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The Social Views of Dwight L. Moody and Their Relation to the Workingman of 1860-1900

Myron Raymond Chartier
Fort Hays State University

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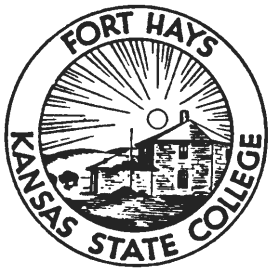

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Biographical Sketch of the Author

Myron Raymond Chartier received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from the University of Colorado in 1960. In 1963 he received his Bachelor of Divinity degree from the California Baptist Theological Seminary. While serving as Campus Minister for American Baptists at Fort Hays Kansas State College from 1963-1968, Mr. Chartier worked on a Master of Arts degree in history and completed the degree in 1969. Presently he is a Ph. D. candidate in speech-communication at the University of Denver. Mr. Chartier resides in Denver, Colorado, with his wife, Janet, and their two children, Melody Song and Timothy Paul.

The Social Views of Dwight L. Moody and Their Relation to the Workingman of 1860-1900

Preface

The period in American history generally known as the Gilded Age, approximately the years 1865 to 1890, has been undergoing reappraisal in recent years.[1] One of the most popular religious figures of the period was Dwight L. Moody. Although many volumes have been written about the famous revivalist and his career, very little has been done to systematically assess the relationship of Moody's social ideas to his concern for reaching the masses. Therefore, it is the purpose of this thesis to examine the relationship of the social views of Moody to the laboring man of the latter half of the nineteenth century in the United States and Great Britain. Through an examination of his career, one finds a man who sought to reach the working masses of the growing industrial cities of the United States and Great Britain with the gospel. The working masses were not his only concern, but they were a major concern as Moody spent his life searching out the man of labor. Moody had a deep faith in the power of the gospel to regenerate individuals. It was his intention to relate the gospel of personal, regenerating power to the masses of workingmen in large industrial centers.

Upon establishing Moody's intent to reach the working masses throughout his career, an attempt will be made to evaluate the success of his endeavors. This evaluation is complicated for two basic reasons. The amount of subjectivity that enters into one's assessment always plagues any attempt on the part of the historian to be objective; however, it seems that religious phenomenon is even more difficult to evaluate honestly. Whether or not one is favorably disposed to religion in a particular form can distort one's judgment. With Moody historians have tended to be pro or con, overly pietistic or overly cynical in their interpretations. This writer believes that he has no "axes to grind" in regard to Moody and the workingman. The record of history has been the primary interest. The reader will have to judge the success or failure of the effort.

Another factor that impedes this evaluation is that little research on the part of historians has yet been done in regard to the laboring man and his religious habits during the Gilded Age; too little is known about the nineteenth-century worker to make hard conclusions about his religious life. Labor historian Herbert G. Gutman observed:

1. *Cf.*, H. Wayne Morgan (ed.), *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963).

Evidence on church affiliation . . . is contradictory. While many contemporaries like D. O. Kellogg, general secretary of the Charity Organization of Philadelphia, frequently worried over the "widespread skepticism and alienation from Christianity prevalent among the workingmen" and complained that institutional Protestantism often was "out of the poor man's reach," inadequate but significant statistics for church affiliation among the general population, not just workers, show an increase from 16 per cent in 1850 to 36 per cent in 1900. Until more is known about particular groups of workers and their relations to institutional and noninstitutional religious sentiment and belief, however, it remains impossible to reconcile such seemingly contradictory evidence. Scattered but still inconclusive evidence hints at an apparent close connection between youthful religious conversion and subsequent labor militancy among certain workers. The considerable but as yet largely neglected variations in the experience and outlook of factory workers and skilled craftsmen and self-educated artisans and casual day laborers as well as the different social environments of small, semirural factory and mining villages, industrial cities, and large urban centers suggest other important analytic problems in exploring the relationship between Protestantism and the "working class." And there are additional complexities. It is risky to assume too close a relationship between religious sentiment and rhetoric and everyday behavior, and it is equally perilous to view church attendance and affiliation as proof of religious belief or not attending church as presumptive evidence of the opposite.[2]

An example of the confusion that might occur was the response of an unidentified worker when questioned in 1898, "Why are so many intelligent workingmen non-church goers?" "Jesus Christ," he replied, "is with us outside the church, and we shall prevail with God." [3]

Despite these difficulties this writer will attempt to make an evaluation of Moody's relationship with the working masses, fully realizing the tentative status of any evaluative statements. The most one could anticipate would be the pricking of interest on the part of other scholars into this unplowed ground of history.

This writer's interest in Dwight L. Moody dates back to his high school days when a biography[4] caught the eye in the public library at Fort Morgan, Colorado. The book was read with great interest. His interest was aroused again when as a student at California Baptist Theological Seminary a history course in revivalism sparked an interest in the relationship of revivalism and social reform. The topic of this thesis was first explored at that time in 1962. Since then Moody's social views and their relationship to the workingman between 1860 and 1900 have remained a possibility for a master's

2. Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: the Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," *The American Historical Review*, LXXII (October, 1966), 94-95.

3. H. Francis Perry, "The Workingman's Alienation from the Church," *American Journal of Sociology*, IV (March, 1899), 621, 626.

4. William R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1900).

thesis in history for this writer. When it was realized by this writer that very little had been written on the subject, he began to explore more deeply into the topic and found that the thesis actually did have potential.

Thanks are due to many people who have encouraged, criticized, and otherwise aided in the formation of this thesis. Particular thanks are due to Dr. Leland Hine, professor of church history at the American Baptist Seminary of the West in Covina, California, who first helped with the writing of a paper on Moody and the workingman for his church history seminar in revivalism. As a result of the first effort, Dr. Hine encouraged this writer to develop it into a master's thesis. This writer's graduate committee has been helpful in strengthening the thesis into a scholarly work. Apart from their interest and concern for scholarship, many unnecessary errors would have been a part of this thesis. This writer's wife also contributed many hours in proofreading, in correcting grammar, and in offering encouragement. Whatever errors in fact and in interpretation are found, this writer bears full responsibility.

Table of Contents

PART II. DWIGHT L. MOODY AND THE WORKINGMAN

Part I

Dwight L. Moody and the Gilded Age

Chapter I

Dwight L. Moody

A short biographical sketch of Moody will help one to understand the man in general and his abilities. Dwight Lyman Ryther Moody was born on Sunday, February 5, 1837, in East Northfield, Massachusetts.[1] He came from a humble background. Lyman Abbott, a contemporary of Moody, has written in the following manner about Moody's young years:

> His father's death when he was four years old left his widowed mother with nine children, a mortgaged New England farm, and no money. They were so poor that the creditors, with incredible heartlessness, took from the widow everything she possessed, including the kindling wood from the wood-pile. All the schooling the boy ever had was given to him by the average village school, and that average never was, and is not now, very high. He never became a good speller nor a great reader.[2]

At seventeen years of age Moody left his mother's farm to go to Boston, where he became a successful shoe salesman. His uncle obtained the job for him on the condition that he would attend Sunday school and worship. It was on April 21, 1855, that Moody was converted from Unitarianism to orthodox evangelicalism. He was not permitted to be a member of the Calvinistic Mount Vernon Congregational Church until 1856 because one of the deacons did not think that Moody knew enough of the essential doctrines.[3]

Moving to Chicago in 1856, Moody prospered rapidly in the boot and shoe business. Within five years he had an annual income of more than five thousand dollars and had acquired by savings and shrewd investments the seven thousand dollars which had been his goal.[4] While in Chicago Moody became active in Christian

1. Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962), p. 18.
2. Lyman Abbott, *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), p. 185.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
4. William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 67.

service. In 1860 he dedicated his life to Christian work and gave up his monetary ambitions. Between 1861 and 1873 Moody served on the Christian commission of the Young Men's Christian Association, was president of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. from 1865-1869,[5] engaged in Sunday school and slum mission work, and founded the Illinois Street Church.

In June of 1873 in Liverpool, England, he began his career as a professional revivalist. Within a short time he became the foremost American evangelist of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although he was never ordained, Moody conducted scores of mass evangelistic campaigns in the largest cities of the United States and Great Britain. At first he faced apathy and opposition, but he was soon thought to belong to the authentic line of American revivalists with Jonathan Edwards and Charles Grandison Finney. Thousands of persons professed conversion. His most successful evangelistic meetings were held in Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston.

Moody was noted for his simple, colorful, and dramatic sermons which were delivered with intense conviction. His meetings were greatly enhanced by the pleasing baritone voice and moving gospel hymns of his choir director, Ira David Sankey.

Moody had no formal theological education; he felt that sectarian doctrines were a divisive force among Christians. Having little use for higher criticism of the Bible, the social gospel movement, and the theory of evolution, Moody preached "the old-fashioned gospel," the literal Bible, and the premillennial Second Coming of Christ. Although Moody did not like the new learning of the age, some of his best friends were men of such reputation. Included among these were George Adam Smith, an Old Testament Bible critic; Henry Drummond, a writer of new theology; and Washington Gladden, an early advocate of the social gospel. Although Moody was a theological conservative, he was not a man of narrow attitudes; he developed close friendships with those of differing theological positions rather than viewing them as heretics.

Moody had the organizing ability and the financial skill of a Cyrus McCormick, George Armour, or a John Wanamaker. He has sometimes been considered the religious counterpart of the capitalist of the Gilded Age.[6] With people flowing into industrial centers to work, Moody developed a fully systematized urban revi-

5. *Fifty-Five Years: The Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago, 1858-1913* (Chicago: The Board of Managers, 1913), p. 33.

6. James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), p. iv.

valism. Historically, the revival in the United States had been a rural phenomenon. Moody's major contribution to American church life was the shaping and systematizing of a new revivalism to galvanize into action the religious forces of cities with a million or more inhabitants.[7] His abilities, skills, and inexhaustible energy were also used in fund-raising for the Y. M. C. A. He also raised money for the relief of suffering following the War Between the States and the Chicago fire. He founded the Northfield Schools, which are now the largest private secondary school system in the United States.[8] He also founded the Moody Bible Institute and the Moody Press. He gave much of the initial guiding impetus to the Student Volunteer Movement which has sent no less than 10,000 missionaries overseas. One of those influenced by the Student Volunteer Movement was John R. Mott, who was head of the World Y. M. C. A. Movement and in 1946 was co-winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.[9]

In a sense Dwight Lyman Moody was a great American original. Lyman Abbott struck a true note in regard to Moody when he wrote, "No man can understand Mr. Moody who does not appreciatively understand the meaning of enthusiasm." [10] Moody's personal estimate of himself was put in these words, "Every man has his own gifts. Some start things; others can organize and carry them on. My gift is to get things in motion." [11]

Moody died in East Northfield on December 22, 1899, and was laid to rest on December 26, 1899. At his death he was considered the most famous and influential evangelist in the world.

7. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Scribner's 1965), pp. 228-230.
8. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, p. 335.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Abbott, *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries*, p. 187.
11. Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 459.

CHAPTER II

The Age of 1860-1900

After the Civil War the United States experienced industrial expansion on a large scale. The sheer magnitude of the growth caused massive social and economic dislocation in American society. The new social ills called for the attention of the concerned.

Industrialization, immigration, and urbanization had a profound impact upon post-Civil War America. With the change came socio-economic problems.

The linchpin to this forty-year span (1860-1900) of change for good and ill was industrialization on a massive scale. This industrial revolution radically altered American life. "Revolution" was not too strong a word to describe the changes in transportation (steam engine, combustion engine, electric engine), communication (telegraph, telephone, transatlantic cable, wireless, typewriter, linotype, presses), agriculture (binders, improved harvesters, threshers, cutters), and domestic life (electric light, sewing machine, phonograph).

However, the greatest impact of the industrial revolution was in the labor market itself, where thousands of propertyless men traded only their skills and their sweat. Industry's development led to an accumulation of enormous wealth on the one hand and an aggregation of a vast laboring force on the other. In the small-farm, independent-artisan days of the early republic, there was little potential for a massive struggle between labor and capital; however, between the Civil War and World War I the specter of class war came into view. The issues of unionization, wage scales, working hours, working conditions, trusts, private property, single tax, tariff, free competition, and free silver put debtor against creditor, labor against capital, and citizen against citizen. Throughout the Gilded Age strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and riots plunged the nation into industrial war. Since the employer was usually a native and the employee often an immigrant in the large industrial areas, the alarming separation of the American people into two camps rested on ethnic and religious differences as well as on economics. With the working class accused of pushing toward socialism and with business charged with retreating back to feudalism, democracy itself was in grave danger.

As the American economy expanded, a labor force was needed to develop the nation's resources and to fill the jobs. Native Americans left the rural areas, especially in the Middle West, to join the labor force in the industrial cities. As capital sought renewed supplies of cheap labor and sought to fill the jobs avoided by the native American, industrial leaders cooperated with steamship companies in scouring Europe for prospective immigrant laborers. Between 1860 and 1920 close to 28,500,000 foreigners came to the American shore to enter the labor force permanently or temporarily, a number almost equal to the total population of the country in 1850. This incoming tide of labor as it rose and fell related quite closely with the periods of prosperity and depression.[1]

The largest group of immigrants were from Germany, Ireland, Great Britain, Italy, Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, and Southeastern Europe. In the industrial areas the poorer elements among these groups congregated in run-down, slum-like districts. The immigrants were another sign of the change that was upon the United States. The problems of illiteracy, low economic standards, and overcrowding came with them. Native Americans were slow to accept the immigrants and their strange backgrounds.[2] Dwight L. Moody, somewhat representative of native American attitudes, commented in one of his letters home from Chicago in 1856 about the "wicked city" where stores were kept open upon the Sabbath.[3] The Germans on the North Side of Chicago kept their beer gardens open on Sunday.[4]

With native Americans and European immigrants supplying industry's need for laborers, the nation's urban population more than doubled from 1860 to 1900. This phenomenon created big city problems inland as well as in coastal centers. By 1900 Chicago was the nation's second largest city, with rapid growth notable in Birmingham, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Omaha, Kansas City, Wichita, Denver, and Tacoma.[5]

The most glaring problem of the city was the atrocious housing. Cheerless slums bred disease, encouraged vice, and destroyed human hope. In 1882 half the children of Chicago died before reaching five years of age, and the following year the Department

1. Harold U. Faulkner, *American Economic History* (8th ed.; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960), pp. 473-475.

2. *Cf.*, Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951).

3. In a letter in the Mrs. E. M. Powell Collection, cited in James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), p. 25.

4. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937-1957), III, 439.

5. A. Theodore Brown and Charles N. Glabb, *A History of Urban America* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), pp. 110-111.

of Health reported that deaths in the tenement wards outnumbered those in the residence wards almost three to one.[6] Drunkenness, prostitution, and capital crime greatly increased as one crossed the discernible line of demarcation between respectable housing and the slums.[7] Garbage collected in some New York streets until they became almost impassable. In 1866 no less than 1,500 loads of garbage were removed from one ward in a few days, leaving some streets still ridged two feet high with the deposits. City sewers emptied under the piers of the Hudson and East Rivers. Hogs freely roamed large areas of Philadelphia, and many people drank water from the polluted Delaware River into which the sewers threw 13,000,000 gallons of waste daily. Epidemics ravaged the cities with typhus, typhoid, cholera, smallpox, and scarlet fever.[8] Men and women slept two or three in a bunk or on the floor for five cents a night in flophouses, or they could squat in sheltered hallways for three cents.[9] Prostitution in tenement neighborhoods was "omnipresent" and "unabashedly open" in a city like New York that had 775 houses for such sexual evils.[10]

Urban problems were difficult to solve at the local level because city governments were often part of the corruption. Political machines, fraudulent voting, and demagoguery did little to encourage moral crusades at the local level.

Industrialization, immigration, and urbanization — all three — heightened the ills and multiplied the symptoms of late nineteenth-century American society. With growing, massive problems the nation was in need of a cure.

Some callousness and some apathy, immediately after the War Between the States, characterized the attitude of the churches. However, it was not possible for religion to remain indifferent to the ills of the nation for long. As the social distresses persisted, leaders probed for cures. Convictions about the perfectability of men and the benevolence of God reinforced America's enduring optimism that free men could create the finest society. If one still believed in the possibility of a utopia, he put his faith in America.

6. Chicago Department of Health, *Report 1881 and 1882* (Chicago: No Publisher Given, n. d.), p. 84; Chicago Department of Health, *Report 1883 and 1884* (Chicago: No Publisher Given, n. d.), p. 19, cited in Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, III, 55.

7. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, Vol. X of *A History of American Life*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox (12 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 114, 156-159, 360.

8. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, Vol. VIII of *A History of American Life*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox (12 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 320-321.

9. Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), pp. 69-70, 80.

10. Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962), pp. 69, 138; Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America*, pp. 325, 326.

Rather than fleeing to the mountains or the empty plains to fashion his ideal society, he stayed with the thronging humanity of the cities to work and pray for a better order.

Was Christianity relevant to the economic, the social, and the political crises? Could physicians cure sickness of class, race, and slum? Was there any balm in Gilead? Protestantism offered to American society two contrasting remedies: one for the individual and a second for the social structures themselves.

From the first signs of social corruption in colonial New England through the fluctuating fortunes of revolution, expansion, civil strife, immigration, and industrialization, Protestant religionists repeatedly urged one cure: change the hearts of men. Then and only then, they argued, can one change the health of society. As one cannot make a silk purse from a sow's ear, it was reasoned, so one cannot lift or redeem a society whose members wallow in stubborn sin. The change-of-heart formula bore the respectability of age and the glory of repeated triumph. With little inclination to abandon it after the Civil War, religious leaders, nevertheless, recognized the necessity for new means and new measures to reach the individual. Along with the old techniques, therefore, came experimental approaches to problems posed by factory and town. Outstanding examples of new approaches were the temperance movement, the Sunday School movement, and the Young Men's Christian Association (Y. M. C. A.).

In an earlier day George Whitefield, Timothy Dwight, Charles Finney, and others had "unified society, resisted infidelity, and extended Christianity" through revivalism.[11] Was the revival obsolete after the Civil War? As a means of reaching great masses of people, Dwight L. Moody provided the most resounding negative to that question.

Moody along with the persuasive Phillips Brooks, rector of Boston's Trinity Church, and with Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church, as well as others saw the business of religion to change the hearts of men, not to upset the political, social, and economic order. Patience, prayer, Bible reading, witnessing, and attending worship services were constituted as the route to a better world.

Protestantism's change-of-heart formula was directed at the laboring classes, especially the immigrants. This line of thinking was amply demonstrated in an article, "Our Unevangelized Masses," which was printed in a Methodist magazine, *The Christian Advo-*

11. Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), p. 228.

cate, in August, 1875, a few days after Moody returned from revivalistic successes in Great Britain. The unevangelized masses, stated the article, live

> chiefly in our large cities. . . . They are mostly, not wholly, foreigners, or the children of foreigners. . . . Large proportions of them are Romanists, having no higher conception of real Christianity than millions of pagans who never heard of its existence. Many are skeptics. . . . Multitudes are indifferentists. . . . All these classes make up a corrupt and corrupting mass of humanity. . . . These lost multitudes [are] . . . making mightier and mightier those bad forces which are corrupting public morals, and leading, with unerring certainty, even to the ultimate overthrow of our political institutions.[12]

The immigrants who provided the common working force for the new industrial America came to represent all the "unsaved masses." The laboring man was charged with spending more time in saloons and union association than in churches. Protestantism said, "Change your hearts." Divine favor will come if one practices thrift, is industrious, is sober, and faithfully attends church services. This formula was in perfect accord with the economic and social standards of an acquisitive industrial society. Thus much of Protestantism defended the position of the business community. As a result, labor's heart hardened against what looked like at best the indifference of religion, at worst its collusion with a systematic exploitation.

As America's social disorders increased, many became convinced that the basic illness was public in nature rather than private. Men like Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, and George D. Herron, disturbed with the nation's growing social and economic inequalities, anticipated reconstructing society as a whole on the basis of Christian ideals. Believing in the perfectability of man, they worked to make the Kingdom of God a present reality. They sought to reform social institutions as well as individuals. To them sin pervaded society and was a part of the environment as well as being engraved on men's hearts. During the nineteenth century sociology, as a field of study, developed and drew attention to the effects of environment on the moral, intellectual, and spiritual life of man. Convinced that man motivated by religion could make changes in his environment, Jewish and Christian reformers also acknowledged that environment could alter, deform, or degrade a man—even a religious man. The application of newly discovered sociological and economic principles to redeem American society

12. Daniel Wise, "Our Unevangelized Masses," *The Christian Advocate,* L (August 19, 1875), 257.

came to be known in Protestant circles as the "social gospel." [13] At this time leaders from every religious tradition explored ways to perfect the social order.

13. *Cf.*, Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915*, Vol. XIV in the *Yale Studies in Religious Education* (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1940).

CHAPTER III

The Workingman of the Era

Much could be written about the workingman of the period of 1860 to 1900. This chapter, however, will be restricted to a brief discussion of labor's relationship with the captains of industry and with labor's attitude toward religion.

Following the Civil War entrepreneurs came to view labor as a commodity. Capital's impersonal viewpoint toward labor put workers at odds with their employers. As a result, labor revolted.

The gulf which separated workingman and employer, either individual or corporate, was caused by vast economic changes. Before the Civil War industry was smaller in scope; less of it was corporately organized. The independent artisan was still an important industrial factor, and escape from the ranks of labor was less difficult. The relationship of employer and employee of that previous period had almost disappeared by the eighties. A brassworker, discussing this change before a Senate Committee in 1883, remarked:

> Well, I remember that fourteen years ago the workman and foremen and the boss were all as one happy family; it was just as easy and as free to speak to the boss as anyone else, but now the boss is superior, and the men all go to the foremen; but we would not think of looking the foreman in the face now any more than we would the boss. . . . The Average hand growing up in the shop now would not think of speaking to the boss, would not presume to recognize him, nor the boss would not recognize him either.[1]

Employers "adopt a superior standpoint," complained another testifying employee.

> The employer has pretty much the same feeling towards the men that he had toward his machinery. He wants to get as much as he can out of his men at the cheapest rate. . . . That is all he cares for the man generally.[2]

One industrialist bluntly stated, according to Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, "I regard my employees as I do a machine, to be used to my advantage, and when they are old and of no further use I cast them in the street." [3]

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1. *Report of the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate upon the Relations Between Labor and Capital, and Testimony Taken by the Committee* (5 vols.; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1885), I, 473, quoted in Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair; A Study in the American Social Revolutionary and Labor Movements* (2d ed.; New York: Russell and Russell, Publishers, Inc., 1958), p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

The indifference to human worth here demonstrated was neither an invention of Gompers nor wholly exceptional. A wool-manufacturer in New England complacently observed that when workers "get starved down to it, then they will go to work at just what you can afford to pay."[4] Such views accompanied the conviction that it is, as Jay Gould put it, an "axiom . . . that labor is a commodity that will in the long run be governed absolutely by the law of supply and demand."[5] This argument justified adequately the manner in which workers were commonly treated. Labor was a commodity, and there was no reason why it should be dealt with differently from other commodities.

As it became increasingly conscious of its condition, labor boldly voiced its complaints and demands and resorted more widely to industrial action to gain its objectives. In twenty-five years, 1881-1905, there occurred in the United States 38,303 strikes and lockouts which involved 7,444,279 workers in 199,954 plants.[6] Four of these strikes were particularly explosive and rocked the social structure of the nation to its foundations.

The first was the railroad strikes in 1877 which spread out over the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the New York Central railroads. Historian Henry F. May called them "the most destructive labor battle in American history," since these strikes involved workers, police, militia, and federal troops fighting pitched battles in many cities.[7] Property damage was immense, and sober men envisioned mobocracy and revolution. The year 1877 became a symbol of shock, of the possible crumbling of society.[8]

The second was the disastrous Haymarket affair in Chicago. In a clash between pickets and police at the McCormick Harvester Plant on May 3, 1886, six of the picketers were killed and several wounded. At a protest meeting held the next day in Haymarket Square a bomb was thrown which killed eight policemen and injured twenty-seven persons. The trial, which resulted in seven "anarchists" being sentenced to death (four were hanged, one committed suicide, and two were given life-imprisonment), revealed a widespread mood of hysteria.[9]

4. *Report of the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate upon the Relations between Labor and Capital, and Testimony Taken by the Committee* (5 vols.; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1885), III, 288.

5. *New York Times*, April 30, 1886, p. 1.

6. George Gorham Groat, *An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 166.

7. Henry May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), p. 92.

8. *Cf.*, Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1959).

9. *Cf.*, David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair.*

The third was the great strike at the Carnegie Steel Plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892. On July 5 two boatloads of armed Pinkerton detectives, sent by General Manager Henry Clay Frick to guard the mills after he had shut them down, were driven off in a pitched battle with strikers. Seven detectives and nine strikers were killed; some forty strikers and twenty invaders were wounded. Eventually eight thousand state militia reasserted control for the company, and the mill was reopened with nonunion labor.[10]

The fourth was the great strike at the Pullman Palace Car Company in 1894, when President Grover Cleveland—over the protests of Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois—sent two thousand federal troops to Chicago to "guard the mails." The injunction was effectively used against the unions. The propriety and necessity of dispatching federal troops to the area have been keenly debated ever since.[11]

Because of the church's lack of sympathy for the workingman's plight and revolt, labor developed a hostile stance toward institutional Protestantism. The Catholics were able to remain in positive relationship with labor because many immigrant workers were Roman Catholics. Although they rejected "churchianity," which they held to be another word for pious fraud and pretense, most workers professed belief in Christianity.[12]

Until there is further research into the religious habits of nineteenth-century workers to prove otherwise, present historical research demonstrates widespread defection of workingmen from the ranks of Protestantism. In the desperate struggle which was taking place over the distribution of this world's goods, workingmen beheld the clergy as accepting the economic principles of their wealthy parishioners. Workers were not church-goers because clergymen did not understand the life of a worker and too often apologized for the wrongful actions of employers, according to Samuel Gompers.[13] "There was a time," he wrote in 1919, "when the ministry belonged to the host that prayed for us one minute on Sunday and preyed on us all the rest of the week."[14] Workers

10. *Cf.*, Leon Wolff, *Lockout: The Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892: A Study of Violence, Unionism, and the Carnegie Steel Empire* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965).

11. *Cf.*, Thomas C. Manning, *The Chicago Strike of 1894: Industrial Labor in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV of *Government and the American Economy: 1870 to the Present*, ed. Thomas G. Manning and David M. Potter (Rev. ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960) for documents relating to the debate's issues.

12. Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900*, Vol. LIV of the *Harvard Historical Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), p. 64.

13. Fred Greenbaum, "The Social Ideas of Samuel Gompers," *Labor History*, VII (Winter, 1966), 57.

14. Samuel Gompers, *Labor and the Common Welfare* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919), p. 31.

found themselves, moreover, strangers to the elegant trappings provided in houses of worship by the wealthy. High pew rents isolated them from those who could afford desirable locations. "Have the working classes fallen away from the churches or have the churches fallen away from the working classes?" inquired the Reverend Charles F. Goss of the Chicago Avenue Church (later named the Moody Memorial Church), as he thought about the workers' indifference and hostility toward religious institutions. He said:

> There is no place in the average Chicago church for the poor man . . . surrounded by individuals who not only regard poverty as a disgrace, but by their vulgar display endeavor to perpetually remind the poor man of his poverty.[15]

Whenever workers engaged in a strike to gain what they believed theirs, they heard the clergy voice from the pulpit opinions similar to those held by their employers. As strikes spawned violence and workingmen united, the clergy attacked them in general as socialists and communists who should be hunted down like "mad dogs." In order to quell radicalism ministers approved of a strong militia, prompt suppression of independent drill clubs, absolute prohibition of free assembly where inflammatory speeches might be made, a rigid censorship of the press and of all printed material, and the denial of the vote to communists. On the Sunday following the Haymarket affair, pulpits rang with denunciations of workers. Little, if any, distinction was drawn between those workers who had participated in violence and those who had not.[16]

Because of the church's posture of active or passive alliance with labor's oppressors, workers lost confidence in institutional Protestantism. Washington Gladden cited the instance of a "tired-looking shop girl" in Boston who, in response to a query by a reporter as to the reason for her failing to attend church services, replied, "My employer goes. He is one of the pillars of the Church. That's reason enough why I shouldn't go. I know how he treats his help."[17] During the eighties several ministers investigated the religious habits of the various occupational groups, invariably discovering that wage-earners attended Protestant services in much smaller proportions than other classes.[18]

Even Protestant churches that had adopted a progressive social stance failed to reach and to attract the support of labor. Henry F.

15. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937-1957), III, 438.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

17. Washington Gladden, "The Working People and the Churches," *Independent*, XXXVII (July 30, 1885), 969.

18. Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism*, p. 61.

May suggests three main reasons for this failure. First, there had developed an emotional wall of hostility between churchmen and labor. The wall was old and strong. Labor leaders did not recognize nor could they believe that they had new friends among the ministers of the progressive social movement.

Second, the ministers who did attempt to tear down the wall of hostility and profess friendship for organized labor often displayed an extreme lack of understanding of labor's problems. Many of the aims which the American labor movement stressed grew from immediate and often desperate needs. The clerical progressives often misunderstood the immediacy of the situation. They urged labor to be patient in their demands. As a result, labor leaders had little confidence in the hope of religious progressives that industrial conflicts could be solved by appealing to the better natures of capital rather than through strikes.

The third reason for failure was the unfortunate manner in which the progressive clerics approached union men urging them to abandon their vices. Condescendingly these clergymen attempted to explain to the workingmen problems with which the latter had lived far too long.[19] Because of a tradition of clerical hostility, a misunderstanding of labor's problems, and the manner of its approach, even progressively social Protestantism was unable to attract the workingman to any great degree.

Within the fold of Roman Catholicism, workers, often of foreign birth or of alien parentage, felt the warmth of understanding and tolerance. In Catholic parishes the workingmen predominated in the number of communicants, and there they met fellow worshippers on a plane of equality. With the priest looking upon his parish as primarily service among the poor, and with the Church's leadership recognizing that the increasingly powerful business corporations were not controlled by Catholics, workers by and large found a religious haven in the Catholic faith. Even the Church's hostility toward the secrecy of the Knights of Labor diminished under the influence of Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, and his insistence upon a sympathetic approach to the problems of labor preserved for the Church the loyalty of this vast part of the American population. In 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued his important social encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* which placed the Church in the vanguard of humanitarians.[20]

Although workers had rejected institutional Protestantism, many of them had not rejected the Christian faith. To the charge that

19. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America,* pp. 222-223.
20. Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* III, 440-441.

workingmen were atheists, John Willett, a Michigan trade-unionist, quickly retorted, "We believe much in Jesus and his teachings, but not much in the teachings of his pretended followers." [21] Though highly critical of the churches, the workers' desired aim was not to destroy but to socialize Protestant Christianity.

The workers took Protestant traditions and used them to justify labor organization and agitation, to encourage workers to challenge industrial power, and to compel criticism of "natural" economic laws, the crude optimism of social Darwinism, and even the conformist Christianity of most respectable clergymen. The workers drew from premillennial and postmillennial understandings of Protestant faith. The premillenial theme was subordinate to the postmillennial. However, this pessimistic, apocalyptic tradition appealed to those who experienced psychological strain because of the social and economic changes wrought by the industrializing process.[22] To these workers change itself meant decay and destruction. Thus prophesies of doom and imminent catastrophe before "redemption" were meaningful.[23]

The Christian perfectionism and postmillenialism, identified with Charles G. Finney and other pre-Civil War and pre-industrial evangelical revivalists, were predominant in the thinking of labor leaders in the Gilded Age.[24] Prominent Gilded Age trade-unionists, labor reformers, and even radicals—with the notable exception of Samuel Gompers and Daniel De Leon—shared a common faith in a just God, effused perfectionist doctrine, and warned of divine retribution against continuing injustice. This form of Protestantism offered labor leaders and their followers a transhistoric framework to challenge the new industrialism and a common set of moral imperatives to measure their rage against and to order their dissatisfactions.[25]

The social Christianity espoused by workingmen was different from the more widely known and well-studied social gospel put forth by middle- and upper-class religious critics of industrial society. As Herbert G. Gutman has pointed out, "Both groups reacted against the early disintegrating consequences of rapid in-

21. "Letter from a Workingman," *Christian Union*, XXXII (October 29, 1885), 7-8, quoted in Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism*, p. 65.

22. E. J. Hobsbawn, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), p. 376.

23. Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: the Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," *The American Historical Review*, LXXII (October, 1966), 81-82.

24. *Cf.*, William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), chaps. ii, iii, and Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957) for a discussion of pre-Civil War Protestant traditions.

25. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement," 83, 99.

dustrialization and drew from the same broad religious tradition." [26] However, available evidence demonstrates few formal connections between the two movements.[27]

26. *Ibid.*, 99.
27. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

The Social Views of Dwight L. Moody

This chapter on the social views of Dwight L. Moody explores his views toward labor and big business and his attitudes in regard to reform and the social gospel. The chapter also demonstrates the inflexibility of Moody's views.

Dwight L. Moody was aware of the grave domestic problems of his day, particularly the plight of the lower classes in Great Britain and America. Early in his evangelistic work Moody had become acquainted with the failure of the church to reach the "bleeding" masses.[1] Biographer Richard K. Curtis has written of Moody's insights into the masses:

> If he knew little of the study of alcoholism, he knew plenty about drunkenness. If he knew little of labor relations, he knew the poverty, the disease, and the filth of jobless families. If he knew little of sermon construction and rhetoric, he could talk religion in the idiom of the street. If he knew little of liturgy and ecclesiastics, he knew coldness when he saw it, and formalism, and stiff-necked professionalism. And, after all, the masses also knew little of alcoholism, of labor relations, of homiletics and ecclestiastics, and further, they were little interested. But what they were interested in were plain words, simple assurance, and bite-size certainties. If these could be served up with the spice of catchy music and garnished with homey, humorous anecdote, they were bound to become well nigh irresistible.[2]

Moody's evangelistic target became the urban metropolis of the 1870's where lived the seething masses. As a result, he adapted revivalism to modern conditions with great ability and foresight with the intention of reaching the great population centers. "Water runs down hill," Moody declared at the outset of his evangelistic career, "and the highest hills are the great cities. If we can stir them, we shall stir the whole nation." [3]

Although Moody's target was the masses, he sought to rescue them as individuals from the desperation of poverty with the cure of the gospel. Moody also sought to make the masses into good Americans.

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1. In both the United States and Great Britain Moody consistently viewed "the masses" as of a lower social status than he. Common laborers and industrial workers, immigrants, the poor, and the so-called criminal elements in society fitted into this category. He assumed that most of these people had no religious affiliations (a predisposition that ignored the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in America). Moody also saw them as the most likely to be affected by radical political and social doctrines.

2. Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962), p. 235.

3. William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 249.

Moody viewed men of labor as individuals rather than as members of a class. This attitude was consistent with his basic religious philosophy. Although Moody sensed the fundamental domestic issues of the day as they related to the working classes, he believed that society could only be changed by the moral and spiritual regeneration of individuals and that all political, social, and economic reform must be an appendage of revivals. Moody once said to Henry Ward Beecher, "There is no use attempting to make a deep and lasting effect on masses of people, but every effort should be put forth on the individual."[4] Thus Moody approached the workingman as a person in need of salvation.

Because of Moody's individualism he tended to view labor relations in face-to-face terms. Thus he advised the workingman:

> Work faithfully for three dollars a week, it won't be long before you have six dollars and then you will get ten dollars, and then twelve dollars a week. You want to get these employers always under an obligation to you. You must be such true men and be so helpful to your employers that they cannot get along without you and then you will work up and your employer will increase your wages. If a man works in the interest of his employer, he will be sure to keep him and treat him well. . . .[5]

Moody had no use for labor unions and their strikes.[6] He had little to offer the working class in the way of concrete and realistic proposals. As the gulf between big business and labor grew in the industrial society of Moody's later years, his words of advice to labor became increasingly unrealistic. His thoughts seemed particularly irrelevant during periods of depression. In the difficult years of the mid-nineties the evangelists had nothing more to offer the depressed laborers than advice to take advantage of vaguely conceived acts of good will on the part of employers.[7] In this spirit he requested his middle-class audiences to "go and act the Good Samaritan. . . . Send your carriages out and give poor people a drive in the park once in awhile and they'll call you an angel, I'll warrant."[8]

In his later sermons Moody enjoined employers to be faithful to their employees. "We treat our servants just about as we treat our sewing machines," he said in 1894. "If they do their work well, all right; but if they don't, we kick them out." He called A. T.

4. Charles R. Erdman, *D. L. Moody: His Message for Today* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1928), p. 58.

8. *New York Times,* November 9, 1896, p. 1.

5. Dwight L. Moody, *To All People* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1877), p. 494, quoted in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 255.

6. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody,* pp. 266-267.

7. James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), p. 263.

Stewart, the owner of a New York department store, "supremely selfish" because "one of his clerks got sick and couldn't come to the store for two or three or ten weeks; his wages were cut right off" because Stewart felt "he wasn't responsible for aiding the clerk." [9]

Moody saw labor relations in terms of individuals relating to individuals rather than management relating with labor. Although Moody in his later years saw the responsibility of individual businessmen toward labor, he blamed labor for most of its problems with poverty.

In New York City in 1876 where 50,000 men were out of work because of the depression, Moody commented:

I know there is great misery and suffering in this great city; but what is the cause of most of it? Why, the sufferers have become lost from the Shepherd's care. When they are close to Him, under his protection, they are always provided for.[10]

According to Moody, a man who lost his job should consider it as a judgment of God for his sins. "If you had a son who wouldn't obey you you would not expect him to prosper, and wouldn't be anxious that he should, because prosperity in wickedness would be an injury to him." [11] Moody was convinced that for the most part poverty was the result of personal sin. "I believe today one reason why so many men's ways are hedged up, and they do not prosper is because they have dishonored their parents" or disobeyed some other commandment.[12] Sometimes, Moody believed, poverty was simply the result of not being a converted Christian. He believed this truth about himself. He often commented:

The whole of my early life was one long struggle with poverty; but I have no doubt it was God's way of bringing me to himself. And since I began to seek first the kingdom of God, I have never wanted for anything.[13]

Moody saw the prevailing sins of the poor workers to be the immorality of laziness, a lack of thrift, and the consumption of liquor and tobacco. As far as he was concerned, these sins inevitably led to poverty. Moody understood laziness and idleness to be heinous sins. At a meeting in Boston in 1877 Moody told a group of converted drunkards who were out of work:

Get something to do. If it is for fifteen hours a day, all the better, for while you are at work Satan does not have so much chance to tempt you. If you

9. Dwight L. Moody, *Moody's Latest Sermons* (Providence: News Co., 1894), p. 454, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 255-256.

10. *New York Times*, February 19, 1876, p. 8.

11. William H. Daniels, *Moody: His Words, Work, and Workers* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1877), p. 430.

12. Dwight L. Moody, *The Great Redemption* (Chicago: The Century Book and Paper Co., 1889), p. 160, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 254.

13. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, p. 431.

cannot earn more than a dollar a week, earn that. That is better than nothing and you can pray to God for more.[14]

Of course, these ancient verities of Puritanism were not much comfort to men out of jobs, but industrialists who had to cut wages during this period of great economic difficulty welcomed Moody's comments as a powerful support for their actions, whether he consciously intended to support them or not.

While Moody was in Boston, 48,000 persons were applying for poor relief. Rather than remain idle and fall into sin, he suggested that if they could not get work in the city, they should go out into the country. "It is not degrading to go out and hoe and shovel in the field," he told those who were jobless. "It is noble, I think." [15] However, Moody failed to explain how the farmers of New England were to absorb that vast army of unemployed.

Moody also believed that poverty was caused by a lack of thrift. He felt that the poor were poor because of spending their money in foolish ways. He saw no point in giving the money to the poor unless they were willing to be responsible with it. He once warned an audience that one must be careful in giving money to aid the poverty stricken, for too often "the money would go into their pockets to get whiskey with." [16]

The wickedness of the jobless and the poverty stricken was demonstrated by the continued sales of liquor and tobacco even during times of depression. In one of his sermons Moody said:

I do not believe we would have these hard times if it had not been for sin and iniquity. Look at the money that is drank up! The money that is spent for tobacco! That is ruining men—ruining their constitutions. We live in a land flowing with milk and honey. God has blessed this nation; yet men complain of hard times.[17]

Moody believed that the rags of poverty were the emblems of the drunkard's child. He reasoned that since converted men never drank, ragged children were *ipso facto* being raised by sinners.[18]

Moody could not see any reason for poverty in America that eagerness to work could not overcome. He had seen what his own mother had done with nine children and no visible support. Furthermore his own boundless energy made indolence all the more unsuppportable.

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14. Moody, *To All People,* pp. 489-490, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* p. 255.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 256.

16. Charles H. Yost (ed.), *Fifty Evenings at the Great Revival Meetings Conducted by Moody and Sankey* (Philadelphia: Charles H. Yost, 1876), p. 391, cited in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 261.

17. Moody, *The Great Redemption,* pp. 355-356, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* pp. 254-255.

18. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* p. 255.

Moody contended that economic hardship could be a fine discipline. He commented in a series of meetings in New York City, "It is a good thing that people should suffer." [19] This step in his reasoning appeared to be brutal. However, in his day-by-day actions Moody never went to such extremes as the preceding statement might suggest. His deep concern for individuals which grew out of his Christian faith prevented such extremities from happening. Nevertheless, his beliefs did possess a callousness if pressed to their logical conclusions. It is most likely that Moody had never thought through all the implications of his point of view. If he had, probably he would not have made such harsh statements as quoted above, or perhaps he would have changed his deeds to align more closely with these conclusions. Even in the nineties, when his opinions seemed particularly naive, if his words are read in context they still reveal a continuing concern for the laboring man (although only as an individual) and a desire to help him in his difficulties.[20]

During the nineties Moody attacked the rich for their callousness toward the poor. Unlike his attitude in the eighties, he began to place some of the blame for the discontent and poverty of the workingman on the shoulders of the financiers and the great captains of industry. In a meeting in New York City he declared:

> We have altogether too much wealth. We have too much poverty, too. Why don't some of the people who have made their fortunes stop, and go out into the highways and byways and help the poor fellows who are famishing there? That's my idea of socialism, and it's founded on the teachings of Christ Himself.[21]

In the main, however, Moody contended that poverty was caused by personal sin. Therefore, a laborer's only rescue from deprivation was conversion.

Moody believed that a worker's problems could all be solved by Christian conversion. He often said:

> A heart that is made right with God and man seldom constitutes a social problem and by seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, nine-tenths of social betterment is effected by the convert himself and the one-tenth by Christian sympathy.[22]

For Moody salvation could work wonders. In his 1876 New York City campaign he stated:

19. Yost, *Fifty Evenings*, p. 392, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 261.
20. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 261.
21. *New York Times*, March 12, 1890, p. 9.
22. John McDowell and Others, *What D. L. Moody Means to Me: An Anthology of Appreciations and Appraisals of the Beloved Founder of the Northfield Schools* (East Northfield: The Northfield Schools, 1937), p. 9.

I seldom meet a drunkard who does not long to get rid of his vice, his appetite for strong drink. And I always rejoice, for I know they can be saved if they will. Their appetite is the work of the devil, who makes them believe that there is no hope for them. But oh, my friends, God has got power to destroy the work of the devil, and kill this appetite for strong drink. He has got power to snap the fetters of every vice that degenerates our natures. All we have to do is to trust in Him, pray to Him for strength, and rely upon His saving power.[23]

It was Moody's belief that Christian conversion would make lazy, poor men into energetic and hard-working persons who would become prosperous. At his revival meetings Moody would look about at the wealthy men who sat on the platform with him, the William E. Dodges, Cyrus McCormicks, and John Wanamakers, and note that they were all devout church members, all "born again" Christians. He would point out that few if any of the poor in the slums of Chicago, London, or New York attended church services. Many of his wealthy supporters had once been poor boys, but few of the nonchurchgoing slum dwellers demonstrated any signs of getting rich. Therefore, the conclusion seemed self-evident.[24] "It is a wonderful fact that men and women saved by the blood of Jesus rarely remained subjects of charity, but rise at once to comfort and respectability." [25] Moody radiated optimism when he thought about the effect of true conversion upon a poor man, "I don't see how a man can follow Christ and not be successful." [26] and "I never saw the man who put Christ first in his life that wasn't successful." [27]

If someone should point to a rich man who was not converted, Moody would say that man was first of all a fool, second he was probably suffering or would shortly suffer from some secret sorrow or misfortune, and third, he was damned, like Dives, to spend eternity in hell.[28] He was hard put to explain the unsaved man's wealth with his simplistic Puritan ethic.

If a man claimed to be a Christian convert but still had not risen to comfort and prosperity, Moody would say that he probably had not been truly converted. "There are a great many professing Christians who never get on intimate terms with God, and so they never amount to much." [29]

If someone would show Moody a man who had undoubtedly been converted and was intimate with God but was nonetheless

23. *New York Times*, February 19, 1876, p. 8.
24. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 252.
25. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 171.
26. *Daily Advertiser* (Boston), February 12, 1877, p. 4, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 253.
27. A. W. Williams, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: P. W. Ziegler Co., 1900), p. 324.
28. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 253.
29. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, p. 66.

still poor, Moody would quote the biblical text, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." [30] Moody sensed no inconsistency in telling those who were truly converted but bound to live in hardship and poverty that "God gives us a little adversity here, a little prosperity there and works all for our good" although "we are not able to read the problem now or to see just why we are afflicted." [31]

Since he believed poverty could in most cases be cured by conversion, Moody declared that it was the highest duty of a Christian to "visit the homes of the poor and wicked and tell them how the Son of God came into the world to seek the fallen and those who were lost." [32] Whenever he was asked what type of work young converts should do for the church, he suggested that they "visit the sick or go around and distribute tracts and invite people to come to church." [33] He encouraged young ladies of leisure to visit the homes of the masses and preach the gospel and sing hymns for them.[34]

Reaching the masses was important to both Moody and his supporters. Moody feared labor activity and saw conversion as a way of making good Americans out of the foreign-born element of the masses. Moody and his supporters wished to help the workingman rise to respectability and prosperity, but both were insistent that the worker do so by way of the Protestant ethic. If the poor workingman followed the advice of Moody's sermons and became pious, industrious, thrifty, sober, and honest, he would automatically better his condition. But if he chose to use the weapons of strikes, boycotts, and union activities to take by compulsion what he could not gain by merit, he was a criminal. In the wake of the Paris Commune, the Haymarket Riot, the increasing number and violence of strikes, the rise of the Knights of Labor, and the Communist International, Moody wrote to some of the leading businessmen of Chicago, "there can be no better investment for the capitalists of Chicago than to put the saving salt of the Gospel into these dark homes and desperate centers from which come forth the criminals" and those who increasingly support "the desecration of the Sabbath." [35] Since a high percentage of the unskilled workingmen were foreign-born with alien ideas and were either

30. Hebrews 12:6a

31. Moody, *To All People*, p. 333, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 254.

32. *Evening Transcript* (Boston), January 30, 1877, p. 2, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 256.

33. Moody, *The Great Redemption*, p. 475, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 256.

34. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 256.

35. Fund-raising form letter dated March 15, 1889, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 270.

Roman Catholics, Jews, or nonchurch-goers, it seemed logical for Moody and his businessmen supporters to conclude that Americanization and evangelization were synonymous.[36]

In general Moody's views in regard to big business were favorable. However, in his later years he grew critical of some of the practices of big business. There are many reasons for Moody's inability to criticize in an ultimate sense the values of the ruthlessly acquisitive society that characterized America in his adult years.

Like many of his contemporary clergymen, Moody supported the values of the business community. He was largely responsible for the union between the evangelical mind and the business mind which was to characterize subsequent popular revivalists.[37] Moody's religious individualism blended perfectly with the rugged individualism of the businessmen of the era. Although Moody preached his gospel of salvation to both men of labor and men of business, he shared the social and economic views of the success mythology of big business leaders. His revivals and fund-raising efforts received the active support of business leaders. The major post-Civil War titans belonged to churches that articulated an orthodox view of Christianity. Two close observers of the New York City business community testified that the most prominent merchants and financiers could usually be found on Sunday mornings in the churches interpreting the Scriptures. Making money was important but saving souls seemed to go along with it hand in hand.[38] Moody and big business leaders shared a common Christian faith and common social and economic views.

It is not surprising that Moody's political views invariably resembled those of the Republican businessmen who supported him. Although Moody publicly professed a lack of concern for politics, in private he was a stauch Republican. When William Jennings Bryan, the silver movement, and the Populists offered a serious threat to the status quo in 1896, Moody actively worked for William McKinley's election. At least once during that campaign Moody broke his silence on political issues to say to an audience in New York City that he "didn't believe a thing he [Bryan] said."[39]

In his private correspondence Moody was even less guarded in his comments. Three weeks before the election Moody had be-

36. For an extensive discussion of Moody, evangelization, and Americanization see McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 267-270.

37. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 111.

38. Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), pp. 67, 68.

39. *New York Times*, October 6, 1896, p. 9.

come so fearful of the outcome that he told a friend that he had counseled the leader of a group from England visiting him that "if the country goes for silver he had better take his Boys Home." [40]

During most of Moody's career he looked with favor upon the wealthy businessmen of America. He saw them as men of great character who had overcome poverty. However, in Moody's latter years one significant shift in his views did seem to occur. Whereas in the eighties he had shown great concern over the radicalism of the workingman and attributed much of this agitation to the influx of immigrants from Europe who carried to the United States the red flag and the revolutionary zeal of the Paris Commune, in the nineties he added a new note to his fear of labor unrest. This fear was a growing dislike of the extremely wealthy men who controlled the giant corporations. Moody's feelings were partly the result of his disgust at the mere size of the capital accumulations of these captains of industry. D. L. Moody had never opposed a man who had become reasonably well-to-do. But these tycoons of the nineties, the progenitors of finance capitalism, he judged to be insatiable in their desire for money. Once during his later years the evangelist recalled that in the earlier days "when a man got his million he had enough. But now, two, three, or five hundred millions don't satisfy." [41]

Moody also feared the owners of the "trusts" because they threatened his position (or the position of men like him) in society. Shortly before his death the revivalist expressed such fears openly to a reporter in Kansas City. No longer, it appeared, did "a young man have the chances he used to have." The "trusts" had changed a man's ability to rise from rags to riches.

> They take away his chances of getting along. What can a poor young man do nowadays, unless he goes to work for someone else who is wealthy? . . . Trusts, corporations, . . . are bad for the young man.[42]

Loss of independence, the end of rugged individualism and the unfettered struggle for success, all this meant a negation of the success mythology in which Moody had long believed. His way of life was threatened, and the directors of the giant corporations seemed to be one of the major sources of those unsettling conditions.[43]

If historian Richard Hofstadter is correct, Moody's feelings were

40. Letter from D. L. Moody to A. F. Gaylord, October 10, 1896, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 272.

41. Dwight L. Moody, *Moody's Latest Sermons* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1900), pp. 116-117, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 264.

42. *Kansas City Star*, November 11, 1899, p. 1, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 264-265.

43. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 264-265.

parallel to many middle-class Americans at the turn of the century. Beset by fear of discontent among the lower classes, they also had to worry about the development of a powerful plutocracy at the other end of the social scale. The traditional status of Moody and many of his fellow countrymen as leaders and bearers of the central values of society appeared to be undermined. Their response was to protest vigorously and turn to political agitation and reform in an attempt to change these conditions.[44] Whether the evangelist would have become a progressive if he had lived is not subject to debate here; however, he did develop attitudes in the late nineties which were similar to those of later adherents of the progressive movement.

The foregoing material does not imply that Moody became a great advocate of reform measures in his final years. He attacked only the most wealthy and ruthless businessmen. However, he still viewed the majority of businessmen with approval and affection. Earlier in his career Moody had often attacked business leaders for unscrupulous practices and for the frequent evidence of their all-consuming pursuit of the great god Mammon. Yet most of his criticisms were basically superficial. Moody's condemnation was reserved only for businessmen who lost sight of the true end in life, the salvation of one's soul, in their pursuit of wealth.[45]

Therefore, Dwight L. Moody consistently judged the actions of businessmen individually and was ready to criticize if individuals in the business community did not measure up to his standards of right and wrong. With the exception of the vague stirrings of concern that animated him in the nineties, Moody never questioned in an ultimate sense the values of the ruthlessly acquisitive society that characterized the United States in his adult years. In this regard Moody was no different from the great majority of his fellow citizens during the so-called Gilded Age who had placed their faith in the gospel of morality and prosperity.[46]

Moody found it difficult to criticize the values of business leaders because both the individualistic outlook of pietistic revivalism and the "gospel of wealth" were rooted in traditional orthodoxy. The success mythology of post-Appomattox years was grounded in the old Puritan code of worldly asceticism. Revivalism also had its roots in America's Puritan past. Both were based upon a philosophy of individualism. Ralph Henry Gabriel has noted that "the persistent American philosophy of individualism never had

44. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 131-148.

45. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 266.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-67.

greater intellectual support than in the last two decades of the nineteenth century."[47] In the evangelist Dwight L. Moody there is an amalgamation of the individualism of pietistic revivalism and the social outlook of industrial capitalism. As a result of this union, Moody was not in a very good position to be critical of business values.

Another reason for Moody's inability to make any effective criticism of the business community was his fund-raising activities. Moody was capable of reaping sizeable monetary gifts from the captains of industry. Even if he had wanted to do so, Moody would have thought twice before making a sustained attack upon those who made possible his work as an evangelist and a fund raiser for worthwhile causes. One of his most perceptive followers saw clearly the threat that close association with the wealthy posed to his work. This friend wrote:

> If I were asked as to the direction in which his [Moody's] greatest danger lay, I should say that it would come from his ambition to lead and influence Rich Men and that this might have a tendency to lead him to compromise his convictions—unless much of the grace of God is given him. . . . How much he needs our prayers that he may be kept firm and in the John the Baptist spirit!![48]

Dwight L. Moody's success in his own endeavors also blurred his critical faculties. As is sometimes true of those who have achieved position in their profession, Moody regarded with veiled admiration almost any man who had reached the top. Moody's youngest son, Paul, has written about the time when his father, as a lobbyist of sorts advocating the closing of theaters on Sunday, once spoke to Richard Croker, the notorious leader of Tammany Hall. His son reflected:

> I have often wondered since whether it was really Father's interest in the defeat of this bill . . . as much as it was to find a pretext for meeting the great Tammany chieftain which prompted him [in his action].[49]

On such occasions Moody largely ignored the ethical conduct of the individual. Rather he judged a man more on his possession of mere technical competence and on the fact that out of the struggle of life that person had come out on top. Most likely this same attitude crept into his relationships with the many successful businessmen who became his friends and supporters.[50]

The peculiar nature of the evangelist's theological concerns also

47. Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press, Co., 1956), p. 167.

48. Diary of D. W. Whittle, January 12, 1884, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 267-268.

49. Paul Moody, *My Father: An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938), pp. 46-47.

50. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 268-269.

hindered him in critically analyzing the economic and social conditions of his time. His task as a revivalist inevitably forced him to simplify his thoughts so that even the least educated members of his audience could understand and respond. What was true of theological formulations also applied to other issues. Moody tended to oversimplify and to personalize social and economic issues that were in reality exceedingly complex.

For example Moody's preoccupation with salvation caused him to fall into such errors. For him unbelief was a primary cause of economic difficulties and social dislocation. Men were in need, according to Moody, because they were living in rebellion to God. He contended that there would not be a drunkard or a prostitute walking the streets, if it were not for unbelief.[51]

Moody's perfectionism also played an important role. If one were truly "saved," he experienced immediate release from daily troubles. Thus Moody made the answer to the problems of industrialization extremely simple—believe in God and these problems will soon disappear.[52]

As a corollary to his perfectionism, the evangelist insisted that Christians should "be separate from the world." "Separation" was a way that the believer might deal with current issues. It might mean, as it had to strict followers of Martin Luther and John Calvin, that by using biblical norms which seemed to transcend or stand above any particular historical era, Christians could develop criteria by which they could effectively examine and criticize their culture. However, Moody defined "separation" in a narrow, legalistic sense by attacking drinking, dancing, card-playing, and theater-going—activities long opposed by evangelical Protestant groups. This limited concept of "otherworldliness" was not capable of coming to grips with the major problems of late nineteenth-century America.[53]

The evangelist also advocated another form of withdrawal which removed Christians from any effective criticism of the far reaching implications of industrialization. For Moody the Christian preacher's only obligation was to preach the gospel and save souls. For Moody, only experts should manage politics or operate the economic system. Whenever Moody did mention publicly the crucial issues facing society, they were used as an additional emphasis in driving home some basic point in his sermon. In the seventies, then, he could easily dismiss politics by saying, "Now, my friends, we will not bring up this question of parties. I have nothing to do

51. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

with that, I only use it as an illustration." [54] In 1897 when Moody gave counsel to ministers, he was even more explicit. In regard to domestic and foreign affairs the evangelist said:

> Don't have anything to say about capital and labor. You don't know anything about it. . . . What right have you to criticize President Cleveland [about Cuba]. You had better preach the gospel and let him deal with questions of state about which you know nothing.[55]

Since Moody lacked the ability to examine and discuss critically in public the major historical developments of his time, he generally adopted the attitudes of the middle-class groups that flocked to his revival meetings and willingly donated to his philanthropies. Moody embodied much of what his middle-class audiences were or aspired to be. A reporter for *The Nation* noted during Moody's 1876 campaign in New York City that thousands listened to the revivalist because he was one whom they "instinctively feel is only different from themselves by the religion which he has 'got.'" [56] Even that quality Moody insisted was theirs for the asking.

Dwight L. Moody had definite opinions about reform, charity, and the social gospel. Moody's premillenial views in regard to the Second Coming of Christ greatly colored his views concerning social change.

Although the evangelist was aware of the grave domestic problems of the day, especially the conditions of the lower classes, Moody chose "the indirect way" to alleviate conditions. Moody believed that society could only be reformed by the moral and spiritual regeneration of individuals and that all political, social, and economic reforms must be an appendage of revivals. Moody's eldest son, William R. Moody, has said in regard to his father, "He insisted that the most efficacious means of reformation was through the individual." [57] Shortly before leaving for one of his revival campaigns of the seventies, Moody stated to an audience in Northfield, Massachusetts, "We hear every few years the cry of 'Reform!' 'Reform!' but man, away from God, is not to be trusted, and there is no reform until God has been found." [58] Moody believed that until Christ affected the hearts of men there was no hope for reform. In 1877 he said:

> The nation is now crying "reform." I don't know how long they are going to continue that cry; they have kept it up ever since I remember; but there will

54. Dwight L. Moody, *New Sermons, Addresses and Prayers* (St. Louis: Mound City, 1877), p. 223, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 271.

55. *Evening Transcript* (Boston), January 7, 1897, p. 9, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 271.

56. "Moody and Sankey," *The Nation*, XXII (March 9, 1876), 157.

57. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 170.

58. *Greenfield* (Mass.) *Gazette and Courier*, October 11, 1876, p. 2, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 278.

be no true reform until Christ gets into our politics. Men are all naturally bad, and cannot reform until the Reformer gets into their hearts.[59]

Moody's solution to the domestic problems was an individualistic gospel. He spent his career developing methodological and operational bases for reaching individuals in a mass society. He had an old-fashioned solution for new problems. His contribution to religion was as an innovator in finding ways to reach the masses. Thus he helped the revivalistic solution to men's problems to survive in an urban, mass society.

Throughout his lifetime Moody raised thousands of dollars for charitable causes. In his work with the poor in Chicago he often gave coal, food, and clothing to the needy. He rescued erring sons of his church members from the hands of the law and found jobs for deserving young men. He founded the Northfield Schools for poor, deserving children. He raised great sums for such worthy causes as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, temperance, the orphans of England, city missions, and the inmates of prisons.

Although Moody believed in charitable work, his charity was always secondary to his soul winning. Historian Bernard A. Weisberger has written in regard to Moody's attitude, "Charitable work was not an end in itself, but one more means of reaching men to prepare them, one at a time, for the final judgment." [60] During the Civil War Moody worked as a first aid delegate for the United States Christian Commission. His justification for the care of the wounded was evangelistic rather than humanitarian. Once on board a steamer from Cairo, Illinois, a discussion arose as to the most efficient way of handling the wounded.

Mr. Moody, full of the idea of saving souls, urged that the very first business in every case was to find out whether the sick or dying man were a child of God; if so, then it was not necessary to spend much time on him—he being safe enough already. If not, he was to be pointed at once to the Saviour.[61]

The essence of Moody's attitude toward charity in relation to evangelism is contained in the following comments from one of his sermons delivered in 1876.

When I was at work in the City Relief Society, before the [Chicago] fire, I used to go to a poor sinner with the Bible in one hand and a loaf of bread in the other. Dr. Chalmers used to forbid his missionaries giving away money or supplies. He said those things ought to come by other hands, and I thought he was all wrong. My idea was that I could open a poor man's heart by giving

59. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, pp. 185-186.

60. Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958), p. 189.

61. William H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875), p. 94.

him a load of wood or a ton of coal when the winter was coming on, but I soon found that he wasn't any more interested in the Gospel on that account. Instead of thinking how he could come to Christ, he was thinking how long it would be before he got another load of wood. If I had the Bible in one hand and a loaf in the other the people always looked first at the loaf, and that was just contrary to the order laid down in the Gospel.[62]

In many respects Moody's philosophy of charity was like Andrew Carnegie's gospel of wealth.[63] Moody came to believe that charity by itself was debilitating to character and that those who received it without being willing to give something in return were people who usually turned to bad ends. Unless the poverty stricken were willing to help themselves, the Christian had no obligation to contribute to their support. To Moody poverty was a badge of failure for those who did not rise above it. He viewed poverty in terms of the individual rather than the masses. For the individual it was a transient state; poverty could be overcome by initiative, industry, and ability. Therefore, for those who remained in poverty, their condition loudly proclaimed that these individuals were defective in capacity or morals or both. No amount of charity could change that. "There is a good deal that we think is charity," Moody said, "that is really doing a great deal of mischief" because it encouraged people to expect doles instead of working for a living.[64]

Moody's approach to social reform was through changing the hearts of men. During his lifetime some of his most respected friends such as Washington Gladden and Lyman Abbott became convinced that man motivated by religion could alter his environment. Such men were founders of the "social gospel" movement.

Moody failed to change with Gladden and Abbott. He did not see how one could sanctify the social order apart from individual conversions. He often declared that the heart of the individual had to be changed before a change in his environment could take place.[65] One of Moody's favorite aphorisms was, "Whitewashing the pump won't make the water pure." [66]

The social gospel also differed with Moody's theology. The doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was certainly contrary to Moody's theology.

I want to say very emphatically that I have no sympathy with the doctrine of universal brotherhood and universal fatherhood. . . . Show me a man

62. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, pp. 431-432.

63. *Cf.*, Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, CXLVIII (June, 1889), 653-664.

64. Dwight L. Moody, *Glad Tidings* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1876), p. 328, quoted in Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1927), p. 220.

65. Paul Moody, *My Father*, pp. 181-182.

66. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 170.

that will lie and steal and get drunk and ruin a woman—do you tell me that he is my brother? Not a bit of it. He must be born again into the household of faith before he becomes my brother in Christ.[67]

Moody was a social pessimist in that he held to a premillennial view of the Second Coming of Christ. In this respect Moody parted company with the previous generation of revivalists who turned to the belief that their mission was to prepare the world for Christ's coming by reducing it to the lordship of his gospel. Social reforms fit into their evangelistic and millennial schemes. These evangelists played a key role in the widespread attack upon slavery, poverty, and greed. According to historian Timothy L. Smith, "They thus helped prepare the way both in theory and in practice for what later became known as the social gospel." [68]

However, as a premillennialist Moody lacked this buoyant hope of a former generation of revivalists that the millennium was just around the corner and that a little more effort on revivalism and moral reform would usher it in. Moody contended that until Christ returned none of the basic problems of the world could be solved. In his sermons on the imminent Second Coming, Moody discouraged those efforts toward reform which were the distinguishing mark of the social gospel movement after 1890. Moody was optimistic about the destiny of all true Christians and even about the destiny of the United States, but he was not at all confident about the future of the world or of the human race. "Talk about men improving so very fast," he snorted, "I would like to see them." [69] It would seem that the evangelist purposely adopted a pessimistic attitude in order to spite the advocates of theistic evolution and social Darwinism. "I look on this world as a wrecked vessel," he said, "God has given me a life-boat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.' " [70]

Moody not only parted company with the optimism of past revivalists and the social Darwinians with his premillenial views, but he also parted company with many of the ministers who sat on his platform and nodded agreement with his Poor Richard parables and his Horatio Alger anecdotes. In future days this doctrine of premillennialism was to become one of the test points between modernists and fundamentalists. According to historian William G. McLoughlin, Jr., premillenialism's

67. From an unidentified clipping in the Moodyana Collection, Moody Bible Institute, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 276.

68. Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 8.

69. *Evening Transcript* (Boston), February 17, 1877, p. 2, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 257.

70. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, pp. 475-476.

popularity among post-Civil War evangelists was the result of an increasingly pessimistic view of life on the part of those intellectually unsophisticated and socially insecure individuals who made up the hard core of urban revival audiences. The growing complexity of modern life and the breakdown of traditional beliefs and values made these people far less certain about the progressive improvement of American society than their parents and grandparents had been. To these fearful and perplexed folk, the miraculous cataclysm of the Second Coming offered a far more reassuring hope than the impious and confusing doctrines of Herbert Spencer and the theistic evolutionists.[71]

Most likely Moody adopted premillennialism quite uncritically in the 1870's along with many other interpretations of the Bible which he learned from the Plymouth Brethren in England. Because they were a pietistic sect of the disinherited, the Brethren found social consolation in the doctrine of Christ's speedy return. Moody utilized premillennialism as a convenient handle against the theological liberals who challenged either his revivalism or his social views. When confronted with the postmillennial argument, he would stubbornly ask:

Where do you get it? I can't find it. The word of God nowhere tells me to watch and wait for the coming of the millennium, but for the coming of the Lord. I don't find any place where God says the world is to grow better and better, and that Christ is to have a spiritual reign on earth of a thousand years. I find that the earth is to grow worse and worse and that at length there is going to be a separation [of the saved from the unsaved at Christ's return].[72]

On that day the liberals and the worldly would get their correction and the saved remnant their crowns of glory.

Moody found "certain wealthy and fashionable churches" where "this doctrine is not preached or believed." [73] Business leaders did not like the idea of losing their stocks and bonds. Persons whose status in society had risen with their incomes could not perceive the virtue of believing that the world was getting worse and worse. It did not make much sense to those wealthy British and American businessmen who had steadily worked their way up the ladder of success for Moody to insist that mankind was a failure. Nor was it very consistent with Moody's view of America as that "blessed nation" "flowing with milk and honey" in which anyone could rise to the top. Of course, the evangelist meant "failure" in terms of sin and not in terms of social position, scientific discovery, or material profits. However, to doubt progress in any form in the nineteenth century was to run counter to the democratic faith of America. Moody's prosperous evangelical supporters may have

71. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 257.
72. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, p. 474.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

paid lip service to this doctrine, but it was among the unsuccessful that it received its most enthusiastic response.[74]

Moody's answer to economic and social difficulties remained largely unchanged throughout his life. His solution continued to be the conversion of the individual coupled with Christian charity. Moody in his early career could not grasp the roots of poverty as could few at that time. His views reflected his rural background and the dominating economic outlook of his age—rugged individualism. Although he spent the greater portion of his adult years in the cities of Europe and the United States, at heart the great urban evangelist remained a simple farm boy. Thoughout his life Moody viewed the social and economic scene from the uncomplicated and already rather primitive vantage point of a pre-Civil War native of the Connecticut River Valley.[75] Moody believed that there was no reason for poverty that eagerness to work could not overcome, for he had seen what his own mother with her habits of thrift and economy had done with nine children and no visible support. As a result Moody had great admiration for the captains of industry. When Moody's liberal friends saw that conversion and charity were not adequate to change society, they suggested public reform and economic reorganization.[76] However, Moody had a streak of anti-intellectualism that blinded him to the issues confronting the church and society in the industrial age. Thus he stuck to the views that he had learned early in life. Eight months before he died Moody stated his lifelong position:

> For forty years I have heard in every city, along toward election time, the cry, "Reform! Reform!" But things go on in about the same old way. You can't reform government without men who have been themselves reformed, and that reformation must be a regeneration through the power of the Holy Ghost. . . . Human nature has not changed in the last 1900 years. Preach a different gospel from that which was successful in the apostolic days? Oh, bosh! [77]

This statement indicates the essence of Moody's attitude toward social and economic issues throughout his life.

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74. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 256-259.

75. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 13.

76. *Cf.*, Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism Since the Civil War, II. From Americanism to Christianity," *The Journal of Religion*, XXXVI (April, 1956), 67-89, for a critical discussion of charity in post-Civil War Protestantism.

77. Quoted in Wilbur M. Smith, *An Annotated Bibliography of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1948), pp. 187-189.

Part II

Dwight L. Moody and the Workingman

Chapter V

Moody in Chicago

In the previous chapters Moody's career, his times, the workingman, and the evangelist's social views have been discussed. In this context the stage is set for an examination of Moody's impact upon the working class. One of Moody's primary objectives throughout his life was to bring the gospel to the unchurched masses, particularly to the urban workers. If Moody considered work among the working class so important, an assessment of the results of his career should properly include consideration of the effect of his endeavors upon this group of people. In what ways did Moody relate his social views to the workingman of his day? Possessed by a driving desire to evangelize the urban workers, Moody constantly searched for new means to achieve this end. The story begins and ends in Chicago.

In 1856 Dwight L. Moody moved from Boston to Chicago. Within twelve years he had become in the words of historian Bernard Weisberger "a one-man civic showpiece."[1] On his own Moody built a thriving Sunday school; he was the drive wheel of the Chicago Y. M. C. A.; and he established his own church.

May 3, 1857, Dwight L. Moody transferred his church membership from the Mount Vernon Church in Boston to the Plymouth Congregational Church in Chicago.[2] His poor grammar inhibited him from taking much part in the prayer meetings and social affairs of the congregation, but he was incapable of belonging to an organization without doing something. So he rented four pews and

1. Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958), p. 192.

2. *Manual of Plymouth Congregational Church and Society of Chicago, Illinois* (Chicago: No Publisher Given, 1874), p. 17, cited in James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), p. 32.

filled them up with commercial travelers. Not finding enough religious activity in the Plymouth Church, Moody (apparently quite unconcerned about denominational tags) then joined the Mission Band of the First Methodist Church and walked the streets visiting hotels and saloons distributing tracts and invitations to church activities. While prowling unfamiliar districts, he found a small, out-of-the-way Sunday school mission on North Wells street. Upon assuming that his use of English would at least match that of the children of the street, he asked for a class. The superintendent replied that he had enough teachers, but if Moody would recruit a class, he could have the privilege of instructing it. The next Sunday he showed up at the school with eighteen ragged and filthy urchins.[3]

Unknowingly Moody began his career by choosing to fight on what was then the major battlefront of the churches. Workers from the rural areas of America and from across the sea packed into Chicago to become its working force for a new industrial era. In the words of historian James F. Findlay, Jr.:

> Chicago was a city of extremes—of wealth and slums, of beautiful homes and muddy unpaved streets. But all this only mirrored the turbulence of dynamic growth. Raw and yet unformed, the city and its inhabitants looked optimistically to the future.[4]

In such an environment Moody would spend the next several years recruiting children from "the Sands" for his Sunday school. "The Sands," which was located on the north side of the Chicago River, was sometimes also known as "Little Hell."[5] One observer has described it as a "moral lazaretto."

> Disorder, and even crime, was regarded as a matter of course on "The Sands," which would have been checked and punished in any other part of the city. To this abandoned region flocked the bad women and worse men, who had fallen too low to feel at home anywhere else; and it was proverbially dangerous for any decent person to walk those streets after nightfall.[6]

Among its shanties, bordellos, and saloons young Moody moved tirelessly as a Sunday-school recruiter and organizer.

In the fall of 1858 Moody started his own Sunday school.[7] He conceived of it as an undenominational mission Sunday school. Near the North Side Market he found and rented a deserted saloon for his school on Sunday. He found a helper in J. B. Stillson, a

3. William H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875), pp. 31-32.

4. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 27.

5. J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1900), p. 92.

6. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 34.

7. William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 174.

visitor from Rochester, whom Moody met one morning when they were both tramping the lakeside piers giving out tracts and Testaments to sailors. It was not long before the two of them had gathered too many children for the new quarters.[8]

Biographer Richard K. Curtis wrote about the next step of growth:

> Friends interceded with Mayor John C. Haines, and Moody located in a large saloon-dance hall above the North Market. Sunday morning he was out early, cleaning up after Saturday night's party, sweeping out the sawdust, washing out the tobacco and beer, ventilating, arranging benches.[9]

The North Market Mission quickly became popular. In the words of the Reverend William H. Daniels:

> Before this time no mission school in the city had numbered more than one hundred and fifty; but the school of Moody . . . increased by such rapid strides, that in three months it was two hundred strong; in six months, three hundred and fifty; and within a year the average attendance was about six hundred and fifty; with an occasional crowd of nearly a thousand. It is estimated that about two thousand children annually passed through the school; many, of course, staying but a few weeks.[10]

It became one of the largest Sunday schools in the United States.[11]

The school grew to such proportions that in 1863 a $20,000 structure was built on Illinois Street to house Moody's North Market Mission, not very far from the old North Market Hall.[12] As Moody's school grew it gained in reputation. By 1860 it was a recognized Chicago institution. President Abraham Lincoln visited it on his last trip to the city, shortly after his election to the Presidency.[13]

Moody used rather unorthodox methods in attracting children to his mission school, maple sugar and prizes for Sunday school attendance.[14] Sometimes he would chase children into alleys and cellars, up and down ladders, and over piles of lumber for the purpose of making their acquaintance. He also searched for them in their homes and made the acquaintance of their parents.[15]

It was not always easy to get consent of the children's parents. In the words of Weisberger, "Many of the fathers were burly loafers with a wholesome distrust of slumming Christians bringing gifts and respectability."[16] A good many, too, were Irish Catholics, who were all too eager to strike a blow for the faith by beating up on a

8. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 33, 41.

9. Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962), p. 71.

10. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 43.

11. Moody's Sunday school was second in size only to the Bethany Sunday School in Philadelphia of which John Wanamaker was the founder.

12. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 103.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38; William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 51.

15. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 44.

16. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, p. 184.

Protestant heretic looking for converts among them. More than once upon meeting an enraged father with club in hand and rushing at him with curses, Moody sprinted through back streets, dodging barrels, carts, and boxes with a bellowing Irishman in pursuit. Upon such occasions, Moody used to say, his legs were his best friends.[17]

Parents who threatened Moody away, however, learned that he was hard to keep away. He simply would not give up. He would come back—again, and again, and again—often answering a curse with a prayer, and never relaxing his hold. Finally, astounded that any man could be so passionately concerned about their children, parents would give in and permit the enrollment of their sons and daughters. What could a mother do with a man who chased her daughter half a mile over wooden sidewalks and through saloons and under her bed merely for the purpose of getting her into school on Sunday?[18] What could a father do when he came home to find Moody had poured a jug of his best whiskey down the sink? He could roll up his sleeves for battle when Moody returned the next day to enroll the children in his school. But what if Moody dropped on his knees and began to pray for him—not in the conventional cant phrases, but with an unmistakable and plainspoken earnestness? What was there to do then except shake hands sheepishly and wish the missionary good luck with his children?[19] Moody's love and sincerity was so transparent that these citizens of "the Sands" were helpless before it.

Moody also met opposition from Catholic boys who disturbed his meetings and broke the windows of the meeting hall. When Moody lost his patience, he decided to visit with Chicago's Bishop James Duggan to see if he could use his influence to restrain them. As a result of the conversation, the Bishop stopped his wild young parishioners from breaking the windows. Until the day of Bishop Duggan's death, he and Moody were good friends.[20]

Once Moody got the children in his school, the next task was taming them. Such "toughs" as Madden the Butcher, Smikes, and Butcher Kilroy were drawn into Moody's mission. Moody's assistants were

worked to their fullest capacity, in quieting several simultaneous scuffles and fights in different corners of the room, rescuing little boys from the clutches of big ones, and keeping down the noise among this mob of children, who, be-

17. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 44.
18. William R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1900), pp. 66-68.
19. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 59-60.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

tween the prayers and hymns, would pull each other's hair, and black each other's eyes, in a manner which left no doubt to the strictly missionary character of the school.[21]

Moody would try any honest method for winning the children's support. Pony rides, prizes, and picnics were used. When rocketing attendance forced a division into seventy to eighty classes, he let the youngsters pick their own teachers. This principle established that the school was for the pupils and not the pupils for the school. In the words of William H. Daniels:

> This unusual freedom of choice, though often abused, at length developed a spirit of pride, which helped to keep the classes in order. The school was *their* school; the teacher was *their* teacher; the superintendent was *their* superintendent; and, above all, Moody was *their* Moody.[22]

When all else failed, Moody could take direct action. When one lad had tried his patience beyond its capacity, Moody seized the adolescent and led him into the anteroom. Meanwhile, his assistant distracted the other children by leading them in a hymn, fortissimo. The music muffled the sounds of combat. Shortly, master and disciple emerged, red-faced and sweating. The boy, thenceforth, was a model of discipline.[23] Candy, prizes, spankings, and romps were all used to tame these wild kids of "the Sands."

Moody's primary purpose in establishing his school was the salvation of souls. He saw literary and social advantages as less important. However, he contended that if he could make Christians of these wild boys and girls, they would make ladies and gentlemen of themselves. From among the pupils of his school and their parents Moody had made three hundred of them converts to his faith in five-and-a-half years. Many of the children in Moody's school became "highly respectable and useful" people, becoming active in churches and in the business community.[24]

Moody's Sunday school had some other social effects. His charity relieved the discomfort of many in need. The school helped some fathers to sober up. Moody placed the daughters of prostitutes and the keepers of brothels in Christian families so that their lives could be saved from certain ruin.[25] The North Market Mission mitigated the baneful effects of illiteracy, which frequently were widespread in the slum areas. The instruction in English helped to break down the social and cultural exclusiveness which often characterized the immigrant groups. Findlay wrote in regard to this point:

21. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
23. Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 94.
24. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 50-51, 102, 118.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 60, 62-63.

Native Americans reduced the possibility of social friction by imposing on new arrivals what they conceived to be desirable norms of social conduct. This program of "Americanization" tended to reduce the suspicion and distrust that some citizens possessed the "strange" ways and aloofness of the newcomers. Thus did Moody promote the maintenance of social harmony and the *status quo*.[26]

As the United States was undergoing the changes of industrialization and urbanization, it was noticed by contemporary observers that many young men were leaving the rural areas to find a job in the modern city. As they left home, they tended to relax the ties of habit, social pressure, and emotional association which had bound the new arrivals to the church back home. The Y. M. C. A. was a British import designed to protect teenage boys from the vice, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime of growing urban areas. The Boston Y. M. C. A. was organized on the British model in 1851. It was the first American association. The first association in North America was established in Montreal one week before the Boston association.[27] The Y. M. C. A. was originally established as a way of keeping in the church young strangers coming to urban areas. However, the eager members of the Y. M. C. A. soon transformed the organization into a mission to the whole community. These young men collected funds to aid the poor and cared for the sick in hotels and lodging houses, but their chief activity was evangelistic—working in rescue missions, organizing groups for Bible study, distributing tracts, and going out to preach on street corners. Moody was to be influenced by the Y. M. C. A. and, in turn, was to make an impact upon that organization.[28]

In 1854 Moody became a member of the Boston Y. M. C. A. In a letter home he wrote:

I am going to join the Christian Association tomorrow night. Then I shall have a place to go to when I want to go anywhere. And I can have all the books I want to read free from expense. Only have to pay one dollar a year. They have a large room and the smart men of Boston lecture to them for nothing and they get up and ask questions.[29]

The interest recounted in this letter was to continue throughout his life. Moody liked the nondenominational character of the organization with its orthodox, evangelical temper, and its membership of white-collar workers helped to draw Moody to the Y. M. C. A.[30]

26. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 55-56.

27. John C. Pollock, *Moody: A Biographical Portrait of the Pacesetter in Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 9.

28. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 229.

29. A Letter from D. L. Moody to his Brothers, April 9, 1854, quoted in William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 30.

30. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 37, 58.

Upon moving from Boston to Chicago Moody associated himself with the Chicago Y. M. C. A. In the words of S. A. Kean, treasurer of the organization,

> Moody found a congenial field of labour in the Association. When [he] joined, it had but few members; . . . it was composed and managed almost entirely by middle-aged or elderly men. . . . Its methods and policy were quiet and conservative. Moody's advent among them was like a stiff northwest breeze. His zeal and devotion were the life and hope of the Association; but he shocked the nice sense of propriety of some of these gentlemen by carrying its work among a class of people who had hitherto been neglected, under the impression that its proper line of effort was among the higher classes of young men.
>
> Under Moody's leadership the Young Men's Christian Association became, like the North Market Mission, a free and popular institution,—extending its influence to all classes of society, and bringing the cultured and wealthy to the assistance of the ignorant and the poor.[31]

Once the Chicago Y. M. C. A. had recognized Moody's ability, the organization appointed him to be Chairman of the Visiting Committee to the sick and to strangers. According to Daniels, "The report of the first year's work of the Committee of Visitation . . . gives the number of families visited 554, and the amount of money bestowed in charity $2350." [32]

From its beginning the Chicago association had projected the establishment of an employment agency. The projected service was started informally in 1863 by J. M. Chapman and J. M. Cutler, two members of the association, who spent fifteen minutes daily taking names of those desiring help. During the first year approximately five hundred persons found positions through the agency.[33] After the Civil War returning soldiers were faced with few jobs and many seekers. Before the close of 1865 the association's employment agency had placed 1,435 men, 124 boys, and 718 girls.[34] This success brought about an agency which found jobs for 3,411 in 1867-1868, for 5,081 in 1869-1870, and for 3,490 in 1870-1871.[35] In all this work Moody played an important part.

In working with the Chicago Y. M. C. A. Moody was responsible also for much city-wide relief work. From 1865 to 1868 the association doled out more than $25,000 annually.[36] However, people received goods only after careful screening.[37] Moody's use of the

31. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 87.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

33. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937-1957), III, 378.

34. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 101.

35. *The Advance*, March 29, April 30, 1868, April 15, 1869, June 23, 1870, May 25, 1871, cited in Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, II, 378.

36. *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, cited in Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, II, 378.

37. Charles F. Goss, *Echoes from the Pulpit and Platform* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington and Co., 1900), pp. 243-244, cited in Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, pp. 100-101.

relief work as a missionary institution met opposition by Unitarian members of the Y. M. C. A. According to Daniels:

> It was alleged by the opposition, and confessed by Mr. Moody, that he never gave away a pair of trousers, or a load of wood, or a pound of tea, without an accompanying exhortation or prayer; and on all possible occasions the recipients were urged to give their hearts to Christ, devote themselves to a life of piety, and attend the prayer-meetings in Farwell Hall.[38]

When he became president of the Chicago association, Moody built in 1867 the first building in the world to be used solely for Y. M. C. A. purposes. When Farwell Hall burned to the ground in 1868, he built another. And when the second burned to the ground in the ashes of the Chicago Fire, he helped build yet a third.[39]

For the rest of his life Moody was a friend of the Y. M. C. A. It is not difficult to see why the organization had Moody's unqualified endorsement and lifelong sympathy. For, indeed, Moody had been introduced to organized evangelistic work and induced to forsake his commercial pursuits in order to devote himself wholly to the business of conducting revivals because of the Chicago association's influence on his life. By the turn of the century Scotland, Ireland, England, and the United States were dotted with Y. M. C. A. buildings, which owed their existence to his direct influence.[40] Moody became the organization's first and foremost money raiser; "he unquestionably," according to Charles H. Hopkins, "raised more money than anyone else in the nineteenth century to reinforce or build Y. M. C. A.'s."[41] In 1875 when the International Committee was having critical financial difficulties, he aided the organization with $1,500 from his hymnbook royalties and continued to do so each year thereafter; later it was raised to $2,500.[42] The Y. M. C. A., grateful for his many contributions, elected him international president in 1879.[43]

Like D. L. Moody, the Y. M. C. A. sought to reach the working class, but its main appeal was to the elite white-collar worker. Hopkins has pointed out, "Begun among white-collar workers for themselves, the city Y. M. C. A.'s remained with few exceptions the creatures of that economic class."[44] The Y. M. C. A. of the

38. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 151.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-158, 200.

40. John McDowell, *Dwight L. Moody: The Discoverer of Men and the Maker of Movements* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1915), p. 13.

41. Charles Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y. M. C. A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 158.

42. Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, p. 319.

43. Richard C. Morse, *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Association* (New York: Association Press, 1913), p. 123.

44. Hopkins, *History of the Y. M. C. A.*, p. 6.

United States always had a bad conscience about the industrial workers. The organization served only clerical and skilled workers and in effect excluded the great mass of unskilled workingmen. The one brilliant exception to this fact was the highly successful development of railroad Y. M. C. A.'s However, it must be admitted that the railroad workers were the aristocracy rather than the rank and file of labor.[45]

Despite attempts to make the Y. M. C. A. available to labor, there seem to be two basic reasons for the failure to reach that class. One problem was that the Association, like Moody, exercised a spirit of paternalism. It completely identified itself with the employing class in a paternalistic service to workers. Hardly any Y. M. C. A. men allied themselves or their organization with the cause of the poorly paid and overworked employees who fought, for the most part, losing battles with giant corporations in the strike-ridden years of 1877, 1886, and 1894. International Association secretaries called upon and promoted their work with hundreds of railway officials but never once met with organized labor. Although Y. M. C. A. workers were constantly exhorting one another to bring in more members from the laboring class, the invitation extended only as far as associate membership. Throughout the nineteenth century the representation of labor on boards of directors or policy-forming committees was so rare as to be almost nonexistent.[46]

A second reason for failing to reach labor was the Y. M. C. A.'s attempt to keep hands off controversial political or social questions. This attempt was largely motivated by the desire to consolidate favorable public sentiment.[47] This stance was much like its arch supporter, D. L. Moody. According to Hopkins, "For the most part Y. M. C. A. leaders kept their facilities neutral during strikes. . . . On the whole the policy evolved was that of a course 'straight down the middle of the road.' "[48] As a result of this policy, labor did not see the Association as a labor organization.

As the Civil War drew to a close, Moody's North Market Mission was plucking brands from the burning at a lively annual rate. It became necessary to organize it into a church.

Moody exhorted the converts of the North Market Mission to join the city churches. It was the custom of the mission school, as well as the Y. M. C. A., to introduce people to attend the church of their own denomination. Many of Moody's disciples had no

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 237.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 240.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

religious antecedents whatsoever; their roots were in the life of the Mission.[49] Many of these folk found it more than they could tolerate to be shunted off to the "free" section of the churches reserved for the poor who were unable to afford pew rents.[50] They felt strange being poorly clothed and ignorant in the more beautiful church buildings.[51] They found the sermons, prepared for a critical, fastidious city congregation, to be beyond their understanding.[52] Also, some of the established churches were critical of Moody's mission.[53]

As a result, these young converts pleaded with Moody to start his own church. Moody hesitated at first. He had always conceived of his work as complementing, not competing with the established churches. But where were these people of poverty to go? With the new mission building on Illinois Street ("a two-story, gable-end edifice, main front floor in the middle, spindling corner spires, tiny Colonial tower on the comb, with an American flag") completed, Moody's converts insisted that it must be the Illinois Street building.[54] Finally, Moody yielded.

In 1864 he called a council of churches unique in the history of Chicago. Present for the meeting were Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians. Moody told them what he wanted to do. Each denomination was eager for a new church of its own denomination. As Moody told of his plan to organize a nonsectarian church, one by one they excused themselves on the basis that they could not serve on a council to form a church at best inferior, at worst heretical. Moody continued without them, and on December 30, 1864,[55] the Illinois Street Church was officially organized along the lines of Congregational polity.[56]

The Illinois Street Church was established for the poor people of the North Side of Chicago. Plain gilt signs at the right and left of the entrance to the building indicated what class of people were quite welcome. One read, "Ever welcome to this house of God are strangers and the poor." The other read, "Seats are free. A meeting will be held every evening during the week."[57] Moody's

49. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 103-104.
50. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, p. 111.
51. Pollock, *Moody*, p. 54.
52. A. W. Williams, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: P. W. Ziegler Co., 1900), p. 324.
53. Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, p. 111.
54. Richard Ellsworth Day, *Bush Aglow: The Life Story of Dwight Lyman Moody, Commoner of Northfield* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1936), p. 113.
55. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 57.
56. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 108.
57. *The Chicago Pulpit*, May, 1872, quoted in Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, p. 116.

church particularly appealed to English and Scotch immigrants, and they made up a very large proportion of the congregation.[58] Apparently Moody had less success in converting Irish and German immigrants, who had a Roman Catholic background.

As the people came into the Illinois Street Church, they were immediately put to work so that they would not lose interest. A contemporary observer wrote about the church's activity:

> All the members have something to do. The bell in the tower of the first church edifice . . . was said to ring every night in the year for some kind of religious assembly. There were not only the ordinary services common to all churches, but also men's meetings, young men's meetings, boys' meetings, women's meetings, mothers' meetings, girls' meetings, Bible meetings, strangers' meetings, Gospel meetings, praise meetings, and testimony meetings,—each with some distinct character of its own.[59]

In the Chicago Fire the Illinois Street Church went up in smoke. After the fire it became known as the Chicago Avenue Church, and before his death was known simply as Moody Church. In 1930 Moody's son, William, wrote:

> Twenty-five years after Moody had passed from his labors, the church, having grown out of its humble beginning as a mission school, erected "the Moody Memorial Church," an imposing edifice with a seating capacity for over four thousand and with splendid Sunday school facilities capable of accommodating twenty-five hundred scholars. . . . After seventy years, the work which was begun in the dingy quarters of the old North Market Hall is still carried on.[60]

Today Moody Memorial Church remains one of the strongest bulwarks of independent fundamentalism in the nation. Moody's church was one of the first in a long line of independent fundamentalist tabernacles and storefront churches which were founded on nondenominational lines as a protest against the increasing formality and sophistication of the established churches.[61]

Through his church, the Y. M. C. A., and his mission school, D. L. Moody sought to win the workingmen living in the city slums to his Savior. Moody in seeking to win these people offered them charity. He also provided channels for the wealthy to aid the poor. His school and church helped "Americanize" the immigrants, although Moody's conservative social and economic views did little during these years to challenge the acquisitive values of an industrial society. Soon to leave the market place to become a famous evangelist, his social and economic values remained those of the

58. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 120.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
60. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 100.
61. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 176.

conservative, bourgeois entrepreneur of his day. But for the sake of the gospel, he was to retain an intense interest in reaching the working classes.

CHAPTER VI

The Revival Campaigns

In 1873 D. L. Moody went off to England with a singing partner, Ira D. Sankey, whom he had met at a Y. M. C. A. conference. When they returned to the United States two years later, they were world famous. Moody and Sankey immediately began to apply the techniques of urban revivalism upon American cities. In both countries thousands were to hear of these men of faith.

Moody's ministry in the British Isles embraced five trips.[1] The most well-known are the extended campaigns of 1873-1875 and 1881-1884. His campaigns were held in the cities of Scotland, Ireland, and England. During these campaigns it was Moody's purpose to reach the masses. He failed, but he inspired other individuals and created institutions to carry the gospel to the working masses.

At the time D. L. Moody came to Great Britain the churches were torn by theological and ecclesiastical differences. They were being challenged by increasing secularism, evolution, and higher criticism.[2] Most important, the churches were also seeking some means to reach the largely unchurched working-class people of the cities. "How to reach the masses" was a favorite theme for discussion among churchmen.[3] One contemporary commented, "Whoever will solve that problem will earn the unspeakable gratitude of all who sigh for the conversion of the nations to Christ."[4] Because of his experience among the masses in Chicago, Moody seemed to be the answer to British prayers. He brought a message and program of action which would sublimate antagonisms between the warring factions. Since Moody's primary interest was in saving the unchurched masses, he was able to unite the evangelicals of all denominations in a common cause—reaching the working class.[5]

1. Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1936), p. 53.

2. William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 136-140.

3. Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1900), p. 114.

4. E. J. Goodspeed, *A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey, in Great Britain and America* (New York: Henry S. Goodspeed & Co., 1876), p. 168.

5. James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), pp. 104, 115-116.

The British concern for the working masses was based on at least two reasons. Besides being aware that the poor were not in their elegant churches, churchmen were deeply troubled as to the nature of poverty and what could be done. One of Moody's workers, Robert Paton, wrote to another Moody worker, Mrs. Jane MacKinnon:

> The meetings are getting on grandly at Stepney, but oh, the poverty of the place. I went into a house on Sunday, just about twenty yards from Mr. Moody's room. In the first room I went into, about ten feet square, I found a husband, wife and five children—one of them a dear little babe dying, its face haunts me now. Other rooms were similarly filled, in all, twenty souls slept in this wretched hovel. So we are in the midst of awful poverty. May the good Lord Himself teach us what to do.[6]

Many middle-class Scots felt a great need to preach the gospel to the working masses in order to save them from eternal damnation. It was obvious to them that the workers were poor because they were great sinners.[7] However, some saw the problem differently. One Scottish cleric charged that the workers' poverty was due to the sinful nature of the well-to-do in an acquisitive industrial society. He wrote:

> Oh, what a satire upon our wealth and pride, our civilization and Christianity, is the neighborhood of all this poverty and suffering, this ignorance and vice! Conceal it as we may, this heap of sin and misery is the dunghill of our wealth and commerce. This hideous creature is the illegitimate offspring of modern society. . . . Do not tell me they suffer because of sin. If they suffer more than you, it is only because they sin less cunningly than you, and in circumstances of greater disadvantage. . . . There is a monster down in the cellar of our city-life which, grown to maturity, will level your palaces with the ground, and scatter your wealth and prosperity to the winds of heaven.[8]

The British were not only troubled by the poverty of the working class but were also greatly exercised over the potential for radicalism and anarchism among the masses. The Reform Act of 1867, which nearly doubled the electorate of England by including the working class, increased fear of radicalism in the body politic.[9] Many of Moody's supporters viewed evangelism as one means of insuring general stability among the newly enfranchised. They agreed with the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who believed that Moody came

6. A Letter from Robert Paton to Mrs. Jane MacKinnon, December 11, 1883, quoted in J[ane] M[acKinnon], *Recollections of D. L. Moody and His Work in Britain*, 1874-1892 (London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1905), p. 207.

7. Donald Carswell, *Brother Scots* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1927), pp. 166-167.

8. John MacPherson, *Revival and Revival Work: A Record of the Labours of D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, and other Evangelists* (London: Morgan and Scott, [1876?], pp. 299-300.

9. David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century: 1815-1914*, Vol. VIII in *The Pelican History of England*, ed. J. E. Morpurgo (8 vols.; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1950), pp. 126-130.

"at the time when the masses are lying in indifference and are nevertheless impressible." [10] The assumption, of course, was that Moody would impress the masses with the views that would preserve the Earl's ideal of a "Conservative Democracy." [11] Shaftesbury was a vigorous opponent of the Reform Act of 1867; he felt that if the masses were given the privilege of voting they would "misuse it." [12] He did not think that the working class was ready to be entrusted with the vote. Although Shaftesbury had been the father of all nineteenth-century factory legislation in behalf of labor, he did so from a sense of *noblesse oblige* and Christian charity and not from a spirit of comradeship or a readiness to cooperate in movements for working-class self-help. Although his humanitarian causes had contributed almost unwittingly to the new spirit of mass-organization and democratic politics, Shaftesbury intensely distrusted the development. He contended that reform ought to be paternalistically managed from the top down and introduced gradually under the leadership of the upper classes.[13] He emphasized duties, not rights, in his thought. If the workingman was thrifty, honest, and industrious, then and only then could he be rewarded with the elective franchise as a "trust." [14] Shaftesbury and those who thought like him believed that Moody's form of urban evangelism would help to maintain a stable order. Thus the Earl regarded the arrival of Moody as that of "the right man at the right hour," [15] and he wrote in his diary after attending a meeting at the Agricultural Hall in London, "Moody will do more in an hour than Canon Liddon in a century." [16] Thus Moody's call to evangelize the masses provided a rallying point for the religious unity so much desired in the church's struggle with internal and external foes.

Since Moody considered evangelistic work among the working masses so important, an appraisement of the results of his mission to Great Britain can properly include consideration of the effect of his revivals on this class of people. In 1892 Karl Marx's collaborator, Friederich Engels, implied that Moody's revivalism had been useful in the evangelization of the working class. Accosting the British for bringing in the likes of Moody and Sankey and not facing the inevitabilities of history, he wrote:

10. Diary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, March 9, 1875, quoted in Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K. G.* (Popular ed.; London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1893), p. 688.

11. Hodder, *Earl of Shaftesbury*, p. 624.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 622.

13. Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 46-48.

14. Hodder, *Earl of Shaftesbury*, p. 622.

15. Diary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, March 9, 1875, quoted in Hodder, *Earl of Shaftesbury*, p. 688.

16. Diary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, March 31, 1875, quoted in Hodder, *Earl of Shaftesbury*, p. 689.

Regardless of the sneers of his Continental compeers, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year, upon evangelization of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organizer in existence of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like. . . .[17]

Although judgment varied on Moody's success, the final conclusion would have to be that Moody and the British churches failed in making any great impact upon the laboring class. By the close of the 1875 London campaign, *The Times* reported that Moody had actually reached the lower classes in London.[18] Although the lower classes were reached, no observer doubted that the great majority of Moody's listeners were from the comfortable middle classes. Many of these people were already church members. A reporter for *The Spectator* commented that the revivalist was not attracting "the kind of people among whom they might do the most good, but rather those who are already under influences as good or better, and probably more discriminating."[19] The *Pall Mall Gazette* added that "the majority attending the meetings are of the middle class," though "some not altogether unwholesome effect," may be produced among "a very low class."[20] Even Moody's inveterate champion among the Noncomformist publications, *The Christian,* reluctantly concluded at one point that the meetings had "left the 'lapsed masses' comparatively untouched."[21] In a meeting of ministers held in London several months after the close of the revival, one Moody supporter openly admitted that "the masses were left today just where they were before the evangelists first crossed the Atlantic."[22]

It was at Newcastle, a city in the north of England, that Moody rose from obscurity to fame. What happened to him in reaching the masses at Newcastle was to plague him the rest of his revivalistic career. During the progress of the revival Moody became quite concerned with the fact that the meetings were being attended by the well-churched middle classes to the exclusion of others. Because of this problem he began to divide his congregations into classes and gave tickets to the different meetings which were held

17. Friedrich Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), p. 24.

18. *The Times* (London), April 3, p. 8 and July 16, 1875, p. 4, cited in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 116.

19. *The Spectator,* XLVIII (March 13, 1875), 334, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 117.

20. *Pall Mall Gazette,* XIV (March 11, 1875), 3, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 117.

21. *The Christian,* V (November 5, 1874), 707, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 117.

22. William H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875), p. 256.

for them.[23] Although the tickets helped in reaching the lower classes in Newcastle as well as in other British cities, one of Moody's early biographers concluded that "the great majority of those who professed to have been converted were those who had known the Scriptures from infancy, and had been regular attendants at the house of God." [24]

When the ticket system failed to do the job, Moody then turned to locating some of his meetings in the places where the working classes lived. Among his most sensational and highly publicized meetings were three which he conducted in Edinburgh Corn Exchange near the Grassmarket slum district for the "purpose of bringing the Gospel to the poor." [25] On December 28, 1873, a meeting was held for men only. The admission was by ticket. According to Horatius Bonar, a Moody supporter in Edinburgh, "Six hundred of the Grassmarket men streamed up from the Corn Exchange and into the Assembly Hall and falling on their knees gave themselves to God." [26] Bonar, of course, assumed that the six hundred men were from the ranks of the poor. However, another minister who had assisted at these meetings took issue with Bonar's claim.

> What a pity that Christians should exaggerate like that and give the enemy cause to ask incredulously, Where were your 600 Corn Exchange converts when the converts' farewell meeting was held? . . . A similar band of men, 400 strong, came up from the Corn Exchange on a subsequent Sunday evening, and filled the body of the Assembly Hall; and to an outsider and onlooker they would have appeared to be 400 anxious inquirers, but on being tested at the close (as was done) they were found to be mostly Christian men—many of them helpers in the work; and it turned out that there was not a score of anxious souls amongst them.[27]

As far as this observer was concerned, Bonar's statement was "preposterous." [28] The six hundred men whom Bonar had seen were merely the Christian workers who had gone down to the slums to see Moody reach the poor and then marched back again to assert anew their dedication to the faith.[29]

Another attempt to reach the working masses by special location was in the East End of London in Bow Road Hall. During the second week attendance at the hall fell off considerably; it began to be a matter of no little anxiety to Moody whether the meetings

23. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Daily Review* (Edinburgh), January 2, 1874, p. 8, quoted in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 203.

27. *Narrative of Messrs. Moody's and Sankey's Labours in Scotland and Ireland* (Compiled from the *British Evangelist* and *The Christian;* New York: Anson D. F. Randolph Co., 1875), p. 31, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* pp. 203-204.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

29. *Ibid.*

there would ultimately succeed. From observing that he was failing to attract the poor and "wicked" into his meetings, Moody took to curious means of advertising his services. He had men promenading the streets with two huge boards suspended from their shoulders, the one before and the other behind, bearing the striking words, "Moody and Sankey at Bow Road Hall tonight!" in letters large enough to be read at the distance of a hundred yards. He also had bellmen, ringing with all their might one minute, and shouting with all their might the next, in giving notices of the revival meetings. As the meetings went along, attendance improved. However, Moody thought his crowds looked too amiable and too well dressed.[30] Sometimes he would say to the crowd:

I see too many Christian people here. I know you. A great many of you were at my meetings in Islington. You are converted already. Now, I want you to get up and go out, and leave room for hundreds of those sinners who are waiting outside for a chance to come in and hear the gospel.[31]

According to William H. Daniels:

Under such an invitation large numbers of believers would actually leave the places which they had occupied, perhaps for an hour before the meeting began; and go out into the tent, or to some overflow meeting in the street, in order to make room for those who needed the Gospel more from having heard it less.[32]

Apparently those waiting outside were pretty much like those sitting inside. The Reverend Charles Edginton, rector of the Anglican Parish in which Bow Road Hall was located, wrote to the London *Times* that whenever he was at the meetings he "saw but very few of the working class." He doubted whether Moody had any impact at all upon "the masses" and described those attending as "ordinary church and chapel goers, clergymen, dissenting ministers, and visitors from the country who were attracted by the novelty" of the meetings.[33]

Church members coming out of the London meetings were few. This fact is illustrated by a letter from the Reverend A. G. Gowan, pastor of the East End Tabernacle of London, written three months after Moody had concluded his London meetings:

Up to the present time we have received into fellowship thirty-six who attribute their conversion to the services of the Bow Road Hall. About one half of these were not in the habit of attending any place of worship regularly prior to the opening of the Hall. Viewed in one light it were worth while to put up the

30. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 363-367.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *The Times* (London), June 22, 1875, p. 8, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 203.

Hall if *only for them,* but I cannot refrain from saying that thus far the results have greatly disappointed me.[34]

Newman Hall, one of the most prominent members of the dissenting clergy in London and a staunch supporter of Moody, expressed his disappointment in regard to the 1875 meetings in 1881:

I hailed that visit, took part in it, assisted in the "inquiry room" and occasionally preached in connection with it. Some of the services were held very near "Surrey Chapel"; yet out of a membership of one thousand three hundred we have not three who were the fruits of that mission.[35]

The Reverend John MacPherson at the end of Moody's stay wrote a record of the evangelist's work, admitting that Moody failed in reaching the masses. However, MacPherson sought to justify the failure by showing that Moody revived the church members who would in turn reach the masses.[36]

Although Moody failed to reach the masses in large numbers, he did reach some of them. His great appeal was to the church-going middle class; he had hoped it would be to the working class. In his early account of Moody, the Reverend E. J. Goodspeed tells about his counseling with a workingman in the inquiry room at the Edinburgh meeting.[37] He also tells about men in their workshops in Birmingham singing Sankey's songs.[38] Goodspeed makes the following observation about the inquiry room in Liverpool:

It is interesting and refreshing to notice how all grades of society and all ages are represented among the anxious who throng the inquiry-room at the close of Mr. Moody's addresses. From the richly-dressed lady to the poor waif of the street, with scarce enough of clothing to cover his nakedness; from the boy and girl of eight or ten years to the horny-handed, gray-headed workingman, with all the intervening stages of life. . . .[39]

Another observation made at Liverpool by Goodspeed demonstrates a limited success with the working class:

Then there were many workingmen who had plunged into the depths of intemperance, and whose insulted and injured wives, after being driven from their homes, had been compelled to support themselves and their children for years together. These wives . . . had sent letters to their husbands, extending their forgiveness, and imploring them to come to Victoria Hall and seek forgiveness of the Saviour. Some of them had come and found that forgiveness, and gone back to lighten their home again with a new lustre and joy.[40]

Daniels records that in Birmingham artisans in the industries

34. A Letter from A. G. Gowan dated London, November 3, 1875, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* p. 206.

35. Newman Hall, "Revivals," *Christian Monthly and Family Treasury,* August 1881, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* p. 206.

36. MacPherson, *Revival and Revival Work,* p. 293.

37. Goodspeed, *Moody and Sankey,* p. 79.

38. *Ibid.,* p. 171.

39. *Ibid.,* pp. 177-178.

40. *Ibid.,* p. 179.

crowded to the meetings in large numbers. One workman was heard to say:

A dozen men were hit in our shop; and when Mr. Moody held his last all-day meeting for converts, and the foreman would not let us off, a good many of us laid down our tools, and started for the meeting. We were bound to have one last day with Moody and Sankey.[41]

In London Daniels records that the large groups which supported Moody were the respectable people, but many slum dwellers were reached.[42]

From Moody's London campaign of 1883-1884 interesting evidence comes of Moody's reaching the working class, although it reveals difficulty in follow-up work. At Wandsworth in London 2,000 names were taken in the inquiry room. Biographer John C. Pollock writes:

In the month after the meetings regular visitors reported that "the conversions were *real* and the people rejoicing in Christ and turned from sin." Why then for all this success did local churches each receive a mere handful? Many of the 2,000 were scattered widely around the district and beyond, but it was discovered that "the large proportion of the converts are from the working class, and that they are attending services in mission halls where they feel more at home than in the churches." [43]

Apparently, like Moody's disciples at the North Market Mission, some of these people were not comfortable in middle-class churches.

Another isolated event of Moody's success took place in London in 1884. At that time the London workingman was much exposed to "free-thinkers." In East London in the center of the dense working population of that quarter where the land had given way to acres of factories and cheerless streets of workers' dwellings, Moody waded into the thick of militant atheism. At that time Charles Bradlaugh, the champion of atheism, was at his zenith. Moody directly encountered a group of atheists on Thursday, January 31. He had received a letter from the president of a club of local atheists daring him to preach a sermon to atheists. The incident which resulted has been exaggerated by biographers of Moody. The legend they recorded described an entire hall of atheists, five hundred of whom experienced instant conversion to the Christian faith. This legend is still produced in biographies of Moody.[44] The same scene reported by Moody four days later at a luncheon with George Williams of the Y. M. C. A., Professor Alexander

41. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 343.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

43. John C. Pollock, *Moody: A Biographical Portrait of the Pacesetter in Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), pp. 243-244.

44. *Cf.*, Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962), pp. 227-228.

Simpson, Robert Paton, and D. W. Whittle, who recorded it that same evening in his diary, is less sensational.

The night of the famous sermon the front seats were reserved for the atheists. Moody's sermon focused on the emptiness of the atheists' hope. He spoke of the mockery of family love if the members do not have immortality. One deathbed scene after another was designed to hold audience attention. Many of them remained throughout the service. To those who stayed to the after-meeting Moody sought to explain four words.

"*Receive* Him, *believe* Him, *trust* Him, *take* Him. Who will take Him?" he cried. "Who will say 'I will'?"

Several responded from the general audience. One atheist shouted, "I won't."

Moody, with compassion almost to tears, declared, "It's 'I will' or 'I won't' for every man in this hall tonight." The evangelist then spoke of the Prodigal Son's decision, "I *will* arise and go to my father. . . ." Moody continued:

> The battle is on the *will,* men, and only there. When the young man said 'I will arise' the battle was won, for he had yielded his will, and on that point all hangs tonight. Men, you have your champion there who said 'I won't!' I want every man who believes that man is right to rise and say: 'I won't take Him.'

When no one moved, Moody continued, "Thank God! No man says 'I won't.' Now who'll say 'I will,' who will take Christ as Saviour, who will take Him?"

There was a long pause. Moody described what happened when one of the atheists

> called out 'I will take Him!' It was a bombshell in their midst. Some were violent in anger as the meeting closed. But the backbone of atheism in the club received a terrible twist. I met the man who decided to Christ and found him an intelligent mechanic, and fully turned to God.[45]

Later Moody accepted an invitation to family tea by the president of the atheists' club. During the conversation Moody said, "If I lived in Stratford I should not try by argument to win you over, but I would try by kindness to win your affection and make you respect me." The president said in response, "You have done that already."[46] Most likely Moody would have wished for many more such encounters with working people in Great Britain.

Moody's most famous convert from the working class was J. Keir Hardie. Hardie grew up in Scotland in a poor home. The hardships caused his father, David Hardie, to become a cantankerous freethinker who read Tom Paine and Charles Bradlaugh and caused

45. Diary of D. W. Whittle, February 4, 1884, quoted in Pollock, *Moody,* pp. 244-245.
46. *Ibid.,* p. 245.

his mother, Mary, to reject formal religion,[47] even though she was a deeply religious woman.[48] According to Donald Carswell, when Keir

was seventeen the Moody and Sankey Mission arrived, evoking an outburst of religious enthusiasm in the West of Scotland, especially among young men, that endured at fever heat for several years. In due course Keir Hardie succumbed to the general influence and became "converted." [49]

Joining the Evangelical Union, a small dissenting sect in Scotland that had a very simple organized expression of Christianity,[50] Hardie lived and died a devout Christian.[51] Although Moody's revivalism had won Hardie to simple evangelical faith, even to the point of being an active Good Templar member (a temperance organization), Hardie rejected the views of labor and capital associated with Moody and his supporters. At the time of Hardie's conversion he was a coal miner. He was to become founder of the Independent Labour Party and an ardent advocate of socialism. Being a product of the age of industry Hardie applied the Christian faith in a manner different from Moody and his British associates. He took the doctrine of free salvation and attacked the bastions of privilege. His 1897 Christmas message in the *Labour Leader* illustrates this point:

I am afraid my heart is bitter tonight, and so the thoughts and feelings that pertain to Christmas are far from me. But when I think of the thousands of white-livered poltroons who will take the Christ's name in vain, and yet not see His image being crucified in every hungry child, I cannot think of peace. I have known as a child what hunger means, and the scars of those days are with me still and rankle in my heart, and unfit me in many ways for the work to be done. A holocaust of every Church building in Christendom tonight would be as an act of sweet savour in the sight of Him whose name is supposed to be worshipped within their walls. If the spiritually-proud and pride-blinded professors of Christianity could only be made to feel and see that the Christ is here present with us, and that they are laying on the stripes and binding the brow afresh with thorns, and making Him shed tears of blood in a million homes, surely the world would be made more fit for His Kingdom. We have no right to a merry Christmas which so many of our fellows cannot share.[52]

It is true that many of the leaders of the British labor movement grew up in pious evangelical homes where they may have sung Sankey's hymns as children, but it would be very difficult to show

47. Carswell, *Brother Scots*, pp. 160-161.
48. John Cockburn, *The Hungry Heart: A Romantic Biography of James Keir Hardie* (London: Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., 1956), p. 67.
49. Carswell, *Brother Scots*, p. 164.
50. William Stewart, *J. Keir Hardie: A Biography* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1921), p. 7.
51. Carswell, *Brother Scots*, p. 164.
52. Stewart, *J. Keir Hardie*, p. 132.

that they were in any way influenced by Moody's social message in their work for the British Labour Party.[53]

Isolated events of reaching the laboring class can be documented, but Moody's chief goal of reaching the masses in great numbers and making the nation safe from political radicalism must in the final analysis be declared unsuccessful.

Although Moody failed to reach the workingman through his revival campaigns in the British Isles, he did inspire others to enter the Christian pursuit for the workingman and created institutions to carry the gospel and charity to the poor. Moody was virtually the founder of the Church Parochial Mission Society. He influenced William Hay Aitken to leave Christ Church in Liverpool to become a full-time missioner.[54] Moody used his influence in the House of Commons and among the wealthy to get Aitken's work underway.[55] According to British historian L. E. Elliott-Binns, "The new movement was abundantly successful and seemed admirably fitted to meet the special needs of the age." [56]

Through Moody a merchant, Wilson Carlile, was "won to Christ and His cause." [57] Carlile saw the need for the Church of England to possess an organization run on the lines of the Salvation Army though avoiding its excesses. The formation of the Church Army in 1882 was due to Carlile as an Anglican minister and through church channels. Elliott-Binns writes in regard to the Army's work:

> The great success which has attended this effort, both in evangelistic, pastoral, and social work, is a testimony to the foresight and devotion of its founder and to the ability of the Church to make use, though perhaps not on a sufficiently adequate scale, of unusual means of carrying on its mission, to employ working men and women to carry the gospel to people of their own class.[58]

Two other men whom Moody influenced for the working class were John Campbell White and John Colville. White (later to become Lord Overtoun), a thirty-year-old chemical manufacturer,[59] and Colville, a young ironmaster, asked Moody how they could use their growing fortunes. Moody, realizing the plight of the poor and the difficulty he was having in reaching them, turned the eyes of White, Colville, and their like to consider the cry of Glasgow's poor.[60]

53. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 270.
54. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, pp. 351-352.
55. Pollock, *Moody*, p. 167.
56. L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era* (2d ed.; London: Lutterworth Press, 1946), p. 424.
57. Paulus Scharpff, *History of Evangelism: Three Hundred Years of Evangelism in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America*, trans. by Helga Bender Henry (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), p. 196.
58. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, p. 428.
59. Carswell, *Brother Scots*, pp. 192-197.
60. Pollock, *Moody*, p. 126.

In 1898 Sir George Adam Smith declared that Moody's revivals had been a great force for civic righteousness in Glasgow.[61] This was particularly true in regard to movements and institutions that arose in behalf of the poor working class. In 1876 the United Evangelistic Committee which had been formed for Moody's Glasgow mission became the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association. At that time the Association began a career in evangelism and philanthropy—Poor Children's Day Refuges, Gospel Temperance, Fresh Air Fortnights, the Cripple Girls' League, the Glasgow Christian Institute, Homes for Destitute Children, Sunday morning Free Breakfasts, and Poor Children's Sabbath Dinner.[62] The work still continues along these same lines of witness and social work to this day.[63]

In 1874 Moody made an appeal for the orphans of Glasgow. Many of these children were victims of industrial blight. Moody's plea brought in three thousand pounds to get the work of William Quarrier's Orphan Homes of Scotland underway. In 1930, Moody's son, William, wrote in regard to the progress of this orphanage:

> After half a century it is impressive to note the magnitude to which this work has grown. Over two thousand needy children are given a home, and special departments are assigned to the care of consumptive and epileptic patients. The plant involves in buildings and equipment three hundred and fifty thousand pounds and the work is maintained at a daily cost of one hundred pounds.[64]

The Sunday morning Free Breakfast that was conducted by the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association spread to other Scottish cities such as Edinburgh and Dundee. A heterogeneous crowd would gather in large buildings in these cities, such as Tent Hall in Glasgow, and he served hot tea and rolls for breakfast. After breakfast those gathered would participate in hymn singing and hear a brief gospel message. One observer commented on what kind of people he saw at such a Sunday morning gathering:

> But such a company!—hundreds of human beings, both the "humanity" and the "being" in many instances barely visible! Utter wrecks many of them are, mere fragments of body and soul,—old, haggard, lean, skeleton-looking men and women, life in some cases apparently not worth a week's purchase. Some of them are clean and decent-looking, a little self-respect having miraculously survived the storms of a lifetime. Others are blotched and scarred, having fought a hundred fights with God and man, bearing the marks of every passion and every vice, smitten almost past hope with the most loathsome

61. George Adam Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond* (New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1898), pp. 61-62, 65-66.

62. *Cf., A Book of Remembrance: The Jubilee Souvenir of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association's Evangelistic and Ameliorative Schemes, 1874-1924* (Glasgow: Glasgow United Evangelistic Association, 1924).

63. A Letter from Alex S. Bain of Glasgow to the Reverend Myron R. Chartier, February 19, 1968.

64. Moody, *D. L. Moody*, pp. 173-175.

leprosies of sin, familiar with slums and jails, and having obviously newly crawled out of the ooze of a debasement far below the level of ordinary wickedness. Many are evidently well acquainted with sorrow, with nakedness, with hunger, and a perpetual struggle for existence, in which the odds are plainly on the side of misfortune and misery and death. There are young men and women who have made shipwreck of soul and body ere the voyage is well begun.

He continued by describing many individuals in detail. An example of one such life description was as follows:

Here is a purple-faced jail-bird, a strongly-built man with little brain, less heart, and scarce a soul, a conscienceless character, having no fear of God or man, whose visage tells his story in large bold type—the huge jaw, the villainous, leering eye, murder in every feature, with blood enough in him, and heat enough in that blood, to put a whole village of decent people mad, if the scoundrelism of that man were parcelled out among them. His face is washed for the occasion, and his hair is done up in the manner of his class.[65]

Throughout the years many lives have been aided with food and religion through the Sunday morning Free Breakfasts.[66]

Moody was responsible through his direct influence for many mission halls throughout the British Isles.[67] One was the Carruber's Close Mission in Edinburgh. In a report for 1898-1899 the Mission stated that mainly through Moody's efforts the sum of eleven thousand pounds was raised for a site on High Street. "The present commodious building was erected upon it, and opened for use by Mr. Moody himself on March 4, 1884," [68] In London Moody launched the project of a Gospel Hall in a working-class area; "it continues in service eighty years later." [69]

An example of Moody's ability to see a situation and inspire action comes in the way the British Workman Company Limited was formed. On one occasion Moody had convened a great conference in Liverpool. The rest of the story is told by Henry L. Drummond.

One of the speakers, the Rev. Charles Garrett, in a powerful speech, expressed his conviction that the chief want of the masses in Liverpool was the institution of cheap houses of refreshment to counteract the saloons. When he had finished, Mr. Moody called upon him to speak for ten minutes more. That ten minutes might almost be said to have been a crisis in the social history of Liverpool.

During the ten minutes Moody engaged in whispered conversations with various gentlemen on the platform. The speaker had no sooner finished than Moody

65. MacPherson, *Revival and Revival Work*, pp. 294-295.
66. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 176.
67. John McDowell, *Dwight L. Moody: The Discoverer of Men and the Maker of Movements* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1915), p. 21.
68. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, pp. 175-176.
69. Pollock, *Moody*, p. 244.

sprang to his feet and announced that a company had been formed to carry out the objects Mr. Garrett had advocated; that various gentlemen, who he named . . ., had each taken one thousand shares of five dollars each, and that the subscription list would be open till the end of the meeting. The capital was gathered almost before the adjournment, and a company floated under the name of the "British Workman Company, Limited," which has not only worked a small revolution in Liverpool, but—what was not contemplated or wished for, except as an index of healthy business—paid a handsome dividend to the shareholders.

The hastily formed company was not doomed to failure. Drummond continues:

For twenty years this company has gone on increasing; its ramifications are in every quarter of the city; it has returned ten per cent, throughout the whole period, except for one (strike) year, when it returned seven; and, above all, it has been copied by cities and towns innumerable all over Great Britain.[70]

Although Moody's revivals failed in reaching the working masses, the enthusiasm created by the meetings did claim others for the task and opened up British pocketbooks for institutional work among the masses.

Moody's attempt to reach the working class in America through revivalism also failed. Recognizing this failure, Moody changed his strategy.

Because of Moody's success in reaching great crowds of people in England, he was seen by American churchmen as something of a national hero. By 1875 Moody was as surely the rising young tycoon of the revival trade as John D. Rockefeller was of the oil trade or Andrew Carnegie of steel. America welcomed him home on precisely those terms. As American home missionary activity began to shift its emphasis from the frontier to the unchurched masses in the industrial urban centers, Moody'c methods seemed to offer a quick and easy system to meet the new need.

From the outset Moody was besieged with the same problem that confronted him in Great Britain; his meetings were attended largely by the middle class and the well-churched. As in Great Britain he had to discourage the churched from attending in order to leave room for the non-church-going class.[71] Although Moody held special meetings for the unemployed and for "fallen women," the great bulk who attended the revival meetings were those who shared Moody's values.[72] It soon became apparent, however, to Moody and his more observant supporters that he was no more successful in reaching the urban masses in the United States than

70. Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 114-116.
71. Goodspeed, *Moody and Sankey*, pp. 236-237.
72. Daniels, *Moody: His Words*, pp. 433-442.

he had been in Great Britain. In Boston the newspapers reported that his audiences were made up of "the better class of people." [73] In New York the *Nation's* observer commented:

> There are a large number of highly educated and critical people who attend the meeting, but they are the official religious class or the curious. With the former being the most in attendance of the two. Outside these two classes the audience is not in any way noticeable, except from the absence of the very poor. Roughly speaking, it looks like an audience able to pay its way, to ride in horse-cars, or even on rapid-transit lines, should there ever be any.[74]

A reporter for the *New York Times* also noticed that "many came in carriages. It was not an assembly derived from the poor and ignorant classes." [75] Even *The Christian Advocate,* which loyally supported Moody's campaigns, admitted that in Brooklyn "the unwashed masses are not touched by the morning meetings." And though the reporter noticed that there were "more of them" at the evening meetings, he described the attenders as being generally a "well dressed crowd." The reporter also observed a policeman who was guarding the entrance of the Brooklyn tabernacle thrust "off by main force a poor scalawag, dirty, and ill clad—a rough—with harsh words, 'Get out of here; away with you.' " [76] Thus the poor seemed out of place at Moody's meetings and the police thought it their duty to keep them out. These meetings were for the better sort.

Despite Moody's attempts to reach the masses through his revival campaigns, some people felt that he could have made a greater effort to address the lower classes in their own habitat. One New York workingman expressed his thoughts in this manner:

> There are about ten flights of stairs which you preachers never get down. Moody and Sankey get down one or two lower than the rest of you, but there are at least eight lower layers that they do not reach. If you could give me preachers who were not afraid, and really wanted to save sinners, I could take them where they would have a chance to show what religion was good for.[77]

The over-all conclusion in regard to Moody's revivals in the United States was just about the same as that in Great Britain; he boosted the morale of the regular well-to-do churchgoers, but he failed to reach the masses.

Partly for this reason and partly because he found the effect of mass revivalism too ephemeral, Moody changed his procedures in the fall of 1878. Instead of ten-to-sixteen-week campaigns held in

73. *Daily Advertiser* (Boston), January 30, 1877, p. 4, quoted in McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism,* p. 270.

74. "Moody and Sankey," *The Nation,* XXII (March 9, 1876), 156.

75. *New York Times,* October 25, 1875, p. 1.

76. "Messrs. Moody and Sankey in Brooklyn," *The Christian Advocate,* L (November 11, 1875), 354.

77. *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* XXIV (October 18, 1876), 1, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 198.

centrally located tabernacles, Moody tried staying six months or more in a city. In addition to services in a centrally located auditorium, Moody gave the considerable portion of his time to individual churches. He followed this new course for the next three years in Baltimore, St. Louis, and San Francisco.[78]

Moody's new approach to revivalism suggested that his concept of his role as an evangelist was shifting. By speaking primarily in churches, Moody limited himself more than before to the well-churched. It was not too likely that the unchurched masses would come to a church to hear Moody when only a few would come to hear him in a tabernacle.[79]

However, Moody felt that in order to evangelize America successfully, his direct attempts to "save" the workingman were less important than to "quicken" the regular church membership. Through these church members, in their capacity as personal evangelists, Moody could have a greater cumulative impact than previously.[80]

During the 1880's in America Moody seemed to flit from one new project to another. He played a major role in establishing the Northfield Schools, summer conferences for college students, and Y Associations. He spent much time in raising funds for these various activities as well as others.

To the casual observer it would seem that Moody's concern for education was a radical departure from his work as a professional revivalist. Actually, a consistent pattern of thought lay behind the many activities of the evangelist in the eighties. Since there was no one of equal stature to share the work of revival, more and more of Moody's time went into efforts to consolidate his gains—to build up organizations and training schools which would carry on where he left off. As Weisberger has pointed out:

> His life revolved around letters and appeals for funds. He was actually going backwards from evangelism—back into Christian organizational labor, this time on the vaster scale. He was now the "lightning Christian" of the United States, as once he had been in Chicago. There was no longer time for the lengthy campaigns of the seventies. Once again, the original dynamic of the revival was absorbed into the less spectacular work of perpetuating its results.[81]

His purpose was to establish and influence institutions for the purpose of evangelism.

78. William Moody, *D. L. Moody*, pp. 287-298.
79. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 271.
80. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," pp. 205-206.
81. Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958), p. 189.

CHAPTER VII

Moody Bible Institute

One of Moody's projects during the 1880's was the founding of the Chicago Bible Institute, which became known as Moody Bible Institute after his death. More than any of the other enterprises to which Moody gave his time and talent in the eighties, the development of Moody Bible Institute provides a means of seeing how the evangelist implemented his social and economic views in regard to reaching the workingman with the gospel. The Institute grew out of tumultuous times and had the broad purpose of reaching the working classes.

The Bible Institute grew out of Moody's past interests, the concerns of Chicago friends, and the economic conditions of Chicago. Its foundation brought to sharp focus the wedding of Moody's social conservatism and his evangelistic views.

On January 27, 1886, Moody was reported to have said, "For twenty-five years I have made this question of what shall be done for the working men my study. It has been my very life." [1] As a Sunday school organizer, Y. M. C. A. promoter, a church founder, and a revivalist, one of his chief concerns was how to evangelize the so-called "unsaved masses"—laborers, industrial workers, immigrants, and the poor—that seemed to comprise such a large percentage of the population in the cities. Out of this context of long experience with and concern for urban evangelism grew Moody's plan for his new work.

Some of Moody's friends in Chicago had always hoped that the revivalist would return to their city and spread the gospel in some more permanent way than by a brief revival campaign. One of these supporters was Miss Emma Dryer, a highly educated woman who had started a school of Bible work in Moody's Church in the spring of 1873, even before Moody left for England.[2] Her work included a half-time school for "children who cannot attend the public schools," a weekly sewing school for women, and a program of evangelism involving house-to-house visitation, women's

1. Wilbur M. Smith, *An Annotated Bibliography of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1948), p. 76.

2. William H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875), p. 187.

prayer meetings, and tract distribution.[3] Whenever Moody was in Chicago, Miss Dryer confronted him about founding a "Bible Institute" for training those who had never been to college and as a center for evangelistic activity in the surrounding slums.[4] She claimed that Moody had uprooted her from the head of the faculty of the Illinois State Normal University after the Chicago Fire for this purpose but had run off to Europe and forgotten.[5] In 1876 and again during a lightning visit in 1883 Moody had publicly talked about such a plan, but nothing had emerged beyond a few young women selected by Miss Dryer.[6]

Several Chicago residents sympathized with Miss Dryer. However they were undecided as to whether the institute should be an order of deaconnesses for city work or a school for the preparation of workers for worldwide missions.[7]

Among Moody's Chicago friends were a group of businessmen with more than ordinary financial resources. They also were ready to stand behind any proposal Moody might make to advance his cause in the city. Among this group were men like Turlington W. Harvey, a millionaire lumber dealer; E. G. Keith and Nathaniel S. Bouton, bankers and real estate investors; John V. Farwell, a wealthy merchant; and the family of Cyrus H. McCormick.[8]

Suddenly in 1886 the evangelist came to Chicago to launch a new project in evangelism that would meet the desires of his Chicago friends. On January 22, 1886, in the Loop at a noon meeting especially designed to attract the city's businessmen, Moody spoke at length on "City Evangelism."[9] In his speech he laid out his plans for a training school for Christian workers for city missions. With characteristic boldness he challenged the businessmen in his audience to raise $250,000. "Spend $50,000 on a building, and put out the balance at interest, and from the income you could support a training school for workers."[10] However, Moody would not commit himself further to the project until the money was raised.

Without question Moody's old Chicago associates had much to

3. Circular entitled "Report and Partial Summary, Bible Work, 1885-1886," cited in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), p. 255.

4. John C. Pollock, *Moody: A Biographical Portrait of the Pacesetter in Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 261.

5. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, p. 187.

6. Pollock, *Moody*, p. 261.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 256.

9. Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1936), p. 94.

10. *Record of Christian Work*, V (February, 1886), 5-6, provides a verbatim account of Moody's speech in Chicago, quoted in Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1962), p. 320.

do with his returning to Chicago to assume additional responsibilities. However, economic conditions in Chicago at the time help to explain his timing and his emphasis. When Moody and his associates spoke of the new project, a new note of urgency was clearly apparent. For several years tension had been developing between working-class groups and the native American managerial segments of the city's population.[11] The depressed conditions of the late seventies had caused intense distress among the laboring classes of Chicago, as it had throughout the country. The large immigrant population of Chicago included a nucleus of men nurtured on anarchism and Marxian dialectic. All of these conditions provided the ground for a strong radical movement to take roots among Chicago's lower classes in the eighties.

After a brief economic revival between 1881 and 1884 Chicago followed the rest of the nation into a new tailspin. As wages tumbled and unemployment rose, strikes again became common in 1884 and 1885; they centered at the Pullman Palace Car Company and at Cyrus McCormick's harvester works. A renewed interest in the eight-hour day, first advocated vigorously in the 1860's, also aroused working circles in the city. In early 1886 tension again developed between management and labor at the McCormick Plant. The conflict smoldered until early May when discontent finally climaxed in the open violence and horror of the Haymarket riot. As a result, Moody and his friends looked fearfully to the future, seeing in these violent protests a threat to law and order and their own favored position in society.[12]

The task of urban evangelization now took on added importance. In March of 1886 Moody expressed unequivocally his opinions on the matter:

> Either these people are to be evangelized or the leaven of communism and infidelity will assume such enormous proportions that it will break out in a reign of terror such as this country has never known. It don't take a prophet or a son of a prophet to see these things. You can hear the muttering of the coming convulsion even now, if you open your ears and eyes.[13]

The evangelist's friends agreed entirely. In a letter written to publicize Moody's return, Turlington W. Harvey, one of the revivalist's chief advisers in Chicago, sought to explain why re-

11. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), pp. 52-54.

12. *Cf.*, Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937-1957), III, chaps. vii, viii, for a good survey of labor's activities in Chicago during these years, and Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair; A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements* (2d ed.; New York: Russell and Russell, Publishers, Inc., 1958).

13. *Record of Christian Work*, V (April, 1886), 3 quoted in James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel: the Early Days of Moody Bible Institute," *Church History*, XXXI (September, 1962), 324.

ligious people in the city should give the new venture strong support. Harvey concluded that "the depressing consciousness of the extent and danger of the communistic element in our midst" had caused "many earnest Christian people" to feel that "the only way to convert this dangerous element into peaceful helpful citizens, was through the transforming power of Christ." [14]

There were also some Chicagoans who could express even more lucidly than did the evangelist or his friends the desire of the ruling forces of the city to preserve the status quo through Moody's new school. In the aftermath of the Haymarket riot, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* editor seemed particularly eager to commend Moody's project to the "better classes." He applauded the wisdom of the evangelist in seeking donations chiefly from wealthy men and women who not only had "a large and generous way of looking at things," but also "great property interests in the city." The editorial writer concluded by stating:

> A great institution like this proposed by Mr. Moody . . . would . . . do more than any array or demonstration of outward force possibly could to make life safe, property secure, citizenship honorable, and a home desirable in Chicago.[15]

In the foundation of Moody Bible Institute the joining of Moody's evangelism and conservatism on social issues stood starkly revealed. Such an attitude had always been implicit in Moody's thought, but not until this moment in history did he reveal his position so clearly. However, his attitude varied little from that of most evangelical Protestants in the eighties. Protestant churches at that period were often conservative in their response to the new problems of widespread labor unrest and social radicalism. Moody's views thus fitted the general protestant pattern. Indeed, it was typical of his ability to express often the ideas of the respectable elements in society, people who had always given him strong support. His line of argument is a revealing commentary both on the motivations which lay behind the founding of the Bible Institute and on the evangelist's viewpoint toward current social questions.[16]

The Bible Institute's purpose was to train laymen who would fill a needed gap in Christian mission by reaching the working class. The Institute's training program would have a practical bent.

Moody was fairly clear as to the broad purposes of his new school. He hoped the institution would produce lay workers without sem-

14. T. W. Harvey to "friend," November 16, 1888, typewritten form letter in the N. F. McCormick Papers, cited in Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel," 324.

15. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, November 21, 1886, p. 12, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 278.

16. Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel," 325.

inary degrees, yet with some formal theological training, who would go into city mission work. "I am not seeking to make any short cut to the ministry," Moody said. "I do not consider this work to be in conflict with the work of the theological seminaries." [17] Indeed, Moody wanted to do a task that no theological seminary had yet conceived of doing; he wanted to train an army of lay workers. Appropriately enough, Moody named these followers "gapmen." According to the evangelist they would be "men who know the Word" and who would "go into the shops and meet these bare-headed infidels and skeptics," to appeal to them "in the name of Jesus Christ" in order that their hearts would "soften under His precious Gospel." [18] Moody's "gapmen" were to fill a "gap" in Christian outreach that was not being met by the professional clergy. He declared that

> One great purpose we have in view in the Bible Institute is to raise up men and women who will be willing to lay their lives alongside of the laboring class and the poor and bring the gospel to bear upon their lives.[19]

The gapmen were to reach the workingman with the gospel.

A little over three decades later, during the height of the "Red Scare" in 1920, Moody Bible Institute, appealing for funds in a religious journal, ran a two-page advertisement in which it described itself as "The Answer to Labor Unrest" where "'agitators' for righteousness" were trained to combat the "agitators of class hatred and revolutionary radicalism" abroad in the land.[20]

In Moody's eye the school would have a practical emphasis. He described the program of the new school as "practical work" in learning how to reach the masses." [21] Although students were to study carefully the English Bible,[22] Moody saw no need to burden them with certain intellectual frills then widely prevalent in the seminaries. "Never mind the Greek and Hebrew," he declared. "Give them plain English and good Scripture. It is the sword of the Lord and cuts deep." [23] The evangelist's vision of the school's total program continued in this vein. After Bible lectures in the morning, the afternoons and evenings of the student were to be spent in preaching and other missions of evangelism throughout

17. Smith, *Bibliography of D. L. Moody*, p. 79.

18. *Record of Christian Work*, V (February, 1886), 6, quoted in Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel," 325.

19. A. W. Williams, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: P. W. Ziegler Co., 1900), p. 293.

20. *Watchman-Examiner*, July 15, 1920, pp. 904-905, quoted in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 274.

21. *Record of Christian Work*, V (February, 1886), 6, quoted in Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel," 325.

22. Smith, *Bibliography of D. L. Moody*, p. 78.

23. *Record of Christian Work*, V (February, 1886), 6 quoted in Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel," 325.

Chicago.[24] Moody also wanted to give great emphasis to the study of music.[25] With such a program emphasizing practical work, Moody was confident that there would soon be an anniversary meeting that would "fill Farwell Hall with working men who have been converted." [26]

On September 26, 1889, "The Chicago Bible Institute" formally began.[27] By the time of Moody's death the public relations department of the Institute was contending and not without some justification that the school was the "West Point of Christian Work." [28] From its beginnings up until the present day the emphasis has been on practical, applied Christianity which its founder sought to give the school from its earliest days.

The early history and underlying purposes of the Chicago training school reflected in many ways how Moody hoped to fulfill his social philosophy in relation to the workingman. When viewed in the broad context of the evangelist's thought and work, the Bible Institute represented no major variation in his basic point of view concerning labor. In 1886 he argued the necessity of his school as a counter force to radicalism and unrest among the laboring classes. This conservatism on social and economic issues was a point of view which Moody carried with him from "the Sands," to his new Institute, to his death.

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24. *Ibid.*

25. Smith, *Bibliography of D. L. Moody*, p. 78.

26. *Record of Christian Work*, V (February, 1886), 6, quoted in Findlay, "Dwight L. Moody," p. 281.

27. Richard Ellsworth Day, *Bush Aglow: The Life Story of Dwight Lyman Moody, Commoner of Northfield* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1936), p. 264.

28. Margaret Blake Robinson, *A Reporter at Moody's* (Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1900), p. 141.

Chapter VIII

Summary and Conclusions

The development of Moody Bible Institute was the final chapter in Dwight L. Moody's attempts to reach the workingman in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The rest of Moody's life was spent developing past innovations through expansion, improvement, or financial support. The evangelist's death in December of 1899 brought to a close a career devoted in part to reaching the working masses.

The purpose of this scholarly endeavor has been to demonstrate D. L. Moody's attempt to reach the workingman and to relate his attempt to his social views. An effort has also been made to evaluate the success of Moody's endeavors to relate the gospel to the working masses.

Because of Moody's attempt to reach the masses in the industrial complexes of Great Britain and the United States, his major contribution to the American church was the systematization of urban revivalism. Later evangelists such as Billy Sunday and Billy Graham would rely on techniques developed by Moody to reach people in large urban areas. Although his great success has been as an unordained, lay evangelist, Moody also had great ability in getting movements started and inspiring individuals. During the Gilded Age he stood at the center of almost every agency devised by the churches to implement their tasks.

The age of Moody was a period of great change on the American scene. The forces of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization had a profound impact upon the era and brought growing, massive problems to the nation's cities. At first Protestantism was indifferent to the problems but not for long. It sought to remedy the social ills through changing the hearts of individuals or/and through redeeming social structures. Moody was a proponent of the change-of-heart approach. This approach directed its message to the laboring classes, especially the immigrants.

Although one of Moody's lifelong goals was to reach the urban workingman, he failed to understand the growing antagonism between labor and capital which was developing after the Civil War. Capital's impersonal viewpoint toward labor caused labor to revolt through the use of strikes. Some of these were explosive in nature.

Moody also failed to understand labor's hostility toward institutional Protestantism. Moody worked with the institutional churches to plan and execute his revival meetings. Although labor was hostile toward institutional forms of Protestantism, it did have a more favorable attitude toward Roman Catholicism. Some labor leaders also espoused a social Christianity that had Protestant antecedents.

Since Moody lived in an age of socioeconomic change, one would expect him to have views in regard to labor, capital, and social change. Moody's target was the masses—common laborers and industrial workers, immigrants, the poor, and the so-called criminal element. He viewed men of labor as individuals rather than as a part of a class. He failed to understand group structures and group identity and how these relate to an individual's plight. Moody was convinced that laborers were poor because of personal sin, *i. e.*, laziness, lack of thrift, and consumption of liquor and tobacco. The evangelist was also convinced that Christian conversion could work wonders in making lazy, poor men into energetic, prosperous persons. Moody was hard put to explain the wicked men who were wealthy or the poor who were Christian converts. Moody also looked upon evangelization as necessary to the Americanization of immigrant laborers.

Moody, in the main, supported the values of the business community. Although the evangelist questioned some businessmen who seemed to be ruthless money-grabbers, he never questioned in an ultimate sense the values of an acquisitive society. He was unable to criticize big business for several reasons. Both Moody's revivalism and big business' gospel of wealth were rooted in traditional Christian orthodoxy. His fund-raising activities among the wealthy affected his critical faculties. The evangelist's own success put him in sympathy with the rags-to-riches mythology. The need as an evangelist to oversimplify caused him to overlook critical distinctions in complex social issues. Moody's preoccupation with salvation and his legalistic conception of perfectionism as well as his refusal to relate the gospel to social and political issues removed his thought from being critical of business values. Finally, the evangelist was the embodiment of middle-class values of the Gilded Age.

Moody felt that social change was not possible to any large degree. He felt that the possibility of reform apart from personal regeneration was ridiculous. His charity was always tempered by evangelistic motivations. He never gave a loaf of bread to a man simply because he was hungry. Such a gift was always followed

by an evangelistic exhortation. Moody had little use for the social gospel despite the fact some of his best friends were its founding fathers. The evangelist's pessimism in regard to social change was heavily colored by his premillennial views; also, his inability to change was probably due to his rural background, to the fact that he was a child of his rugged individualistic age, and to his inability intellectually to perceive the social, economic, and intellectual changes of his era.

In regard to Moody's social views a potential doctoral dissertation awaits some energetic scholar. The only systematized work that has been done to the present was written by James F. Findlay, Jr. in his doctoral dissertation.[1] William G. McLoughlin, Jr.'s two chapters on Moody in his *Modern Revivalism* demonstrates an awareness of Moody's social views, but they are not presented in any systematic formation.[2]

Moody's social views were in the developing stage and being tested in his early years in Chicago. By beginning in Chicago, Moody unknowingly began his religious career on the major battlefront of the churches—the city. It was there that he developed the second largest Sunday school in America, gave dynamic leadership to the local Y. M. C. A., and founded the Illinois Street Church.

Moody chose his beginning point in "the Sands." Through hard work and identification with the children, Moody built a successful Sunday school. He used candy, prizes, picnics, pony rides, spankings, and romps to tame the wild children of the immigrant workers of the Sands. Moody's influence helped many of these children become respectable citizens in their various communities. The school aided poor families with charity, helped drunken fathers become sober, found homes for daughters of prostitutes and keepers of brothels, and helped overcome illiteracy. Moody's school helped immigrant children and their working parents find their way into the American system.

Moody in 1854 in Boston became associated with the Y. M. C. A. Upon moving to Chicago he became one of the prime movers of the local association. He directed its activities toward the needs of urban workers as well as attempting to evangelize them through the association's aid. Moody later became the chief evangelist, organizer, financier, and statesman for the Y. M. C. A. in the United

1. James Franklin Findlay, Jr., "Dwight L. Moody: Evangelist of the Gilded Age, 1837-1899" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Northwestern University, 1961), pp. 260-278.

2. William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), chaps. iv, v.

States and Great Britain. The Y. M. C. A. in America also made an effort like Moody to reach the working masses, but the organization's main attraction was to its founders, the white-collar workers.

Moody's Sunday school was such a success among the children and their parents that it became a church. Although Moody had no intention of founding a church, his Sunday school converts felt out of place in Chicago's middle-class churches and pleaded with Moody to use the new Sunday school building for a church home. It soon became busy with activity, and today is one of the strongest bulwarks of independent fundamentalism in the nation. Whether or not the church still appeals to the working class would have to be a matter of further study. During these Chicago years Moody had a great deal of success in aiding and evangelizing the working class. However, his conservative social views did not allow him to challenge the covetous values of an industrial society and in this way seek to benefit his parishioners.

In 1873 Moody's revival career began in Great Britain. The evangelist had hoped to reach the great working masses in British cities. However, despite many innovations, he failed to reach the masses in great numbers. The revival campaigns appealed primarily to those who were already within the church's fold. Although the evangelist was unsuccessful in reaching the workingman through his revival campaigns, he did inspire others to enter the Christian pursuit for the workingman and founded institutions to carry the gospel and charity to the working classes.

Moody's revivals in the United States turned out to be about the same as those in Great Britain; they were a middle-class, churchgoers phenomenon. The industrial workers of American cities were largely left untouched. This researcher was unable to find evidence supporting the same phenomenon in the United States that occurred in Great Britain, *i. e.*, Moody's inspiring the dollars of philanthropists and the founding of institutions in behalf of the working class. There is a need for further research in regard to this aspect of Moody's American career. As a result of failing to reach the workingman in large industrial areas through mass revivalism, Moody changed his strategy. He attempted to reach the regular churchgoers, hoping that they would in turn be inspired to reach the laboring class. Further research is needed to see if anyone was so inspired. At present evidence is lacking to support the making of such a claim.

Although Moody failed to reach the workers, he had substantial success with the middle class. In the eighties and nineties he

attempted to consolidate his gains by the establishment of different institutions and movements. During the period he founded the Moody Bible Institute. Its background, development, and purpose was to train lay workers who would give their lives in behalf of the workingman. The foundation of the Institute starkly revealed Moody's wedding of his evangelism with his social views more than any of his other endeavors. Whether or not the Institute was successful in reaching labor would have to be a matter of further research. However, this researcher believes the evidence would prove to be negative because of the Institute's reputation as a bulwark of premillennial fundamentalism.

Moody's greatest success in reaching the working class was during his early Chicago years. At that time he was on the frontier of the church's effort to reach the working masses. In the Chicago Y. M. C. A. he learned to be a lay evangelist. In his revival campaigns Moody hoped to reach the working class in great masses, but he failed as the movement appealed mostly to the middle class. Moody's last attempt to find a way to reach the working class was the founding of Moody Bible Institute.

Moody had a tremendous organizational ability. His ability to organize is particularly evident in his attempt to reach the workingman, for he had used the Sunday school to reach the workingman's children as well as the worker himself, the Y. M. C. A. to aid and evangelize poor laborers, a church to reach Chicago's northside workers, urban revivalism to evangelize the working masses in industrial centers in Great Britain and the United States, and the Chicago Bible Institute to train lay people to be missionaries among laborers.

Although Moody was a great organizer and innovator, he lacked a keen intellect and failed to understand the great undercurrents, social, economic, and intellectual, that were occurring during his lifetime. Moody was unable to understand what the proponents of the social gospel movement were saying. His shunning of social Christianity isolated his form of revivalism from the great, developing issues of the nineteenth century. One wonders what his impact would have been if he had taken the prestige of his position as a renowned evangelist and had attacked the problems of industrial America as Charles G. Finney had used revivalism to attack slavery in the 1840's.

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