and Mason's major involvement in nineteenth-century church music was concentrated outside of the realm of revival music. They worked to improve congregational singing and musical education because they believed that both had fallen into neglect. Hastings' treatise on musical taste and criticism, Dissertation on Musical Taste,

illustrated his standards for composers and performers and revealed something of the nature of American nineteenth-century musical thought. Hastings elaborated two central points: that music is a language of emotion and that musical taste is an acquired capacity.⁵⁸ Accordingly, he addressed his comments to the groups most involved in presenting the expressive and intellectual aspects of music, composers and singers.

Hastings thought that composers should possess both a mastery of music theory and an individual style characterized by "original ideas and novel inventions, and combinations."⁵⁹ Unskilled composers were unacceptable, which explains Hastings' low regard for untrained revival song compilers like Joshua Leavitt. Hastings required the same technical and expressional excellence from singers as he did from composers, although he admitted that expressivity "is an essence too subtle for analysis--too incommensurable for definition. It may be illustrated, but not described."⁶⁰

Cultivating musical excellence was important, Hastings believed, because music makes "impressions" on the sentiments, which vary with each performance and listener, according to its context and the individual's degree of musical education. Poor religious music, by implication, would adversely affect devotion since ideally, sacred music

joined "aesthetic considerations with devotional sentiments."⁶¹ Thus, church music should be selected with regard for the demands on the performer and the effect on the listeners.

Although Hastings was dissatisfied with the undeveloped state of American church music, neither was he enamored of the European repertoire, with which he was familiar. These works probably included Handel's "Messiah," Haydn's "Creation," and Beethoven's "Mount of Olives."⁶² Hastings' remarks on European church music demonstrated his own ignorance of their significance by his praise for their "unusual genius" but doubts about their religious influence.⁶³ On the other hand, he deplored revival songs and songwriters, especially those who used popular tunes and ballads for religious music. Further examination of Spiritual Songs, Hastings' single venture into revival music, will reveal if the texts and tunes consistently represented Hastings' taste.

Lowell Mason enumerated his standards for religious music at length in his Address on Church Music (1826), which attested to his concern for a musically educated public and for the adoption of remedies to improve the quality of American church singing. His career upheld these standards expressed in the lecture.

Mason described the office of music in the church as the means for animating and enlivening religious devotion, as it had throughout the church's history. "That there

is no religion in music is readily admitted: but music is capable of subserving a religious purpose," he stated.

"Were it not so it would never have been introduced into the church by Divine appointment."⁶⁴ As well as being a divine institution, music, for Mason, was a "refined species of elocution," acting upon the emotions exercised at public and social worship services. His remarks resemble Leavitt's and Hastings' comments about the importance of musical appeal to the heart to produce or increase religious devotion. In contrast to Leavitt, however, Mason had evolved a carefully considered explanation for the "present degraded state of church music," with several proposed remedies. In his view, the decline of church music in the nineteenth century had resulted from the fact that "its purpose is forgotten, and of course its cultivation as a religious exercise is neglected."⁶⁵ Because of this neglect, congregational singing had become directed by unworthy young persons who "take it up as a mere amusement, and pursue it solely with reference to the sensual gratification it affords them."⁶⁶

Mason requested that music be restored to its proper position as an integral part of the worship service, instead of becoming merely an entertaining interlude:

The church must take up the subject; the influence of piety must be brought to bear upon it--of that same spirit of the gospel so manifest in the benevolent exertions of the present day: the object of its

introduction must be understood; and christians must cultivate music as a part of religious duty.⁶⁷

Mason defended the need for increased attention to sacred music through calling for its cultivation as an art, just as man studied the secular arts of painting, poetry, rhetoric, sculpture, architecture, and secular music.

"Music," he wrote,

does not spring spontaneously in the human mind, growing with its growth and strengthening with its strength--it bears more resemblance to the exotic, which requires a delicate and attentive cultivation; and until christians cultivate music for religious purposes, and with feelings arising from a sense of religious duty, the songs of Zion will be languid and ineffectual.⁶⁸

Mason's understanding of sacred music is thus more rigorous and more uncompromising than both Leavitt's and Hastings', even though Mason studied Hastings' works and generally concurred with his opinions.

Among the specific qualities that Mason found essential to study of sacred music were tone, enunciation, accent, and emphasis. Because he believed that congregational singing universally lacked these refinements, he asked if a selected, trained choir would not remedy the situation. He accepted this suggestion as the means to promote congregational singing, provided that choirs were formed of "serious and influential men [and women]." Mason defended choir membership against critics who claimed that it was unfashionable, time-consuming, or restrictive.

He was convinced that religious duty compelled musically talented singers to join church choirs as a Christian service. Ultimately, though choirs acted to lead and enhance the entire congregation's participation:

If it be asked why all should cultivate music, since so small a proportion are needed for the choir? It may be answered that although the singing should be conducted by a choir, it is not intended that it should be, at all times, exclusively, confined to them: on the contrary, it may be desirable that others, sitting below, should join, provided they are qualified to do this with propriety and effect.⁶⁹

Throughout the Address, Mason reviewed singing as part of a traditional sabbath service. Uninvolved in revivals himself, he nevertheless viewed social worship as a distinct province of worship, recognizing that

the nature and design of these meetings require that they be conducted in a different manner from the public service of the sabbath--more easy and social and familiar--and as the formality of a regular sermon is dispensed with on such occasions, and a more familiar style of address is adopted both in preaching and in praying, so also it should be in singing.⁷⁰

These comments perhaps explain why Mason collaborated in publishing a revival music songbook despite his elevated standards for church music.

In addition to proposing methods for improving church singing, Mason concluded the lecture with remarks about the nature of musical adaptation, that is, the correspondence between the words and music in a song.

He discussed "the difficulties attending it in the present state of church music,"⁷¹ using examples indicating how particular tunes obscured a song's sentiments by emphasizing the wrong words or by ruining their poetic character. "And," he lamented, "it is difficult to see how much progress can be made in this department while we are obliged to sing so many different hymns to the same tune."⁷² Mason remedied this lack himself by composing hundreds of song tunes written with reference to the meaning of a text so that the effect would be complete.

SONG TEXTS: ORAL TRADITION AND
REVIVAL RHETORIC

I have compared the song texts in both hymnals according to their origins, structure and form, and theme. Examination of the sources for lyrics in the Christian Lyre revealed that Leavitt used at least three distinct sources: English hymns published in America after 1780, folk hymns from the American and European oral tradition and original compositions submitted to him for publication. As a compiler, he was probably familiar with Dwight's edition of Watts (1802), American reprints of Rippon's Selection of Hymns (1802), the Hartford Selection (1807) and several other collections; he acknowledged his awareness of Nettleton's Village Hymns (1824) which contained some Watts, songs from the Hartford Selection and some original works. Not surprisingly, the Christian Lyre included many of the same texts as Village Hymns, and thus, the lyrics of many English hymnists. For example, Leavitt printed Isaac Watts' "Alas! And Did My Savior Bleed?," John Newton's "How Lost was My Condition," William Cowper's "O for a Closer Walk with God," Charles Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," Philip Doddridge's "Father of Mercies," and John Cennick's "Children of the Heavenly."

Most of the original material submitted to Leavitt was published anonymously, with the notice, "written for the Lyre." Some were written for special occasions, like "The Weary at Rest," sung at the funeral of the Reverend Jonas Parsons, and "The Restoration of Man," sung to the "Marseillaise." Among the few attributions were "Worthy the Lamb" and "Babel's Streams" by the Reverend D. R. Thomason, "The Eden of Love" by W. C. Tillou, and "Why Sleep We?" by the Reverend J. Hopkins. Contemporary nineteenth-century lyrics included a missionary song by W. B. Tappan, "Wake, Isles of the South," which declared imperially,

The altar and idol,
In dust overthrown.
The incense forbade
That was hallowed with blood;
The priest of Melchizedec,
There shall atone.
And the shrine of Atool
Be sacred to God. (CL.1.36)

Additional original offerings in the Lyre included "Revival Blessings," "Striving for the Spirit," "The Monthly Concert," and "Is there no Hope?"

I have previously noted the inclusion of Moravian tunes in Leavitt's publication, which he paired with Moravian texts. Leavitt, a Congregationalist, may have also been influenced by Methodist evangelical hymnody just as revival preachers, like Finney, admired Methodist exhorters.

Leavitt selected many texts which appeared in contemporaneous Methodist hymnals like Orange Scott's New and Improved Camp

Camp Meeting Hymn Book (1830). That other Protestant denominations adopted some Methodist practices is indicated by this 1822 revival report:

They are introducing all the habits and hymns of the methodists into our presbyterian churches, after the regular service is closed by the clergyman, the congregation rise, and strike up a methodist hymn, sung amidst the groans and sobs of the newly converted.¹

Redundant choruses are characteristic of revival songs, and Leavitt's Lyre contained several typical examples. "The Resolve" combined a rocking-chair rhythm with the words:

I'll try to prove faithful, (twice)
I'll try to prove faithful, faithful, faithful,
Till we all shall meet above.

The Princeton Review singled out this song as a "blemish" because of its unrhyming prose style.² "Come and Welcome" (Cl. 1.73) was a similar chorus, which could be added after any tune:

Come to Jesus, come and welcome, / Come and welcome, come and welcome, come, / Come to Jesus, come and welcome, / Come and welcome, come and welcome, come, / Come and welcome, sinners come.

Excluding the Watts and Wesley texts, the text of most enduring poetic merit which Leavitt printed was J. W. Alexander's translation of "Gerhard's favorite German hymn, 'O Haupt voll blut und wunden,'" still sung today as "O Sacred Head Surrounded," but with slightly altered verses (Cl.1.196).

Following are some examples of revival choruses from the Lyre:

His loving kindness-Loving-Kindness
His loving kindness, O, how free! (CL.1.23)

For soon the reaping time will come,
And angels shout the harvest home. (CL.1.135)

Home, home, sweet sweet home,
Prepare me, dear Savior, for glory, my home. (CL.1.144)

Hastings and Mason selected and arranged their texts "with care, through the kind assistance of several of the clergy; and not a few of the poetic specimens which are here presented, have been furnished by different hands, as original compositions." Yet, as in the Lyre, British hymnists are well-represented. Hastings and Mason formed the bulk of their contents from their own texts and tunes, and composed many tunes for English texts. The collaborators also used American eighteenth-century authors: the entry, "Psalm xviii, applied to the American Revolution," displayed the patriotic fervor of the 1770s and 1780s:

Here bid thy seasons crown the fruitful plain;
Here bid fair peace extend her blissful reign;
Let law, let justice, hold perpetual sway;
The soul unfetter'd, and the conscience free.
(SS.1.293)

Probably the best known text appearing in both Spiritual Songs and the Lyre was Augustus Toplady's "Rock of Ages."

Revival songs followed no established structure. Most songs in the Lyre and Spiritual Songs were comprised of three to twelve non-repeating stanzas without a refrain. Some followed a verse plus chorus pattern, a few contained interlinear recurring phrases or couplets, and others were

just choruses, which could be added to any song verse to summarize its theme. Revival choruses were usually colloquial or Biblically-derived, or combined both traditions.

One such example is

I'll march to Canaan's land,
I'll land on Canaan's shore,
Where pleasures never end,
Where troubles come no more.
Farewell, farewell, farewell,
My loving friends, farewell. (CL.1.39)

Another, more exuberant chorus asked:

Oh, who's like Jesus?
Hallelujah. Praise ye the Lord!
There's none like Jesus;
Hallelujah. Love and serve the Lord.

Since revival songs invited group participation, revival choruses and tag-lines were performed enthusiastically, punctuated by clapping, stomping or free interjection.⁴ Repetitive choruses could be learned without recourse to a songbook, but considering the stanzaic structure of many entries in the Lyre and Spiritual Songs, one assumes that they were intended for a textually and musically literate audience who owned or used songbooks.

Other variations in text structure included duets and dialogue hymns. "Watchman! What of the Night!" (SS. 1.72) alternated solo and chorus while "Pilgrim Weary" (SS.1.220) juxtaposed the inquiries of a stranger with the replies of a convert. "The Rock of Our Salvation" and "The Closing Scene" were to be sung as "duetts." Spiritual Songs contained more widely varied structures than the Lyre,

as specified in the compilers' performance hints at the end of the volume.

The form of a revival song was determined by the audience to which it was addressed. Sandra Sizer suggests that nineteenth-century revival songs represented a shift from eighteenth-century praise hymns, which exalted God's power and judgment, to evangelical-descriptive themes about Jesus' love, God's mercy and free grace, sung from the viewpoint of individuals or from group exhortations of the believers. Hence many songs were entreaties to the unconverted, as in "Stop, Poor Sinners, Stop, and Think" (CL.1.121); prayers to God and Jesus for compassion, like "Jesus, Lord, We Look to Thee" (CL.2.67); and exhortations to all the faithful, as in "Now Let Our Voices Join" (CL.2.195) and "Come Ye that Love the Lord" (SS.1.38).

Because of revivalism's emphasis on personal, intimate religious experience, most songs were descriptive rather than purely evangelical. According to Sizer, 34 percent of the songs in the Lyre and 20 percent in Spiritual Songs are descriptions and affirmations rather than direct evangelical appeals; 10 percent and 22 percent, respectively, are exhortations to sinners; 22 percent and 26 percent are supplications; 20 percent and 26 percent are praise or thanksgiving songs.⁵ One group, which addressed sinners implicitly or directly, related accounts of conversion, triumph over backsliding, and other stories of Christian

witness, while another sought no particular audience, and affirmed Christian beliefs and practices.⁶ "World, Adieu" (CL.2.29), for example, personified the sinful world, but implicitly warned a human audience:

World, adieu! thou real cheat;
Oft have thy deceitful charms
Filled my heart with fond conceit
Foolish hopes and false alarms.
Now I see as clear as day
How thy follies pass away.

"What Shall I Do" (SS.1.211) disclosed a sinner's anxieties:

My former hopes are fled.
My terror now begins,
My guilty soul, alas, is "dead
In trespasses and sins."

A second portion of revival songs addressed the Deity. The "Backslider's Confession" (CL.1.129) beseeched,

Met, O God, to ask thy presence,
Join our souls to seek thy grace;
Oh, deny us not, nor spurn us,
Guilty rebels from thy face.

Yet, many songs are narratives about an aspect of Christian experience, to no specific audience, at least until the closing stanza, which often invoked the Lord. "Social Worship" proclaimed, in the manner of a descriptive psalm,

How lovely the place where the Savior appears,
To those who believe in his word;
His presence dispenses my sorrows and fears,
And bids me rejoice in my Lord. (CL.2.209)

Finally, some songs took their form from the nature of their subjects. "Farewell" songs mourned departed loved ones; prayers for revivals invoked God's renewing spirit; and missionary hymns encouraged foreign evangelizers. Some

songs parodied popular ballads, like "Saw Ye My Savior" (CL.1.161) and thus imitated English folk song patterns:

Saw ye my Savior, saw ye my Savior,
Saw ye my Savior and God?
Oh! He died on Calvary
To atone for you and me,
And to purchase our pardon with blood.

Saw you my father? Saw you my brother?
Saw you my true love John?
He told his only dear
That he would soon be here,
But he to another is gone.⁷

Revival song themes in Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs reflected the theological changes resulting from nineteenth-century revivalism. The theocentric, didactic language of eighteenth-century hymns had been replaced by themes evidencing personalized religion, the love of Jesus, and God's free grace, which formed the basis of "social religion." Nevertheless, since the songbooks mixed sources from two eras, the compilers selected eighteenth-century evangelical hymns of the Wesleys and others which expressed precepts suitable for social worship.

Sizer analyzed the frequency of themes in Spiritual Songs and Christian Lyre, finding that "Jesus as mediator" dominated a quarter of the songs in each book; "Jesus as a refuge, guide and helper" appeared in about 15 percent; "grace and salvation" were the third most recurring images.⁸

Because revival songs displayed the characteristics as mentioned earlier, that is, simplicity, brevity, emotional, and interdenominational appeal, it is unlikely that revival

songs relayed sophisticated doctrine. Instead, they reinforced the message of the preaching, intensified the religious fervor of participants, and united the singers as a religious community. A large portion of the themes of songs in both collections expressed personal religious experiences, including conversion of sinners, changed outlook of converts, rejection of worldly follies, and final unification of the saved in heaven. "The Inward Conflict" (CL.2.81) entreated Jesus:

And wilt thou yet be found,
And may I still draw near?
Then listen to the plaintive sound
Of a poor sinner's prayer.

Songs frequently depicted the sinner similarly, as a wretch, a wandering pilgrim, a drowning mariner, or a debtor unable to repay God's mercy, despite his faith in it. Repentance of sinners became a frequent musical subject, just as it was the frequent theme of revival preaching:

Savior, Prince of Israel's race,
See me! from thy lofty throne;
Give the sweet relenting grace,
Soften this obdurate stone!
Stone to flesh, O God convert;
Cast a look and break my heart! (CL.2.29)

The previous stanza combined several images, in the manner of most revival song verses: the stubborn, unworthy sinner awaiting God's grace entreats a majestic Christ to "break down" his heart for conversion. When converts shared in the new life of the saints, they abandoned their earthly vices for "Heavenly Riches" (SS.1.51):

Ah, tell me no more
 Of the worldling's vain store,
 The time for such trifling with me now is o'er?
 A country I've found
 where true riches abound,
 And songs of salvation for ever resound.

The same theme permeated "This World Is All a Fleeting Show" (CL.2.5), "Vain, Delusive World, Adieu" (CL.1.55) and SS and "If Life's Pleasure Charm Thee" (CL.1.109).

The preoccupation of revival religion with the drama of salvation created a new type of song glorifying heaven itself,⁹ as the place where

There'll be no more sorrow (twice)
 There'll be no more sorrow, sorrow, sorrow
 When we shall meet above. (CL.1.119)

The "Eden of Love" (CL.2.93) typified revivalist depictions of eternal life:

How sweet to reflect on those joys that await me,
 In yon blissful region, the haven of rest,
 Where glorified spirits with welcome shall greet me,
 And lead me to mansions prepared for the blest;
 Encircled in light, and with glory enshrouded,
 My happiness perfect, my mind's sky unclouded,
 I'll bathe in the ocean of pleasure unbounded,
 And range with delight through the Eden of Love.

This perspective of a happy heaven presupposed a beneficent God who was consolation and refuge for the faithful. A contrasting type of heaven song dolefully foretold God's judgment:

O there will be mourning, mourning, mourning, mourning,
 O there will be mourning, at the judgment seat of Christ.
 1. Parents and children
 2. Wives and husbands,
 3. Brothers and sisters there will part (three times)
 4. Friends and neighbors, etc.
 Will part to meet no more.

These lyrics are preoccupied with the dreaded parting of saints and sinners on the last day rather than anticipating the gathering of believers around "the mercy seat" in the "blest abode" and "the realms of endless day" (SS.1.39).

In a similar gloomy vein were the lyrics:

Ah, guilty sinners, ruin'd by transgression,
 What shall thy doom be, when array'd in terror,
 God shall command these, cover'd with pollution,
 Up to the judgement? (CL.1.204-205)

Thus, revival songs presented contrasting views of the after-life.

A second group of songs highlight a dominant feature of revival doctrine: the mercy of God given freely to repentant sinners. "The Voice of Free Grace" (CL.1.36) was a striking example:

The voice of free grace
 Cries, escape to the mountain,
 For Adam's lost race,
 Christ has opened a fountain,
 For sin and transgression
 And every pollution
 The blood it flows freely in streams of salvation.

Grace and salvation were often pictured as watery streams, billows or waves flowing from heaven, as in the former example and in "Praise for a Revival" (SS.1.131).

Hear, O hear our grateful song;
 Let thy Spirit still descend;
 Roll, the tide of grace along
 Wid'ning, deep'ning to the end.

Revival singers extolled Christ, the mediator, who "purchased" their pardon. The person of Jesus, as intercessor, friend and helper, figured in a third group of songs

as the most common image in revival music. Jesus' thematic predominance paralleled theological developments: revivalists' replacement of Calvinist doctrine of human depravity with Arminian assurances of man's goodness put the burden of salvation on the sinner, who because of his free will chose to accept or reject God's offer. David Singer explains that "in terms of the religion of man and God this doctrine leads in the hymnals to an ever increasing anthropocentrism."¹⁰ In addition, as the distance narrowed between God and man, and as man's dignity increased, Jesus played a more significant role: the God-man relationship became one between Jesus and man. "This shift was possible only when human depravity was denied," Singer states, "for as long as depravity was affirmed, Jesus could (only) be seen as God's servant, sent to earth to ransom man from the law."¹¹

In Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs, Jesus is addressed as the "lover of my soul," "full of all compassion" and "the name high over all." A typical verse declared:

Yet we will sing of him
 Jesus our lofty theme,
 Jesus we'll sing;
 Glory and power are his,
 His too the kingdom is;
 Triumphs, ye saints, in this,
 Jesus is King.
 (CL.2.15, sung to "God Save the Queen")

The lyric, "Characters of Christ," devoted each verse to a different representation of Jesus, reflecting his centrality in revival imagery by assigning him names that in eighteenth-

century hymnody had been associated primarily with God: redeemer, angel, prophet, counsellor, pattern, guide, shepherd, surety, high priest, advocate, lord, conqueror (CL.2.201).

The three prevailing themes in the songbooks as identified by Sizer, Christ as a mediator, Christ as a refuge, and the grace of God, were not new representations in sacred song. Most of the similes and imagery are Biblically-based. What was unusual about their use is that they reflected the new emphasis of revival teaching on man's agency in the salvation process, Jesus' loving care, and God's benevolence and forgiveness of the repentant. The songs underlined the preachers' messages through repeating these concepts, implicitly or directly.

Revivalism divided the world into simple polarities, and offered sinners obvious choices between salvation and damnation. Evangelists appealed to the hearts of sinners and backsliders, exhorting them to reform their lives immediately in language that dramatized man's choice between God and Satan, good and evil, heaven and hell. Revival song texts likewise engaged in emotions and presented life in the revival rhetoric of fundamental struggles of opposing forces, from which the convert emerged victorious through the aid of God's saving grace. Songs portraying God as a wrathful judge appeared less frequently than lyrics describing his forgiveness and mercy.

By performing exegesis of song texts Sizer identified seven general sets of metaphors in revival songs. Conflicts between negative and positive emotions, turmoil and rest, weakness and strength described two-thirds of the songs. Metaphors of darkness versus light, battle versus victory, purity versus impurity and guilt versus atonement were less prominent in the Christian Lyre and in Spiritual Songs.¹²

SONG TUNES: "PROFANE" MELODIES

MEET "SCIENTIFIC" MUSIC

The tunes in the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs have disparate origins and display varying musical quality. Joshua Leavitt incorporated many popular European tunes, especially English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish melodies, gaining him the disapproval of Hastings and Mason. He had an apparent affinity for existing folk tunes, and particularly national anthems, since he paired revival texts with England's "God Save the Queen" (known as "Whitefield's Tune" or "Creation"), France's "Marseillaise" ("Marseilles") and Germany's "Deutschland, Deutschland" ("Haydn"). "Auld Lang Syne" appeared as "Grateful Memory," "Home Sweet Home" was called "Home," and "Garden Hymn" was reminiscent of "I Saw Three Ships Come Sailing In." The "Portuguese Hymn" is familiar today as the tune for "O Come All Ye Faithful." These melodies provoked the ire of one minister who called them "airs of rather too light a character for the solemnities of divine worship."¹ Leavitt also used a few native American tunes, like "Bunker Hill," a 1775 tune by Andrew Law, which he altered slightly to modal form.

By contrast, Hastings and Mason wrote most of the tunes in their collection, including some that had appeared

from earlier works: "Hebron" originally appeared in the Handel and Haydn Collection, while "Portsea" and "Shepherd, While Thy Flock" came from Hastings' Musica Sacra. Hastings wrote the tune for "Rock of Ages" which is still used by Americans today.

Tunes in the revival song collections were named for places (Uxbridge, Woburn, Baltimore, Kentucky, Athens), people (Montgomery, Kelly, Hopkins) and aspects of religious life (Compassion, Supplication, Atonement), following the eighteenth-century tradition. Several tunes in each song-book were composed in the 1700s and had become widely-used at traditional Protestant services. "China," for example, in volume two of the Lyre, was written by Timothy Swan of Worcester, Massachusetts, in the mid-eighteenth century.

The textual settings, meter, rhythm and harmony of the revival music in Lyre and Spiritual Songs reflect the compilers' intentions and the composers' abilities. Leavitt, Hastings and Mason each believed that they were purifying religious music by simplifying it, although Leavitt desired to please the common people, while Hastings and Mason endeavored to elevate the character of church music and the musical literacy of worshipers. Hastings' settings of the texts are primarily syllabic, matching one note to each syllable, a simple technique which becomes unexciting if never varied. He used this type of setting perhaps because he considered the music the servant of the text.² To his

credit, his rhythmic patterns generally enhanced the texts' spirit and meaning by accentuating significant words and phrases. Rhythms of revival songs are widely varied, but Hastings' tunes are generally recognizable because of his use of dotted rhythms rapidly moving lines and triple meters.³ The musical settings in the Christian Lyre, too, are mostly syllabic, with a few examples of melismatic technique. In the context of a revival, however, these simpler sittings probably facilitated group singing.

Church hymns were sung in monotonous Long, Short, or Common Meter, meaning that each line of a stanza had eight or six syllables, or alternated between eight and six. Revival songs, in contrast, were characterized by their irregular and unusual meters.⁴ In the Lyre and Spiritual Songs one finds no standard meter, and many combinations of "sevens," "elevens and eights," "eight, seven, four," "five and eleven" and so forth.

The harmonic structure of revival music is fundamental, relying upon a tonic-dominant-tonic pattern in each song, with few modulations, elementary harmonic accompaniment and virtually no counterpoint. The songs in Christian Lyre are set for one, two or three vocal parts, with two-part arrangements predominating. The melodies are generally easily learned and sung, yet several are of a poorer quality, like "Loving Kindness," with its awkward rests in the fifth measure and its strangely dotted rhythm.

Hastings and Mason's tunes were mostly three-part, air and second treble with bass, or two-part, air and bass. Hastings' tunes are not of exceptional merit, according to Foote,⁵ and have not endured, except for "Rock of Ages." Many Mason tunes are still sung today. Concerning the adaptation of the tunes to texts, "Farewell" (SS.1.160), for example, matched a cheerful B^b major key with the gloomy lyrics:

We meet no more
On this side heav'n
The parting scene is o'er;
The last sad look is giv'n.
Farewell! Farewell!

This is perhaps surprising when one remembers Hastings and Mason's concern for musical and textual correspondence.

Mason's "Missionary Hymn," which Leavitt printed, exhibits a good balance of phrasing and an assured direction of movement: the 8+8 measure structure comes to a neat half-cadence on the dominant at measure 8; the second portion adds a new melodic figure and returns to the tonic after repeating the melody of the first line. Another tune in the Lyre, "The Resolve," has a less satisfactory balance because of its 6/4 rhythm combined with short, two-measure groups, and its extreme repetitiveness. On the other hand, despite Hastings and Mason's musical backgrounds and aesthetic considerations, songs like "Return, O Wanderer" (SS.1.51), involving frequent melodic leaps of sixths and fifths, were vocally challenging, and did not represent a better quality tune than "Pilgrim's Farewell" (CL.1.37) from the Lyre. The songs

in both collections are comparable in their irregular rhythms, limited harmonic devices, and simple, redundant melodies, indicating that in the realm of revival songs, scientific musicians did not necessarily signify superior musicianship.

THE TRADITION OF REVIVAL SONGS

During the eighteenth century, American colonists developed a folk repertoire of texts and tunes that were commonly associated with occasions of informal religious worship, while hymnody and traditional tunes dominated orthodox Protestant services. The religious revivals of 1820-1850 created a demand for a new kind of religious music which was "entirely different from that which is ordinarily used. The state of feeling is such that it swells beyond the shackles of musical authority, and the music is sought for and employed which is known to produce effects."¹

Joshua Leavitt thus summarized the importance of music that would foster and enhance the intense emotional experience of individuals at a revival. Because it served the primary function of arousing religious feelings, revival music, in his view, needed to conform to the demands of traditional compositional techniques. By about 1830, when revival techniques were becoming systematized by Finney and his colleagues, revival songs likewise were being gathered and printed. Leavitt's historical significance is due to his publication of one of the earliest and most popular revival song collections, and to his distinction as the first compiler to include lyrics and music in the same songbook. He

intended the Christian Lyre for the use of ordinary believers, not sophisticated musicians, but provoked two composer-compilers, Hastings and Mason, to publish Spiritual Songs for Social Worship in response to his collection.

Revival songs differed from traditional hymnody in their origins, intent, substance, and style. They supplied revival participants with a more informal song for social worship, as Leavitt noted. Revival song texts expressed a more subjective, more emotional appeal than the didactic, formal hymns of the 1700s. Yet, revival texts cannot be categorized as purely evangelical because they were mostly descriptive stanzas about the components of social religion: repentance, conversion, and salvation. The repetitive lyrics and choruses which characterize revival songs are stylistic aspects which facilitated revival singing, together with the increased availability of songbooks after 1830. Revival texts thematically reflected a theological shift away from Calvinistic beliefs in predestination, moral inability, and human depravity. Fewer songs emphasized God's wrathful judgment; instead, the sinner was no longer portrayed as a helpless victim but as a pilgrim on the way to salvation who had the ability to choose the virtuous life of the convert because of God's mercy. Jesus replaced God as the most common figure in revival texts, and assumed a greater role in revival song texts. The three compilers studied also used those eighteenth-century texts which they evidently

considered to be adequate expressions of evangelical teaching.

Song tunes were simple and repetitive, and revival song collections represented the gathering of several traditions: melodies, transcriptions from American folk tradition, and tunes composed especially for revival collections. Leavitt freely appropriated several popular tunes for revival texts and solicited others for his publication, while Hastings and Mason preferred to avoid unhallowed musical associations and wrote many of their own tunes and texts.

The rivalry between the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs expressed the prevailing musical controversies of the early decades of the nineteenth century: the popular tradition versus the scientific musician. Leavitt, possessing no musical training, cultivated a folk-approach, with a sincere desire to use music as a means to increase religious devotion. Hastings, a music teacher, composer and lyricist, campaigned for better church music standards and increased levels of musical literacy. Mason, as a tremendously prolific composer, writer and compiler, was the most commercially successful of the three men, yet was equally devoted to remedying the quality of American religious music.

The three compilers remained faithful to their goals and standards in their revival songbooks. Hastings and Mason's intent to simplify church music did not significantly differ from Leavitt's desire to purify, in terms of their

resulting publications. Essentially, they produced and collected the same type of texts and tunes which were simple, repetitive and easily executed. The ideological bases for their efforts differed, however. Leavitt acted out of admitted musical ignorance, but was responsible for introducing songs from the oral tradition which helped make the Lyre extremely popular. He had no objection to incorporating secular melodies for the service of religion, and thus, set function above aesthetic concerns. The texts and tunes in Spiritual Songs consistently represent the aesthetic standards and musical principles of Hastings and Mason. As music educators, they devoted careers to elevating prevailing standards of church music, including norms for songs of social worship; as professional musicians they rejected the use of popular tunes, and provided harmonically correct, singable music, which nevertheless resembled the quality of the revival songs in the Christian Lyre.

The heritage of revival songs as a product of American popular culture of 1820 to 1850 and as a gathering of traditions with roots in the previous century faded as revivalism declined and as musical tastes changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The revival song evolved into the commercialized gospel hymn of the years 1860 to 1890, at the same time when American musical preferences were being influenced by professional musicians who relied upon European musical models. Even by mid-century,

the Christian Lyre and Spiritual Songs for Social Worchip were regarded as examples of the same musical genre, while when published, they expressed two opposing standards of revival music.

NOTES

Definition and History of Revivals

¹Luther Lee, 1800-1889.

²Luther Lee, Revival Manual (New York, 1850), iv.

³Ibid.

⁴James Porter, 1808-1888.

⁵James Porter, Revivals of Religion: Their Theory, Means, Obstructions, Uses and Importance; With the Duty of Christians in Regard to Them (Boston: Charles Peirce; New York: Lane and Scott, 1849), 50.

⁶Finney to Robinson, 5 Feb. 1859, Finney Papers, Oberlin College Library, cited in Charles Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860 (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966. c 1954, Columbia Univ. Press), 71

⁷Frank Beardsley, A History of American Revivals (New York, 1904), 3.

⁸James McGready, 1760-18(?).

⁹Peter Cartwright, 1785-1872.

¹⁰John Boles, The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind (Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1972), 67.

¹¹Cartwright, Autobiography, 51.

¹²Boles, The Great Revival, 125.

¹³ Tetsuo Scott Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964), 172.

¹⁴ Charles Finney, Lectures to Professing Christians (New York, 1837); Letters on Systematic Theology (Oberlin: OH, 1846); Memoirs of Charles Grandison Finney, Written by Himself (New York: Albert Barnes and Co., 1876), 340-341.

¹⁵ 1837-1875, 1850-1856.

¹⁶ Whitney Cross maintains that before his Oberlin years, Finney had no "theology," but that instead, his revival techniques, as opposed to a theological system, were constantly modified by his experiences. Whitney Cross, The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, 1950), 158-160.

¹⁷ Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (1835), William McLoughlin, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1960), xli.

¹⁸ Finney, Lectures on Revivals, No. 12, 194-222.

¹⁹ Finney, "Sanctification," Systematic Theology.

²⁰ See, McLoughlin, ed., Finney's Lectures on Revivals, introduction.

²¹ William McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism: C. G. Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959), 105.

²² Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 306.

²³ Calvin Colton (1780-1857), History and Character of American Revivals of Religion (London: Frederick Westley A. H. Davis, 1832), 10-11.

²⁴ Finney, Sermons on Gospel Themes, Henry Cowles ed. (Oberlin, 1876), 344.

Character of Revivals

¹New York Evangelist (11 June 1831).

²Samuel Hamilton, "History of Methodism in Washington County, Ohio," The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly 12:4 (Oct., 1830), 407.

³Orson Parker, Fire and the Hammer: On Revivals, and How to Promote Them (Boston: James Earle, 1877), 68.

⁴Western Recorder 7:4 (27 Jan., 1829).

⁵Parker, Fire and the Hammer, 67.

⁶Quoted in New York Evangelist (11 June 1831).

⁷Jerald Brauer, Protestantism in America: A Narrative History, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), 99.

⁸Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers, 45.

⁹Hamilton, "History of Methodism," MMQ, 410.

¹⁰McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 120.

¹¹Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers, 59.

The Revival Experience: Divine Agency,
Conviction and Conversion

¹The Presbyterian Magazine 18:4 (1858), 186.

²Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 95-96.

³Ibid., No. 15, 278-293.

⁴Weld to Finney, 2 March 1831? in Gilbert Barnes and Dwight Dumonds, eds., Letters of T. D. Weld, A. G. Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844 (New York, 1934), vol. 1, 40.

⁵See Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 49-50.

⁶Finney to Weld, 30 March 1831, in Barnes and Dumonds, eds., Letters, 46.

⁷Finney, Memoirs, 439.

⁸Ibid., 28-36.

⁹Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 1868, rev. ed.

¹⁰Cross, The Burned-Over District, 182.

¹¹Finney, Reflections on Revivals (1845), 17, originally pub. under title, Letters on Revivals.

¹²Finney, Memoirs, 14-23.

¹³Ibid., 25.

¹⁴Finney disassociated himself from Burchard and several other evangelists after about 1827, after finding their methods overly-dramatic. In 1833 he called Burchard's theatrical style "totally unsafe (McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 132).

¹⁵Parker, Fire and the Hammer, 42-44.

¹⁶Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, 142.

¹⁷Finney, Memoirs, 437-438.

¹⁸Finney, Lectures on Revivals, xliii.

¹⁹Ibid., 379-380.

Theological Impact of Revivalism

¹McLoughlin, ed., Finney's Lectures on Revivals, xii.

²Finney, Sermons in Important Subjects (New York, 1836), 3rd ed., 84.

³William Walton, Narrative of a Revival of Religion in the Third Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, With Remarks on Subjects Connected With Revivals in General (Northampton, 1826), 9.

⁴Finney, cited in Basil Miller, Charles Grandison Finney, He Prayed Down Revivals (Grand Rapids, MI, 1941), 96.

⁵John Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America," American Quarterly, 1965).

⁶Robert N. Bellah, The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), 75-76.

⁷McLoughlin, ed., Finney's Lectures on Revivals, xii.

Ultimate Purposes of Revivals

¹Sprague, Lectures on Revivals, 2nd. ed. (1833), 212.

²Finney, Lectures on Systematic Theology, 450.

³M. Hunter to Finney, 7 June 1828, cited in Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 14.

⁴John Hinton, The Means of a Religious Revival, 2nd. ed. (Boston, 1831), 72.

Revival Means: Standardization
and Innovation

58. ¹Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, 58.
- ²Walton, Narrative, 20
- ³Lyman Beecher and Asahel Nettleton, "Letters of the Rev. Dr. Beecher and Rev. Mr. Nettleton on the 'New Measures' in Conducting Revivals of Religion" (New York, 1828), cited in McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978).
- ⁴Sidney E. Mead, Nathaniel Taylor (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1942), and Charles R. Keller, The Second Great Awakenings in Connecticut (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1942), cited in William McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform, 112.
- ⁵James Bolles, The Revival System: A Sermon . . . in Lent (Cleveland, 1858), 19-22.
- ⁶Bernard Weisberger, They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1966 [1958]), 171-172
- ⁷Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 13.
- ⁸Finney, Memoirs, 289.
- ⁹Ibid., 288.
- ¹⁰Ibid., 289.
- ¹¹New York Evangelist (4 June 1831).
- ¹²Dickson Bruce, And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845 (Univ. of Tennessee Press), 77-78.
- ¹³Finney, Memoirs, 363.

¹⁴Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 133.

¹⁵Finney, Memoirs, 156.

¹⁶Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 13-14, McLoughlin's paraphrase.

Types of Revivals: Camp,
Protracted and Prayer Meetings

¹Bruce, And They All Sang, 51.

²Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant, NS 1:44 (4 Nov. 1831), 351.

³Bruce, And They All Sang, 71.

⁴John Greenleaf Whittier, quoted in Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller (Boston, 1853), 165 ff.

⁵Bruce, And They All Sang, 80.

⁶Ibid., 80-84.

⁷Peter G. Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity (New York, 1923), 55.

⁸Finney, Memoirs, 183.

⁹New York Evangelist (11 June 1831).

Components of a Revival: Prayer,
Preaching and Song

¹Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 53.

²Colton, History and Character of American Revivals,

³Ibid., 23, excerpt from letter to Colton from Jefferson County, N.Y., dated 1 Nov. 1831.

⁴Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 71.

⁵Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, 67.

⁶Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 68.

⁷Finney, Memoirs, 137-138, 187, 305.

⁸William Sprague, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, 2nd ed. (New York, 1833), 137.

⁹Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, 80.

¹⁰Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 89.

¹¹Walton, Narrative, 8.

¹²Finney, Memoirs, 81.

¹³Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, 269.

¹⁴Ibid., 269-270.

¹⁵Ibid., 252.

¹⁶Charles Thompson, Times of Refreshing: A History of American Revivals from 1740-1877, With Their Philosophy and Methods (Chicago: L. T. Palmer, 1877, 153.

¹⁷Ibid., 150-151.

¹⁸Philip Schaff, America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social and Religious Character (1855), Perry Miller, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 137-138.

¹⁹Beardsley, A History of American Revivals, 189.

²⁰Cartwright, Autobiography, 90-91.

²¹The Presbyterian Magazine 8 (1858), 185.

²²Jacob Knapp, Autobiography of Elder Jacob Krapp (New York: Sheldon and Co., Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1868), 129.

²³Parker, Fire and the Hammer, 57.

²⁴Finney, Lectures on Revivals, No. 21, 431-446.

²⁵Ibid., 444-445.

²⁶Sprague, Lectures on Revivals, 43.

Anti-Revivalism

¹Rev. Pitkin, "Neglect of Christian Culture," Church Review 7:1 (1858), cited in Bolles, The Revival System, 32.

²Ibid., 20.

³Ibid., 20.

⁴Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), American Congregational preacher and theologian who refuted the current emphasis on the need for conversion in his book Christian Nurture (1847).

⁵Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 280.

⁶Sprague, Lectures on Revivals, 40-41.

⁷Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 284.

⁸Ibid., 284.

⁹Bolles, The Revival System, 21.

¹⁰William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature (1902) (New York, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916), 223.

- ¹¹Bolles, The Revival System, 20 ff.
- ¹²John Hinton, The Means of a Religious Revival (Boston, 1831), 11.
- ¹³The Presbyterian Magazine 8:9 (Sept., 1848).
- ¹⁴Pitkin, cited in Bolles, The Revival System, 27.
- ¹⁵Heman Humphrey, Revival Sketches and Manual (New York: American Tract Society, 1859), 266.
- ¹⁶See Finney, Lectures to Professing Christians and Lectures on Revivals, 381-430.
- ¹⁷Finney, Letters on Revivals (Pulaski, N.Y., 1845 [23 April 1845]) 69.
- ¹⁸Finney, Reflections on Revivals (23 April 1845), 38
- ¹⁹Ibid., 38.
- ²⁰Ibid., 38-39, 48.
- ²¹Finney, Memoirs, 440.
- ²²McLoughlin, Finney's Lectures, xxxii.
- ²³James, Varieties, 222.
- ²⁴J. M. Mecklin, The Story of American Dissent (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1934), cited in T. S. Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers, 162.

Decline of Revivalism

- ¹Oberlin Evangelist 6:24 (20 Nov., 1844).
- ²Ibid. (4 Dec., 1844).

- ³Finney, Letters on Revivals, pub. in Oberlin Evangelist (17 Dec., 1845), 205.
- ⁴Humphrey, Revival Sketches, 275.
- ⁵McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 163.
- ⁶Richard Carwardine, Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 170.
- ⁷Ibid., 19.
- ⁸New York Tribune and New York Herald (March 1858), 291.
- ⁹Cole, The Southern Ideas, 78.
- ¹⁰Ibid., 223-228.

Function and Origin of Revival Songs

- ¹Paul Gaarder Kaatrud, "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: 1830-1870," unpub. Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Minnesota, 1977, 99 ff.
- ²Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Harvard Univ. Press, 1968 [1940]), 174.
- ³B. St. James Fry, "The Early Camp-Meeting Song Writer," Methodist Quarterly Review, 4th ser. 2:3 (July 1859), 407.
- ⁴Foote, Three Centuries, 211.
- ⁵Ibid., 165.
- ⁶Cotton Mather, Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum (Boston, 1726), n.p., cited in Sandra Sizer, Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1978), 64-65.

⁷George Hood, History of Music in New England (Boston: Wilkins, Carter and Co., 1846), 10.

⁸Foote, Three Centuries, 135.

⁹Ibid., 171.

¹⁰Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (1927), 285.

¹¹Foote, Three Centuries, 172.

¹²Fry, The Early, 407.

¹³Asahel Nettleton, Village Hymns, for Social Worship. Selected and Original. Designed as a Supplement to the Psalms of Dr. Watts. Stereotype ed. (New York 1828), preface.

¹⁴Joshua Leavitt, Christian Lyre (New York: Sleight and Robinson, 1830), title page.

¹⁵The monthly concert referred to monthly prayer meetings to benefit missionary movements which had arisen out of evangelical communities. Many missionary hymns were written for these occasions (Foote, Three Centuries, n. 208).

¹⁶Leavitt to Finney, 15 Nov., 1830, Finney Papers, cited in McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, 99.

¹⁷According to the Quarterly Christian Spectator, New Haven, ser. 3, 6:2 (June 1834), 208.

Use and Impact of Revival Songs

¹Western Recorder, Utica 9:31 (31 July 1832), 122, excerpt from a letter dated 14 June 1832.

²Parker, Fire and the Hammer, 47.

³Ibid., 48.

⁴Lee, Revival Manual, 98-99.

⁵From the Montreal Witness, quoted in The Presbyterian Magazine 8:5 (May 1858), 234.

⁶Finney, Lectures on Revivals, 133.

⁷Ibid., 133.

⁸Both references from Basil Miller, Charles Grandison Finney, He Prayed Down Revivals (1941), 78, 136.

Dynamics of Revival Singing

¹Boles, The Great Revival, 111.

²Benson, The English Hymn, 292 ff., cited in George Pullen Jackson, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1933), 216.

³Nathan Beman, Sacred Lyrics and Select Hymns, Particularly adapted to Revivals of Religion and Intended as a Supplement to Watts (Troy, N.Y., 1832), 1st ed., xi-xii.

⁴Lee, Revival Manual, 199.

⁵Fry, The Early, 405.

⁶Ibid., 409.

⁷Susan Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord: Hymns as a Reflection of Victorian Social Attitudes (Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1978), 3.

⁸Stanley Armstrong Hunter, The Music of the Gospel (New York, 1932), 16, cited in Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise, 25.

⁹Samuel E. Asbury, cited in Gilbert Chase, America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1955), 223.

Compilers and Colleagues: Finney,
Leavitt, Hastings and Mason

¹James Edward Dooley, "Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician," unpub. Ph.D. Diss., Florida State Univ., 1963, 51.

²Finney, Memoirs, cited in Jerald Brauer, Protestantism in America, 121.

³Finney, Memoirs, 327.

⁴Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 45-46.

⁵Hastings to Eurotas Hastings, 27 April 1833, cited in Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 64.

⁶Ibid., 65.

⁷Finney, Memoirs, 329.

⁸Finney, "Dr. Leavitt's Death," New York Times, 6 Feb., 1873, 162.

⁹Theodore Weld to James G. Birney, 26 June 1837, in Dwight Dumonds, Letters of J. G. Birney, 1831-1857, 390, cited in Charles Cole, The Southern Ideas, 39.

¹⁰The Music Magazine, Hastings, ed., vol. 1 (May 1835) 3, cited in Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 74.

¹¹Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 82-84.

¹²Western Recorder, 1824, cited in Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 51.

¹³Western Recorder, 13 Feb., 1827, 28.

¹⁴Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 52-53.

¹⁵Western Recorder, 6 Dec., 1831, 196.

¹⁶Robert Stevenson, Protestant Church Music in America (1966), 78.

¹⁷Ibid., 78.

¹⁸Foote, Three Centuries, 204.

¹⁹Henry Lowell Mason, Lowell Mason: An Appreciation of His Life and Work (New York, 1941), 8-11.

²⁰Stevenson, Protestant Church Music, 80.

²¹Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) famous Swiss educator who established educational theories based upon the psychology of child development.

²²H. L. Mason, Lowell Mason, 6.

²³Howard Ellis, "Lowell Mason and the Manual," in Journal of Research in Music Education 3:1 (Spring 1955), 10, cited in Stevenson, Protestant Church Music, 78.

²⁴Thomas Hastings to Eurotas Hastings, 1 Nov. 1837, in Mary Teal, "Music Activities in Detroit from 1701 Through 1870" 2 (1964), 467, cited in Stevenson, Protestant Church Music, 81.

²⁵T. Hastings to E. Hastings, in Teal, 456, cited in Stevenson, 81.

²⁶Frank Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925), 198.

²⁷Stevenson, Protestant Church Music, 81.

²⁸Foote, Three Centuries, 210.

Rival Songbooks: Christian Lyre
versus Spiritual Songs

¹Simeon Jocelyn, 1746-1823, American music compiler.

²Asahel Nettleton, 1783-1844, American revivalist and compiler.

³Jeremiah Ingalls, 1764-1828, American composer, compiler, deacon, tavern keeper and farmer; Kaatrud, "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song," 91.

⁴Nathaniel Ibbetson, Revival Hymns, Chiefly Selected from Various Authors, 4th ed., rev. and corrected (Philadelphia, 1823; Nettleton, Village Hymns for Social Worship; Enoch Freeman, Selection of Hymns: Including a Few Originals (Lowell, MA, 1829; Exeter, NH, 1831); Orange Scott, The New and Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book: Being a Choice Selection of Hymns from the Most Approved Authors (Brookfield, VT, 1830).

⁵Metcalf, American Composers and Compilers, 156.

⁶Scott, New and Improved, preface.

⁷Leavitt, Christian Lyre 1, 5th ed., rev. (1831), vi.

⁸About 1800, singing-school teacher Andrew Law introduced a new music notation to facilitate sight reading. Each note of the seven-step scale was given a particular shape, hence the name of shape-notes.

⁹Leavitt, Supplement to the Christian Lyre (New York and Boston, 1831), advertisement preceding page 1.

¹⁰Fry, The Early, 401.

¹¹Quarterly Christian Spectator (Dec. 1831), 666.

¹²New York Evangelist 1:30 (23 Oct. 1830), 120.

¹³Review of Spiritual Songs, QCS, ser. 3, 6:2 (June 1834), 209-210.

¹⁴Hastings, Dissertation on Musical Taste: Or, General Principles of Taste Applied to the Art of Music (Albany, 1822), 186.

¹⁵QCS (June 1834), 223.

¹⁶Leavitt, quoted in Joseph Belcher, Historical Sketches of Hymns, Their Writers, and Their Influences (Philadelphia: Linday and Blakiston, 1859), 68.

¹⁷Nathan Sidney Smith Beman, 1788-1871, ardent New School Presbyterian and close friend of Finney.

¹⁸Beman, Sacred Lyrics, iii.

¹⁹Ibid., iv.

²⁰Ibid., 21.

²¹Western Recorder 9:40 (2 Oct. 1832), 160.

²²Beman, Sacred Lyrics, 288.

²³Ibid., xi.

²⁴Princeton Review, ser. 2, 3:2 (1831), 293.

²⁵Western Recorder 7 (1830), 208.

²⁶Ibid., 208

²⁷Hastings, Dissertation, 15.

²⁸QCS, ser. 3, 3:4 (Dec. 1831), 667.

²⁹Ibid., 667-668.

³⁰QCS 1, Christian Lyre, 98.

³¹QCS, 665.

³²Christian Lyre, 5th ed., rev. (1831), ii.

³³Ibid., iv.

³⁴Ibid., v.

³⁵Ibid., ii-iii.

³⁶Ibid., ii.

³⁷Carol Pemberton, "Lowell Mason: His Life and Work," unpub. Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Minnesota, 1971, 146.

³⁸advertisement in Supplement to the Christian Lyre.

³⁹Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 259.

⁴⁰Sizer, Gospel Hymns, 68.

⁴¹Foote, Three Centuries, 210.

⁴²Kaatrud, "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song," 148.

⁴³Ibid., 125.

⁴⁴Reuben T. Robinson, "Congregational Singing," Congregational Review 8:41 (May 1866), 265.

⁴⁵Finney, Lectures on Revivals, n. 15.

⁴⁶Hastings and Mason, Spiritual Songs for Social Worship, 3.

⁴⁷Ibid., 4.

⁴⁸Ibid., 4.

⁴⁹Ibid., 6.

⁵⁰Western Recorder (30 Aug. 1831), 139.

⁵¹QCS, ser. 3, 6:2 (June 1834), 209.

⁵²Ibid., 210.

⁵³Ibid., 210.

⁵⁴Spiritual Songs, 6.

⁵⁵Ibid., 5.

⁵⁶Ibid., 307.

⁵⁷Ibid., 308-309.

⁵⁸Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 199.

⁵⁹Hastings, Dissertation, 143.

⁶⁰Ibid., 59.

⁶¹Hastings, The History of Forty Choirs (New York: Mason Bros., 1853), 230, cited in Dooley, 129.

⁶²Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 129.

⁶³Hastings, Dissertation, 244.

⁶⁴Lowell Mason, Address on Church Music (Boston, 1826),
6.

⁶⁵Ibid., 8.

⁶⁶Ibid., 9.

⁶⁷Ibid., 11.

⁶⁸Ibid., 13.

⁶⁹Ibid., 23.

⁷⁰Ibid., 23.

⁷¹Ibid., 36.

⁷² Ibid., 36.

Song Texts: Oral Tradition
and Revival Rhetoric

¹ The Presbyterian Magazine 8:5 (1858)

² The Princeton Review, ser. 2, 3:2.

³ Spiritual Songs, 6.

⁴ Boles, The Great Revival, 123.

⁵ Sizer, Gospel Hymns, 173.

⁶ Ibid., 46.

⁷ Quoted by William Chappell, Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time (London: Chappell and Co., 1859), 11, 731, cited in Kaatrud, "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song," 99.

⁸ Sizer, Gospel Hymns, 172.

⁹ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰ David Singer, "God and Man in Baptist Hymnals, 1784-1844," Midcontinent American Studies Journal 9:14 (Fall 1968), 19.

¹¹ Ibid., 21.

¹² Sizer, Gospel Hymns, 171.

Song Tunes: Profane Melodies
Meet Scientific Music

¹ Rev. B. H. Rice, quoted in Christian Lyre, 5th ed., rev., iii.

² Dooley, "Thomas Hastings," 156-157.

³Ibid., 187

100. ⁴Kaatrud, "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Song,"

⁵Footnote, Three Centuries, 210.

The Tradition of Revival Songs

¹Leavitt, quoted in Belcher, Historical Sketches, 67-68.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

- Belcher, Joseph. Historical Sketches of Hymns, Their Writers, and Their Influences. Philadelphia: Linday and Blakiston, 1859.
- Beman, Nathan S. S. Sacred Lyrics: Or Select Hymns, Particularly Adapted to Revivals of Religion and Intended as a Supplement to Watts. Troy, N.Y., 1832. 1st ed.
- Bolles, James A. The Revival System: A Sermon . . . In Lent. Preached 21 February 1858. Cleveland, 1858.
- Cartwright, Peter. Autobiography of Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher. Edited by Strickland. Cincinnati, OH, 1856.
- The Christian Lyre: A Choice Selection of Psalmody, Ancient and Modern Designed for Use in Public and Social Worship. Buchanan, MI: J. V. Himes, 1865. (To the Reader: dated Boston, 1/1860).
- Colton, Rev. Calvin. History and Character of American Revivals of Religion. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1832. Reprinted 1973, AMS Press, Inc., N.Y.
- Earle, Absalom B. Bringing in the Sheaves. Boston, 1868.
- Evangelical Repository, Albany, N.Y. Vol. 4, No. 8.
- Finney, Charles Grandison. Lectures on Revivals of Religion. 1835. William McLoughlin, ed. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1960.
- _____. Lectures to Professing Christians. New York, 1837. (1880).
- _____. Letters on Revivals. Pulaski, N.Y., 1845.
- _____. Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, Written by Himself. New York: Barnes and Co., 1876.
- _____. Sermons on Important Subjects. New York, 1836. 3rd ed.
- _____. Reflections on Revivals.

Freeman, Enoch W., comp. Selection of Hymns, Including a Few Originals, Designed to Aid the Friends of Zion in Their Private and Social Worship. Lowell, MA, 1829 and Exeter, NH, 1831.

Fry, B. St. James. "The Early Camp-Meeting Song Writers," Methodist Quarterly Review. 4th series. Vol. 2. No. 3 (July 1859): 401-413.

Gould, Nathaniel D. History of Church Music in America. Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1853.

Hammond, E. P. Harvest Work of the Holy Spirit. Boston, 1863.

Hastings, Thomas. Dissertation on Musical Taste: Or General Principles of Taste Applied to the Art of Music. Albany, N.Y., 1822.

Dissertation on Musical Taste. New York: Mason Brothers, 1853. Revised. (Includes new sections on Worship and Personation, Specific Claims of Devotional Music, and Methods of Improvement of Devotional Music.)

Hastings, T. and Lowell Mason, comp. Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship. New York: D. Fanshaw, 1842.

Spiritual Songs for Social Worship: Adapted to the Use of Families and Private Circles in Seasons of Revival, to Missionary Meetings, to the Monthly Concert, and to Other Occasions of Special Interest. 4 vols., 1832-1837.

Hinton, John H. The Means of a Religious Revival. With an Introductory Essay. 2nd edition. Boston: Lincoln and Edmonds, 1831.

Holman, Rev. Jonas W. The Revival Harmonist. Boston: Kidder and Wright, 1844.

Hood, George. History of Music in New England. Boston: Wilkins, Carter and Co., 1846.

Humphrey, Heman. Revival Sketches and Manual. New York: American Tract Society, 1859.

Ibbetson, Nathaniel N., comp. Revival Hymns Chiefly Selected from Various Authors. 4th edition, revised and corrected. Philadelphia, 1823.

The Independent. Vol. 25. 1873.

Ingalls, Jeremiah, comp. The Christian Harmony; Or Songster's Companion. Exeter, NH, 1805.

Knapp, Jacob. Autobiography of Elder Jacob Knapp. New York: Sheldon and Co.; Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1868.

Leavitt, Joshua, comp. The Christian Lyre. New York: Sleight and Robinson, 1830. 13 vols. 1830-1840.

_____. The Christian Lyre: Adapted for Use in Families, Prayer Meetings, and Revivals of Religion. The Music Printed in Patent Notes. 1st Patent Note edition. New York: Published by Jonathan Leavitt, 1832. C. 1830.

_____. Supplement to the Christian Lyre. New York: J. Leavitt; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1831.

Lee, Luther. Revival Manual. New York, 1850.

Manship, Andrew. History of Gospel Tents and Experience. Philadelphia, 1889.

Mason, Lowell. Address on Church Music. Lecture delivered in 1826 in Boston. Published 1836.

_____, comp. The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music. 7th edition, with additions and improvements. Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1829. 1st edition, 1822.

Mason, Lowell. Musical Letters from Abroad. New York: Mason Brothers, 1854; New York: DaCapo Press, 1967.

Meriam, Joseph, comp. The Wesleyan Camp-Meeting Hymn-Book, For the Use of Those Who Love Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. 4th edition. Northampton, MA: Jonathan Smith, 1829.

Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review. 1820-1835.

Nettleton, Asahel, comp. Village Hymns for Social Worship. Selected and Original. Designed as a Supplement to the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts. Stereotype edition. New York, 1828. Preface dated, Boston, 5/1/1876.

New York Evangelist. New York. 1830-1835.

New York Times, 17 January 1873.

- Oberlin Evangelist. Vol. 6. Oberlin, OH, 1844.
- Original Sacred Harp. Denson Revision, 1971 ed. Cullman, AL. (1844).
- Parker, Orson. Fire and the Hammer: On Revivals, and How to Promote Them. Boston: James Earle, 1877.
- Porter, James. Revivals of Religion: Their Theory, Means, Obstructions, Uses and Importance: With the Duty of Christians in Regard to Them. Boston: Chas. Peirce; New York: Lane and Scott; Cincinnati, 1849.
- The Presbyterian Magazine 8 (1858). Philadelphia (van Rensselaer ed.).
- The Quarterly Christian Spectator. New Haven. Vol. 5, no. 4, December 1831 and Vol. 6, no. 2, June 1834.
- Raymer, Menzies. Six Lectures on Revivals of Religion, Delivered in the Universalist Church in Portland, 1834. Portland, 1834.
- Revival Melodies or Songs of Zion. Dedicated to Elder Jacob Knapp. 13th ed. Boston: John Putnam, 1842.
- Robinson, Reuben T. "Congregational Singing," Congregational Review 8:41 (May 1868), 260-273.
- Sankey, Ira D., comp. Sacred Songs and Solos, 1200 Pieces. Reprinted by Attic Press, Greenwood, SC, 1977. (1875).
- Sankey, Ira D. My Life and the Gospel Hymns. 1906. Philadelphia, 1906.
- Schaff, Philip. America. A sketch of its political, social, and religious character delivered in Germany, 1854. 1855. Perry Miller, ed. New York, 1855; Cambridge, MA, 1961.
- Scott, Orange, comp. New and Improved Camp Meeting Hymn Book: Being a Choice Selection of Hymns From the Most Approved Authors. Designed to Aid in the Public and Private Devotions of Christians. By O. Scott, Minister of the Gospel. Publ. by the compiler: Brookfield, VT, 1830.
- Sprague, William B. Lectures on Revivals of Religion. 1st ed. Albany, NY, 1832. 2nd ed. with additional letters. New York, 1833.

- Thomas, Elder E. D. Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Wayne, W VA: Arrowood, 1877.
- Thompson, Charles L. Times of Refreshing; A History of American Revivals From 1740-1877, with Their Philosophy and Methods. Chicago: L. T. Palmer, 1877.
- Walton, William Claiborne. Narrative of a Revival of Religion in the Third Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, with Remarks on Subjects Connected with Revivals in General. Northampton, 1826.
- Western Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence. 1803-1805.
- The Western Recorder. Thomas Hastings, ed. Utica, N.Y. Printed weekly by Hastings and Tracy, 1824-1832.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Ahlstrom, Sydney, ed. Theology in America. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967.
- The American Cyclopedia. Vol. 10. Edited by George Ripley and Charles Dana. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1883.
- Asbury, Samuel E. and H. E. Meyer. "Old-Time White Camp Meeting Spirituals." Texas Folklore Society Publication 10 (1932): 169-185.
- Bailey, Albert Edward. The Gospel in Hymns: Background and Interpretations. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- Barnes, Gilbert H. and Dwight L. Desmonds, eds. Letters of T. D. Weld, A. G. Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-44. New York, 1934. 2 vols.
- Beardsley, Frank G. A History of American Revivals. New York, 1904.
- Bellah, Robert N. The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial. New York: Seabury Press, 1975.

- Benson, Louis F. The Hymnody of the Christian Church.
Reprint of the 1927 printing. Richmond: John Knox
Press, 1956.
- Berk, Stephen E. Calvinism v. Democracy: Timothy Dwight
and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy.
Connecticut: Archon Books, 1974.
- Billington, Ray Allen. The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860,
A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. New York:
Oxford Univ. Press, 1966.
- Blume, Friedrich. Protestant Church Music: A History.
W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1964.
- Boles, John G. The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins
of the Southern Evangelical Mind. Univ. of Kentucky
Press, 1972.
- Brauer, Jerald C. Protestantism in America: A Narrative
History. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: The Westminster
Press, 1963.
Reinterpretation in American Church History.
Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968. Vol. 5:
Essays in Divinity.
- Brawley, Benjamin. History of the English Hymns. Abingdon
Press, 1932.
- Bruce, Dickson D. And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-
Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845. Univ. of
Tennessee Press, 1974.
- Buchanan, Annabel Morris. Folk Hymns of America, Collected
and Arranged. New York, 1938.
- Burr, Nelson R. A Critical Bibliography of Religion in
America. Princeton, 1961. 4 vols.
- Carwardine, Richard. Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular
Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865.
Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.
- Caskey, Marie. Chariot of Fire: Religion and the Beecher
Family. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1978.

Chase, Gilbert. America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1955.

Clebsch, William A. American Religious Thought. A History. Univ. of Chicago, 1973.

_____. From Sacred to Profane America: The Role of Religion in American History. Harper and Row, 1968.

Cole, Charles. The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966. c. 1954, Columbia Univ. Press.

Cross, Whitney R. The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-50. Ithaca, 1950.

Davison, Archibald. Protestant Church Music. Schirmer Music Co., 1933.

Dexter, Franklin Bowditch. Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College. Vol. 6. 1912.

Dictionary of American Biography. Vols. 2, 8, 11. Dumas Malone, ed. New York: Chas. Scribners' Sons, 1932.

Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1954.

Dooley, James Edward. "Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State Univ., 1963. (Univ. Microfilms, Inc.).

Downey, James C. "The Gospel Hymns 1875-1930." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Univ. of S. Miss.

_____. "The Music of American Revivalism." Ph.D. Music dissertation, Tulane Univ., 1968.

_____. "Revivalism, the Gospel Songs and Social Reform." Ethnomusicology 9 (May 1965): 115-125.

Ellinwood, Leonard. The History of American Church Music New York, 1953.

Foote, Henry Wilder. Three Centuries of American Hymnody. Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.

Foster, Frank Hugh. A Genetic History of New England Theology. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963.

- Gaustad, Edwin Scott, ed. The Rise of Adventism: A Commentary on the Social and Religious Ferment of Mid-Nineteenth Century America. Harper and Row, 1974.
- Gerlach, Luther P. and Virginia Hine. People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
- Griffin, Clifford S. Their Brother's Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the US, 1800-65. New Brunswick, NJ, 1960.
- Hall, Jacob Henry. Biographies of Gospel Song and Hymn Writers . . . Fully Illustrated. New York and Chicago, 1914.
- Hammond, John L. The Politics of Benevolence: Revival Religion and American Voting Behavior. Ablex Rutd. Corp., 1979.
- Handy, Robert T. A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971.
- Hardon, John A., S.J. The Protestant Churches of America. Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956.
- Haroutunian, Joseph. Piety versus Moralism. New York: Harper and Row, [1932] 1970.
- Harrell, David E., Jr. Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866. Nashville, 1966.
- Higginson, J. Vincent. "Notes on Lowell Mason's Hymn Tunes." Hymn 18, April 1967.
- "Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church" June 1979. Vol. 48, no. 2.
- Hitchcock, Hugh Wiley. Music in the U.S.: A Historical Introduction. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969.
- Horn, Dorothy D. "Sacred Music of the Singing Schools." Church Music 76, 1, 11, I.
- Hulan, Richard H. "Our Creed in Metre: The Hymnology of the Restoration Movement to 1835." M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt Univ., 1971.

- Jackson, George Pullen. Down-East Spirituals and Others; 300 Songs Supplementary to the Author's Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America. Locust Valley, N.Y., 1953.
- _____. White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1933.
- James, William. The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. 1902. New York, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.
- Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. Rev. ed. London, 1907.
- Kaatrud, Paul Gaarder. "Revivalism and the Popular Spiritual Songs in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: 1830-1870." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Minnesota, 1977. (Univ. Microfilms, 1977.)
- Kerr, Phillip Stanley. Music in Evangelism and Stories of Famous Christian Songs. Gospel Music Publishers, 1939.
- Latta, Maurice C. "The Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism." Church History 5:3 (September 1936): 256-270.
- Lingle, Walter L. Presbyterians, Their History and Beliefs. Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1944.
- Lovelace, Austic C. "Early Sacred Folk Music in America." The Hymn 3:1-2 (January-April 1952): 11-14, 56-63.
- McCutchan, Robert G. "Hymns, American." Dictionary of American History. Edited by James Truslow Adams. Vol. 3. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1976.
- McLoughlin, William, ed. The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology.
- _____. Modern Revivalism: C. G. Finney to Billy Graham. New York, 1959.
- _____. Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Marshall, Howard Wright, "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music." New York Folklore Quarterly 30:1 (March 1974).

- Mason, Henry Lowell. Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography. Cambridge, MA: The Univ. Press, 1944.
- _____. Lowell Mason, An Appreciation of His Life and Work. New York, 1941.
- Mathews, Donald G. "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830." American Quarterly 21 23-43.
- Mead, Frank S. Handbook of Denominations in the U.S. 5th ed. Nashville: Abington Press, 1951.
- Metcalf, Frank. American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music. New York, 1925.
- Miller, Basil W. Charles Grandison Finney, He Prayed Down Revivals. Official Biography for Finney Sesqui-Centennial Conference, Chicago, 1942. Grand Rapids, MI, 1941.
- Miller, Perry. The Life of the Mind in America, From the Revolution to the Civil War. 1st ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.
- _____. Nature's Nation. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.
- Miller, Russell E. The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America 1770-1870. Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979.
- Miyakawa, Tetsuo Scott. Protestants and Pioneers. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Mode, Peter George. The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity. New York, 1923.
- _____. Source Book and Bibliography. Guide for American Church History. Boston: J. S. Canner and Co., Inc., 1964.
- Morgan, Catharine. "Sacred Folk Song in America." American Guild of Organists Quarterly 12 (April 1967): 54-60.
- Navias, Eugene B., Collector, author, ed. Singing Our History: Tales, Texts and Tunes from Two Centuries of Unitarian and Universalist Hymns. Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975.

- Nottingham, Elizabeth K. Methodism and the Frontier, Indiana Proving Ground. New York: Columbia Univ., 1941.
- Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Printed with corrections, 1966. Oxford Univ. Press, 1957.
- Pemberton, Carol Ann. "Lowell Mason: His Life and Work." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Minnesota, 1971.
- Pratt, Waldo Selden, ed. American Supplement. Vol. 6 of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Edited by H. C. Colles. 3rd ed. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1935.
- Routley, Eric. Hymns and Human Life. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952.
- _____. The Music of Christian Hymnody. London, 1957.
- Ryan, Mary P. "A Women's Awakening: Evangelical Religion and the Families of Utica, N.Y., 1800-1840." American Quarterly 30:5 (Winter 1978): 602-623.
- Sandeen, Ernest R. The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1830. Chicago, 1970.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. The Age of Jackson. Boston, 1945.
- _____. The American as Reformer. Harvard Univ. Press, 1950.
- Sears, Clara Endicott. Days of Delusion, a Strange Bit of History. Boston, 1924.
- Seldes, Gilbert. The Stammering Century. New York, 1928.
- Sheldon, Charles M. In His Steps. New York: Moody Press, 1896.
- Singer, David. "God and Man in Baptist Hymnals, 1784-1844." Midcontinent American Studies Journal 9:14 (Fall 1968).
- Sizer, Sandra S. Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1978.
- Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America. New York, 1957.

- Smith, Timothy L. "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millennial Vision in America, 1800-1900." American Quarterly 31:1 (Spring 1979): 21-45.
- Sperry, W. L. Religion in America. Boston: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1946.
- Spicer, Carl D. "The Great Awakening of 1857 and 1858." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State Univ., 1935.
- Stevenson, Robert. "Church Music: A Century of Contrasts." Pp. 80-108. In Paul H. Lang, ed. One Hundred Years of Music in America. New York: Schirmer, Inc., 1951.
- _____. "Evangelistic Song in Religion." Religion in Life 26 (1957): 436-443.
- _____. Patterns of Protestant Church Music. Durham, 1953.
- _____. Protestant Church Music in America. 1966.
- Sweet, William W. Methodism in American History. New York-Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1933.
- Sweet, William Warren. Religion on the American Frontier 1783-1840. New York and Chicago, 1931-1946. 4 vols.
- _____. Revivalism in America. New York, 1945.
- Tamke, Susan S. Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord: Hymns as a Reflection of Victorian Social Attitudes. Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1978.
- Thompson, James. "Music and Musical Activities in New England, 1800-1838." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. 1962. 2 vols.
- Trinterud, Leonard J. The Forming of an American Tradition. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1949.
- Tuveson, Ernest L. Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role. Chicago, 1968.
- Tyler, Alice Felt. Freedom's Ferment; Phases of American Social History to 1860. Minneapolis, 1944.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movements." American Anthropology. 1956.

Weisberger, Bernard A. They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1966. Orig. pub., Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1958.

Whale, J. S. The Protestant Tradition. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1959.