

8-1-2004

"A Jornal Of A Fue Days At York": The Great Awakening on the Northern New England Frontier

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Recommended Citation

Winiarski, Douglas L.. "A Jornal Of A Fue Days At York": The Great Awakening on the Northern New England Frontier." *Maine History* 42, 1 (2004): 46-85. <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/mainehistoryjournal/vol42/iss1/4>

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 Mighty Power of God, to their Souls. The House where they were assembled, being but small, & great Numbers, come to inwardly, it was concluded to preach in the Meeting House this Evening, but as we were going to the Meeting House a young Woman fell upon the ground, before a young Man of Justice in Company with, whom she had for years ago charged with being the Father of a Bastard Child, and had given her Oath of it & obliged him to the Maintenance of it (The man always Declining his procreancy) she now upon the ground, declared to him before a great Number, that she had born falsely, & that if Child was not his, & asked his forgiveness, he & another man lifted her up & returned, we went into the Meeting House, a great Number of People being assembled & Lights brought in, some of Mr. Willard's Expressions was a Warning, and every Body seemed under great Concern, which was very affecting Mr. Willard preached from 1 Timothy 1 & 15 this is a faithful saying which sermon affected almost the whole Congregation, & some about 1/2 Middle or 1/2 Sermon, cried out a Loud in Distress, some with Joy (but all in surprise) some asking if Christ was coming; Others if the Day of Judgment was come, some calling to Mr. Rocks to save them, that Mr. Willard was obliged to leave off, & desired us to compose themselves, for that Satan did what he could to disturb this Good Work if was going on, (after some time the Congregation was still) he went on to the end of Sermon, but there was talking all most of the whole time of praying & preaching, which was very surprising, & after Meeting was over, there some of them Publickly Exorted, & prayed with & over others, with such fervency & Devotion, that it was astonishing to hear & see after which I retired to my Lodgings, a Court 1/2 mile from the Meeting House where I hear of Cry & Incessant cry of People at the Meeting House, (Mr. Willard is gone to Temple St. Hill, &c.)

a Reference to the Day -

1741
 Oct. 11 Sabbath Day. Mr. Willard preached 3 times, in the Morning from Galatians 1. but had forbad if I should glory, I am in it. In the afternoon from 39 Psalm & 12. Dear my Prayer O Lord be the Evening Text of Song. but there was the Dead full Cry of some, almost in Dispute, lest they had sinned away the Day of Grace, some beseeching others to come to Christ, some in Distress of Joy, and some in Distress, for fear they should be left behind, when others are taken, & some that have been solemnly renewed Godly, all these Days, are now in the Dark & complain of hardness of heart, which I hear & so to my great Affliction. after the Evening Service is over I repair to my Lodgings, where I hear of People at the Meeting House, till midnight to my very great surprise -

Oct. 12 Monday Mr. Moody came home. Mr. Willard retired to his own people. Mr. John Rogers of Hitherby preached from 11 Acts & 23. who when he came, and had seen the Grace of God, was glad to see there was such a concern in others, & undistressed, in all, in Deciding what God had done for them, & some Exhort others, to pray to God there thousands of Prayers, & he will give them a new heart, & that they will find Christ, & some that have found Christ, Exhort & cry over others, that they would pray to God, & that he would send his holy Spirit into them, & show them there need of Christ if they might be saved, and after Meeting returning to my Lodgings, I hear of repeated Acclamations of Joy in some, by crys of others, about the Meeting House, which are to be seen by Loud, even to astonishment -

Oct. 13 Tuesday. about 3 in the afternoon Mr. Moody preached at Mr. Wagon's, about a Court 2 Miles from the Meeting House, where his son kept, who is under great Darkness, I attended from 3 o'clock till 11. he had one Daughter of 12 years, she being in the house, about 10 or 12 hundred People assembled, some Repenting & Magnifying in the awful good news of God, to them in a Publick manner. Other complaining of hardness of heart.

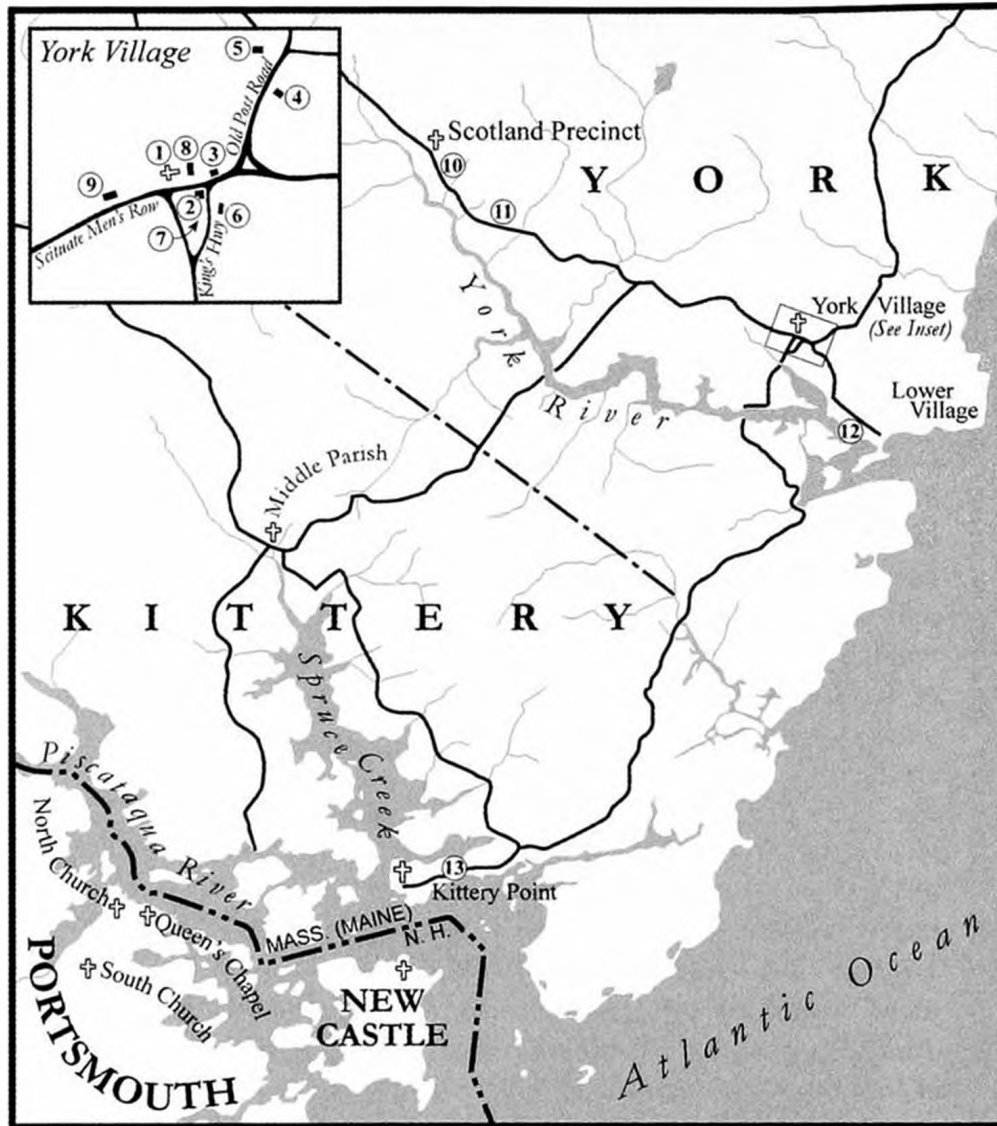
Pages 2 and 3 of "A Journal of five Days at York" showing entries for October 10-13, 1741. Courtesy Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

“A JORNAL OF A FUE DAYS AT YORK”: THE GREAT AWAKENING ON THE NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER

BY DOUGLAS L. WINIARSKI

During the early 1740s, New England communities along the northern frontier witnessed a series of religious revivals that were part of a transatlantic movement known as the Great Awakening. Promoted by touring evangelists such as George Whitefield and lesser known local clergyman, the revivals dominated the daily activities of ordinary men and women. Published here for the first time, “A Jornal of a fue Days at York, 1741,” presents a vivid portrayal of the local dynamics of the Awakening in Maine and New Hampshire. The author of the “Jornal,” an anonymous Boston merchant, chronicled nightly prayer meetings, conversations with pious local residents, and powerful sermon performances by visiting preachers over a two-week period in the fall of 1741. The “Jornal” demonstrates how the York revival attracted dozens of visitors from neighboring towns and forged an elite network of evangelical ministers, merchants, and magistrates that stretched from Boston to the coastal villages of Maine. Douglas Winiarski is Assistant Professor of Religion at the University of Richmond and the author of several articles on religion in early America. This essay is part of a larger study that explores the transformation of New England Congregationalism in the eighteenth century.

IT IS THE “opinion of many,” Arthur Browne complained in a letter dated December 10, 1741, that “there has been an extraordinary work on foot in the Land.” Portsmouth, New Hampshire’s Anglican rector chose an apt metaphor for his brief assessment of the religious revivals that had gripped the northern New England frontier earlier that fall. For weeks, he explained, a “great concourse of people”—ministers, college students, and laity alike—had flocked to the coastal community of York, Maine to witness firsthand the alleged work of the Holy Spirit. Like most of New England’s Anglican clergy, Browne was skeptical of the emerging evangelical temperament that had surfaced in the towns that lay across the Piscataqua River to the north, and he cynically suggested



Map of Southern Maine and York Village, ca. 1741, showing sites associated with events mentioned in the "Jornal."

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. First Church | 8. Courthouse |
| 2. Samuel Moody* | 9. Green Dragon Tavern* |
| 3. Alexander Bulman* | 10. Arthur Bragdon* |
| 4. Woodbridge Tavern* | 11. Samuel Cames |
| 5. Brick Tavern (Owned by William Pepperrell) | 12. Joseph Sayward* |
| 6. Old Gaol* | 13. William Pepperrell* |
| 7. Old Burying Yard | |

* Denotes buildings still standing.

that some had ventured to the "Eastern parts" merely on "a principle of curiosity." He initially "expected the matter would soon blow over," but, to his dismay, the York revival spread inexorably southward, and by mid-November it had transformed his own congregation into "a Scene of the veriest disorder and confusion." "We . . . daily hear of its prevailing in neighbouring Towns," he lamented, "and indeed there seems to be a prospect of its becoming general" throughout the region.¹

Browne's scornful letter was only one of numerous missives that carried the news of the Great Awakening in Maine and New Hampshire to a transatlantic audience, and not all accounts were as uncharitable as his. Kittery physician Edmund Coffin dispatched a "short representation of the mighty work of God at York" to his father just two days after visiting the awakened parish on October 12, 1741.² Several weeks later, New Castle, New Hampshire minister John Blunt proclaimed in a letter to Boston merchant Samuel Phillips Savage that "there has been a great Shaking at York." Savage, in turn, forwarded the news to the prominent evangelist Gilbert Tennent in New Jersey three months later.³ In fact, Savage received no fewer than eight revival reports from Maine and New Hampshire over a brief three-month period in the winter of 1741–42, and manuscript copies of the same documents may be found among the personal papers of merchants and clergyman who lived hundreds of miles apart.⁴ In early November, New Light clergyman Nicholas Gilman of Durham noted in his diary that the "Glorious Work of God . . . is carried on Marvellously . . . at York, Kittery, [and] Berwick," while his son sent news of the "Marvellous work he is now doing at [Strawberry] Bank" in Portsmouth to a cousin in Haverhill.⁵ By the spring of 1742, letters and newspaper reports detailing the "wonderfull work of God" on the northern frontier had arrived in central Massachusetts, the Connecticut Valley, and as far away as Charleston, London, and Glasgow.⁶ "You have doubtless heard of the wonderful out-powring of the Spirit of God of late at Piscataqua," an ebullient Jonathan Mayhew summarized in a letter to his brother on Martha's Vineyard, "such an one as, perhaps, has not been known since the Days of the Apostles." Shortly thereafter, Mayhew set off for York himself, "induced to go by an earnest Desire I had to see, and get a right Understanding of Affairs there with Respect to Religion."⁷

Though widely recognized by contemporaries as the epicenter of the Great Awakening in northern New England, the York revival until recently has escaped the attention of historians.⁸ Yet the spiritual fervor that erupted in town and spread throughout the coastal villages and interior farming hamlets of Maine and New Hampshire during the fall of

1741 was one of the most talked about religious events in early American history. Observers, critics, and participants ranging from local residents to itinerant preachers chronicled the remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit in dozens of diaries and letters. Published here for the first time, the anonymous “Jornal of a fue Days at York” is unquestionably the most detailed.⁹ Internal evidence suggests that the author of the thirteen-page manuscript was a traveling Boston merchant, and it is likely that he was a member of a pious circle of wealthy commercial elites who worshipped in Benjamin Colman’s fashionable Brattle Street Church. Colman was an eager supporter of the Awakening and his well-connected parishioners—men like Samuel Phillips Savage, John Loring, and Isaac Smith—frequently broadcast religious intelligence from the northern frontier to a burgeoning intercolonial network of committed New Light evangelicals.¹⁰

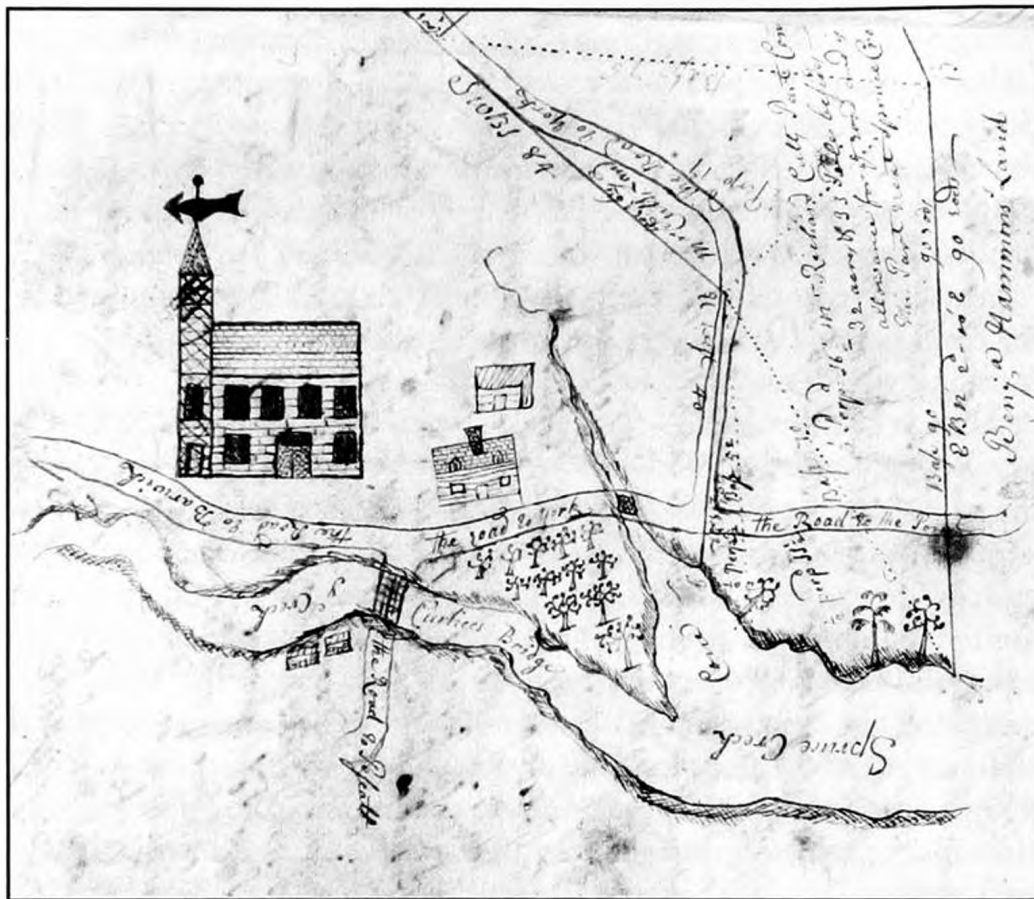
The “Jornal” is a unique and unparalleled account of eighteenth-century religious revivalism. New England clergymen composed dozens of formal revival narratives that were published in newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines; other ministers recorded the dramatic religious events of the early 1740s in their private journals.¹¹ Lay narratives from the period, on the other hand, generally fall into one of two categories: introspective spiritual diaries that include few references to local revivals or retrospective autobiographies that lack the sense of immediacy and attention to detail that is evident in the “Jornal.”¹² Indeed, this previously unknown manuscript, now owned by Yale University, is the only day-by-day account of the Great Awakening that was penned by a New England layman. The anonymous author’s colorful narrative chronicles a stunning array of revival events—from public worship meetings and daily sermons to private conversations and nightly prayer vigils—during two separate visits to York between October 10 and November 26, 1741. When supplemented by extant manuscript and print sources, the “Jornal” presents an exceptionally vivid portrait of the complex dynamics of the local revivals of the 1740s, the major figures involved in promoting the “Glorious Work” on the northern frontier, and its impact on the daily lives of ordinary men and women.

Visits by a trio of prominent itinerant preachers set the stage for the dramatic events that the author of the “Jornal” began recording in October 1741. One year earlier, York’s venerable pastor, Samuel Moody, welcomed George Whitefield into his pulpit during the famed Anglican evangelist’s first New England tour. He preached with “little or no terror, but almost all consolation,” and his conciliatory sermon was received

with joy by the York congregants. Their "hearts looked plain and simple," he noted in his *Journal* published in 1741, and "tears trickled apace down most of their cheeks."¹³ Whitefield, in turn, was followed by a series of traveling evangelists, each of whom sought to capitalize on the emerging revival flame that had been kindled by the "Grand Itinerant." Gilbert Tennent, the New Jersey firebrand and future author of the notorious polemic *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*, spent "three weeks and two Days in the Eastward" towns during the winter of 1740–41. By his own estimate, Tennent preached more than forty times on his journey from Boston to York. He claimed to have shocked, "shaken" and "wounded" hundreds of auditors with his uncompromising emphasis on the necessity of conversion. "There were in Time of Sermon," he noted in a letter to Whitefield, "such Out-cries that my Voice had like to be drowned."¹⁴

Tennent's distinctive preaching techniques established a pattern for the revival that would follow. Where Whitefield captivated his audiences with innovative marketing techniques, theatrical sermon performances, and artful rhetorical power, Tennent overpowered his listeners with multiple sermons preached over a period of several days in a single location.¹⁵ In addition to organizing protracted meetings, the New Jersey evangelist was among the first itinerants to travel with an entourage of zealous New Light disciples. One of the many individuals who followed him to York was the Newbury, Massachusetts diarist Joseph Goodhue. He and a group of his neighbors spent several days in town with Tennent, visiting "frome hous to house" and seeking solace for their unconverted souls. Goodhue previously had placed his hope for salvation in the performance of religious "Duties" and obedience to the "Works of the Law," but Tennent's sermons coupled with the Newbury layman's conversations with York residents conspired to "cut of[f] these fals hops." God was "Pleased" to "shine in" upon Goodhue's "Dark soul," filling him with "Wonder & Astonishment." The "Work of the Lord" at York, he later noted, "was marvelous to mee."¹⁶

Six months later, Ipswich native Daniel Rogers arrived in town. The former Harvard tutor had set aside his aspirations to settle in a prestigious Boston pulpit and was touring the countryside in emulation of Whitefield and Tennent. Like his New Jersey counterpart, Rogers spent nearly a month preaching in virtually every town on the northern frontier. The families of the farmers, artisans, merchants, and grandees who sat in pews from Portsmouth to North Yarmouth, he noted in his diary, had been "a loose dead People for a long Time." Yet the indefatigable



Detail, *Division of the Lands of Mr. John Hole, Late of Kittery*, December 17, 1739, by Tobias Leighton after John Godsoe. Kittery's Second, or Middle Parish Meeting-house, the home church of radical New Light preacher John Rogers and York revival correspondent Edmund Coffin, dominates this land survey by John Godsoe. Note the strategic location of the fashionable steepled structure at the junction of roads leading to York, Berwick, Kittery Point, and Portsmouth—towns that experienced powerful religious revivals during the fall and winter of 1741–42. *Courtesy Peter Benes.*

Rogers managed to preach "enlarged" sermons "with Freedom and Power" to "full" and "very Attentive" auditories in most of the communities that he visited. And, like Tennent, his traveling gospel labors encouraged others to follow him about the countryside. After visiting Moody's parish in York, Rogers set off for Wells in the company of "near 30 Horse"; that evening he preached to the "largest Congregation . . . that had ever met" in the local meetinghouse. He was especially heartened by reports suggesting that his evangelizing had "pricked" the hearts of secure "professors" throughout the region. Yet, in the end, Rogers reported that a "Gracious work of God" had only just "begun in this Place."¹⁷

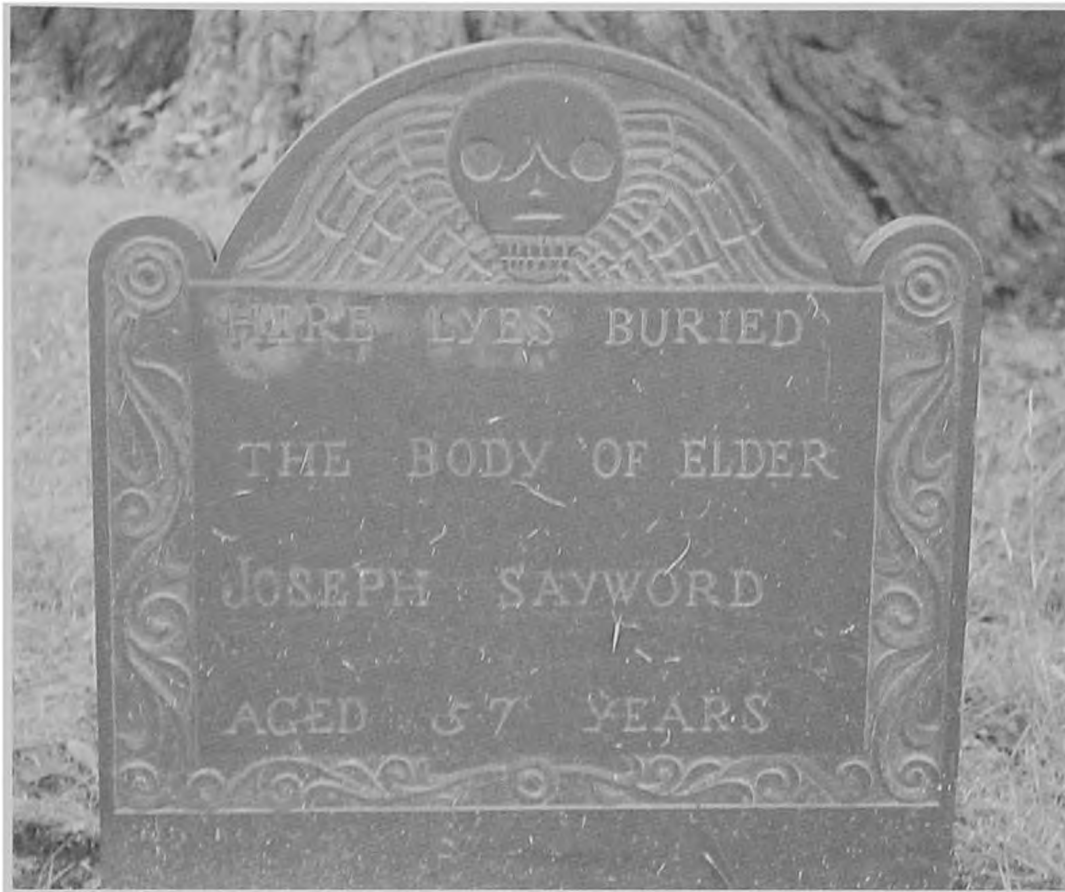
Whitefield, Tennent, and Rogers may have sowed the seeds of a formidable revival on the northern frontier, but the task of reaping the bountiful harvest of souls fell to local clergymen. Nearly all observers, including the author of the "Journal," agreed that the Great Awakening in Maine began in earnest in October 1741. The proximate catalyst of York's powerful revival season appears to have been a series of stirring sermons preached by Samuel Willard, an obscure pastor from Biddeford. According to Coffin, Willard spent nearly a week traveling among the coastal communities of Maine and preaching "at every town as he came." He arrived in York on October 8, and "God was pleased in a most wonderful manner to set home his word by his spirit on the hearts of the hearers."¹⁸ The author of the "Journal" was amazed by what he saw when he arrived in town two days later. In the middle of one of Willard's evening lectures, the entire congregation cried out in distress. Some wondered whether the Son of Man had returned to earth; others called for "Rocks to hide them" in "Resemblance of the Judgment Day." So loud was the disturbance, in fact, that Willard was "obliged" to pause and wait for the congregation to "Compose themselves." The Biddeford minister eventually resumed his sermon, though "there was talking almost the whole time of praying & Preaching," which the visiting Boston merchant found "very Surprising." Following Willard's electrifying sermon performance, members of the awakened assembly remained in the meetinghouse until midnight, exhorting and praying over convicted sinners with "such fervency & Devotion" that the diarist could hear them from his lodgings nearly a quarter of a mile away.

The York revival was on and, as news traveled southward, the seacoast town began to attract a steady stream of ministers, pious visitors, and curiosity seekers. Willard had no sooner returned to Biddeford when Kittery pastor John Rogers arrived in town with "thirty or forty of his hearers," including Coffin and his father-in-law, church elder Nathan

Bartlett. Rogers preached “to a very numerous congregation,” he explained in a letter to his father, and “the spirit accompanied his sermon as well as Mr. Willard’s.”¹⁹ Over the next few weeks, more than a half dozen New England clergymen visited Moody’s awakened parish and preached from the York pulpit. Some, like William Allen, Andrew Tyler, Daniel Emerson, John Hovey, and Ward Cotton were pastors or schoolmasters from neighboring parishes in Maine or New Hampshire. Others like Cotton’s brother Josiah—the Congregational minister at Providence, Rhode Island—had traveled a considerable distance. Collectively, the frequent visits of New Light clergymen assisted Moody in transforming the sporadic preaching of fiery itinerants like Whitefield, Tennent, and Rogers into a nearly continuous series of revival meetings that lasted for more than a month.

The “Jornal” provides a unique layman’s perspective of these daily religious meetings. Its author heard a total of twenty-two sermons preached by eight different ministers over the course of the sixteen days that he spent in York. Most of these performances were delivered during evening worship exercises that lasted well into the night and were attended by dramatic emotional outbursts. Parishioners sighed and groaned; bodies contorted and eyes flooded with tears as they listened to the powerful preaching of New Light evangelists. While some fell to the floor under the weight of their sins, others suddenly burst into laughter and cries of joy as they emerged from the darkness of conviction into the light of the new birth. And several men and women experienced rapturous “Transports of Joy.” The author of the “Jornal” neglected to describe these unusual visionary experiences, but another observer—an anonymous “*Gentleman in York*” whose account was eventually published in *The South Carolina Gazette*—reported that several revival participants had fallen into “Trances, and were Transported to Heaven” where they saw Christ “write their Names *in the Book of Life*.” So powerful were these ecstatic visions, in fact, that entranced New Lights could describe “the *Book, Character, Hand and Pen*” in exhaustive detail. Relating their “Experiences” to astonished “Spectators,” the visionists painted a vivid portrait of heaven—“its Scituation, Inhabitants and Exercises”—and claimed to have “full Assurances of their Title to that blessed Place.”²⁰

Religious exercises spilled outside the meetinghouse as well. Filled by the Holy Spirit, men, women, and children exhorted their neighbors from the steps of the church and boisterous psalm singing erupted in the streets. York’s several taverns stood empty for days on end. Guilt stricken sinners confronted those whom they previously had wronged and



Judging by its pristine physical appearance, the grave marker of Joseph Sayward that currently stands in the Old Burying Yard in York Village is probably a reproduction that was created during the 1930s. Nineteenth-century sources reveal that the original stone bore the date of the York elder's death: "Dec. ye 25th 1741." The optimistic winged skull motif masks the debilitating feelings of spiritual darkness that plagued Sayward just a few weeks earlier, when the author of the "Jornal" and a group of "young Christians" gathered at his house to "pray & Praise God together." *Photo by Martha J. McNamara.*

begged forgiveness for their former transgressions. Wealthy families seeking to emulate the primitive communalism of the apostolic churches shared food and lodging—as well as good Christian conversation—with less fortunate neighbors, visitors, and strangers. Groups of young people gathered in the houses of convicted sinners who languished in spiritual darkness—men and women like York's elder, Joseph Sayward, Moody's melancholic son, Joseph, or the daughter of the prominent lawyer Samuel Cames, who was so "Discomposed in her mind" that she was gagged and "bound with Cords" in order to keep her from "Disturbing" those who had assembled to pray for her unconverted soul. Moody and his colleagues were active in these venues, as well, con-

stantly visiting with distressed parishioners and delivering extemporaneous sermons, exhortations, prayers, and discourses to spontaneous assemblies that often numbered in the hundreds. Even a fashionable dinner party for a group of out-of-town visitors hosted by Mary Bulman, wife of a prominent York doctor and a fervent revival supporter, was consecrated to the cause of the Awakening. Here, the author of the “Jornal” and a group of genteel female companions spent the afternoon and evening singing psalms and discussing the glorious work of the Holy Spirit in town.

Events moved at a breathless pace. Day after day, the author attended one revival meeting after another. And nearly all of these activities took place in the middle of the week and in the very midst of the busiest agricultural season of the year. This was a revival the likes of which “was never seen in New England,” Coffin proudly proclaimed in a letter to his father, and he proceeded to boast that “The conversion of those at Northampton according to Mr. Edwards’ account is not comparable to this.” The Kittery doctor’s comparison to the famed “Little Awakening” described in Jonathan Edwards’s *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* may have been overstated, yet anecdotal evidence suggests that large numbers of men and women were involved in the northern revivals during the fall and winter of 1741–42.²¹ The York “Gentleman” reported that the overall number of people “affected” during the October phase of the revival numbered “about 150”—perhaps fifteen to twenty percent of the town’s total population.²² The author of the “Jornal” witnessed the admission of ten new communicants on November 22; and the fact that “above 40 more” had been “propoun’d” and thus would have joined the church a few weeks after he had returned to Boston suggests that, during the fall of 1741, the York church experienced the largest single membership surge of any parish in Maine.

The demographic profile of the York converts mirrored broader patterns that were evident in awakened congregations across New England. Between 1741 and 1744, the median age of church membership candidates plummeted, as a preponderance of adolescents and unmarried young men and women swelled the ranks of New Light churches. According to Coffin, the driving engine of the York revival consisted of “young persons under twenty-five and down to the age of five and six years.”²³ Equally typical was the balanced sex ratio of those who claimed to have experienced conversion. In previous generations, women dominated the rosters of communicants, usually by a ratio of two to one. But in York, as was the case elsewhere in New England, the revivals created a

“general concern” throughout “the whole Town” and impacted “all ages . . . & Sex’s.” At the same time, the Great Awakening was not solely a movement among the disenfranchised, as some historians have assumed.²⁴ Though young and unmarried, most of the revival participants at York hailed from well-established parish families. In fact, the daily encounters described in the “Journal” suggest that the revivals dramatically, and perhaps disproportionately, impacted northern New England’s reigning “squirearchy”: the families of cosmopolitan merchants, frontier physicians and lawyers, and nearly every clergyman north of the Piscataqua.²⁵

Coffin believed that the “finger of the Lord” was “most certainly” involved in stirring the dry bones at York, and his thoughts were echoed by the Boston diarist, who hoped that the “Good & Great work” of the Holy Spirit would “become General in this Town.”²⁶ But not all observers were so sanguine. The York “Gentleman” excoriated his awakened neighbors for their unbridled emotionalism and the “Absurdities” manifest in their revival meetings. He was puzzled by the odd evangelical idiom through which the New Lights narrated their conversion experiences, and he was appalled by the seemingly cruel manner in which the converted chided their neighbors who continued to struggle “*under Darkness*.” To him, the “merry Tricks and antick Gestures” attending the purported work of the Holy Spirit seemed closer to a drunken “frolick” than a solemn religious occasion. Alone among the witnesses to the York revival, the “Gentleman” reveled in recounting the bizarre details of visionary encounters with Jesus, Satan, angels, and the Book of Life. “Various are the Sentiments of People concerning the Cause of these Things,” he concluded. Some “ascribe them to an over heated Imagination, or enthusiastick Brain,” while “Others call it a plain Delirium, or proper Distraction.”²⁷

Although the revival flames cooled to embers over the next several months, the events that took place in York during the fall of 1741 served as catalyst for towns throughout northern New England and beyond. The ministers who visited Moody’s parish during those tumultuous weeks in October and November returned to their congregations refreshed and eager to engineer revivals of their own. Josiah Cotton arrived in Providence, Rhode Island, after participating in the “great & glorious work” at York and, to his delight, discovered his congregation in the grip of a revival of their own. A full year later, he was still preaching nearly every day of the week in the woods near his parsonage, and he proudly reported that his own wife, several prominent parishioners, and



According to family tradition, Mary Bulman created these exquisite crewelwork bedhangings shortly after the York revival. Her needlework couples lush Edenic imagery with verses from Isaac Watts's *Horæ Lyricæ*. New Lights like Bulman cherished Watt's evangelical hymns and poetry; and the lines that she stitched into the valence of her elegant family bed compare matrimony to the mystical union of the saints with Jesus Christ—a common theme in revival sermons. *Courtesy Old York Historical Society.*

perennial outsiders including former Baptists, Quakers, African slaves, and others who “never came to Meeting” had experienced “saving illumination by the holy Ghost.”²⁸

An even more direct connection lay between the York revival and the extraordinary events that unfolded in William Shurtleff's South Portsmouth congregation. On November 25, the day before the author of the “Jornal” set sail for Boston, the Portsmouth parishioners observed a day of fasting and prayer for “the Effusion of God's Spirit on them.” Nearly two dozen men and women cried out during Shurtleff's sermon, some having experienced “a Sudden Beam of divine Joy, other[s] with the Appearance of their sins.” Shurtleff and his colleagues stayed to preach, pray, exhort, and discourse with the affected members of the assembly into the early hours of the morning. Over the next several days, the “Blessed work incresd in a most swift and amazing manner” as a series of regional clergymen kept up a steady barrage of sermons from

morning to night. According to one report, "two or three Hundred People" could be heard crying out in distress at one time. "The whole Gallery was in Motion," remarked another observer, with frightened men and women waving their arms, wringing their hands, and clutching their breasts in agony of soul. The entire affair "Seemd in Some Respects like the Bangs of two armies Ingaged," he continued, "People kept dropping one after another by a Cause as Imperceptible as . . . flying Bullets." In all, perhaps as many as 1,000 people—"Young & Old, Rich and poor, White & black"—were "deeply wounded" during the furious three-day event. This Portsmouth phase of the northern revival was aided, in part, by a local fire that blazed "to an uncommon Degree" and set local residents fearing "that CHRIST *was coming to Judgment*;" yet Boston merchant Samuel Phillips Savage also noted that "some that had been struck at York" were among the first to respond to Shurtleff's innovative revival measures.²⁹

Sparked at York and extending to Portsmouth, the revival quickly engulfed neighboring parishes in Maine and New Hampshire. "The works of God amongst us are wonderful," explained New Castle clergyman John Blunt in a letter dated December 22, 1741. An active participant in the Portsmouth Awakening, Blunt welcomed the revival spirit as it "Spread far & wide & fast" over the next several weeks. By early January, Kittery merchant and magistrate Simon Frost was writing to Savage bemoaning his own spiritual "Darkness & Discouragements," yet praising the "great work that is going on" in his own town. That same week, Falmouth clergyman Thomas Smith returned "home from a journey to Piscataqua, where I have been to observe and affect myself with the great work of God's grace." A local revival "broke out" in his parish less than a month later. The Falmouth Awakening, moreover, began in the home of Charles Frost—first cousin of the Kittery merchant—whose sister had attended Mary Bulman's dinner party in York alongside the anonymous author of the "Jornal." By the end of the year, Smith had admitted more than four times the average yearly number of new communicants.³⁰ In fact, during the six months that followed Samuel Willard's meteoric preaching tour, the Berwick, Kittery Point, Scarborough, and Wells churches all received more full church members and covenant owners than in any single year in their respective histories. By the spring of 1742, nearly every town north of the Piscataqua River and many of the coastal parishes in New Hampshire were ablaze.³¹

York remained a key outpost of New Light evangelicalism over the next several years. It was here, in the summer of 1742, that a group of

pro-revival clergyman took the audacious step of ordaining Daniel Rogers as an itinerant preacher with no established parish—a landmark event in the history of American revivalism. The Ipswich evangelist returned to York, Portsmouth, and the hinterland communities of northern New England on numerous occasions during the early 1740s. His travels brought him into frequent contact with the network of clerical and lay elites who had assembled in York during the fall of 1741. Rogers, moreover, was not the only itinerant preacher to target the northern frontier. A host of New Light evangelists ranging from ordained ministers such as Nicholas Gilman and Samuel Buel to unlettered exhorters like Richard Elvins, Richard Woodbury, and “blind” Joseph Prince kept the revival fires in Maine and New Hampshire flickering well after the flames had been quenched elsewhere in New England.³²

In the fall of 1744, George Whitefield returned to a world seemingly transformed by the York revival, though he immediately contracted a dangerous illness. For more than a week he languished in the home of Alexander Bulman, and he may even have convalesced in the very bed that the York physician’s wife, Mary, had adorned with a valence that displayed beautiful crewelwork verses from the evangelical poetry of Isaac Watts.³³ Despite his illness, Whitefield had once again converted York into the hub of a vibrant revival network. Regional clergymen, traveling evangelists, Boston merchants, and “great crowds come out of the Country” descended on the seacoast community, this time to hear the famed evangelist “revive” the flagging spirit of the Great Awakening. Whitefield met with ministers from as far away as eastern Connecticut; he listened with pleasure as local pastors like John Rogers explained how he had “razed” their “false foundations” four years earlier; and he received dozens of letters from committed New Lights from across New England. As he ascended Samuel Moody’s pulpit to deliver the first of several sermons in town, Whitefield realized that York had recently experienced an uncommonly powerful revival season. “I find they were favored with some glorious gales of the blessed Spirit about three years ago,” he explained in an unpublished journal, “and other adjacent places caught the flame.”³⁴

"A Journal of a few Days at York, 1741" is part of the Diaries Miscellaneous Collection (manuscript record group #181) in the Manuscripts and Archives division of the Yale University Library, and it is published here by permission. The booklet is comprised of four sheets, each measuring 15.7 x 19.5 cm, infolded to form a signature of sixteen pages. The first leaf is blank except for the title, which appears on the recto at the top center. The author's handwriting is legible throughout, though the "Jornal" contains idiosyncrasies in diction, spelling, and punctuation that are common to eighteenth-century manuscripts. In preparing the document for publication, I have followed the "inclusive" or "expanded" method of transcription described in Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 157-58, 161-64, and Samuel Eliot Morison, "Care and Editing of Manuscripts," in the *Harvard Guide to American History*, vol. 1, rev. ed., ed. Frank Freidel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 28-31. Capitalization and punctuation follow the author's irregular usage with only a few exceptions. I have uniformly capitalized the first word and supplied a period at the end of each sentence. Commas preceding parenthetical expressions have been moved to the end in accord with modern conventions. Grossly misspelled words are glossed in the notes. In a few cases, editorial intervention was necessary in order to avoid confusion; these additions have been enclosed in square brackets (e.g. "of[f]"), as have questionable readings of damaged portions of the manuscript. In cases where the writer splits words (e.g., "a nother" or "Dred full"), I have joined the syllables together for the sake of clarity. Superscripted abbreviations and archaic spellings (including "th" abbreviations that derive from the early English thorn) have been expanded, except where modern forms are appropriate (e.g. "Oct." or "mr."). Contractions marked with an apostrophe by the author have been retained along with his use of the ampersand. Interlineated words and phrases have been incorporated silently into the text; obvious slips of the pen have been emended without comment. I have included the author's original page numbers, set off by slashes. In short, the text which follows strives to preserve as much of the original character of the "Jornal" as possible, while presenting a clear and readable text to a modern audience. For a fascinating introduction to the world of eighteenth-century orthography, see the essay "How to Read 18th Century British-American Writing" at the DoHistory interactive website (www.dohistory.org).

A Journal of a few Days at York 1741

/1/ Oct. 10 This being Saturday about 3 a Clock after noon I arived at York from Boston and upon my going from the vesel, up to Town, I met a Man & woman who informed me of the Mighty Power of God in this Place, within a fue Days (mr. Willard³⁵ [of] Bideford began to Preach Tuesday) upon a great Number of People, that are brought to se in what a wretched Estate they are in by Nature, and that now they are brought to se Christ, & his Loveliness, and are full of Joy (but they Shewed great Surprize). They also Informed me, that at a House near the Meeting House, was a Number under concern, and that mr. Willard was going to Preach to them. Upon which I went to said House, where was about 60 assembled, but Such a Sight as I never beheld, Men, Women & Children, some in Raptures of Joy, Saying they had Seen Christ, others Declairing what God had done to there souls, others that were vicious & Profain, Acknowledging Publickly there great wickedness, & that they had never prayed in all there Lives, that God had now given them a heart to pray, to there Heavenly Father, & they now Exhort & beceach others to do likewise, with great fervency, & with tears flowing from there Eyes, in a very affecting manner, to come to Christ, saying how Lovely he is, and they do it Publickly & [are] no ways Danted,³⁶ at the presence of any, even of minister or Stranger. Some that came to Se them complain of hardness of Heart, others crying & praying over them, & Plading with them, in a Moveing Manner, till there faces are Covered with Tears. A little Garl about 8 years of Age, that was in the Company, came to me, & asked if I loved Christ. I told her I hoped I Did. Upon which she Said, she had seen him twice, & Said he was a lovely Sweet Jesus. And some of these persons have been openly Profain, that are now Declairing the /2/ Mighty Power of God, to there Souls. The House where they were Assembled, being but Small, & a great Number came to hear & Se, it was Concluded to Preach in the Meeting House, this Evening. But as we were going to the Meeting House, a young Woman fell upon the Ground, before a young Man, that I was in Company with, whom she had 4½ years ago Charged with being the Father of a Bastard Child, and had given her Oath of it & obliged him to the Maintenance of it (the man always Declairing his Inocency). She now upon the Ground, Declaired to him before a great Number, that She had Sworn falsly, & that the Child was not his, & asked his forgiveness. He & another man lifted her off[f] the Ground.³⁷ We went into the Meeting House, a great Number of People being assembled, & Lights brought in; some Groned, some Sighed, &

some in Pews & in Seats, Talking to Each other at mr. Willards Expressions. It was amazing, and Every Body Seamed under great Concern, all which was very affecting. Mr. Willard Preached from 1 Timothy 1 & 15, this is a faithfull saying &c, which Sermon affected allmost the whole Congregation, & some about the Middle of the sermon, Cryed out aloud in Distress, some with Joy (but all in Surprise), some asking if Christ was come, others if the Day of Judgment was Come, some calling to the Rocks to hide them, a Resemblance of the Judgment Day, that mr. Willard was obliged to leave of[f], & Desier them to Compose themselves, for that Satan did what he could, to Disturb this Good Work that was going on (& after some time the Congregation was stilled). He went on to the end of the Sermon, but there was talking allmost the whole time of praying, & Preaching, which was very Surprising, & after meeting was over, then some of them Publickly Exorted, & prayed with & over others, with such fervency & Devotion, that it was astonishing to hear & Se. After which, I retired to my Lodging, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the Meeting House, where I hear the Crys & Intreetes,³⁸ of the People at the Meeting House till near midnight (mr. Moody³⁹ is gone to Supply mr. Willards [People at Biddeford]).

/3/ Oct. 11 Saboth Day. Mr. Willard Preached 3 times; in the morning from 6 Galations 14, but God forbid that I Should Glory, Save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ &c, in the afternoon, from 39 Psalm & 12, hear my Prayer O Lord &c. The Evening Text I forgot, but there was the Dredfull Crys of some, allmost in Dispare, least they had sinned away the Day of Grace, some beseeching others to come to Christ, some in Raptures of Joy, and some in Distress, for fear they Should be left behind, when others are taken, & some that have been sober & reconed Godly, all there Days, are now in the Dark, & Complain of heardness of heart, which I hear & Se to my Great amasement. After the Evening Exercise is over, I repare to my Lodging, where I hear the People at the Meeting House, till midnight to my very great Surprise.

Oct. 12 Monday mr. Moody came home. Mr. Willard returned to his own people. Mr. John Rogers of Kittery⁴⁰ Preached in the Evening from the 11 Acts & 23, who when he came, and had Seen the Grace of God, was Glad &c. There was great Joy in some, Serious concern in others, & undantedness in all, in Declairing what God had done for them, & some Exhort others to pray to God there Heavenly Father, & he will give them a new heart, & that they will find Christ, & some that have found



The author of the “Jornal” and nearly 500 revival participants gathered at the house of deacon Arthur Bragdon to hear Samuel Moody preach on the afternoon of October 13, 1741. “Handkerchief” Joseph Moody, the troubled son of the York minister and former pastor of the Scotland Parish Church, convalesced here for several years following his mental breakdown in 1738. *Photo by Martha McNamara.*

Christ, Exhort & Cry ower others, that they would pray to God, & that he would Send his holy Spirit into them, & Shew them there need of Christ that they might be saved. And after Meeting, returning to my Lodging, I hear the Repeted acclimations of Joy in some, & crys of others, about the Meeting House, which are so Percing & loud, even to astonishment.

Oct. 13 Tuseday, about 3 in the afternoon, mr. Moody Preached (at mr. Bragdon’s House,⁴¹ about 2 miles from the Meeting House where his son keeps, who is under great Darkness,⁴² I attended) from 3 solomon Songs & 11, go forth o ye Daughters of Zion &c. There being in the House & about it, 4 or 5 hundred people assembled, some Rejoycing, & magnifying the wonderfull goodness of God to them in a Publick Manner, others complaining of heardness of /4/ Heart, & some that were noted, for great profainness, & other wickedness, are so wrought upon, as to make Publick Confession, in the open Streets that now God had

given them a heart to pray, & they Exhort & beseech others to do so too, so that there Seams to be a general concern, through the whole Town, in all ages, & Sex's. The last night a young woman, Sister to Doctor Bennet,⁴³ was in great Horrour, & Mr. Moody was Sent for to her at midnight, as he told me & to that Degree, that her Tongue was stiff in her mouth, but this morning was something Better, & now this Evening, tho 2 miles from her Dwelling, is able to attend the Lecture with Joy & Rejoycing, in God her Saviour. The Meeting Continued about 4 HOURS, 2 of which was within night. One Man in Sermon time, cryed out with Joy, but after the Meeting was over, there was Such acclamations of Joy, among the numeros assembly, Blessing & Praising God, for sending Christ to Save Sinners, some saying they Saw Christ, others that they Saw a light. But in General, Such Love & Joy as I never beheld, forgiving & asking forgiveness, one of another, & Such Love among them, that they Seem to have all things in Common, in there Houses as to vituals & Drink, & rejoyce that they have it to give, & a Gentlewoman told me, that formerly she had been afraid, they Should want,⁴⁴ but now she had no Such fear, all which is astonishing to beholders. Parents ask Prayers for there Children, & Children for there parents, Brothers, Sisters, Acquaintance[s] & they after meeting are loth to go from the House of God, till they get the Minister to pray with them, & then he Exhorts them to go to there Familys, & tells them it is as much there Duty, to go pray with there Family, & in there Closets, as to be there, & then Pronounces the Blessing upon them. And it Seems to me, that this Good & Great work, will become General in this Town, & some come from other Places, to behold the wonderfull works of the Lord, in breathing upon these Dry Bones.⁴⁵

/5/ Oct. 14 Wensday Mr. Moody about 5 a Clock after noon, 3 or 4 hundred being assembled, at the Meeting House without any notification they Desier him to preach to them, which he did from Acts 16, 29 to 34, then he called for a light, & Sprang in &c. The People were very attentive to hear. The Exercise lasted about 3 howers, after which some was bufeted with Temptations, some Rejoyceing, some beging of others, to pray for them, that they might be inlightened, some Saying that Flashes of light came into them, others after Joy have Sorrow, & Darkness, & are sorely assalted with Temptations, & one Man (look'd upon to be a Good Christian) told me, he was the last night Sorely Tempted to Destroy himself, but Said through the Grace of God, it was now over. And others, Grace Seams to appear in there Countenances, which Seam makes there Faces to Shine. After meeting, they assemble together in Companys, &

Rejoyce with & Comfort each other, and as they go along the street Declare the wonderfull works of God, & what he has done for them & they Exhort each other, to be stedfast. All there conversation Seames to be Heavenly, & for 4 Days that I am at York, I don't Remember, but one man of the Town, come to the Tavern where I keep, & the whole Family are under Concern. After meeting I went to the House of mr. Joseph Adams,⁴⁶ & about 12 at night Set Sayl with him for Brunswick, where I arived the next Day.

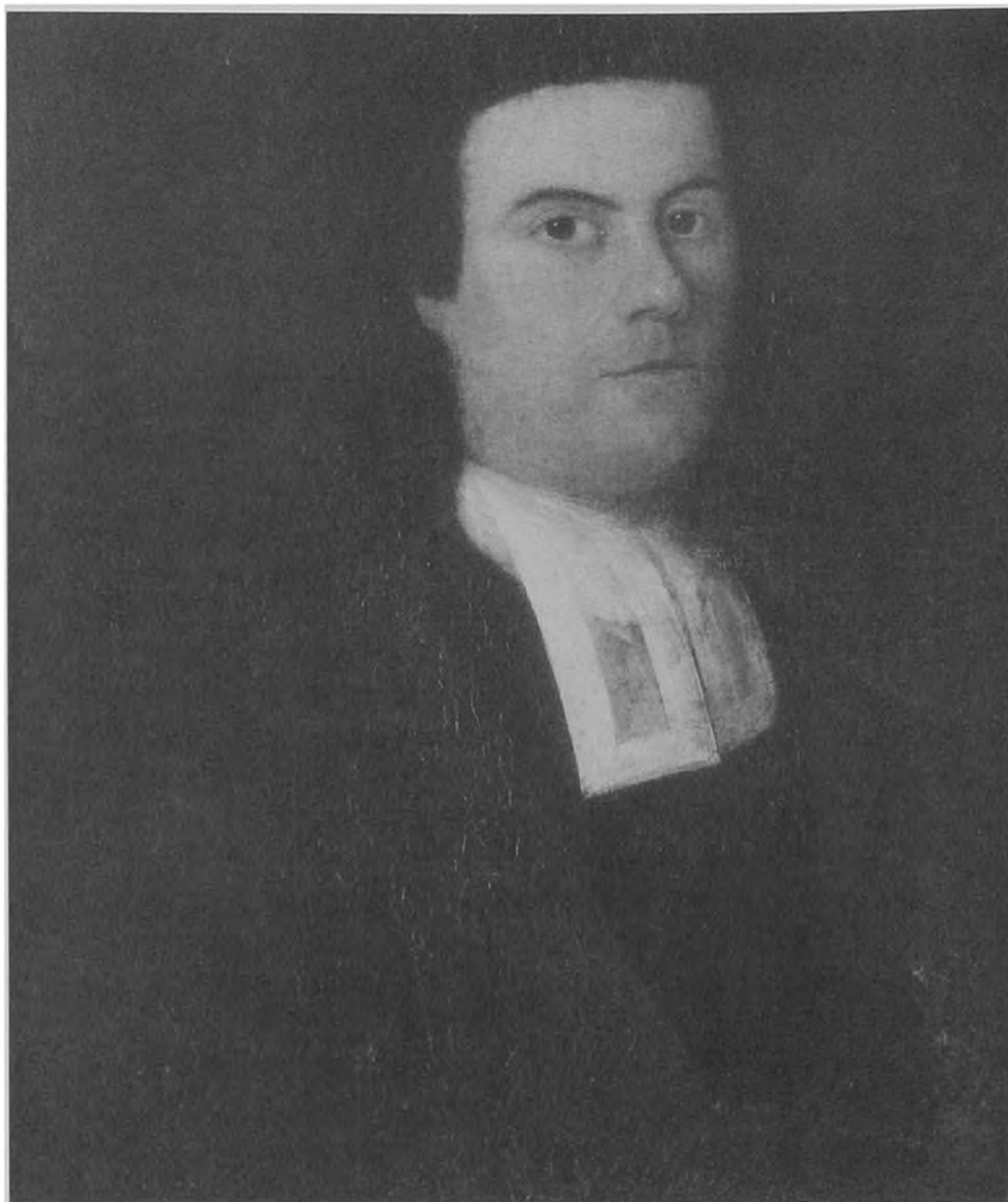
Nov. 16 Monday Returned from Brunswick to York at midnight.

17 Tuesday morning on Board the Sloop, I got up at Day-light, & at Sun Rise, the Bell Rings, & a man came on Board the Sloop, & told us that mr. Emerson, the Buttler of the Coledge,⁴⁷ was to preach at 10 a Clock. I Soon went on Shore to my Quarters, and at the Bells Ringing, I repaired to the Meeting House, & found a great Number assembled, & soon after mr. Moody & mr. Emerson came in, & Prayed very Devoutly, with an affecting Congregation, & Preached, from Hebrews 2 & 3, how shall we Escape if we neglect so great salvation. /6/ And while Preaching, a woman in the Gallery, cryed out, & I think fainted, but after some time was Recovered. Mr. Emerson in his Sermon, used many Melting Expressions, & many affected at his Discorse, which was Delivered without Book. After the Exercise was over, one Lovet, a Great Drinker,⁴⁸ Cryed out, & acknowledged his Sin, & admonished others against it, of his Companions, & Peticulerly named one, that was Present, whom he Said, came to his House for days together, & Send for Drink, & neglect his Family, & he beged of others, to refrain therefrom, which was very Surprising to all beholders, as coming from a man, so Noted for Drinking, but he was no ways Danted, tho but the Saxton of the Meeting.⁴⁹ I observed the man in the time of Sermon, that he Seamed to be uneasy (he Siting before me) that he went out of Meeting, & tarried about ½ a Quarter of an hower, & then came in Sat in another Place, which observation I mention'd to some, but was Informed, that he was Obliged to go out to vent himself, for that he could not refrain from Speaking out, he being so full, was ready to Burst. Others wept & bewailed there sins (with this man), in an affecting manner, and it might truly be Said, Surely God is in this Place. After Meeting by the Invitation of mrs. Bulman,⁵⁰ I Dined with her, where were Several young Women, viz. mrs. Frost,⁵¹ Wundall⁵² & 2 mrs. Hirsts.⁵³ After Dinner, I went to do some Bisness in the Town, & at Evening Returned to my Quarters, where was

mrs. Bulman, Bradbury,⁵⁴ Frost, Wendall & 2 mrs. Hirsts, & after Serious Conversation, Sang the 23 Psalm & Supped together. Then they retired to mrs. Bulmans where they kept, about 9 at Night, & it might be truly Said, it is Good to be here.

/7/ Nov. 18 Wensday about 4 a Clock after noon, the Bell Rings for Meeting. I attended. Mr. Emerson Preached, from 1 Thesilonians 5 & 19, Quench not the spirit. It was a very affecting & awakening Congregation, & many very much moved with the Sermon, after which he prayed. But before the Blessing was given, News was brought mr. Moody, while in the Pulpit, that mr. Cotton of Providence⁵⁵ & Hampton,⁵⁶ was come to Town, upon which he informed the Congregation, & Desiered they would not Dispers, for that they would have another Lecture, and then called out to know, if they were in the Congregation, upon which, they being at the Dore (upon there Horses) answered, they were here, Just come to Town. Then mr. Moody Desiered them to come in, & speak a word to them, in the name of the Lord. Then he went to the Dore to them, & Spake to them, & then Desiered the Congregation to Sing a Psalm, while the Gentlemen Refreshed themselves a fue minits, which they did, & then came in, mr. Moody, the 2 mr. Cottons, & mr. Emerson. And mr. Josiah Cotton Prayed, & then Preached, from 2 Hebrews & 3, how Shall we Escape, if we neglect so great Salvation. The Exersise continued till about 9 at night. The Sermon was salom. There was great attention, to the Word Spoken and many Seemed to be pricked, both by there Countenances & Jestures, & after the Blessing was given, cry'd out what should they do to be Saved.⁵⁷ Mr. Moody informed the Congregation that there would be a Lecture, tomorrow morning, at 9 a Clock. There was 2 young Women that belonged to Newhampshire, that this day went homward, but meeting with the 2 mr. Cottons, returned with them, to York, & attended the Lecture this evening, & were much affected therewith, & are in great Distress of soul, as are many others, & some allmost in Dispair.

/8/ Nov. 19 Thursday in the forenoon mr. Josiah Cotton Preached, from the 3 Acts 26, unto you first, God haveing raised up his son Jesus, & Sent him to bless you &c. There was a Considerable assembly, notwithstanding the Season was Dificult, by reason of Great Rain. The Sermon was very affecting, & some pricked by the word, some fainted, & some Comforted. It was a very affecting assembly. One of those young women, (viz.) mrs. Frost that came back with the Mesrs. Cottons, was by this



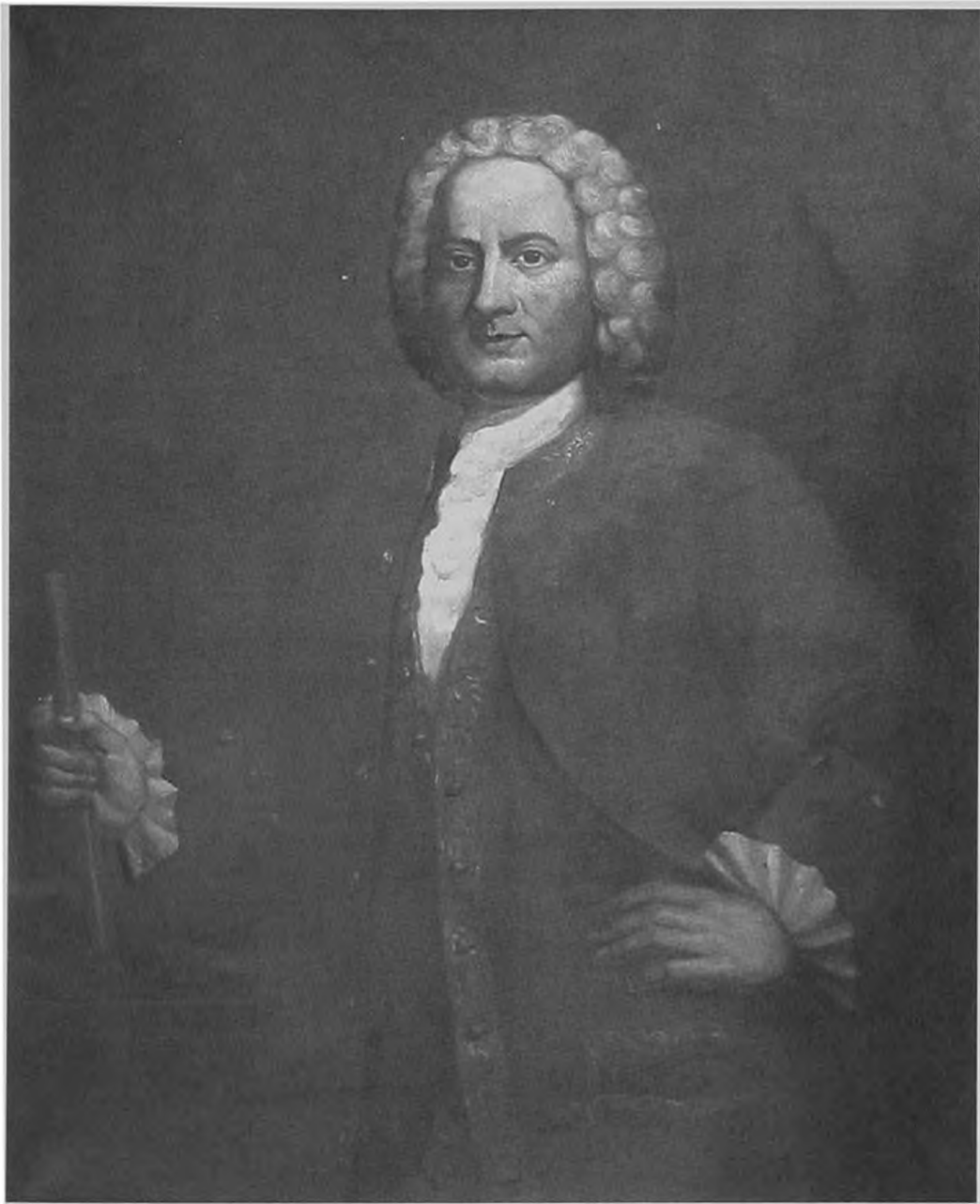
REV. ANDREW TYLER (1719-1775), by John Singleton Copley, oil on canvas, 1765. By the time Copley produced this handsome portrait, the fiery "Scholar" described in the "Jornal" had moderated his religious zeal, married Mary Richards, and settled into a comfortable pastorate in the Clapboard Trees precinct of Dedham (now Westwood), Mass. *Courtesy of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.*

awakening Sermon brought out of Great Distress of soul, to magnify the name of the Lord in the Publick Assembly. And it was amazing to Se, & hear other young persons Magnifying & Extoling the name of the Lord, for his wonderfull Works to there souls, and calling upon others to do the same, in Such a Moveing Manner, and with Such Strong Crys & Intretes, that I think it imposable to Discribe it by any Relation thereof. In the afternoon of Said Day, mr. Ward Cotton Prayed, & mr. Josiah Cotton Preached, from the former Text 3 of the Acts & 26. Mr. Moody Prayed after Sermon. The Sermon was Serious & solom, many Dejected, many wept, one fainted. Upon the whole Such a wonderfull appearance of the Power of God, & his Love Displayed in this Place, that I never Se nor heard the like Since I was born. After meeting I went to Lodge at a House near where the vesel lyes, that I Expect to go to Boston in, where was a young Woman, in a Dispairing Condition, with whom I Discorsed till near midnight, & then retired to my Rest, Expecting to Sayl before morning, but a Contrary wind.

Nov. 20 Fryday. This Evening the Revered mr. Allen of Greenland⁵⁸ Preached from 5 Ephesians & 8, for ye were sometimes Darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord, a serious Discourse from the old Gentleman, & after the Blessing was Pronounced, a young man Publickly in the Meeting House, beged of all to come to Christ, & that there was Merret enough in him, & that he was willing to receive all that come to him, & Exorted them in a most fervent moveing Manner, & prayed very earnestly for all, that they might come to Christ, which caused a very Devout attention in all, and with Such Strong Crys, & floods of Tears flowing from /9/ his Eyes, & from the Eyes of others, which was astonishing to Se & hear. And the very worst of Persons, are Brought to se & abhor themselves, & think they are the worst of Sinners, are now forsaken their Sins, of Profain Cursing & Swaring, Drinking &c. (which is very remarkable). Elder Sayward,⁵⁹ being very much in the Dark, weak in Body, & apprehended near his End, a number of young Christians, assembled at his House, to pray & Praise God together, which was a Great Comfort to the Elder. Also a Daughter of the Honorable mr. Came,⁶⁰ being Discomposed in her mind, to a Degree of Distraction, so as to be kept bound with Cords, a Number of Godly People, this Evening, mett at mr. Comes House, with mr. Andrew Tyler the Scholer,⁶¹ who Prayed & Preached with her, and During the Exercise they kept her from Disturbing them (when she attempted it) by Stopping her mouth. The next morning, I was informed by her Brother,⁶² that she had a better night, than she had had, for some time before.

Nov. 21 Saterdag Doctor Bulman⁶³ Returned from Boston by whom I here my Family are well (Praised be God therefor). After noon, I went to se Mrs. Mitchel⁶⁴ Sister to Mrs. Harmon⁶⁵ where I now Lodge, who is greatly in the Dark, & sorely Tempted by Satan, who Suggests to her, that she is in a Damned condition, but by the Perswation of her Friends, She constantly attends the Publick Worship, where I found the Revered Mr. Moody, where we was about one hower in Discourse, Mrs. Mitchel being wholly Silent all the time. Then Mr. Moody Prayed a Short prayer with & for her, then we came away together, and by the way told me, he must go to Se a woman, who was much inlightened by the Spirit of God, but had a bad Husband, that turned her out of Dores, & coming by said House, he called to Se her & I Returned to Mr. Harmons⁶⁶ where I keep, being about 4 a Clock after noon, tomorrow being the Lords day.

Nov. 22 Saboth Day. Mr. Andrew Tyler Preached in the forenoon from the 11 Mathew 28, come unto me, all ye that Labour, & are heavy laden, & I will give you Rest, /10/ & it was to a very Serious auditory, & after the Blessing was pronounced Divers Exhorted & pray'd, in the Meeting House to admiration. In the afternoon Mr. Tyler Preached from 16 Job 22, when a fue years are come, then I Shall go the way, whence I Shall not return, which Sermon caused Serious attention, & many affected therewith, and many wept almost the whole Exercise, which was Serious, & salom. And what aded to it, was the affecting Relations⁶⁷ of 10 young Persons admited into the Church, some of which about 12 years of Age, [and] above 40 more propoun'd, in which Relations, they Declar'd there Expriance of the Grace of God, upon there souls, & most of them that they were awakened, by the Powerfull Preaching, of Mr. Willard, & also by the Cry of the Distressed, & the Prayers & Intreetes of Such as are Ilumenated. And while the Relations of those young Converts were reading, Floods of Tears flowed from the Eyes of very many, which I am fully perswaded, God has, & is working upon there Souls. There Meeting Days are weeping Days to some, & rejoycing Days to others. Allmost every one Seamed to be in great concern, and are Earnestly solisitos least they should be left behind, when others are taken. When the afternoon Exercise was ended, Mr. Moody informed the Congregation, that there was a number that Desired Mr. Tyler to Preach a Lecture this Evening, at 7 a Clock to begin. Also he informed the Congregation, that Mr. Hovey of Cape porpos,⁶⁸ would be here tomorrow, to Preach a Lecture at 2 a Clock after noon. This Evening at 7 a Clock, Lecture begins. Mr. Tyler Preached from 2 Corinthians 6 & 2 latter part, Behold



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, (1696-1759), by Joseph B. Kahill after John Smibert (ca. 1740), oil on canvas, ca. 1907. Maine's peerless commercial and military leader was also an ardent supporter of the Great Awakening. Several of Pepperrell's relatives traveled to York and participated in the revival events described by the author of the "Journal." *Courtesy of the Maine Historical Society.*

now is the accepted time, behold now is the Day of Salvation. The assembly gave great attention to the awaking Call, that God is sending, from time to time, and it Seams that God is about to viset America in a Most Glorious Manner, as he has formerly done the other 3 parts of the World. After the Blessing was Given, a young man in the assembly called upon all to come to Christ, in a Most fervent Devout Manner, & with Such Strong Crys, as was astonishing to hear, & also to se the Floods of Tears, flowing from his Eyes, & the Eyes of Others, over there faces, & Droping from there Chins, that none but Adament herts, could but be /11/ Affected, to Se & hear him Declairing, that Loveliness of Christ & what he had done for his soul, and beged of all to come & no longer to Delay, for that they were now hanging over Eternal Burnings.⁶⁹ But the Lord Jesus Christ, was now ready to Receive them, and if they would not come, they would be Damned with a Double Damnation.

Nov. 23 Monday. Half an hower past 3 after noon mr. Hovey Preach'd from 2 Timothy 1 & 10, But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ &c. The Congregation was thin, by reason of the weather. The Sermon was Good, the assembly not much affected with it, not being Delivered with that ferver & Zeal as by Others, and so the hearts of the hearrers, not so much warmed by the Word as usual. God grant it may be profitable to some.

Nov. 24 Tuesday. This Evening mr. Tyler Preached from 3 Colosians & 4, when Christ who is our life Shall appear, then Shall ye also appear with him in Glory, a Serious, solom, & awaking Sermon but about 50 or 60 People attended, by reason of the Extraordenary wet season, & Dark Night, and no Notis of it, but by the Ring of the Bell. But those that were there, gave great attention, and as soon as the Blessing was Given, mrs. Moody⁷⁰ a Kinswoman of Col. Pepperells,⁷¹ was in an Extacy of Joy, Blessing & Praising God, for the wonderfull Discovery of his Love to her, this Evening, in Christs coming into the World, Dying & rising from the Dead to Save a Perishing World. Upon her thus Declairing the Love of God & Christ, the Grater part of the Congregation, came about her, to hear & Se her, in such a Rapture of Love & Joy. And Several others, did Syth⁷² & Grown, all which is Surprising both to Se & hear. Several Persons are under Darkness, allmost in Dispair, that have been Exemplary in there Lives for Seriousness, but now think they are in a Dam'd Condition, who are Judging and Condemning themselves, which is affecting to hear & Se.

/12/ Nov. 25 Wensday this forenoon, mr. Tyler Preached from 3 John 18, he that beleveth on him, is not condemned, but he that beleveth not is condemned already &c, which Sermon affected many that were present, there being no Notis of his Preaching, but by the Ring of the Bell, so but fue there, to what would have been, had there been notis given, of his preaching before. In which Sermon he Discrib'd Faith very Livelily, & also Condemnation, which Drove some almost into Dispare, who are Judging & Condemning themselves, which caused some that have Tender Consciences, to be in an agony of Soul, to say they are Condemned already, which is very [surprising] to Se & hear of (a wounded Spirit who can bare⁷³). But the Great Phesician alone, Can heal there wounded Souls. After Meeting mr. Tyler Set out for Wells, to Preach there. This Evening mr. Moody Preached from the 8 solemon Songs, the latter part of the 10, then was I in his Eyes, as one that found favour, in which Serman he Discribed the Blessedness of those that found favour with God, & that they were pretious in his Eyes, and in his Sermon Said that York, the Cheif Town in the County, for many years had been Remarkable for Wickedness, Should be thus viseted, in so remarcable a manner, and what Should make God Set his Love upon them, but that he will have mercy on them, because he will have Mercy. And further Said, he never did Se the Dore of Faith, so Set open as it was this Day, by the Preacher (viz. mr. Tyler), & Said that he had never for 40 years, heard Faith so Discribed, & blessed God for Sending Such a veriety of Ministers to them, & Such young ministers that Preach so, as to Sute the Cases of allmost every Soul. After the Exercise was over, there were Several much affected, & cryed out, some in Distress, some with Joy. Several Exhorted all to come to Christ. The veriety of some in Transports of Joy, Distress &c, is very affecting, and worthy of admiration. It is astonishing to all that se & hear them. God grant that I may not only behold, but Enjoy the Divine favour. /13/ This Evening after Meeting was over, a Man whose wife was in a Dispairing Condition, Desired I would come & se her, & Discourse with her (if Posable), which I promised him I would, the next day, if I did not go out of Town. This Poor woman I Several times Set with in the same Pew, who Seamed in very great Distress, & from her youth, a sober Woman, but now is the Mother of Children. I repaired to my Lodging, where were 2 persons under Darkness, & in great Distress of soul. We conversed together till near midnight, & then retiered to Rest Expecting to Sayl before the morning.

Nov. 26. This Morning up at Daylight, & a fair wind, which I am Sorry for, that I mant⁷⁴ have an oppertunity to Se & Discourse with the

Poor Distressed Woman, notwithstanding my long absence from my whome, for that I think it good to be here. We Set Sayl about 9 a Clock in the Morning, & got to Boston at 9 a Clock at Night, where I hope to Contemplate upon what I have Seen & heard.

NOTES

I would like to thank Ken Minkema for examining the physical appearance of the “Jornal” and Erik Seeman for providing a transcription of Joseph Goodhue’s diary. Mark Valeri offered helpful feedback on an earlier draft of the introduction. Tom Johnson, curator of the Old York Historical Society, answered numerous genealogical questions and provided detailed information on the location of historical sites mentioned in the “Jornal.”

1. Arthur Browne to [?], December 10, 1741, in William M. Montague, ed., “Letter from the Rev. Arthur Brown [sic],” *New England Historic Genealogical Register* 6 (1852): 264 (hereafter *NEHGR*).

2. Edmund Coffin to Nathaniel Coffin, October 14, 1741, quoted in Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845* (Boston: S. G. Drake, 1845), 210.

3. John Blunt to Samuel Phillips Savage, October 22, 1741; Savage to Gilbert Tennent, February 2, 1742, Samuel P. Savage Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (hereafter *Savage Papers*, MHS).

4. See the letters from Simon Frost, David Jeffries, and John Blunt in the *Savage Papers*, MHS. Copies of an “Extract from a Letter from Piscataqua,” dated December 3, 1741, may be found in both the *Savage Papers*, MHS and the Joseph Bellamy Papers, #81513, Case Library, Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Conn. Westborough minister Ebenezer Parkman copied a nearly identical letter into his commonplace book (Anonymous to Parkman, December 4, 1741, *Commonplace Book*, Parkman Papers, MHS [hereafter *Parkman Papers*, MHS]).

5. William Kidder, ed., “The Diary of Nicholas Gilman” (M.A. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1972), 226; Bartholomew Gilman to Daniel Little, ca. December 1741, quoted in Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, *A Family History in Letters and Documents, 1667–1837* (St. Paul, Minn.: Privately Printed, 1919), 38.

6. Stephen Williams, “Diary, 1715–1782,” typescript, 10 vols., Richard R. Storrs Library, Longmeadow, Mass. (hereafter Williams “Diary,” Storrs Library, Longmeadow), 4:3; John Loring to Israel Loring, December 9, 1741, Nathan Stone Papers, MHS (hereafter *Stone Papers*, MHS); Louise Parkman Thomas, ed., “Journal of the Rev. Israel Loring,” December 13, 1741, typescript, 1983 (available online at The Sudbury Archives, file #12192, p. 40, <<http://www.sudbury.ma.us/archives/>> [July 24, 2003]); Jonathan Edwards to Joseph Bellamy, January 21, 1742, in Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16, *Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 99; “Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in York,” October 15,

1741, *South Carolina Gazette*, March 1, 1742 (hereafter “Extract of a Letter from York,” SCG); Arthur Browne to Philip Bearcroft, July 24, 1742, “Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1901,” ms. B-9, microfilm, #43–44, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; [Thomas] P[rin]ce to George Whitefield, December 6, 1741, *The Glasgow Weekly History Relating to the Late Progress of the Gospel at Home and Abroad*, no. 15, 1–2; B[enjamin] B[ran]don to B. B., February 4, 1742, *Glasgow Weekly History*, no. 33, 2–3 (both reprinted in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 53 [1920]: 204–5, 208–10).

7. Jonathan Mayhew to Zachariah Mayhew, December 26, 1741, March 26, 1742, Mayhew Papers, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

8. Elizabeth C. Nordbeck notes that the “Great Awakening in northern New England properly began” in York, though she focuses on other communities in “Almost Awakened: The Great Revival in New Hampshire and Maine, 1727–1748,” *Historical New Hampshire* 35 (1980): 24–58. The most recent—and most comprehensive—account of the York revival is J. Richard Olivas, “Great Awakenings: Time, Space, and the Varieties of Religious Revivalism in Massachusetts and Northern New England, 1740–1748” (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1997), 208–303. Studies that examine the Great Awakening in northern New England also include C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening*, rev. ed. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 103–111; Charles E. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of New England, 1610–1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 271–92; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 224–26; Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Laura Broderick Ricard, “The Evangelical New Light Clergy of Northern New England, 1741–1755: A Typology” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1985); Laura Broderick Ricard, “The Northern New England ‘New Light’ Clergy and ‘Declension’ Reconsidered,” *Historical New Hampshire* 42 (1987): 125–49; Cedric B. Cowing, *The Saving Remnant: Religion and the Settling of New England* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1995), 167–182; Erik R. Seeman, *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 133–38; Jerald E. Brown, *The Years of the Life of Samuel Lane, 1718–1806*, ed. Donna-Belle Garvin (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000), 64–72; Douglas Kevin Fidler, “Preparing the Way of the Lord: Three Case Studies of Ministerial Preconditioning in Congregations before the Great Awakening, 1675–1750” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1998); and Douglas Kevin Fidler, “John Odlin of Exeter and the Threat to Congregational Peace and Order in Northern New England,” *Historical New Hampshire* 55 (2000): 7–24.

9. “A Journal of a few Days at York, 1741,” Diaries Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

10. See, especially, Savage’s incoming and outgoing correspondence in the Savage Papers, MHS, as well as Loring’s several letters to his father among the Nathan Stone Papers. A third member of the Brattle Street congregation, deacon Isaac Smith, traveled with Gilbert Tennent to Rhode Island and recorded

the New Jersey evangelist's preaching activities in a terse line-a-day diary (Isaac Smith, "Diary, 1741–44," Smith-Carter Papers, MHS). On the role of personal correspondence in the circulation of revival intelligence, see Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 811–32; John Fea, "Wheelock's World: Letters and the Communication of Revival in Great Awakening New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 109 (1999): 99–144.

11. For a list of published revival narratives, see Michael J. Crawford, *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in Its British Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 255–57. Diaries by New England ministers that cover the peak months of the Great Awakening include Marston Cabot, "Memorabilia, 1740–1745," New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.; E. H. Gillett, ed., "Diary of the Rev. Jacob Eliot," *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser., 5 (1869): 33–34; Kidder, ed., "Diary of Nicholas Gilman"; David Hall, "Diary, 1740–1789," MHS; Samuel Hopkins, "Journals and Sermons," Simon Gratz Papers, Sermon Collection, box 6: Connecticut Valley and New Lights, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter Gratz Papers, HSP); Thomas, ed., "Journal of the Rev. Israel Loring"; "Extracts from the Private Journal of the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, Mass.," in Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (New York: Dayton & Newman, 1842), 204–12; Daniel Rogers, "Diary, 1740–1744," New-York Historical Society, New York (hereafter Rogers "Diary;" NYHS); *Diary of the Rev. Daniel Wadsworth* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1894); Gillett, ed., "Diary of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D.D., during His Visit to Boston, October 19, until November 16, 1741," *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser., 5 (1869): 237–40; Williams "Diary," Storrs Library, Longmeadow.

12. See, for example, Samuel Hopkins, ed., *The Life and Character of Miss Susanna Anthony* (Portland, Me., 1810), 13–48; Joseph Bean, "Diary, 1741–1744," Special Collections, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.; Michael J. Crawford, ed., "The Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 (1976): 92–98; Barbara E. Lacey, ed., *The World of Hannah Heaton: The Diary of an Eighteenth-Century New England Farm Woman* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), 3–25; Samuel Hopkins, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn* (Worcester, 1799), 5–57; Rebecca Ann Husman, ed., "The Religious Journal of Sarah Prince Gill, 1743–1764" (B.A. thesis, Bard College, 1983), 1–9.

13. *George Whitefield's Journals* (London: Banner of Truth, 1960), 467.

14. Gilbert Tennent to George Whitefield, January 24, 1741, in *The Weekly History: Or, An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel*, no. 9 [June 6, 1741].

15. On the revival techniques of Whitefield and Tennent, see Harry S. Stout, "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 519–41; Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991); Frank Lambert, "Pedlar in Divinity": *George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals*

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Milton J. Coalter Jr., *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); and Olivas, "Great Awakenings," 235–55.

16. Joseph Goodhue, "Diary, 1745–65," Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass., 11–13. Samuel Phillips Savage also appears to have traveled to York with Tennent (Savage to Tennent, February 2, 1742, Savage Papers, MHS).

17. Rogers, "Diary," August 15–September 6, 1741, NYHS.

18. Coffin to Coffin, October 14, 1741, in Coffin, *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, 210.

19. *Ibid.*, 210–11.

20. "Extract of a Letter from York," SCG, October 15, 1741. A manuscript copy of this letter in the hand of Boston's Anglican rector Roger Price is among the "Records of the Bishop of London, 1626–1829," vol. 5, microfilm, 279–80, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. For an extended discussion of this unique revival phenomenon, see Douglas L. Winiarski, "Souls Filled with Ravishing Transport: Heavenly Visions and the Radical Awakening in New England," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 61 (2004): 3–46.

21. Coffin to Coffin, October 14, 1741, in Coffin, *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, 211; Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 4, *The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 128–211. On the powerful role of Edwards's *Faithful Narrative* in shaping revival discourse during the Great Awakening, see Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 62–81.

22. "Extract of a Letter from York," SCG, October 15, 1741.

23. Compare Coffin to Coffin, October 14, 1741, in Coffin, *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, 211, with Cedric B. Cowing, "Sex and Preaching in the Great Awakening," *American Quarterly* 20 (1968): 624–44; J. M. Bumsted, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts: The Town of Norton as a Case Study," *Journal of American History* 57 (1971): 817–31; Gerald F. Moran, "Conditions of Religious Conversion in the First Society of Norwich, Connecticut, 1718–1744," *Journal of Social History* 5 (1971–72): 331–43; James Walsh, "The Great Awakening in the First Congregational Church of Woodbury, Connecticut," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 28 (1971): 543–62; Philip J. Greven Jr., "Youth, Maturity, and Religious Conversion: A Note on the Ages of Converts in Andover, Massachusetts, 1711–1749," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 108 (1972): 119–34; Gerald F. Moran, "The Puritan Saint: Religious Experience, Church Membership, and Piety in Connecticut, 1636–1776" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1974), 277–330; William F. Willingham, "Religious Conversion in the Second Society of Windham, Connecticut, 1723–42: A Case Study," *Societas* 6 (1976): 109–19; William F. Willingham, "The Conversion Experience During the Great Awakening in Windham, Connecticut," *Connecticut History* 21 (1980): 34–61; Stephen R. Grossbart, "Seeking the Divine Favor: Conversion and Church Admission in Eastern Connecticut, 1711–1832," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 46 (1989): 696–740; Cowing, *The Saving Remnant*, passim; Douglas Leo Winiarski, "All Manner of Error and Delusion: Josiah Cotton and

the Religious Transformation of Southeastern New England, 1700–1770” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2000), 197–199, 412–27; and Kenneth P. Minkema, “Old Age and Religion in the Writings and Life of Jonathan Edwards,” *Church History* 70 (2001): 674–704.

24. See, in particular, Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 204–12.

25. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 90–107.

26. Coffin to Coffin, October 14, 1741, in Coffin, *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, 211.

27. “Extract of a Letter from York,” SCG, October 15, 1741.

28. Josiah Cotton to Eleazar Wheelock, December 17, 1741; Benjamin Carey to Wheelock, September 10, 1742, Eleazar Wheelock Papers, #741667, 742510, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H. (hereafter Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College); Cotton to Wheelock, December 16, 1742, American Colonial Clergy Series, case 8, box 22, Gratz Papers, HSP.

29. Savage to Tennent, February 2, 1742, Savage Papers, MHS; William Parker to Richard Waldron, November 28, 1741, Misc. Bound Collection, MHS. The Savage letter confirms Richard Olivas’s suggestion that the revivals spread from York to Portsmouth (“Olivas, “Great Awakenings,” 276–83), though Shurtleff himself downplayed the connection in the narrative that he later published in *The Christian History*. For additional accounts of the Portsmouth revival, see David Jeffries to Savage, November 27, 1741, and December 11, 1741, Savage Papers, MHS; “Extract of a Letter from Piscataqua,” December 3, 1741; Anonymous to Ebenezer Parkman, December 4, 1741, and December 17, 1741, Parkman Papers, MHS; Loring to Loring, December 9, 1741, Stone Papers, MHS; Brandon to B. B., February 4, 1742; and William Shurtleff to William Cooper, June 1, 1743, in *The Christian History, Containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America 2* (1744): 384–87.

30. Blunt to Savage, December 22, 1741, and Simon Frost to Savage, January 6, 1742, Savage Papers, MHS; William Willis, ed., *Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, and the Rev. Samuel Deane* (Portland, Me.: J.S. Bailey, 1849), 102; Marquis F. King, comp., *Baptisms and Admission from the Records of the First Church in Falmouth, Now Portland, Maine* (Portland: Maine Genealogical Society, 1898), 11, 13.

31. John Clark Scates, ed., “Records of the First Church of Berwick (South Berwick), Me.” *NEHGR* 82 (1928): 209–14; Robert J. Dunkle and Valerie Ruocco, eds., “Parish Records of the First Church and Society of Kittery, Maine, 1714 to 1791,” *NEHGR* 151 (1997): 48; William M. Sargent, ed., “Records of the First Congregational Church in Scarborough, Me.,” *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder* 1 (1884): 54; 4 (1887): 256–57; George Sawin Stewart, ed., “Records of the First Church of Wells, Me.,” *NEHGR* 76 (1922): 193–94.

32. Buel’s assessment of the situation is suggestive. “On the morrow,” he explained in a letter to Eleazar Wheelock, “I set out for old York, [where] I expect to Preach Daily, as I have done for a long time . . . I have letters and invitations to Preach from all Parts. An affectual Door is open Daily for my Preaching, But there are many adversaries” (Buel to Wheelock, April 20, 1742, #742270, Whee-

lock Papers, Dartmouth College). On the activities of Gilman, Elvins, Woodbury, and Prince on the northern frontier, see the studies by Nordbeck, Goen, Seeman, and Brown cited in n. 8 above.

33. Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 116–17.

34. *George Whitefield’s Journals*, 516–26.

35. Grandson and namesake of the prominent minister of Boston’s elite Old South Church, Samuel Willard (1705–1741) was born in Jamaica but raised by his uncle in New England. He graduated from Harvard College in 1723 and was ordained at Biddeford in 1730. Shortly before journeying to York, Willard preached at the ordination of John Hovey (n. 68) in Arundel. He contracted a throat ailment while lecturing at Kittery and died at the house of John Rogers (n. 40) on October 25, 1741. Widely praised for his role in igniting the Great Awakening in Maine, Willard was memorialized as “an Instrument of the late surprizing Work of convincing and converting a great number of Souls in York.” Clifford K. Shipton, ed., *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes of 1722–1725, with Biographical and Other Notes*, vol. 7 of *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945), 281–87 (hereafter *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*); *The Boston Gazette*, November 3, 1741; Thomas Prentice, “To the Reader” in Samuel Willard, *The Minister of God Approved* (Boston, 1742), iii–xvi; Olivas, “Great Awakenings,” 264–66.

36. Read “daunted.”

37. Two paternity suits in the files of the York County Court of General Sessions match the events described in the “Journal”: the cases of John Phenix (January 1738) and Arthur MacElroy (April 1736). Both of the accused appear to have been marginal members of York society. Neither Phenix nor MacElroy were listed on the 1732 land division, nor do they appear again in the York County court records. “Index to the York County Court of Common Pleas,” <<http://www.state.me.us/sos/arc/files/dbinfo.htm#MAPS>> (November 24, 2003); Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (Portland, Me.: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1928–39), 31–32 (hereafter *GDMNH*).

38. Read “entreaties.” The author most likely stayed at the tavern operated by Dudley Woodbridge, which still stands along the Old Post Road.

39. Frontier icon, “spiritual dictator,” and “fighting chaplain,” Samuel Moody (1676–1747) served as York’s minister for nearly five decades. Born in Newbury, Mass., Moody graduated from Harvard College in 1697 and accepted a preaching post in the garrison town of York a year later. He was an active participant in numerous frontier military conflicts, serving as a chaplain during the failed assault on Port Royal in 1707 and the celebrated siege of Louisbourg in 1745. Author of nearly a dozen devotional works, Moody was renowned for his hellfire preaching style and uncompromisingly orthodox theological views. A warm proponent of the Great Awakening who traveled widely throughout the region, he welcomed Whitefield to York in 1740 and again in 1744. Charles C. P. Moody, *Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family* (Boston: S. G. Drake, 1847), 54–94; *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, 4:356–65; Charles Edward Banks, *History of York, Maine*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1967), 2:131–38.

40. John Rogers (1692–1773) was the radical New Light pastor of the Second, or

“Middle” Church of Kittery (now Eliot), Maine. Son and namesake of the Ipswich, Mass., minister and brother of Daniel, the prominent New Light itinerant, Rogers graduated from Harvard College in 1711, received his second degree three years later, and was ordained at Kittery in 1721. Esteemed for his “good sense and rational powers” for two decades prior to the Awakening, Rogers nonetheless experienced conversion for the first time during Whitefield’s 1740 tour. In the years that followed, he played an active role in promoting the cause of radical evangelicalism by participating in the ordinations of Dudley Leavitt at Salem, Mass., John Cleaveland at the Chebacco parish in Ipswich (now Essex), Mass. and Ephraim Clark at Falmouth—each of whom fomented New Light schisms in their respective parishes. A conservative convention of New Hampshire clergymen condemned Rogers’s revival activities as “irregular” in 1747. *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, 5:580–83; *George Whitefield’s Journals*, 526.

41. Arthur Bragdon (ca.1666–1743) served as the deacon of York’s Second, or “Scotland” Church. He was a weaver by trade and owned a share in a mill complex at Cape Neddick Pond. He married Sarah, the sister of Samuel Cames (n. 60), and the couple had eight children between 1692 and 1709. Lester MacKenzie Bragdon, ed., “Vital Records of York,” *NEHGR* 109 (1955): 301 (hereafter “York Vital Records,” *NEHGR*); Philip McIntire Woodwell, ed., *Handkerchief Moody: The Diary & The Man* (Portland, Me.: Colonial Offset Printing Company, 1981), 21–22; William M. Sargent, comp., *Maine Wills, 1640–1760* (1887; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972), 471–72.

42. The bizarre life of “Handkerchief” Joseph Moody (1700–1753) is the stuff of New England legend. Indeed, his eccentricities proved a worthy subject for one of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *Twice-Told Tales*. Groomed from an early age to assume the pulpit occupied by his father, Samuel (n. 39), he graduated from Harvard in 1718. He served briefly as York’s schoolmaster and town clerk before assuming positions as York County registrar of deeds, treasurer, justice of the peace, and county court judge. Then, in 1732, the rising civil magistrate abruptly shifted gears, relinquished his civic posts, and assumed the pastorate of the Scotland church. Six years later, he suffered a mental breakdown, as the collective weight of childhood traumas, an exhaustingly rigorous private devotional life, struggles with youthful sexual urges, a failed first courtship, and the death of his wife, Lucy (White) Moody, conspired to unseat his father’s ambitions. Moody began appearing before his congregation wearing a handkerchief across his face. As he slipped further into melancholia, the young minister’s eccentricities grew more extravagant, and by the summer of 1741 his parishioners had assembled an ecclesiastical council that reluctantly voted for a dismissal. During the revival and for several years thereafter, Moody lived sequestered in the home of Scotland deacon Arthur Bragdon (n. 41). Travelers to the region—including Whitefield and Daniel Rogers—frequently visited, counseled, and recorded their conversations with the troubled former minister; he also was subject of scandalous gossip and colorful local folklore. Despite the hopeful reports of revival correspondents such as Edmund Coffin, Moody would not reemerge into professional life until 1745. In the last decade of his life, he resumed a limited calendar of ministerial activities, preaching in York and other communities in northern New England. On Moody’s troubled life, see Coffin to Coffin, October 14, 1741, in Coffin, *Sketch of the History of Newbury*, 211; Rogers, “Diary,” May 19, 1742, April 26, 1743, October 8, 1744, September 3,

September 11, 1745, October 25, November 4, 1746, and May 13, 1747, NYHS; *George Whitefield's Journals*, 524; Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Minister's Black Veil: A Parable," in *Nathaniel Hawthorne's Tales*, ed. James McIntosh (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 97–107; Moody, *Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family*, 95–107; Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, 6:259–65; Banks, *History of York*, 2:80–85; Woodwell, ed., *Handkerchief Moody*, passim; and Brian D. Carroll, "I indulged my desire too freely": Sexuality, Spirituality, and the Sin of Self-Pollution in the Diary of Joseph Moody, 1720–1724," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 60 (2003): 155–70.

43. Born in Rowley, Mass., Dr. David Bennett (b. 1712) was living in York as early as 1732, when he was promised a share of undivided lands "if he settle in this town" and serve as its second doctor. Bennett married Alice Donnell four years later; they had five children before 1745. Of Bennett's three sisters, Jemima (b. 1723) is most likely the "young woman" described in the "Journal." His two older sisters, Rebecca (b. 1708) and Mary (b. 1710) undoubtedly would have been married in 1741, though no information on any of them appears in the Rowley or York vital records. "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 111 (1957): 256; *Vital Records of Rowley, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1928), 21; Banks, *History of York*, 2:397–98.

44. The unnamed woman's fears were not unfounded, for York suffered periodic food shortages in the decade prior to Awakening; one Boston newspaper reported that several Maine residents and their livestock had died of starvation in 1737. See Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 271–72; Olivas, "Great Awakenings," 241–43.

45. An allusion to Ezekiel 37:4.

46. It is likely that Joseph Adams (1713–1753) was the son of Samuel and Lydia (Gowell) Adams. He married Mary Adams at York in 1734; they had four children before 1748. "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 109 (1955): 304; 112 (1958): 25.

47. Daniel Emerson (1716–1801) graduated from Harvard College in 1739 and was an active proponent of the Great Awakening on campus. On November 27, 1741, York town officials invited him to serve as pastoral assistant to the aging Samuel Moody (n. 39). He was called to the Second Church of Dunstable (now Hollis), N.H., in 1743 and later served as a chaplain during the Crown Point campaign in 1755. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 10:359–64.

48. Descended from a prominent Hampton, N.H., family, Joseph Leavitt (b. 1704) removed to York sometime prior to 1727 and married Bethiah, the daughter of Deacon Arthur Bragdon (n. 41). They had seven children between 1728 and 1745. A search of the York County Court Records reveals two debt suits against Leavitt, but no appearances for intemperance. Joseph Dow, *History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Salem Press Publishing and Printing Company, 1893), 2:812; Jane Jennings Eldredge, *The Leavitts of America* (Woods Cross, Ut.: Leavitt Family Association, 1924), 25; *GDMNH*, 32; "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 111 (1957): 19; 116 (1960): 48; "Index to the York County Court of Common Pleas."

49. "A church officer having the care of the fabric of a church and its contents, and the duties of ringing the bells and digging graves" (J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1989], s.v. "sexton").

50. Born in Hampton, N.H., Mary Swett (1715-1797) married Dr. Alexander Bulman (n. 64) in 1730 at the youthful age of fifteen. They had two children, one of whom died in infancy. Mary was an active participant in the Great Awakening revivals. George Whitefield lodged at the Bulman's house while visiting York in 1740 and 1744, and he noted in his journal during his second preaching tour that the couple had "been effectually called in the late revival of religion." Daniel Rogers, too, occasionally stayed with the Bulmans during his frequent visits to York. Following the death of her husband, Bulman married Thomas Prentice, the prominent New Light minister of Charlestown, Mass., in 1749. She died in York in 1797. "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 114 (1960): 50; Wilhemina Ernst, "Mary (Bulman) Prentice," typescript (Old York Historical Society, n.d.); Dow, *History of Hampton*, 988; *George Whitefield's Journals*, 517, Rogers, "Diary," May 21, July 12, 1742, NYHS.

51. Though there were numerous Frost families in northern New England, it is likely that the author of the "Jornal" is referring here to Abigail (1719-1742), the youngest daughter of John and Mary (Pepperrell) Frost. Her father was a prominent New Castle, N.H., merchant as well as a member of the governor's council. The Frost family, in turn, figured prominently in an extensive New Light network. Her mother was the sister of the powerful military commander and prominent revival supporter William Pepperrell (n. 71); following the death of her husband in 1732, she remained a widow for more than a decade but would eventually marry the Rev. Benjamin Colman of Boston, one of the most outspoken proponents of the revivals in all of New England. Abigail's older sister, Sarah, married John Blunt, New Castle's ardent New Light minister, while her brother, Charles, was instrumental in sparking a revival in Falmouth. Shortly before Abigail's death on June 30, 1742, Daniel Rogers visited "Madam Frost" at New Castle and noted in his diary that he "met with a dear young Creature her Daughter lately converted [and] in a sweet Frame." Norman Seaver Frost, *Frost Genealogy: Five Families* (West Newton, Mass.: Frost Family Association, 1926), 254-55; Joseph Frost, "The Frost Family," *NEHGR* 5 (1851): 165-67; Ezra S. Stearns, "Records of New Castle, N.H.," *NEHGR* 50 (1896): 459; Robert Warner Frost, "Frost Family Records," *NEHGR* 61 (1907): 223; *GDMNH*, 246; Rogers, "Diary," May 21, 1742, NYHS.

52. Identity uncertain, but most likely a member of the Wendell families of Boston and Portsmouth. Katherine, the daughter of Capt. Jacob Wendell, married the son and namesake of Benjamin Colman's colleague, William Cooper, in 1745. See Elias Nason, "Memoir of Jacob Wendell, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire," *NEHGR* 22 (1868): 420-27; James Rindge Stanwood, "The Direct Ancestry of the Late Jacob Wendell, of Portsmouth, N.H.," *NEHGR* 36 (1882): 242-55; Frederick Tuckerman, "Thomas Cooper and His Descendants," *NEHGR* 44 (1890):56.

53. The identity of these two young women is uncertain. Daniel Rogers visited with a "Mrs. Hirst" of Portsmouth "whose 2 Eldest daughters I have heard are hopefully converted" during a tour of northern New England in the spring of 1742. Rogers, "Diary," April 29, 1742, NYHS.

54. Several individuals could be the "Mrs. Bradbury" mentioned in the "Jornal," including Abigail Young (b. 1699), wife of John Bradbury, Mary Donnell, wife of Wymond Bradbury Jr., and Mary Paine, wife of Chrisp Bradbury. For genealogical information on the Bradbury families of York, see *GDMNH*, 32, 104,

776; "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 110 (1956): 96; 111 (1951): 21–22; 114 (1960): 130.

55. Born in Sandwich, Mass., Josiah Cotton (1703–1780) hailed from a powerful ministerial clan. He graduated from Harvard College in 1722 and accepted a position at Providence, R.I., several years later. Although he initially welcomed the Great Awakening, Cotton ultimately reversed his assessment after radical New Lights seceded from his congregation in an acrimonious church schism one year after his visit to York. Unceremoniously dismissed from Providence, Cotton lived for a time in Woburn, Mass., before securing a pastorate in Sandown, N.H. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 7:50–56; Cotton to Wheelock, December 17, 1741, Wheelock Papes, Dartmouth College; Winiarski, "All Manner of Error and Delusion," 240–44.

56. Ward (1711–1768), the younger brother of Josiah Cotton (n. 55) graduated from Harvard College in 1729 and was ordained at Hampton, N.H., five years later. Praised by George Whitefield for the pious "plainness" of his household, Cotton was a moderate New Light who opposed the excesses of itinerant exhorters and religious enthusiasts. He joined the conservative New Hampshire ministerial convention in 1747. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 8:562–68; *George Whitefield's Journals*, 465; *The Boston Evening-Post*, April 6, 1747; *The Massachusetts Gazette*, December 8, 1768.

57. An allusion to Acts 16:30.

58. Graduating from Harvard College in 1703, William Allen (1676–1760) became the first minister of Greenland, N.H. A moderate revival supporter, he joined the conservative New Hampshire convention of clergymen in 1747. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 5:180–182.

59. Hailing from an established York clan, elder Joseph Sayward (ca. 1684–1741) married Mary Webber before 1709. The couple had eight children over the next fourteen years. He died on December 25, 1741. *GDMNH*, 31; John S. H. Fogg, ed., "Inscriptions from the Old Grave-Yard of the First Parish, in York, Me.," *NEHGR* 5 (1851): 68; "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 110 (1956): 178.

60. York lawyer Samuel Cames (1673–1768) married Patience Bragdon in 1699. They had eight daughters and one son, Joseph (n. 62). In the fall of 1741, only two remained unmarried: Sarah (1716–1799) and Dorcas (1723–ca. 1760). It is unclear which of the two suffered from "Distraction" as described by the author of the "Journal." "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 109 (1955): 299; 111 (1957): 257.

61. Andrew Tyler (1719–1775) hailed from a wealthy Boston family affiliated with Benjamin Colman's Brattle Street Church. His father, a merchant and goldsmith, served the city as selectman, overseer of the poor, and Justice of the Peace; his mother was the sister of William Pepperrell (n. 71). Tyler graduated from Harvard College in 1738 and was keeping school in Wells at the time of the Great Awakening. In 1743, he secured a pastorate at the Third, or Clapboard Trees Church in Dedham (now Westwood), Mass. By this time, his position on the Awakening may have changed dramatically, as he was ordained by Ebenezer Gay and a group of Old Light clergymen with liberal sensibilities. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 10:329–34.

62. Only son of Samuel (n. 60) and Patience (Bragdon) Cames, "Gentleman" Joseph (b. 1715) married Keziah McIntire in 1736. They had eight children be-

tween 1738 and 1751. "York Vital Records," *NEHGR* 109 (1955): 299; 111 (1957): 93–94.

63. The surgical skills of Dr. Alexander Bulman were in high demand during Dummer's War (1722–1726). He was living in York at the time of his marriage to Mary Swett in 1730 (n. 50). Bulman attended to George Whitefield during the evangelist's prolonged illness in York during his 1744 preaching tour. He served as a surgeon during the siege of Louisbourg one year later but was taken with a "nervous fever" and died in September 1745. J. W. Thornton, ed., "The Pepperrell Manuscripts," *NEHGR* 19 (1865): 230; E. E. Bourne, comp., "Names of Some of the Officers and Men in the Louisbourg Expedition," *NEHGR* 22 (1868): 117; Charles Hudson, "Louisbourg Soldiers," *NEHGR* 24 (1870): 376; William Blake Trask, ed., "Letters of Col. Thomas Westbrook and Others," *NEHGR* 45 (1891): 33–34; 46 (1892): 24; 47 (1893): 321; "Vital Records of York," *NEHGR* 114 (1960): 50; Banks, *History of York*, 2:397; *George Whitefield's Journals*, 517–18.

64. Daughter of Capt. Samuel Sewell, a prominent York resident, Lydia (b. 1718) married John Mitchell of Kittery in 1736. Two sons were born to the couple in the years prior to the Awakening. "Vital Records of York," *NEHGR* 111 (1957): 227; 114 (1960): 128.

65. Mercy Sewell (1717–1817), sister to Lydia (n. 64), married Joseph Harmon (n. 66) in 1737. Following the death of her husband, she remarried Simon Frost of Kittery in 1749. Frost was a key participant in Samuel Phillips Savage's commercial and religious correspondence network. "Vital Records of York," *NEHGR* 111 (1957): 254; 112 (1958): 26; 114 (1960): 130.

66. Husband of Mercy Sewall (n. 65), Joseph Harmon (1713–BEF. 1749) was the son Johnson Harmon, a prominent military leader and one of York's most active civic officials. "Vital Records of York," *NEHGR* 109 (1955): 303.

67. "Relations" are brief written statements in which prospective church membership candidates recounted their doctrinal knowledge and personal religious experiences. Ministers typically read these narratives aloud to the congregation as part of the admission process. For a contemporary example, see Kenneth P. Minkema, ed., "A Great Awakening Conversion: The Relation of Samuel Belcher," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1987): 121–26.

68. Son of a Charlestown, Mass., tavernkeeper, John Hovey (1707–1773) graduated from Harvard College in 1728. Ordained at Cape Porpoise (now Arundel, Me.) a few weeks before the York revival, he struggled through a series of protracted theological and financial conflicts with his parishioners during his stormy two-decade pastorate. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 7:538–41.

69. Possibly an oblique reference to the dangling spider image made famous in Jonathan Edwards's classic revival sermon, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* (Boston, 1742). Published in the fall of 1741, *Sinners* quickly appeared in revival circles as close to York as Durham, N.H., where minister Nicholas Gilman read the sermon aloud to his congregation on November 15 and loaned his personal copy to several parishioners. For an authoritative version of the text, see Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 22, *Sermons and Discourses, 1739–1742*, eds. Harry S. Stout and Nathan O. Hatch with Kyle P. Farley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 400–35. Kidder, ed., "The Diary of Nicholas

Gilman," 228–29, 231; Gilman, "Books Lent," October 1741, Nicholas Gilman II Papers, 1700–1784, MHS.

70. Mary Jackson, the daughter of George and Joanna Pepperrell (elder sister of Sir William [n. 71]), married Edmund Moody and had six children between 1734 and 1753. Her husband was the nephew of York minister Samuel Moody. The family lived near her Pepperrell kin at Kittery Point, where she joined the church in 1736. Usher Parsons, "Pepperrell Genealogy," *NEHGR* 20 (1866): 1; Dunkle and Ruocco, "Parish Records of the First Church and Society of Kittery," *NEHGR* 151 (1997): 47.

71. Sir William Pepperrell (1696–1759), the "hero" of Louisbourg, lived at Kittery Point. Scion of one of northern New England's wealthiest merchant families, he was a strong revival supporter and a close friend of George Whitefield. Many of the individuals and families involved in the York revival can be tied to Pepperrell through genealogical or business connections. Ronald P. Dufour, "Pepperrell, Sir William," *American National Biography Online*, <<http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00717.html>> (December 11, 2003); Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 288–92.

72. Read "sigh."

73. An allusion to Proverbs 8:14.

74. Read "mayn't."