

**The Development of John Wilbur Chapman's
Life and Thought (1859 - 1918)**

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A Dissertation

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Abstract

John Wilbur Chapman was one of the most prominent clergymen, church leaders and revivalists of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More than sixty million people attended his evangelistic campaigns worldwide. A study of his contributions shows that he dominated the evangelical landscape of America from 1906 to 1918. His campaigns in Canada and his subsequent world tours helped his fame spread internationally.

The objective of the dissertation was to find out whether Chapman's contributions to Evangelicalism were as strong as indicated by his reputation during his day and if he should be remembered only as a secondary figure in revivalism. Historians have treated Chapman mostly as one of Dwight L. Moody's assistants and as a lesser colleague to some of Moody's lieutenants. If Chapman was significant, why did his name disappear from historical research and why was he relegated to a lesser position than his accomplishments deserved? What were Chapman's contributions and how far did he advance revivalism?

The research conducted in this dissertation represents a decade of analysing archival materials, primary sources and secondary sources, including journals and newspaper articles. What was discovered was that J. Wilbur Chapman was more significant to the history of Evangelicalism than previously noted. An investigation of his work has reinforced an understanding of the concepts and techniques of later nineteenth-century evangelism and it has also revealed his contributions to the trajectory of revivalism. The study of Chapman's work also illuminates aspects of holiness, dispensationalism and social welfare during the Victorian and post-Victorian era.

Attestation

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work which it embodies has been done by myself. I confirm that the work has not been included in another thesis.

Signature _____

Date _____

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chapter One

Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, John Wilbur Chapman was widely recognised as a prominent clergyman, a leader in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and an evangelist. As an ordained minister, Chapman served several parishes, two of which were among the largest of his denomination. His sermons and devotional materials were collected and compiled to be used for home study and worship. Chapman's educational instructions on the responsibilities of the Sunday school became denominational standards in the Presbyterian Church.¹ Three of his hymns were printed in the hymnbooks of a number of denominations and after more than one hundred years, two of them remain in several Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian hymnbooks today. As a denominational spokesperson, Chapman served as the Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian General Assembly's Committee on Evangelism in 1895 and was elected the Moderator of the General Assembly in 1917.

It is important to place Chapman, a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, in the context of revivalism. Beginning in the First Great Awakening, Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), a Congregational pastor and evangelist, served as a bridge between the seventeenth-century Puritans and eighteenth-century Calvinists and provided much of the theological basis for revivalism. He felt that old Calvinism had grown stale and needed modifying to meet the needs of an eighteenth-century world. Calvinism had substituted a civil religion for the

¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1899.

passionate, pietistic faith of the Puritan founders.² Living faith, Edwards believed, required more than knowledge or facts about God. It required an experience of the beauty, holiness and truth of a sovereign God.³ Consistently Calvinistic, Edwards believed that humans had participated seminally in Adam's fall, were responsible for sin and bound by their fallen nature until converted by God's grace. They did, however, retain an ability to choose, to will something, which, for Edwards, was an act of one's character consistent with the motives in a person. His theological position about one's ability to choose in the act of conversion provided a foundation of support for revival Calvinism and, at the same time, rescued it from the reproach of Arminians who claimed that Calvinism denied people their liberty.⁴

The task of the followers of Edwards, called the New Divinity theologians, was to reconcile their Calvinistic tradition with the realities of the nineteenth-century world in which they lived. This pro-revival party affirmed Edwards's belief that the emotions were vital in a genuine religious experience, even though not all emotions were desirable.⁵ During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy, joined by Jonathan Edwards the younger and Timothy Dwight, emphasized God's love for humanity and forgiveness rather than God's condemnation of original sin.⁶ With regard to the doctrines of irresistible grace and the elect, Nathanael Taylor's psychology placed powers in the mind, thus asserting that people could determine their

² Douglas A. Sweeney and Allen C. Guelzo (eds), *The New England Theology: From Jonathan Edwards to Amasa Park*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006, p. 14.

³ Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 24.

⁴ Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (eds), *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 187.

⁵ George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970, p. 13.

⁶ Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 65.

own will. By the time of the Civil War and the last of the New Divinity theologians, Edwards Amasa Park, the will was viewed as the faculty that could choose action while the intellect laid out alternatives, a great change from the sixteenth century's understanding of the depravity of individuals.⁷

The legacy of the New Divinity theologians was that they shaped the colonies' understanding of moral law, a tool that helped justify the American Revolution.⁸ By the time the new nation was founded, much of theology and society had been influenced by common sense moral reasoning, Lockean epistemology and an increasing Republicanism. The founding fathers, many of them Calvinists, preferred ethical reasoning to a narrower system of Augustinian Calvinism.⁹ The revolution, itself, had been based on the rights of the individual which required a more optimistic view of humanity's innate goodness. Religion was ready to discard human depravity and the sheer helplessness that traditional Calvinism had required. The humanism of the Protestant Enlightenment had overtaken the staunch theocentric piety of the Reformation. The Calvinist, who had previously viewed human nature as corrupt, now hoped to fulfil his own potential.¹⁰ By the time of the New Divinity theologians, it was apparent that the Calvinism derived from the Synod of Dort (1619) needed continued modification if revivalism should survive in the Reformed tradition and their hermeneutic helped to achieve this purpose.

From the 1820s to the 1850s Calvinists spent time arguing about the nature of revivalism. The most prominent figure among the controversies was Charles Grandison

⁷ Bruce Kuklick, *Churchmen and Philosophers: From Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 109.

⁸ Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England*, p. 155.

⁹ Noll, *America's God*, p. 205.

¹⁰ Daniel Walker Howe, "The Decline of Calvinism: An Approach to Its Study," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 14, no. 3, June 1972, p. 307.

Finney (1792-1875). Emerging from the Calvinists' camp, Finney's life and work typified the erosion of Puritan Calvinism and contributed to an Arminianization of American theology.¹¹ Finney viewed revivals as a scientific process rather than a call to the elect and in the end came dangerously close to denying the need for the work of the Holy Spirit.¹² He was an advocate of new measures for revivalism, advancing the Wesleyan methods of the anxious bench, extemporaneous preaching to the senses and the encouragement of women to speak and pray in public assemblies.¹³ This synthesis of Wesleyan practices and Reformed thinking produced a more effective type of revivalist Calvinism, one that could motivate people to make their own decisions for salvation, while retaining the belief that they were not betraying the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646), the most important creed to many in the Reformed churches.

The modifications to Calvinism not only enabled evangelism to flourish among the revivalist faction of Calvinists, called the "New Sides" during the time of Edwards and the "New School" in Presbyterianism after 1801, it also created the possibility for it to become a part of the holiness movement. John Wesley (1703-1791), an Anglican minister, theologian and evangelist, noticed that the scriptures commanded people to be perfect and was convinced that this state was obtainable.¹⁴ To Wesley, the possibility of being entirely sanctified was a real proposition. One could be free of sinful acts and sinful motives, a state which he called "perfect love"¹⁵ Sanctification, he believed, could

¹¹ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987, p. 64.

¹² David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 8.

¹³ Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures'" *Journal of American History* no. 59, September 1972, pp. 327-40.

¹⁴ Wesley, John. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection as Believed and Taught by the Reverend John Wesley from the year 1725, to the year 1777*. New York: Lane and Scott, 1850, p. 57.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-7.

be instantaneous or it could be the journey of a lifetime. Entire sanctification could be lost, because he defined sinful acts as a voluntary transgression of a known law of God and it could be regained when the state of perfect love was achieved again.¹⁶ In 1836 Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874), a Methodist wife of a physician, organised afternoon meetings in her home to promote holiness. She taught that people could experience entire sanctification by laying their lives on the altar. Palmer believed that holiness could be achieved instantly and her view was dependent on the shift in the nineteenth century from the Enlightenment's focus on reason to Romantic elements that placed the emphasis on will, spirit and emotion.¹⁷ The followers of Wesley represented his views of sanctification, a belief that one's entire life could be entirely separated from the presence of sin. They were opposed by the Calvinists who believed that freedom from sin could not be achieved in one's lifetime.

Although Wesley's sanctification is viewed as the beginning of the holiness tradition and those who adhered to his views dominated the movement until the mid-nineteenth century, there was a Reformed movement in holiness. Finney, along with Asa Mahan (1799-1889), a colleague at Oberlin College in Ohio, developed the view that people have the ability to choose the good in every instance, depending on responsible decisions. To choose properly, they believed, a special work of the Holy Spirit must completely overwhelm one's will. In this way, the Oberlin theology blended human agency with God's grace and made possible the view that one could reach a state of entire sanctification in this life.¹⁸ Their Oberlin perfectionism was rejected by old Calvinists

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁷ David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005, pp. 148-158.

¹⁸ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology*. Oberlin: E.J. Goodrich, 1878, pp. 204-11.

who considered the view to be heretical because it rested on man's efforts rather than God's grace. The Keswick movement in holiness represented a Reformed position. Keswick did not teach, as the Wesleyans had, the eradication of sin. Its focus was on the suppression of it as it was held to remain in a believer's life until the moment of death.¹⁹ Faith was the key in keeping a believer's life in victory over sin and it was the Holy Spirit who gave this power to do so.²⁰ By presenting a counteractive model in which the Spirit suppressed sin, the Keswick tradition was able to retain some of its Reformed belief in man's fallen nature while assimilating the process of sanctification into a higher life, second blessing model. By replacing the term 'eradication' with 'counteraction' Keswick offered similar concepts to the Wesleyan movement while, in theory, being able to retain the notion that one is never without sin.²¹ By the late nineteenth century, revivalists had amalgamated Wesleyan and Reformed views on sanctification. It was a synthesis that had been made possible by Edwards, the New Divinity theologians and Oberlin perfectionism, factors which had modified Calvinism from its beginnings in the broad, experimental religion of the First Great Awakening.²²

It was in the context of this changing theology that Chapman emerged as an evangelist. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Chapman was described as one of the best-known revivalists in America.²³ After several campaigns to countries including Australia, New Zealand and parts of Asia in 1909, two trips to the United

¹⁹ David W. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England: The 1998 Didsbury Lectures*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000, p. 83.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*. Oxford: Oxford, 1980, p. 78.

²² Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England Between the Great Awakenings*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981, p. 4.

²³ Timothy L. Hall, *American Religious Leaders*. New York: Facts on File Library of American History, 2003, p. 62.

Kingdom in 1910 and 1911, tours in Canada in 1911 and a return trip to the United Kingdom from 1912 to 1914, his reputation as an evangelist achieved international status. As a global evangelist who preached to more than sixty million people worldwide by 1913, Chapman was one of the most prominent people in the Evangelical world. He had hoped to make a third world tour, but his plans were interrupted by the First World War and his death in 1918.

Chapman held some of the largest evangelistic campaigns of any revivalist in America and Canada during the first decade of the twentieth century. From 1907 to 1911, Chapman and his song leader, Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920), conducted crusades in Canada, mostly in the eastern territories. By the time of his Toronto campaign in 1911, crowds reached 400,000.²⁴ In 1909 and 1910, the Chapman-Alexander team targeted the cities of Boston and Chicago in efforts to rid the areas of sin. Both campaigns were tremendously successful and won more converts to the faith than revivalists prior to him in those cities, including Moody. So great were the size of the crowds in Boston that within the first few days of the campaign Chapman's leaders urged Christians to stay away from the events in order to make room for those who were unconverted.²⁵ In 1910, the city of Chicago experienced similar success when the Chapman-Alexander team held a five-week campaign from 16 October to 27 November. Chapman focused his efforts in three central locations. Thirty-five to forty nightly meetings were held in addition to morning prayer meetings, special visits to the red-light

²⁴ Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, p. 106.

²⁵ "Campaign Arouses World's Interest," *The Pittsburgh Press* (Pittsburgh), 28 March 1909, p. 5.

areas, jails and saloons.²⁶ The Chicago effort was massive and, as in the Boston campaign, people were denied entrance to the theatres, meeting rooms and churches and those who wanted to see Chapman had to peer in the windows and crowd the streets.²⁷ Fifty ministers from Brooklyn arrived midway in the campaign to study Chapman's techniques, but they were informed that if they were to invite Chapman to New York they would have little chance to acquire his services, since he had 500 requests from various cities all over the United States asking the same thing.²⁸

The final feature for Chapman's context as a revivalist is that of premillennial dispensationalism. Timothy Weber states that premillennialism is not so much a theology as it is a particular view of history.²⁹ It rejects the idea that the future of the world will be one of progress and an establishment of a golden age. Life, premillennialists believe, is a continual battle between good and evil and the world will remain in the devil's control until Christ returns to wrest it from his hands. The view espouses that the imminent advent of Christ will usher in the millennium, and so is described by the term 'pre-millennialism'. Though premillennialists were present in early Christianity and among the Puritans of the New England colonies, Christians in the early nineteenth century held the view of postmillennialism, a notion that the Church could Christianise the world before Christ's coming.³⁰ In the 1830s John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), a leading founder of the Plymouth Brethren, taught that there were epochs, or dispensations, that

²⁶ Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880-1920*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007, pp. 136-7.

²⁷ 'Evangelist Praises Work of West Side Helpers, Great Results Expected', *The Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), Volume 39, no. 237, 16 November 1910, p. 5.

²⁸ 'Brooklyn Ministers Arrive', *The Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), 4 November 1910, Volume 39, no. 225, p. 5.

²⁹ Timothy P. Weber, 'Premillennialism and the Branches of Evangelicalism' in Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (eds), *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991, p. 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

showed how God related to humanity. Darby was a premillennialist who believed that the prophecies of the book of Revelation were future, unlike historicists who believed that the prophecies related to events in the past. What was most important for Darby, and for dispensationalists, was the notion of Israel. The number of epochs could vary among dispensationalists as long as they included ones for Israel, the Church and the millennial kingdom. Cyrus I. Scofield (1843-1921), the most influential dispensationalist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, developed a system that divided the eras into periods of innocence (ending with the Fall), conscience (ending with the Genesis flood), human government (disrupted at Babel), promise (ending with the captivity in Egypt), law (ending with the rejection of Christ), grace (ending with the tribulation) and the millennium (ending with Satan being loosed for a time).³¹ Premillennial dispensationalism was the most popular view of Evangelical revivalists during Chapman's time and it was the dominant system of biblical interpretation among conservative Protestants.

Why did dispensationalism and holiness become so popular at the end of the nineteenth century? Both concepts relied heavily on a common sense interpretation of the Bible, which was, to Evangelicals in line with their biblicism. The rise of German scholarship and the liberalising trends in hermeneutics became a threat to a common sense reading of the scriptures. To a larger extent, it was because the systems defended, as Mark Noll suggests, the transcendent control of God over history.³² At a time when educated people were offering pragmatic and social-scientific solutions to current problems, holiness and Pentecostal teachers insisted that God could break into the life of

³¹ Cyrus I. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth (2 Tim. 2:15); Being Ten Outline Studies of the More Important Divisions of Scripture*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907, pp. 12-16.

³² Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994, p. 120.

each person.³³ The idea that God was active in this world and close in proximity was an attractive idea to people. Combining these elements with a new focus on God's love, rather than God's wrath, revivalists were able to make converts to the faith as they adapted to a world that was becoming more modern.

Chapman was a Presbyterian rooted in Calvinism, an adherent to the holiness movement, a dispensationalist and an Evangelical. Evangelicalism is a broad term that became a trans-denominational movement largely within Protestantism and it became a dominant expression of Christianity in the United States from the colonial period to the present. In his book *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989) David Bebbington describes four characteristics that define the religious framework for Evangelicals: "conversionism" a belief that one needs a spiritual birth to make a life-long decision to follow Jesus, "crucicentrism" an emphasis on the cross of Jesus Christ for the redemption of humanity, "biblicism" a high regard for the Bible as the inspired word of God, and "activism" an emphasis on action to extend one's Christian faith.³⁴ The characteristics that Bebbington describes were predominant in Chapman's colleagues in revivalism and they were also traits that are evidenced in his own life and work.

Information to evaluate Chapman's background as a Calvinist and an Evangelical and to conduct a thorough analysis of his influence and contributions to revivalism was obtained by making several visits to archives and congregational libraries. The greatest amount of research materials on Chapman's life and work is located at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (boxes and microfilm), and the Billy Graham Archives (BGA) in Wheaton, Illinois (primarily microfilm). For the most part,

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 2-19.

the Historical Society and the Billy Graham Archives have a duplication of items on Chapman, though the Wheaton collection also provides materials on the life of Reuben Archer Torrey and William A. "Billy" Sunday, two of his closest colleagues in revivalism. BGA also holds materials on William and Virginia Asher, Chapman's evangelists to the saloons. The Moody Bible Institute (MBI) contains several collections on Moody and it was an invaluable resource to review Moody's life, correspondence with his co-workers and his revival campaigns, especially that of his 1893 Chicago World's Fair effort. MBI also has relevant archival materials on Charles M. Alexander, Chapman's song leader, and the Chapman-Alexander team.

Chapman wrote more than twenty-five books in his career. Careful analysis of each one revealed Chapman's theology, pneumatology, understanding of revivalism and practices in church and denominational ministry. His works are mostly written for the layperson and they are rife with illustrations. A review of his sermons and articles indicates that he was a preacher and revivalist first and only then a teacher. His comments in interviews or publications were often the most helpful for discovering particular points of his theology. As a practice, he avoided controversy, and so it presented a challenge to find clear indications of the positions he held on many issues.

Other archives were beneficial in conducting an analysis of Chapman's work. The Congregational Library and Tremont Temple Baptist Church in Boston contained important information relevant to his 1909 Boston campaign, his most successful crusade. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints maintains a few copies of baptismal certificates and session minutes on microfilm from 1861-99, a period that included Chapman's work at the Bethany Church in Philadelphia. Their records proved

helpful in understanding the responsibilities of Chapman in his parish work. The Stony Brook Archive in Stony Brook, New York, contained valuable information on Chapman's work at the end of his life, most notably that of his assistance in the formation of the Stony Brook Assembly and the School. Though the dissertation only alludes to the conference and school, the archives provided insight into Chapman's values about conferences which helped an understanding of his work at Winona Bible Conference Center in Indiana and the Montreat Conference Center in North Carolina.

Journals and newspaper articles aided in discovering the public's view on Chapman. Journals were the most illuminating resources to show the attitude Chapman's contemporaries had toward him. Several newspaper clippings were filed at BGA, but the collector failed to retain necessary information such as volume and issue numbers to cite articles. Additional newspaper articles are available on internet databases and this proved to be the most effective way to collect perceptions about Chapman and his work. Unfortunately, newspapers tended to be unreliable at times because they copied reports from one another and they had an obligation to publish the story that would sell. A few contradictions were reported by competing local newspapers, and so a healthy scepticism had to be maintained while doing research.

Consideration of Chapman's influence on Evangelicalism by recent scholarship is rare. There are a few studies on his life and work. Two biographies exist. The first was written in 1920 by Ford C. Ottman (1859-1929), a close confidant of Chapman's and a colleague in several of Chapman's campaigns, including his first world tour in 1909. Ottman presents a detailed look at the evangelist from the perspective of someone who was involved in Chapman's ministry. The difficulty in his biography, however, is that it

does not provide a critical analysis of the evangelist's life and sometimes comes close to hagiography. Ottman regarded his friend's legacy as being on par with that of John the Baptist and wrote about his experience with Chapman: "we enter in and pass through the lordly council halls of a life rarely endowed and crowned with world-encircling accomplishments"³⁵ In his last analysis of Chapman, he wrote, "now that he has passed beyond the pale of criticism, no cloud remains to dim the lustre of his moral worth. He lived unselfishly. In singleness of heart he laboured to give the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ to a world of sinners."³⁶ Ottman's biography reveals that his intent was to honour his friend rather than produce a critical analysis of Chapman's life. His work provides, however, information about Chapman that is not found elsewhere.

A second biography of Chapman was written in 1962 by John Cummins Ramsay (1890-1962). He provided a detailed review of Chapman's life, method and work. Unfortunately, Ramsay died prior to its completion, but in the form submitted to the publishers, it offers a good source of information and analysis. Ramsay's writings show that he had made considerable effort to collect materials from the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia. He also had the opportunity to locate and interview in person those who had worked with Chapman in his ministry, an option that is no longer available in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Ramsay admits that he, like Ottman, had another intention for writing his biography. He viewed Chapman as an evangelist on a level with Billy Graham (1918-present) and his concern was to find a reason for the

³⁵ Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

church's contrasting lack of success in evangelistic ministry during Ramsay's own time.³⁷

One point of disagreement with Ramsay's work is that he denied Chapman's premillennial dispensationalism.³⁸ The vast internet databases of newspaper articles and journals currently accessible, which were unavailable to Ramsay, indicate Chapman's developing view and confidence in his emerging dispensationalism.

A third work exists on J. Wilbur Chapman's life. It is, however, a compilation of Wikipedia articles and internet sources edited by a "Nuadha Trevø a name that is attached to spam-like biographies which borrow information from internet articles indiscriminately in order to publish books quickly.³⁹ It is a reproduction of internet searches on the name "J. Wilbur Chapman" and it provides no new or accurate information. Although the work declares itself to be a thorough investigation of Chapman's life, it is non-academic and unreliable due to its dependence on sources which offer hagiographic materials without providing evidence.

Since Chapman's life has not been largely examined by historians, newspaper articles provided the most helpful analysis of the methods and characteristics of the man, but the majority of newspapers depicted him mostly as a heroic figure, supporting his admiration from the population. Criticisms of Chapman were, generally, opinions about his effectiveness in evangelistic endeavours and they tended to represent the concerns of some who disagreed with revivalist preaching. An anonymous critic published a scathing article in 1910 about Chapman's advice to pastors that they must be evangelists or fail in ministry and said that the clergyman was the integral part of society, but an evangelist,

³⁷ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and His Message*, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1962, pp. 9-10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³⁹ Nuadha Trev, *John Wilbur Chapman*, Beau Bassin, Mauritius: International Book Marketing Service, Ltd., 2012.

like Chapman, was merely a "seven days wonder"⁴⁰ Chapman remained unscathed by criticism, for the most part, because he represented the model pastor, church leader and evangelist that reinforced the American ideals of God and country and respectful society. Chapman's messages of conversion, blended with a tone of moral reform and social improvement, struck a chord with Americans that affirmed their conviction that America was blessed by God and that it had a special role to play in bringing the world to Christ. Chapman's popularity continued to soar during the years of World War I when he became the representation of a moral spokesperson against an immoral world. His wartime advocacy encouraged America's participation since he believed that it was a spiritual crusade against evil and the nation had its part to play in the conflict. Newspapers, because of the need to select stories that would attract public interest, found their hero in Chapman.

Primary works and journals also provided helpful information about Chapman, but like newspaper articles, they also showed that he eluded much criticism. One of the most notable Calvinists during Chapman's day was Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921), a Princeton professor whose theology represented that of the Old School type. Warfield believed that the revivalist tradition, beginning with Charles Finney and his new measures, was based on a Pelagian foundation.⁴¹ As a theologian, Warfield considered Reuben A. Torrey's method of induction to be proof-texting. When he reviewed Torrey's book *What the Bible Teaches* (1899), Warfield correctly stated that Torrey's basis for the inductive method was accomplished "merely by arranging the texts first and

⁴⁰ "Dr. Chapman and the Failure of Ministers," *The Homiletic Review*, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, Volume 59, no. 5, May 1910, p. 418.

⁴¹ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Studies in Perfectionism*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1958, pp. 155-9.

the propositions which they support second, on the printed page⁴² Warfield was also a critic of perfectionism, whether Pentecostal, Keswick, or higher life and he was a postmillennialist who viewed premillennialism as an aberration.⁴³ Chapman represented what Mark Noll described as the New School approach to theology and he, like his revivalist contemporaries, stressed the ethical application of a common sense reading of the scriptures while those of the Old School type stressed the theoretical.⁴⁴ New School revivalism, a method of induction like Torrey's, higher life teachings and premillennialism were foundational to Chapman's preaching so it is surprising that Warfield made no direct criticism against Chapman. There are two reasons that suggest a possible rationale: first, although Chapman belonged to the revivalist camp, Chapman was Warfield's Presbyterian colleague and a highly-respected moderator of the General Assembly in 1917, and second, Chapman did not, like Torrey, publish expositions of systematic theological works and so he was not a target for an Old School Princeton theologian.

A significant person in Chapman's development as an evangelist was Dwight L. Moody. His life is best chronicled and examined by James F. Findlay in his book *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (1969). One criticism of Findlay's work on Moody, as identified by the historian David W. Bebbington, was that he concluded that Moody's work was influenced by wealthy contributors and those in the elite society.⁴⁵ Bebbington rightly concluded that Moody was not afraid to stand against the advice of

⁴² Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: What the Bible Teaches," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Philadelphia: MacCalla and Company, Volume 10, no. 39, July 1899, p. 563.

⁴³ Mark A. Noll, *The Princeton Theology, 1812-1921: Scripture, Science, and Theological Method from Archibald Alexander to Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Mark A. Noll, "Common Sense Traditions and American Evangelical Thought," *American Quarterly* Volume 37, Summer 1985, p. 219.

⁴⁵ James F. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody, American Evangelist, 1837-1899*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969 pp. 321-7.

his wealthy supporters and that he was more inclined to align himself with the masses against the elite instead of the other way around.⁴⁶ In a similar fashion, Chapman was often the target of those who viewed him as a product of capitalism and maintainer of the economic status quo. William McLoughlin in his book *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (1959) is correct in viewing Chapman as endorsed by wealthy businessmen, but his analysis failed to recognise that Chapman did not promote the status quo. His social reform programmes encouraged upward mobility for people to move from the streets into the working classes. In an interview with Chapman in 1905, *The Minneapolis Journal* noted that Chapman had been told by his doctors three times within the past four years that he was going to die. Facing what he believed to be his mortality and the conclusion of his evangelistic career, Chapman made a vow that he would never preach a sermon to rich or poor but that he would ask men to come to Christ.⁴⁷ Chapman cared little for economic systems, because he believed in the imminent return of Christ and he supposed that he would be among the generation to experience that blessed hope.⁴⁸

Among the helpful works on pneumatology and its context for Chapman's life, there are two books which recount the development of the work of the Holy Spirit from the Higher Life movement in the mid-nineteenth century to the Pentecostal movements in the early twentieth century. Donald W. Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*

⁴⁶ David W. Bebbington, 'Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical' in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London: T and T Clark International, 2005, p. 87.

⁴⁷ 'Who Rev. Dr. Chapman Is and How He Does His Work' *Minneapolis Journal* (Minneapolis), 22 October 1905, editorial section, p. 3.

⁴⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman quoted in *Union Seminary Review*, Volume 32, no 1, October 1920, p. 55; see also Chapman, 'The Blessed Hope' delivered in 1898, 1905 and 1918, Billy Graham Archives Collection 77; J. Wilbur Chapman in *Light on Prophecy: A Coordinated, Constructive Teaching Being the Proceedings and Addresses at the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference, 28-30 May 1918*, New York: The Christian Bible House, 1918, pp. 242-45.

(1987) gives the framework for how Pentecostalism developed from Methodist foundations and was supported by its revivalist roots.⁴⁹ David W. Bebbington's *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989) examines the development of holiness in Britain, which affected both Britain and America. Bebbington rightly defines the Keswick conferences as a product of Reformed theology and shows how Calvinistic thought could synthesise with Arminian principles. Since Chapman had a strong commitment to Presbyterian theology, Bebbington's analysis is helpful in understanding how Chapman could be an advocate of Keswick. Both Dayton and Bebbington's theses detail the rise of Pentecostalism from its precursors, the Higher Life movement and the variety of holiness teachings present in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Chapman's particular context in the early twentieth century.

The most helpful insights into Chapman's work in urban evangelism are Margaret Lamberts Bendroth's analysis of Chapman's Boston campaign in 1909 and Thekla Ellen Joiner's review of Chapman's work in Chicago in 1910.⁵⁰ Bendroth provided a critical view of the Boston experience and revealed why Arcturus Z. Conrad, a pastor in Boston and a leader in Chapman's campaign, needed to defend Chapman's work in the area in his book *Boston's Awakening* (1909). Boston was largely a Roman Catholic city, she pointed out, but Chapman was able to incorporate every religious denomination willing to hear him, including the Jews and Catholics.⁵¹ Chapman's campaign, viewed successful by some, had a fair share of critics who saw it as nothing more than an event for people

⁴⁹ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1987.

⁵⁰ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston's Churches, 1885-1950*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880-1920*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007.

⁵¹ Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City*, p. 128.

who sought religious excitement, but who had no interest in being members of a church. Some critics noted that there were many people who claimed to accept salvation repeatedly during the campaign.⁵² Further, although Chapman focused on civic reform, the changes wrought during the campaign quickly vanished after his departure.⁵³ Bendroth and Joiner examined Chapman's organisational leadership and his mastery in using theological, social gospel and value-based languages to reach crowds. Chapman, as Joiner and Bendroth correctly point out, was not a social gospeller, because he depended on the conversion of souls to make changes in society.⁵⁴ Chapman did use social gospel language, but there was no clear distinction between the Social Gospel movement and evangelical revivalism until after the First World War. Bendroth and Joiner illustrate Chapman's skills for organisational leadership, knowledge of business enterprise and his adeptness in bringing a variety of groups together for campaigns in urban locations.

Two important works for understanding Chapman's efforts in evangelism and his campaign strategies are William McLoughlin's *Modern Revivalism* (1959) and Eric Crouse's *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (2005).⁵⁵ McLoughlin's work was an examination of the lives of revivalists since 1825 in which he sought to discover the dynamics behind their campaigns. One conclusion he made about Chapman's work was that he lost interest in social concerns after 1905 and from that point onward focused on "soul winning, inculcating personal morality, and

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 139-40.

⁵⁴ Joiner, *Sin in the City*, pp. 120-168; Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City*, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁵ Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005; William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1959.*

encouraging almsgiving⁵⁶ His analysis of Chapman does not correspond with the evangelist's work for two reasons. The first is that Chapman often worked closely with Charles Stelzle (1869-1941), a leader in the Presbyterian Church's Workingmen's Department and founder of the Labor Temple, the church's most important effort to address social concerns in society.⁵⁷ Though Stelzle was an aggressive Social Gospel advocate, Chapman was not. He worked closely with those in the social gospel category and his spirit was that of a Progressive, but he did not identify himself as a social gospeller. Second, Chapman was known to champion the causes of the labour unions in his campaigns. Although McLoughlin viewed Chapman as a product of conservative and populist parties, the evangelist was more complex. His efforts were funded by wealthy businessmen, but he did not abandon social concerns. In the years following 1905, Chapman coordinated his work with diverse groups, including labour unions and government organisations.

Crouse chronicled the work of American evangelists between 1884 and 1918 in their Canadian campaigns. He observed that Chapman's work, like that of his peers, witnessed large audiences and produced massive numbers of commitments to Christ, but did not effect a comparable increase in church membership.⁵⁸ By the second decade of the twentieth century, revivalism waned in Canada. Crouse attributed this to the growing Canadian interest in secular concerts and lectures rather than religious activity.⁵⁹ His observations of Chapman's crusades illustrated the evangelist's mastery of media, the success of the simultaneous crusades and the popularity he received from his carefully

⁵⁶ McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 383.

⁵⁷ -Department of Church Labor, *The Christian Work and the Evangelist* (New York), 2 June 1906, Volume 80, no. 2050, p. 728.

⁵⁸ Crouse, *Revival in the City*, pp. 158-161.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

organised and controlled campaigns. Crouse showed that Chapman proved more successful than his American contemporaries, but, like McLoughlin, Crouse viewed Chapman's efforts as a product of conservative business principles rather than social reform thought.⁶⁰ It is appropriate to acknowledge the influence upon Chapman by his business-minded mentors, Wanamaker and Converse, for instance, but Crouse overlooked the importance of Chapman's belief in the imminent return of Jesus to earth. Chapman was driven by a kingdom ethic that believed the history of the world was about to be interrupted by the return of Christ and the hope that he would be present for it.⁶¹ It is true that Chapman's operations were permeated with business practices, but he did not view these practices as antithetical to social reform thought. Whatever means lifted the poor out of their situations was of concern to him.

Secondary materials proved to be great resources to study Chapman's life in historical context. Mark Noll's book *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (2003) and David Bebbington's work *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (2004) provided the trajectory of the Evangelical movement from Jonathan Edwards to Dwight L. Moody. William G. McLoughlin's book *Modern Revivalism* (1959) is the best source for understanding the work of revivalists in America from Charles Finney to Billy Graham (1918-present). Though Noll and Bebbington did not refer to Chapman's life or work, McLoughlin provided helpful, but limited, insight into his evangelistic campaigns and techniques. George M. Marsden's book *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (1980) offered a basis for understanding fundamentalism's rise as a movement and his analysis helped to

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 147.

⁶¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot with Other Evangelistic Sermons*, Winona: Winona Publishing Company, 1906, p. 356; *The Coming and Kingdom of Christ, A Stenographic Report of the Prophetic Bible Conference Held at The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, February 24-27, 1914*, Chicago: The Colportage Association, 1914, p. 78.

illuminate the particular parts of Chapman's work that showed aspects of it. Donald Dayton's book *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (1987) and his work with the history of the holiness movements from John Wesley to the Keswick movement provided a framework for understanding how Chapman fit into the growing interest on the work of the Holy Spirit in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There are a few scholarly theses on the life and work of Chapman, two directly on Chapman's life and one indirectly on his work with the Winona Bible Conferences. Scott Stirling Hobbs's Ph.D. dissertation "The Contributions of J. Wilbur Chapman to American Evangelism" (1997) examined the role that Chapman played in the history of American evangelism.⁶² Hobbs's conclusion was that Chapman occupied a more significant role in the history of evangelism than had previously been noted by scholars.⁶³ His findings were based on Chapman's use of the simultaneous method of evangelism, his work with many denominations, his popularity and media attention and the large number of conversions that took place during his campaigns.⁶⁴ These factors are correct, but his thesis reads as a story of Chapman's life and influence and it lacks a detailed analysis of the implications of Chapman's significance in his day and also in a historical context. Hobbs depends heavily on the biographies of Ottman and Ramsay and quotes them extensively. His references from outside sources, which provide an historical overview of the evangelist's life and work, are limited mostly to newspaper articles and are largely used for his discussion of evangelistic campaigns. Hobbs's thesis is helpful in providing a report on Chapman's life and the method and style of his evangelistic techniques, but his

⁶² Scott Sterling Hobbs, "The Contributions of J. Wilbur Chapman to American Evangelism" Ph.D. Thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, UMI microform 9805569, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1997, p. 6.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-228.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 127-128, 171-173, 176.

analysis of Chapman's contribution to history is an extrapolation of the events that both Ottman and Ramsay provided.

Mark Sidwell from Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina, tracked the development of the Winona Lake Bible Conference and Chapman's fourteen-year service to the organisation in his Ph.D. dissertation "The History of the Winona Lakes Bible Conference" (1988).⁶⁵ Sidwell documented the growth of the conference during Chapman's time of service from thirty nine to ten thousand people. He showed how Chapman's oversight of the Winona Lake Conference Center made it an extension of the Niagara Conference on dispensational teachings. Sidwell's dissertation was helpful in illustrating Chapman's role in the education of Christian leadership during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

The volumes of sermons, books, instructions for church leaders, meditations for family life, along with his leadership of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and his work in revivalism spanning more than four decades, should be enough to ensure that John Wilbur Chapman's life and contributions would be remembered. Unfortunately, the name of Chapman is not well known today. An informal survey conducted at two Evangelical schools, Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, California, and Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, showed that there was a lack of familiarity about Chapman. Almost one hundred people, including professors and students, were asked the question of whether they knew the name of John Wilbur Chapman. Most professors had some limited knowledge of him as an evangelist, but no understanding of his significance in revivalism, proto-fundamentalism, premillennial dispensationalism or work on the

⁶⁵ Mark E. Sidwell, "The History of the Winona Lake Bible Conference" Ph.D. Dissertation, Greenville: Bob Jones University, 1988.

Holy Spirit. Most seminarians had never heard of this Evangelical figure and often confused him with John Appleseed Chapman (1774-1845), a well-known evangelist of the Swedenborgian Church. The Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals maintained a Hall of Biography on its campus dedicated to the contributions of Evangelicals in American history to the larger church and to American culture. Seventy-three evangelicals were listed, including Dwight Lyman Moody, Reuben A. Torrey and William A. Sunday ó all of whom were Chapman's contemporaries.⁶⁶ Chapman's name did not appear. As the foremost evangelist in the world during the first decade of the twentieth century, whose evangelistic campaigns exceeded both Moody's and Torrey's in number of commitments to Christ, it is surprising that his name did not make the list. Further, as a Presbyterian minister who had a significant influence on the church, he is largely unknown by those currently in his denomination. In a recent issue of *Presbyterians Today* a list was provided of the famous Presbyterians that everyone in the denomination should know. Among those named were Samuel Davies (1723-1761), the fourth president of the College of New Jersey, William Henry Sheppard (1865-1927), an African American missionary, a few contemporary figures such as Ralph Winter (1952-present), a Hollywood film producer, and the well-known actor and comedian, Jim Carrey (1962- present). Once again, Chapman's name did not make the list.⁶⁷ Given that Chapman's fame held America's spotlight during the two decades of the twentieth century, it is curious to note that his name and contributions have disappeared from historical remembrance.

⁶⁶ Hall of Biography, Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, Wheaton, Illinois, <http://www.wheaton.edu/ISAE/Hall-of-Biography>, 2013.

⁶⁷ Famous Presbyterians, *Presbyterians Today* (Louisville), July 2013, volume 103, no. 6, pp. 6-7.

The thesis intends to provide an overall picture of Chapman's life and work to analyse how effective his contributions to revivalism were. Chapter two investigates the influences that shaped Chapman's interest and values in ministry and revivalism. His relationship to his parents provided the earliest formation of his faith. Chapman's experiences with Quaker and Methodist meetings affected his sense of piety and devotion to God. The churches that he served contributed to his frustrations as a pastor, but also advanced his understanding of church ministry and evangelism. Chapman was married three times and each one of his wives had a role in shaping his understanding of Christian work. The chapter looks at the formative influences that contributed to his understanding of religious faith.

Chapter three explores Dwight L. Moody's influence on Chapman. Moody was the greatest counsellor, adviser and friend that Chapman had. Moody recognised Chapman's potential as a prominent evangelist and put him to work, beginning with his endeavour at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago. After Chapman returned to fulltime work as the pastor of the Bethany Church in Philadelphia, Moody continued to be the younger man's guide. The chapter examines Moody's contributions to Chapman's development as a minister and an evangelist. It also looks at the similarities between the two revivalists and how Chapman differed from his mentor.

In chapter four, Chapman's Presbyterianism is analysed. Though he attended Methodist and Quaker meetings in his childhood, he chose to become a Presbyterian like his father. Serving six Reformed churches before his fulltime engagement in evangelistic ministry as a Presbyterian evangelist, the chapter looks at Chapman's allegiance to the Presbyterian church and how it waxed and waned over the years. It also considers how

far his evangelism was an extension of the denomination and to what extent it was inter-denominational.

Chapter five examines Chapman's theology. He was an Evangelical, committed to Presbyterian theology. Chapman was educated in the Reformed tradition and he graduated from Lake Forest University in Indiana and Lane Theological Seminary in Ohio. The chapter reviews the factors that shaped his theological convictions and how they become a part of his ministry, denominational leadership and evangelism. It also examines Chapman's attitudes toward the Bible, salvation and premillennial dispensationalism, concepts that had been modified before and during his time. The chapter looks at the possibility that since Chapman did not produce anything new in theological views, this factor may have contributed to the lack of historical remembrance for his work.

Pneumatology is the subject of chapter six. As a holiness proponent and an advocate of Higher Life principles, Chapman's reputation as a teacher of the Holy Ghost gained prominence after writing *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* in 1894. The chapter examines the people who shaped his understanding of the Holy Spirit and how he was influenced by Keswick teachings. It also looks at how Chapman's Reformed views related to the subject, his effect on pneumatological thought in Evangelicalism and how far he promoted an understanding of the Holy Spirit among Christians.

Chapter seven investigates Chapman's evangelism, the most important aspect of his work. Chapman's pastoral ministry was highly evangelistic and his service to the denomination was primarily that of a revivalist. In 1903 he developed the simultaneous method of evangelism, a technique to reach more people in a campaign by replicating the

same event around the city at the same time. The paradigm became an important contribution to the trajectory of revivalism. Why did the method eventually fail? The chapter reviews the factors that made Chapman a success and how his approach differed from other revivalists. It also looks at what methods of evangelism were unique to him and it examines his contributions to revivalism.

The life and influence of J. Wilbur Chapman were significant and his contributions played an important role in shaping the Evangelical faith. By 1902, some newspapers regarded him as the greatest evangelist of the day and mentioned that his sermons were read and heard by more people than those of any living orator.⁶⁸ At the end of his life, Chapman had preached to audiences of more than sixty million people in more than 180 campaigns.⁶⁹ In a time prior to the use of radio broadcasts or other modern forms of the media, he was able to reach great numbers of people in America, Canada and the world. Why was J. Wilbur Chapman one of the most notable preachers, teachers, denominational leaders and revivalists of his time?

⁶⁸ -Dr J. Wilbur Chapman Greatest Evangelist, *The Chatham Press* (Chatham, NJ), Volume 6, no. 15, 5 July 1902, p. 5.

⁶⁹ -The Reviver of Revivalism, *Collier's Magazine* (Buffalo), 25 January 1913, volume 50, no. 19, p. 20.

Chapter Two

Formative Influences

By the first decade of the twentieth century, J. Wilbur Chapman's reputation as a pastor and an evangelist had reached a peak. During the Boston campaign in 1909, people were reported to have pleaded with tears for entry to the overcrowded Tremont Temple to hear the evangelist speak. Some of those crowding the sidewalk had travelled more than one hundred miles to catch the spirit and take in the blessing¹ John D. Carson (unknown- 1927), J. Wilbur Chapman's friend and colleague in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, remembered Chapman as a man who was a potent presence and a formative force in the councils and activities of the evangelical church, a preacher to preachers, and one who could inspire young men and lead them into the holy ministry of the gospel² Chapman was held in high esteem as a clergyman, denominational leader and evangelist and he was generally regarded by the public as non-sensational, orderly and decent.³ How did Chapman develop his skills in speaking, methods of organisation and ability to motivate Christian leaders? Who were the individuals that shaped Chapman's faith and how did their influence enable him to attain increasing prominence in his ministry?

The few biographies on Chapman's life provide information about the people and influences that may have shaped Chapman's life and work, but they fail to investigate how the factors contributed specifically to the development of the man and his

¹ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston's Church, 1885-1950*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 135-6.

² John D. Carson, foreword to Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, p. xi-xiii.

³ 'The King's Business in Boston' *The Standard* (Chicago), volume 56, no. 27, 6 March 1909, p. 6.

achievements. Ford C. Ottman, a close colleague of Chapman, wrote his biography with the intent of making it a memorial to his friend rather than to analyse why Chapman was important. John Cummins Ramsay, though more critical in his investigation of Chapman than Ottman, looked at the evangelist's life to find ways to address the lack of emphasis on evangelism in the 1950s. Scott Sterling Hobbs examined the contributions of Chapman to evangelism mostly by using Ottman's and Ramsay's work. The purpose of this chapter is to look at the formative influences upon Chapman and note explicitly how they shaped his life as a pastor, a Christian leader and an evangelist.

Chapman was born in Richmond, Indiana, on 17 June 1859. His ancestors were some of the town's earliest settlers, having arrived in the area by 1787. Richmond was deeply influenced by the Puritans of New England and the Quakers of Pennsylvania who pioneered into the Indian territory of Indiana during the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁴ By 1821, when the Friends in the Indiana territories began to hold an annual gathering, a large meeting house was constructed at the northeast end of town and Richmond became the headquarters for Quakers in the state.⁵ Although the Chapmans were not Quakers, Richmond served an important role in the history of the Friends in Wayne County. The town was the home of the Quaker abolitionist Levi Coffin (1798-1877), President of the Underground Railroad, who helped more than 2,000 men, women and children escape slavery and Richmond's anti-slavery sentiments were strong. Originally built on two hundred acres of land, the town grew to almost three thousand acres by the time Chapman was born.⁶ Economically, Richmond was not among the

⁴ Genealogy of Chapman family, Presbyterian Historical Society record group no. 2, box 1, folder 2.

⁵ Shirley McCord (ed.), *Travel Accounts of Indiana*, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970, p. 177.

⁶ Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, pp.14-15.

most affluent towns of its time, but neither was it one of the poorest. Most of its residents had enough finances to maintain the simple ways of the Friends' religious faith.

Chapman's family lived in one of the finest houses in the city, which was nevertheless only a simple two-story brick house.⁷ His family's assets provided economic security at a modest level.⁸

Chapman's parents had strong roots in the Whitewater Valley of Indiana. Lorinda McWhinney (1837-1872), Chapman's mother, came from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian heritage of the province of Ulster. Her ancestors had settled in eastern Tennessee and came to the Whitewater Valley of Indiana in 1817. Lorinda's family had come from both of the founding groups of the Quaker settlement of Richmond, the Puritans of New England and the Quakers of Pennsylvania.⁹ The ancestors of Alexander Hamilton Chapman (1826-1878), John's father, came from Puritan lineage in Oxfordshire, England, and settled initially in the Boston area in 1707. At the time of John Wilbur Chapman's birth, John joined the third generation of Chapmans who had settled in the Whitewater Valley region.

J. Wilbur was the second child of Alexander and Lorinda. He had five siblings, an older sister, two younger sisters and two younger brothers. As a young man, his father was trained in medicine in Brownsville, Indiana, but never served in that profession, preferring to work as an insurance adjuster.¹⁰ Alexander, with the assistance of some

⁷ Timothy Nicholson to Ford Ottman, 1920, Presbyterian Historical Society record group no. 2, box 1, folder 2.

⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917, pp. 8-9.

⁹ Henry Clay Fox (ed.), *Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond, Indiana: From the Earliest Historical Times Down to the Present, Including a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Representative Families in Wayne County*, Madison: Western Historical Association, 1912, p. 235.

¹⁰ John Arthur Garraty and Mark Christopher Carnes (eds), *American National Biography*, Volume 4, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 709.

independent means, supported the family in relative comfort.¹¹ When J. Wilbur was about eight years old, his father's fortune was lost for an unknown reason and the family had to move across town to a smaller, less expensive home. This experience introduced John and his siblings to discomforts in life and he believed that this phase of his youth helped to prepare him for the life of a pastor since it gave him a sense of compassion for those who experienced hardship.¹² Although all the Chapman children eventually moved away from Richmond, both Alexander and Lorinda died in the little Quaker town.

Lorinda's blend of Methodist and Quaker spirituality provided Chapman with an example of "consistent Christian devotion"¹³ Sundays were explicitly set aside for worship and church activities.¹⁴ Lorinda, Chapman wrote, had a "sunny disposition and often filled the home with song"¹⁵ Her spiritual influence on the children was so strong that out of admiration for his wife's Methodism, Alexander, himself a Presbyterian, took the members of the family to the Methodist church every Sunday to ensure they had exposure to Christian faith and training. It was not until several years after Lorinda's death on 29 October 1872 at thirty-five years of age, that he transferred the family's membership from the Methodist church to a Presbyterian congregation to provide them with an opportunity to learn Reformed theology.¹⁶ The elder Chapman, however, still encouraged his children to keep their ties to the Methodist Church out of respect for their mother.

¹¹ Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, pp. 7-8.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³ J. Wilbur Chapman, "An Old Fashioned Home" in *And Judas Iscariot And Other Revival Sermons*, Chicago: The Winona Publishing Company, 1906, p. 47.

¹⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, "What is a Christian?" in *Revival Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, p. 11.

¹⁵ Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, p. 8.

¹⁶ John Wilbur Chapman collections 77, Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois, Archive collection 77, box 1, folder 1.

For the next six years, Chapman and his siblings attended three churches, though not always all of them on the same day. The children attended the Quaker School in the morning, the Sunday school class at Grace Methodist Church in the afternoon, and the Presbyterian Church on occasion. The unusual experience of attending the three denominations impressed upon Chapman that there was a common bond among churches and that all Evangelical congregations were a vehicle for the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁷ It mattered little to him what denominational affiliation he or anyone held when it came to being a Christian. He believed that while varying theologies had value, the focus of attention must be on the gospel, not an individual church. "Church preference," he wrote, "was not a matter to boast about since denominations do not save."¹⁸ Church membership, however, was another matter. One needed to belong to a congregation, he believed, and different congregations and denominations were useful because "certain kinds of believers can best work with each other."¹⁹

Chapman's entrepreneurial spirit appeared early in life. In 1870, at the age of ten, he sold milk and delivered it to customers around town from a wagon.²⁰ He did not do this out of necessity, but rather because of his enterprising nature.²¹ During Chapman's later years, a legend spread that his early milk-cart experience indicated his family's limited means. This motivated Chapman's best childhood friend, Charles White, to write, "He never peddled milk on a cart as has been said. For about a year he lived at The

¹⁷ "Leading Presbyterian Divines Preach in Many of City's Churches," *Los Angeles Times*, volume 30, no. 230, 25 May 1903, p. 4.

¹⁸ John Wilbur Chapman, "What is a Christian?" *Revival Sermons*, p. 11.

¹⁹ "Rockefeller's Future Church," *New Church Messenger*, Chicago: General Convention of the New Jerusalem, volume 115, no. 3291, 7 August 1918, p. 95.

²⁰ Timothy Nicholson to Ford Ottman, 12 February 1919, Presbyterian Historical Society archives, Philadelphia, PA, Collection 77, Folder 1, Box 1.

²¹ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and His Message*, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1962, pp. 23-4.

Greenway Dairy just south of Richmond, one of those model Whitewater farms, the pride of the county. Wilbur did deliver milk for them but behind as fine coach horses as any high stepper that ever crossed Fifth Avenue.²² In addition to his dairy career, the young Chapman sold newspapers and worked for a confectioner.²³ Jobs such as these instilled in him a strong work ethic and a growing confidence of his ability to succeed.

During Chapman's adolescent years, he and White formed numerous partnerships.²⁴ Together, they used jigsaws and jack-knives to make brackets and other decorative items to sell at county fairs and door-to-door to households. When the young boys created business cards and letterheads for their newly-formed imaginary business, "Chapman, White & Company" it looked as though it had the potential to become a viable occupation. Neither boy had an interest, however, to turn it into a life-long venture, but Chapman's ability to make money provided assistance to the members of his family during their years of financial challenge. By the time of Chapman's departure from Richmond in 1877, the enterprising young man had accrued a modest savings account at Richmond Savings Bank to pay for his future college expenses.²⁵

Although Chapman possessed skills and abilities that could have equipped him for a successful business career, the possibility of ministry was always in his mind.²⁶ As a very young boy, Chapman often pretended to be a preacher. Whenever enough people gathered near him he informed them that they were his congregation. His elder sister, Ida, stated that "from the time he was about four or five years old he was always playing church. He was the preacher and the rest of us the congregation. He had a chair for a

²² Charles White to Ford Ottman (undated) in Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 16-17.

²³ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, p. 16.

²⁴ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York: American Tract Society, 1918, p. 16.

pulpit and no one was ever allowed to occupy that place but himself.²⁷ This early affinity for preaching and attracting crowds remained with him throughout his college and seminary years, well ahead of his ordination.

Chapman's father, however, expressed concern about his eldest son considering a career in ministry. Alexander said to him, "There are enough poor ministers now. The bar and the pulpits are overfilled. You would not be a success in that high calling. You are too full of fun and mischief."²⁸ Alexander hoped that J. Wilbur would become a teacher or college professor and encouraged him to train for these careers while attending college. These words impressed the young Chapman and he struggled with options of a career to please his father, but he could not escape the desire to preach.²⁹ When his father died in 1878, just prior to his burial, Chapman sought affirmation from his elder sister Ida, who had served as a surrogate mother following Lorinda's death six years earlier. She told J. Wilbur, "You have my consent, and I am sure that God has called you."³⁰ Ida's affirmation as the eldest member of the family was important to Chapman in the absence of his parents.

Even though Alexander had been against his son entering the ministry, it was, ironically, the positive influence of his father that inspired in Chapman the desire to become a preacher.³¹ A devout Christian, Alexander instilled his faith in the young boy and his ethics permeated Chapman's life.³² Once, in childhood, Chapman came under the influence of an older and wayward boy. On his way to what he described as a

²⁷ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 21.

²⁸ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 24-5.

²⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. 16.

³⁰ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 21.

³¹ *The Treasury: An Evangelical Monthly for Pastor and People*, volume. 8, no. 4, New York: E.B. Treat, August 1890.

³² J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1911, p. 6.

questionable if not sinful place, he turned the corner to see an image of his father's face.³³ This image took him back to a time when his father put his arms around the young Chapman and said, "My son, if you go wrong it will kill me."³⁴ The term "son" was an affectionate one for Alexander and during John's years at Oberlin College (1877-78), Alexander referred to him this way. The father's letters were filled with admonitions to his "son" about the necessity to avoid debt, the responsibility of keeping balances paid and the usefulness of making his living quarters a place of meditation and prayer.³⁵ Chapman was certain that it was his father's moral character that put him in the pulpit instead of turning him away from it. The young Chapman had great respect for Alexander and almost a quarter of a century after his father's death on 16 March 1878, he dedicated his book *Fishing for Men* (1904) with the words, "To my father, a Christian gentleman, an ideal father and a priest in his household"³⁶

It was at the Grace Methodist Church in Richmond in 1877 at age 17 that Chapman first experienced the power of a public confession of faith.³⁷ A visiting evangelist gave an invitation for people to make a public commitment to Jesus Christ during the afternoon Sunday school class. A "little old-fashioned lady" sitting next to him, Mrs C.C. Binkley, said, "Wilbur, hadn't you better stand?" Chapman wondered to himself why she would make this comment. "Why should I rise? My mother was a saint; my father is one of the truest men I know. My home teaching has been all that a boy could have; I know about Christ and I think I realise his power to save."³⁸ When he did

³³ J. Wilbur Chapman, "An Old Fashioned Home," p. 47.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

³⁵ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 26-7.

³⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Fishing for Men*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904, title page.

³⁷ Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, p. 4.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

not respond, she put her arm under his elbow as an expression of support.³⁹ She later indicated to Chapman that she could sense the inner conflict he had about whether to remain seated or to stand. Her personal touch gave him the strength to make a profession of faith in this manner. 'I shall never forget my standing that day', he wrote, 'Whether I had been accepted of God before that day or not I cannot say, but I do know that the deepest impression on my life was made at that minute...'⁴⁰ Convinced of the power of a personal touch to win people for Christ, Chapman used this motif during his pastorates and evangelistic campaigns to prompt people to make a public confession for Christ. In 1911 he wrote *The Personal Touch*, a book in which he used Mrs Binkley as an example of the power of another person's encouragement in making a public profession of faith.⁴¹

Encouraged by his father to become involved in the local Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) Chapman had the chance to develop his first preaching skills in 1877. The Y.M.C.A., emerging from Great Britain and then in the United States, had close ties to revivals.⁴² In America, the Y.M.C.A. offered a safe haven to Christians who had experienced the ill effects of urbanisation on a predominantly rural America. The organisation provided young men with an opportunity to prepare and deliver sermons, giving them exposure to a pulpit.⁴³ At the age of seventeen, Chapman received an invitation to preach at a Y.M.C.A. service in Richmond. Excited, at first, to have been given such an opportunity, his enthusiasm waned when he considered himself to have

³⁹ Chapman, 'Is It Nothing to You?' in *Evangelistic Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922, p. 165.

⁴⁰ *The Expositor and Current Anecdotes*, Cleveland: F.M. Barton Publisher, October 1913, p. 373.

⁴¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, 1911.

⁴² Thomas Winter, *Making Men, Making Class: The Y.M.C.A. and Workingmen, 1877-1920*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 19.

⁴³ Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1965, p. 93.

conducted the service rather poorly. Following the meeting, Chapman attempted to escape quickly before anyone could speak to him of his unsuccessful attempt to preach. A business acquaintance of his father's stepped up to him, however, placed his hands on his shoulders and Chapman remembered these as being the words that were said, "I was deeply interested in what you did to-day, and somehow I have the impression that you will someday be a minister of the Gospel."⁴⁴ These words, or something like them, persuaded Chapman that he had been affirmed in his call to preach and led him to believe that regardless of his inward feelings about his delivery, if he remained true to the scriptures, God would make people receptive to the message.⁴⁵ Chapman's experience at the Y.M.C.A. provided him with an assurance to pursue the preaching ministry.

At the close of his seventeenth year, when Chapman's father transferred his family's membership from the Methodist church to the Presbyterian church in Richmond, Chapman had already acquired a deep admiration for the man who had become the new minister of the Presbyterian church, Dr Isaac M. Hughes. Hughes reciprocated an equally-shared regard for Chapman and believed that the young man showed fine Christian character.⁴⁶ On the evening of Chapman's public confession of faith and reception into membership, an act that holds special significance for Presbyterians as the moment of a personal testimony of dedication to Christ, Hughes signed a letter of commendation for him to the President of Oberlin College in Ohio. His letter stated, "In habits, morals, industry, economy, conduct, etc., you will find him all that you can

⁴⁴ John W. Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Timothy Nicholson to Ford Ottman, 12 February 1919, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm reel 1, box 1, file 1.

desire.⁴⁷ Chapman wrote that he had no doubt that he would have become a Methodist minister had it not been for this transfer.⁴⁸

Having received his letter of acceptance, Chapman departed for Oberlin in the fall of 1876.⁴⁹ The well-known nineteenth-century evangelist Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), had taught systematic theology at the college and, even though Finney's tenure had finished well before the time he had arrived, Chapman admitted his admiration for the evangelist.⁵⁰ Finney, one of the most important American evangelists during the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840) was an innovative revivalist. He had conducted successful campaigns all over the nation and believed that a revival was a natural phenomenon in an orderly universe and that each could be produced by a scientific method.⁵¹ Chapman believed that the evangelist had been a man of God, a man of power and a man whose preaching was filled with the fervour to "startle people into action."⁵² Finney had died one year prior to Chapman's arrival, yet his presence and legacy still permeated the campus when Chapman arrived. For reasons he never made clear, however, Chapman left Oberlin after one year.

In 1876 Chapman transferred to the newly-formed Lake Forest College, a Presbyterian institution founded in Illinois to train ministers for Christian work. He graduated with its first class in 1879. During his years at Lake Forest, he developed a close friendship with Benjamin Fay Mills (1857-1916), a promising evangelist among the

⁴⁷ Isaac M. Hughes to J.H. Fairchild, President of Oberlin College, 1 September 1876, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm reel 1, box 1, file 1.

⁴⁸ Chapman, *Evangelistic Sermons*, p. 12.

⁴⁹ Cf. chapter four on Presbyterianism for Chapman's background and training at educational institutions.

⁵⁰ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, Philadelphia: Universal Publishing Company, 1900, p. 18.

⁵¹ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, New York: Leavitt, Lord and Company, 1835, pp. 33-44.

⁵² J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, p. 85.

Congregationalists. The two men shared a passion for winning souls and became known to their friends as "Bill" and "Fay."⁵³ For many years into their ministries, Chapman and Mills would travel together to listen to prominent preachers and observe their sermon styles and effectiveness from the pulpit. These visits included famous preachers in New York City such as Dr Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887) of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn and Dr Thomas De Witt Talmage (1832-1902) of Brooklyn Tabernacle.⁵⁴ Beecher and Talmage were considered the most famous preachers in America at the time of the visit and both men were revival preachers, examples for Chapman to study.

Chapman and Mills formed a strong evangelistic team and between 1886 and 1897 they conducted successful evangelistic campaigns, the most renowned held in Minneapolis from 20 to 23 March 1893.⁵⁵ Mills was the director of all the events and, as was customary in previous Mills-Chapman campaigns, Chapman was his assistant.⁵⁶ A crowd of eight thousand attended each of the events all four nights, a number that stretched the capacity of the Exposition Hall in which the meetings were held. The volunteers who assisted in this campaign included seven hundred ushers, fifty door keepers and two thousand choir members.⁵⁷ Mills had the ability to attract large crowds with his thundering voice and his teaching on the law of God and judgment of man. Chapman, who usually followed Mills' preaching, presented his message in a gentle and persuasive manner, declaring the love and grace of God. Mills and Chapman were a partnership of opposites, one presenting the holiness of God and the other the love of

⁵³ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 32.

⁵⁵ B.F. Mills and J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Great Awakening: A Report of the Christian Convention of the Northwest, Held in Connection with the Union Revival Meetings Conducted by Rev. B. Fay Mills and Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman and the Pastors of the Vicinity, in Exposition Hall, Minneapolis, March 20 to 23, 1893*, Minneapolis:H.B. Hudson, 1893.

⁵⁶ "From the Field" *Record of Christian Work* (Chicago), Volume 11, no. 2, February 1892, p. 45.

⁵⁷ "Revival at Minneapolis" *The Christian Union* (New York), 8 April 1892, volume 47, no. 14, p. 679.

God.⁵⁸ Within a year, Chapman's fame rose above his colleagues and the Mills-Chapman campaigns became the Chapman-Mills campaigns.

The most influential person in the development of Chapman's life and ministry, however, was Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899). Chapman sought Moody in Chicago in 1878 and listened to him preach four times in one day.⁵⁹ On the last occasion, Chapman spoke to Moody and told him that he was doubtful of his salvation. Moody assured Chapman that he was a Christian by pointing him to the twenty-fourth verse of the fourth chapter of the gospel of John which declares, "he that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life"⁶⁰ From that moment on, Chapman wrote, "I have never doubted."⁶¹ After his encounter with Moody in 1878, Chapman followed the evangelist's work in various cities and kept his congregations informed of Moody's progress in evangelism.⁶² Chapman modelled his ministry, preaching and evangelistic efforts on Moody in the years that followed. Moody's impact on Chapman was so significant that it will be analysed in greater detail in chapter three.

Following Chapman's graduation with a bachelor's degree, he enrolled in studies at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1879 to begin his training in ministry. Prior to graduation, however, he was already fulfilling the duties of an ordained minister. Chapman eagerly accepted all opportunities to serve whenever a church was in need of clergy and these opportunities helped pay his educational expenses. With letters of reference from his professors, he was able to build a reputation as a young minister of

⁵⁸ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 27-8.

⁵⁹ Chapman, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 28.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

great promise to any congregation desiring temporary supply.⁶³ Congregations responded to the school with letters commending his ability to preach and Chapman filled more vacant pulpits than any other student at the seminary.⁶⁴ He graduated with the class of 1882, but, by that time, he was already supplying pastoral services to the Presbyterian churches of Liberty, Indiana, and College Corner, Ohio, rural churches with small attendances.⁶⁵ On 13 April 1881, Chapman received his certificate of licensure from the Presbytery of Whitewater which authorised him to preach the gospel of Christ, as a probationer for the holy ministry, within the bounds of this Presbytery, or wherever else he shall be orderly called.⁶⁶ Later that year, in August 1881, the Probate Court of Butler County, Ohio, granted him a minister's licence to perform marriages. Both authorisations were granted to Chapman prior to his completion of seminary studies.

During his studies at Lane, Chapman renewed his acquaintance with Irene Steddom, a childhood friend from Richmond. The friendship soon developed into a romantic relationship and on 10 May 1882, one week after Chapman graduated from Lane, the two were married.⁶⁷ Steddom was raised in a Quaker household and Chapman admired her spirituality, a characteristic that reminded him of his mother.⁶⁸ She was also a trained musician and her soprano voice was remembered as having an unusual sweetness.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, Steddom died in May 1886, just one month after the birth of a child, Bertha Irene, and Chapman faced the difficult task of raising his daughter alone.

⁶³ Theophilus Wilson, general letter of commendation on behalf of Chapman to all churches, 20 March 1880, Billy Graham Center archives, Wheaton, Illinois, box 1, file 1.

⁶⁴ A.N. Thompson to Ford C. Ottman, 1920, in *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, p. 35-6.

⁶⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, D.D., *The Treasury* (New York), vol. 8, no. 4, p. 239.

⁶⁶ John Wilbur Chapman (1859-1918) records from the heritage patron, micropublication no. 19, Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill., record group no. 2, correspondence and scrapbooks, box 1, folder 1.

⁶⁷ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 39.

⁶⁸ White to Ottman, Presbyterian Historical Society, microfilm reel 1, box 1, file 1.

⁶⁹ White to Ottman, Presbyterian Historical Society, microfilm reel 1, box 1, file 1.

Even though Bertha never knew her birth mother, she inherited her mother's talent for singing and often joined her father onstage during his large crusades.⁷⁰

As pastor to the Liberty and College Corner congregations in Indiana, Chapman had been rotating services every other Sunday between the two congregations when Mills presented Chapman with an opportunity to acquire a more stable and permanent pastoral situation. Mills invited him to visit his parish in Greenwich, New York, and introduced him to the Dutch Reformed Church of Saratoga in Schuylerville, New York, a part of the Reformed Church in America (RCA). As Mills had hoped, Chapman was asked to preach at a service in Schuylerville and his sermon resulted in an invitation to become the minister of the church. The congregation differed demographically from the farmers he had previously served.⁷¹ The Schuylerville congregation was larger in number and its members were better educated, drawn largely from the professional strata of society. The contract for Chapman's pastoral services was sent immediately after his visit. It was an anomaly, but one that showed the consistory's enthusiasm. Previously, the custom of the church was to hear several candidates and to interview them several times before issuing a call.⁷² The elders and deacons of the church, who wrote the formal letter offering employment, allowed Chapman to have control over the variety of biblical texts he used as preaching material, as long as he agreed to preach on a portion of the Heidelberg Catechism every Sunday.⁷³ As a Dutch Reformed congregation, this expectation was not unusual, but it presented a challenge to Chapman, who had not had a previous opportunity to use the catechism. A further complication for Chapman appeared when he

⁷⁰ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 57.

⁷¹ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York: American Tract Society, 1918, pp. vii-viii.

⁷² J.H. DeRidder to Ford C. Ottman 1893, Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 44.

⁷³ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 46.

found out that the congregation was under the control of one elderly deacon. This man believed that it was his duty to censor and criticise the pastor's sermons. The pastoral antagonist held very strong opinions about the literal interpretation of scripture, especially about women not speaking in church. Chapman, however, because of his interpersonal skills, earned the deacon's affection and respect and was able to invite women to offer the Sunday morning prayers without a complaint to his board.⁷⁴

After two years of service to the Schuylerville church, Chapman accepted an invitation to the First Reformed Church in Albany, the capital of the state of New York. The First Reformed Church was a notable congregation in the state of New York and it was one of the founding members of an independent synod that became the Reformed Church in America (RCA). The Dutch Reformed church's consistory dissolved the pastoral relationship with "great reluctance"⁷⁵ Chapman assured its members that after careful and prayerful consideration of the subject, he had heard "the call of the Master to a wider field of labour and usefulness"⁷⁶ On 3 May 1885, Chapman began his work in Albany. The congregation was more affluent than the Schuylerville church and it included many families with a long ancestry in the city. First Church was very traditional and uncomfortable about newer ways of doing ministry. During Chapman's first year, Mills, now serving a church in West Rutland, Vermont, visited Albany for two weeks. The partners conducted an evangelistic campaign, but the event concluded without one single conversion. Chapman, greatly disappointed at the lack of success, was surprised when his congregation asked him to continue the evangelistic efforts after Mills had

⁷⁴ J.H. DeRidder to Ford C. Ottman 1893, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 44.

⁷⁵ Minutes of the Consistory, First Reformed Church in America, Albany, New York. 31 March 1885 (First Reformed Church, Albany, NY).

⁷⁶ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 49.

returned to his pastoral duties in Vermont. Chapman requested that his congregation should begin with prayer and that the members of the church should identify every person they knew whom they believed to be unconverted. Within two weeks, hundreds of people in Albany had become Christians and the First Church took great pride in referring to these meetings as the start of Chapman's evangelistic career.⁷⁷ Over the next few years, the membership of Albany increased to a point where he was able to make changes to support the growing congregation and ease his work. The church under Chapman's leadership conducted a large capital campaign raising \$7,000 to enhance the property.⁷⁸ By 1888, the congregation had grown to a size that could afford its first assistant pastor, a great relief to Chapman and his strenuous schedule.⁷⁹

One of the largest changes to occur under Chapman's leadership in Albany was in the area of music. Moody had impressed upon Chapman the need to make meetings and services interesting and music, he believed, was the vehicle. Moody was the first evangelist to use music in a professional manner and it is difficult to imagine the effectiveness of his work apart from his song leader Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908).⁸⁰ The songs of Sankey combined with the sermons of Moody had a powerful influence upon people to dedicate their lives for Christian service.⁸¹ The Moody-Sankey style was down-to-earth and brought music to a level that connected with those who were not inclined to participate in accepted church traditions. Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos*, originally published in 1872, became enormously popular and by 1903 it contained over

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 55-6.

⁷⁸ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, First Reformed Church of Albany, New York, 7 June 1888.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Consistory, First Reformed Church of Albany, New York, 12 December 1888.

⁸⁰ Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London: T and T Clark International, 2005, p. 99.

⁸¹ Elias Nason, *The American Evangelists: Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey*, Boston: D. Lothrop and Company Publishers, 1877, p. 4.

twelve hundred songs.⁸² In 1887, Chapman emphasised the importance for all members to commit to attending the evening service dedicated to evangelism, a change in attitude for the church which had previously regarded this service as an option for worshippers.⁸³ In the case of the Albany congregation, the use of a formal and traditional hymnody, Chapman believed, remained a limiting factor in his attempt at filling the church pews.⁸⁴

Chapman's experience at the Albany church solidified his understanding of the power of music to promote the gospel. At least once a month, Chapman believed, a great service of song should be held.⁸⁵ "New hymns," he wrote, "should be used with the old."⁸⁶ Together, they represented the bond between the historical and modern church. For this reason, he advised that the selection of hymns, whether old or new, was important, so that the sermon and song could reinforce each other and become effective.⁸⁷ He had observed the ineffectiveness of a poorly selected song which "chilled" rather than inspired the audience after an emotionally driven message of salvation.⁸⁸ The hymns, he believed, needed a "tender" element so that the audience could nurture its relationship to Christ or be moved to receive his love.⁸⁹ As a trained minister, however, he had a concern that although his songs touched the heart, they were not to contain theological inaccuracies, like some other gospel hymns during his time.⁹⁰

In 1886, the same year his wife Irene died, Chapman met a woman named Agnes Pruyn Strain. Strain was a member of Chapman's church and well known in the area for

⁸² David Nicholls (ed.), *The Cambridge History of American Music*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 155.

⁸³ Church Circular, First Reformed Church of Albany, New York, 4 April 1887.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

⁸⁵ Chapman, "An Organized Church" in *The Problem of the Work*, p. 125.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁸⁷ Chapman, "Why Some Fail" in *The Problem of the Work*, p. 249.

⁸⁸ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 55-6.

⁸⁹ Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, p. 52.

⁹⁰ Bebbington, *Dominance of Evangelicalism*, pp. 162-3.

her Christian teaching, especially on prayer. Ten years prior to Chapman's arrival, Strain and two of her friends, Mrs Clark and Mrs Kirk, were troubled by the small number of conversions in Albany during the first few days of the 1875 evangelistic campaign led by Henry Moorhouse (1840-1881), an English evangelist and dispensationalist teacher.⁹¹ Strain, Clark and Kirk made it a habit to pray at noontime in the church for an outpouring of God's Spirit in the city. The atmosphere of Moorhouse's campaign soon changed and by the time he completed his campaign thousands had made a confession for Christ and joined the membership of various churches around Albany.⁹²

Agnes Pruyn Strain was a prominent Bible teacher and Christian author. Her book *Studies in the Song of Songs and Other Bible Lessons* (1898) became popular for summarising her teachings on various topics of the Bible such as the Song of Solomon, Ruth, the four gospels, Noah's Ark, a description of a biblical woman and Jesus as Saviour. When Chapman learned of her giftedness for discovering and understanding spiritual truths, he enlisted her help and guidance in eschatological hermeneutics. Strain taught him the intricate points of premillennialism and encouraged him to attend dispensational conferences at Niagara on the Lake, an annual gathering of ministers and laymen that began in 1876, in order to discern the divine plan for the end of the world by an exegesis of biblical prophecies.⁹³ Previous to Strain's influence, though he was a premillennialist, dispensationalism had not been a system that Chapman had given much attention to in his preaching.⁹⁴ Following her guidance and attendance at annual

⁹¹ George C. Needham, *Recollections of Henry Moorhouse, Evangelist*, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1881, pp. 111-116.

⁹² Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 57-8.

⁹³ Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992, p. 377.

⁹⁴ Cf. Chapter (theology) for Chapman's development in dispensationalism.

conferences, Chapman called it the "blessed hope" which inspired him in his ministry and evangelism.⁹⁵ Chapman and Strain were married on 4 November 1888. They had four children: Robert, who died in infancy, John Wilbur, Jr, Alexander Hamilton, and Agnes Pruyn. Chapman admired his wife's depth of spirituality and her ability to provide a mother's love to his young daughter Bertha Irene.

In April 1907, Chapman and his wife, Agnes, were resting at Winona Lake, Indiana, when Agnes suffered a heart attack. She was relocated to a hospital in South Bend, Indiana, and within a few days she began complaining of a pain in her leg. The doctors determined that a blood clot had formed. The usual treatment at the time was amputation, so her leg was removed. Following surgery, the procedure caused blood poisoning and one week later, on 25 April 1907, she died.⁹⁶ During this hospitalisation, Chapman suffered a heart condition himself and lay in a hospital bed in the next room to hers.⁹⁷ Being critically ill, a condition from which he would recover, Chapman was unable to attend his wife's funeral service.⁹⁸ He wrote a tribute to Agnes that credited her with his success as a pastor and an evangelist. The statement was read on his behalf by his close personal friend, Ford C. Ottman, at the funeral service.⁹⁹ "When I was unknown and practically unused in any special way," he wrote, "it was she who told me she thought I might do more for God and men, and then she helped me with all her might. I owe her more for what I may have been permitted to do to the sweet influences of this angelic soul than to anyone else this side of heaven. Her personality pervades many of my

⁹⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Lord's Return," *Light on Prophecy*, Philadelphia: The Christian Herald, 1918, p. 354-9.

⁹⁶ (no title), *Albany Journal* (New York), 25 June 1907 BGC archives, folder 4-2.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ (no title), *Philadelphia Ledger* (Philadelphia), 29 June 1907, BGC archives microfilm, folder 4-2.

⁹⁹ (no title), *Utica Press* (New York), 29 June 1907, BGC archives microfilm, folder 4-2.

sermons, and she has animated most of my illustrations.¹⁰⁰ Chapman credited Strain with his success as a pastor and an evangelist.

Just as the Albany congregation was in need of a revival, Chapman found the First Reformed church in the same predicament. He sought help from Frederick Brotherton Meyer (1847-1929), a man who had become one of his spiritual mentors. Meyer was a Baptist minister in England who taught holiness and higher life principles, a concern for the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, personal sanctity and the achievement of growing grace which leads to a victorious life.¹⁰¹ He was a prolific writer on spirituality and was, at the time of Chapman's request, leading him into a deeper understanding of the presence of God in the act of prayer. Meyer counselled Chapman to give attention to his evening service. The evening service in evangelical traditions had largely been set aside for the implanting of the gospel in attenders.¹⁰² During the next four years, Chapman conducted Sunday night evangelistic services and replaced the hymns of the church with gospel songs. By the end of his fifth year as pastor, Chapman, with the aid of Meyer, had transformed the traditional Albany church into a highly evangelistic congregation.

J. Wilbur's years at First Reformed Church were successful, but the demands of the ministry weighed heavily upon him. In 1889 he resigned his position for professional and personal reasons. As a minister, he felt that he could not manage the stress of providing pastoral care to a church with such a large membership. Writing to the

¹⁰⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman's Tribute to His Wife, *The Advance* (Chicago), 11 July 1907, volume 54, no. 2174, p. 44.

¹⁰¹ Frederick Brotherton Meyer, *The Secret of Guidance*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1896, p. 52.; see also Ian Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change: The Contribution of F.B. Meyer (1847-1929)*, Carlisle: Pasternoster, 2003, pp. 36-9.

¹⁰² David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Routledge, 1989, p. 118.

members of his board, he stated that although he had previously brought his health problems to their attention, they had not provided an answer to his request for a solution, so he had no option but to resign.¹⁰³ He added that he had been informed by his doctor that his nerves were badly shattered and that if he continued his ministry, he would do so at his peril.¹⁰⁴ The board of the Albany church quickly responded stating that it had decided to seek the services of an assistant pastor to aid Chapman and hoped that he would withdraw his resignation.¹⁰⁵ Chapman accepted the offer and continued in his position until a few months later when he no longer felt he could maintain the duties even with the additional help.

On 8 January 1890, the Bethany Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia offered Chapman the position of pastor to the congregation. In order to tempt him away from the Albany church, he was offered the attractive sum of four thousand dollars a year.¹⁰⁶ It was a very large figure for a person in the 1890s, when the average annual salary of a skilled worker in the United States, like those who attended the Bethany church, was between four hundred and forty-five dollars and nineteen-hundred dollars.¹⁰⁷ Bethany was one of the most conspicuous congregations in the nation. It had a large membership and its Sunday school had recently become the largest in the world, numbering over five thousand in attendance each week.¹⁰⁸ The growth was attributed to the talents of

¹⁰³ Chapman to the board of the First Reformed Church of Albany (undated 1889), Presbyterian Historical Society microfilm, reel 1, box 1, file 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Board Minutes of the First Reformed Church of Albany, New York to Chapman, (undated), Presbyterian Historical Society microfilm, reel 1, box 1, file 1.

¹⁰⁶ Contract between the congregation of Bethany Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, PA and Chapman, 8 January 1890, Presbyterian Historical Society, reel 1, box 1, file 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Annual Earnings: National Bureau of Economic Research*, Clarence D. Long (ed.), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 41-42.

¹⁰⁸ Wages and Earnings in the United States 1860-90, *Minutes of the Session*, Bethany Presbyterian Church 1890, Presbyterian Historical Society.

Chapman's predecessor, Arthur T. Pierson, D.D (1837-1911).¹⁰⁹ Pierson was a prominent premillennialist teacher and a pastor who advocated humanitarian services such as sewing schools, aid societies, literary societies and temperance organisations.¹¹⁰ During his six years as pastor, Pierson had worked to make the Bethany church more socially active. The doors of the congregation were open twenty-four hours every day to provide educational and charity services for the poor. He preached against a trend among Gilded Age churches to move out to the suburbs to avoid their responsibilities to the poor in the downtown areas.¹¹¹ The Bethany church was seeking a man to fill Pierson's shoes and Chapman seemed to be the best choice because of his overtly premillennial/evangelical spirit. By accepting this position, Chapman was projected into the spotlight as a prominent minister in the Presbyterian denomination.

A long-time friend and resident of Chapman's hometown of Richmond, Timothy Nicholson, commented on how fitting it was that Chapman should have a strong connection to Philadelphia.¹¹² Both Richmond, Indiana, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had strong Quaker roots. Philadelphia, founded by William Penn in 1701, was known as "The Quaker City" Chapman had discovered within himself an affinity for a deep, underlying spirituality and during his seminary years (1879-1881), had participated in Quaker meetings at the Smyrna Meeting House in his hometown. He waited patiently with the congregants for the Spirit to move upon him, then usually found himself presenting the message for the day.¹¹³ Although Chapman's relationship to the Quakers

¹⁰⁹ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. viii.

¹¹⁰ Dana L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come: A.T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 121-2.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹² Timothy Nicholson to Ford Ottman, 12 February 1919, PHS, box1, file 1.

¹¹³ Charles White to Ford C. Ottman, circa 1920, in *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 34.

of Pennsylvania was brief, the impact on him was long lasting and he modelled some of their pietistic values including simplicity, equality of members and social action. By 1890 Chapman encouraged his leaders to participate in silent prayer times while conducting campaigns, a legacy of his early experience with the Friends.¹¹⁴ What made the Reformed style of Chapman adaptable to the Quaker background was that his hometown had been the location of the Richmond Declaration (1887), an Evangelical theological position that the Quakers of the Whitewater Valley had tended to lean toward.¹¹⁵ It affirmed the divinity of Christ and the authority of scripture, two important aspects of the faith that Chapman believed to be central to orthodox theology.¹¹⁶ Philadelphia's Quaker spirituality and Chapman's theological propensities were a good fit for one another.

Under Chapman's leadership the Bethany church expanded its membership, receiving over 1,100 new members to the church on confession of faith between 1889 and 1892.¹¹⁷ Chapman soon developed a chapter of "The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip" after learning of its founding in 1888 by Rufus W. Miller, a Reformed minister in Reading, Pennsylvania. Three hundred men attended the Sunday morning Bible reading and devotional service at Bethany. They agreed to pray daily for the spread of Christ's kingdom among men in a particular community and to encourage men to invite a friend to attend the meeting each week. A few years after Chapman's ministry at Bethany, the brotherhood organisation expanded to include twenty-three evangelical denominations

¹¹⁴ *The Chautauquan*, vol. 12, Meadville: The T.L. Flood Publishing House, October 1890 to March 1891, pp. 470-3.

¹¹⁵ Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, pp. 53-4.

¹¹⁶ Cf. chapter five for Chapman's Biblicism and theology.

¹¹⁷ *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, Australian Christian World Printing and Publishing House, 1909, pp. 95-6.

and boasted 570 chapters around the United States with an involvement of over 15,000 men.¹¹⁸ Bethany's congregation was listed as one of the strongest brotherhoods in the nation.¹¹⁹ A ministry for the sick and unemployed was also created, named Bethany House.¹²⁰ In addition, Chapman began one programme called Bethany College to teach young people with limited means the basics of language, elocution, mechanics, and the arts.¹²¹

During his pastorate at the Bethany church, Chapman met the Honourable John Wanamaker (1838-1922) and the relationship that formed between these two men dramatically improved Chapman's organisational skills. Wanamaker, a financier of the Dwight L. Moody and Ira Sankey evangelistic campaigns as well as the Reuben A. Torrey and Charles M. Alexander campaigns, was an active member, leader and Sunday school teacher of the Bethany church. He was also an ingenious pioneer in marketing. After opening his first retail store at the age of 22, he had added a restaurant and gaslights, the first of their kind in a department store. Wanamaker was the first person to send buyers overseas to study the markets of Europe in 1876. He was the first to use the price tag in 1878 to promote sales on clothing.¹²² He has been credited as the father of modern advertising, designing banners that were placed on horse-drawn carriages and

¹¹⁸ *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches, 21 April to 1 May 1900*, volume 1, New York: American Tract Society, 1900, p. 121.

¹¹⁹ "The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip," *The Congregationalist and Christian World* (Boston), 2 March 1901, volume 86, no. 9, p. 325.

¹²⁰ Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900*, Hamden: Archon Press, 1962, p. 156.

¹²¹ Mosely Williams H., *The New Era of Church Work in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: Open Church Publishing Company, 1897, p. 70.

¹²² Dinty W. Moore in Michael J. Lisicky, *Wanamaker's: Meet Me at the Eagle*, Charleston: The History Press, 2010, p. 11.

hiring men to walk up and down streets with sandwichboards hung over them to publicise his stores.¹²³ Wannamaker coined the phrase "the customer is always right"¹²⁴

Wanamaker had an adept mind for politics and organisation. In 1888, he contributed the sum of ten thousand dollars to a presidential nominee, Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901). Following his election to office, President Harrison appointed Wanamaker the Postmaster General of the United States (1889-1893) and Wanamaker accepted the position under a guarantee that he could market his new concept of commemorative stamps.¹²⁵ During his tenure as Postmaster General, five thousand new mail routes were established and he invented and implemented a system of utilising railroad cars to distribute mail. By 1913, Wanamaker had created parcel post stations in his stores, ensuring that customers had the convenience to post their packages and shop at the same time.¹²⁶

Chapman acquired a significant number of organisational skills from his association with Wanamaker. By the time Chapman arrived at Bethany church, Wanamaker was already teaching the largest Sunday school in the nation. When Chapman appeared overwhelmed by the multiple duties of ministry, Wanamaker suggested that the four-thousand-member congregation be divided into groups of ten people. One person would be responsible for the other nine in each group. By dealing with the ten leaders, Chapman could reach one hundred members at a time. Following that pattern he was able, eventually, to deal with only forty leaders yet he could influence

¹²³ Charles W. Carey, Jr, *American Inventors, Entrepreneurs, and Business Visionaries*, New York: Charles W. Carey, 2002, p. 360.

¹²⁴ Lisicky, *Wannamaker's: Meet Me at the Eagle*, p. 41.

¹²⁵ Edd Applegate, *The Rise of Advertising in the United States: A History of Innovation to 1960*, Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2012, p. 78.

¹²⁶ Wanamaker Store Announcement, 1 January 1913, in addendum to Joseph Herbert Appel, John Wanamaker and Leigh Mitchell Hodges (eds), *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores, Jubilee Year 1861-1911*, Philadelphia: The John Wanamaker Firm, 1911, pp. 236-7.

all four thousand members, thereby greatly simplifying his work as a pastor.¹²⁷

Wanamaker's organisational model gave Chapman a structure that he could apply to his later evangelistic efforts, most effectively with his simultaneous campaigns in various cities. Chapman commented on the state of the Bethany church under Wanamaker's leadership by saying that it was "a model in its perfect equipment" and "one of the wonders of the world"¹²⁸

Wanamaker's influence on Chapman, beginning in Chapman's thirtieth year, was not merely organisational. He was an example of spiritual leadership to Chapman. In 1890, after visiting Charles Spurgeon (1834-1892) on a trip to England, Wanamaker told Chapman that he had discovered the explanation of Spurgeon's success as a preacher. He said that Spurgeon's church officers prayed with him, came into the church with him, sat near him and cheered him on as he preached his message.¹²⁹ Chapman took this model to his board and they agreed to pattern their practice after Spurgeon. Sometimes as many as twenty-four of Chapman's leaders would sit on the platform with him as he preached. Chapman recalled that they gave verbal encouragement by saying "well done" or "amen" as he preached, affirmations that he stated brought him great encouragement.¹³⁰

Chapman's affection for Wanamaker was evident. Wanamaker always positioned himself near the railing and when he did, Chapman moved over in order to hear him say phrases such as, "That is splendid!" or "God bless you!"¹³¹ Wanamaker, he reported, would often reach out and rub his hand on Chapman's arm as a sign of encouragement.¹³²

¹²⁷ Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, p. 112.

¹²⁸ Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot with Other Evangelistic Sermons*, Chicago: The Winona Publishing Company, 1906, pp. 128-9.

¹²⁹ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. 107.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 107.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

Wanamaker's influence was that of a father-figure, a mentor and a spiritual leader to Chapman and he provided emotional support to the developing pastor.

In 1892, Chapman left the Bethany Church in Philadelphia and devoted himself to a variety of evangelistic campaigns, including a campaign with Moody at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. This period of Chapman's full-time evangelistic efforts was short-lived and he returned to the pastorate at the Bethany Church in Philadelphia in 1896. Moody was disappointed when Chapman returned to Bethany rather than seeking full-time evangelistic work because he recognised Chapman's talent for winning souls.¹³³ At Bethany, Chapman found that the congregation had continued to grow under the direction of its assistant ministers and the leadership structure that he had helped to create. Church membership was more than thirty-five hundred and the Sunday school classes had an attendance of more than fifty-three hundred.¹³⁴ For the next three years, Chapman's work focused on the problems of church buildings and renovations. Due to the large size of the congregation and the need for the expansion of the facility, loans were acquired. The congregation depended heavily on Wanamaker's generosity and his ability to pay off the loans, but he resigned from the board of trustees after they failed to follow his guidelines for paying off a fifteen-thousand dollar debt. Chapman, in agreement with Wanamaker, requested that the church should revise its understanding of stewardship expectations.¹³⁵ When Chapman left the congregation after his third year, the situation had not improved.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 78.

¹³⁴ Minutes of the Session, Bethany Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1896.

¹³⁵ Minutes of the Session, Bethany Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1896.

In 1899, Chapman left the Bethany pastorate to serve the Fourth Presbyterian Church in New York City, a congregation of wealthy individuals with largely Scottish ancestry. It was a challenge that sent him there. In the late 1890s, while preaching at evangelistic crusades, he discovered that people believed it was easy to be evangelistic in a church like Bethany whose congregants were not affluent, with the exception of Wanamaker and a railroad businessman named John H. Converse (1840-1910). Chapman desired to prove that the wealthy could also receive the gospel in the same manner as the lower classes. He accepted this as a challenge and ultimately believed that he succeeded in proving his point.¹³⁶ When Chapman arrived, the once prosperous Fourth Presbyterian Church was nearing extinction due to low attendance and conflict within the congregation. During the following two years, Chapman reinvigorated the evening service and pressed for people to make commitments to Christ. The membership grew in numbers and also in financial stewardship. By the end of his employment, the budget had increased by more than five hundred percent.¹³⁷ After three years and eight months of service, the Fourth Presbyterian Church released Chapman from the duties of pastoral ministry so that he could accept the responsibility of working for the denomination in evangelistic work. Chapman noted that the Fourth Church was the climax of his pastoral experience.¹³⁸ The congregation felt the same way and considered the day he arrived to have been a very fortunate one.¹³⁹

In 1901, while Chapman was serving at the Fourth Presbyterian Church, the railroad entrepreneur from Chapman's former Bethany congregation, John H. Converse,

¹³⁶ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. viii.

¹³⁷ Session Minutes, Fourth Presbyterian Church, New York, 1901.

¹³⁸ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. viii.

¹³⁹ John De Witt Warner and Milo T. Bogard (eds), *The Redemption of New York: Told by New York Newspapermen for the Press Scrap Book*, New York: P.F. McBreen & Sons, 1902, p. 627.

promised to underwrite all of Chapman's expenses for full-time evangelism if he would return to the field. Converse, the President of Baldwin Locomotives in Philadelphia, realised how effective Chapman was as a revivalist and so he approached the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America that same year with a resolution to form a special committee to enquire into evangelistic work.¹⁴⁰ He believed that Chapman had the ability to reach large cities better than any other evangelist at the time since he had proven successful in his urban campaigns.¹⁴¹ When the special committee was formed in 1902, Converse offered Chapman the position of corresponding secretary and with it, the opportunity to engage in full-time evangelistic work. In 1905, Converse began personally funding Chapman's ministry and he continued to do so until his death in 1910.¹⁴² Converse recognised Chapman's abilities as an organiser and a capable evangelist and provided both the monetary support and emotional encouragement for him to focus on these roles rather than the parish ministry. It is unlikely that without Converse's support Chapman could have succeeded so dramatically in evangelism.

From 1903 to his death in 1918, Chapman focused his work mostly on evangelism.¹⁴³ In the years following 1903, Chapman developed a "simultaneous" method, a system designed to reach greater crowds by dividing the cities up into districts and holding several campaigns at the same time.¹⁴⁴ In 1904, Chapman introduced and promoted this new style of evangelism in his Pittsburgh campaign. His experiment

¹⁴⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Proceedings of the 113th General Assembly*, 1901, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, p. 42.

¹⁴¹ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 50-1.

¹⁴² John Heman Converse, LL.D. & *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1909-1910*, vol. 5, no.7, Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Historical Society, 1910, pp. 301-310.

¹⁴³ Cf. chapter seven for Chapman's work in evangelism.

¹⁴⁴ "No Experiments in Chapman Corp's" *The Minneapolis Journal* (Minneapolis), 15 November 1905, p. 16.

proved successful and more than seven thousand people dedicated their lives to Christ.¹⁴⁵ By 1909, Chapman's simultaneous method was utilised in rural areas, beginning in Wisconsin.¹⁴⁶ In 1912, following a series of unsuccessful campaigns in Maine and two in Ohio, Chapman returned to the mass evangelistic strategy. His experimentation with the simultaneous campaigns had reflected the ingenuity of Wanamaker's organisational methods and the influence of Converse's strategies to maximise the effectiveness of evangelistic opportunities.¹⁴⁷

Chapman's third, and final, marriage took place on 30 August 1910 to Mabel Cornelia Moulton, the daughter of a prominent businessman in Providence, Rhode Island.¹⁴⁸ Chapman had met her in Boston one year earlier when she was the guest of Ralph Norton, Chapman's superintendent of personal work in his campaigns. At the time of marriage, Moulton was one month shy of 30 years of age and had followed Chapman's work with great enthusiasm during his Boston campaign in 1909.¹⁴⁹ After completing a two-month campaign in Maine in February 1910, Chapman returned to Providence to ask Moulton to marry him. She accepted his proposal and the ceremony took place at the home of her mother.¹⁵⁰ Moulton became more active in Chapman's campaigns than his first two wives, working as an organiser and speaking at women's events.¹⁵¹ From 1910 to Chapman's death in 1918, she assisted the evangelist and worked in cooperation with Chapman's song leader, Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920), and his wife, Helen Cadbury

¹⁴⁵ 'Famous Evangelists Join Forces', *The Expositor and Current Anecdotes*, Cleveland: F.M. Barton Publisher, volume 9, no. 7, April 1908, p. 305.

¹⁴⁶ 'Rural Evangelization in Wisconsin', *The Standard*, volume 57, no. 25, 19 February 1910, p. 22.

¹⁴⁷ Chapman Papers, Billy Graham Archives, Collection 77.

¹⁴⁸ (no title), *New York Observer* (New York), Volume 89, 8 September 1910, BGC archives microfilm, folder 4-2.

¹⁴⁹ 'The Leaders of these Assemblies Expert in Bible Interpretation', *New York Observer* (New York), 25 August 1910, p. 250.

¹⁵⁰ 'Dr Chapman Marries', *New York Observer* (New York), 8 September 1910, volume 89, no. 10, p. 316.

¹⁵¹ Biographical file, Chapman papers, Billy Graham Archives, Wheaton.

(1877-1969), heiress to the Cadbury Chocolate Company and founder of the Pocket Testament League. Known as a religious and philanthropic worker, Moulton strengthened Chapman's conviction for helping the poor and destitute.¹⁵² After his death, true to her philanthropic endeavours, she donated their residence at Montreat, North Carolina, to the denomination to provide a place for ministers who could not afford the expense of a retreat or conference opportunity.¹⁵³

On 25 December 1918, after focusing the last six years of his life on denominational work in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Chapman died from complications resulting from gall bladder surgery.¹⁵⁴ He was remembered at two memorial services on the following Sunday, one at Fourth Presbyterian Church in New York City to commemorate his personal and pastoral work and the other one at Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City in appreciation of his public work.¹⁵⁵ There is no record of the number of messages he delivered during his lifetime, but by the age of fifty-three, almost six years before his death, Chapman was reputed to have preached more than fifty thousand sermons and have been heard by no fewer than sixty million people.¹⁵⁶ How did Chapman become the pre-eminent preacher and evangelist of his time?

Raised in a Christian home in Richmond, Indiana, his father and mother instilled in him a deep spirituality and discipline. Chapman attributed his reason for being in ministry to the faithful parental instruction he received during the early years of his

¹⁵² "Meet Me at Winona," *The Lyceumite and Talent* (Chicago), July 1910, volume 4, no.13, p. 43.

¹⁵³ Robert Campbell Anderson, *The Story of Montreat from its Beginning, 1897-1947*. Montreat: Montreat Publishing Company, 1949, p. 75.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. chapter four for Chapman's work in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

¹⁵⁵ "J. Wilbur Chapman," *The Phi Gamma Delta*, volume 41, no. 4, February 1919, p. 255.

¹⁵⁶ "The Reviver of Revivalism," *Collier's, The National Weekly* (New York), volume 50, no. 19, 25 January 1913, pp. 19-20.

life¹⁵⁷ His early childhood financial endeavours with Charles White enabled him to experience success and discover the benefits of hard work. His sister Ida provided the permission he needed to pursue a seminary education. During Chapman's seminary years, Benjamin Mills enabled him to study the great pastors and evangelists of his day and learn how to use their methods in the pulpit. Mills's leadership in the Mills-Chapman campaigns provided Chapman with his first experiments in evangelism. Chapman and Mills remained partners in the work of evangelism until Chapman became the more famous of the two. Two of Chapman's wives, Agnes Pruyn Strain and Mabel Cornelia Moulton, aided his understanding of dispensationalism and philanthropy in his ministry. John Wanamaker and John Converse made it possible for Chapman to succeed both as a pastor and as an evangelist by teaching him organisational skills and funding his salary. From Frederick Brotherton Meyer, Chapman learned how to transform a church from stagnation to religious interest by prayer. Finally, had it not been for Dwight Moody's encouragement to focus on evangelism and the use of gospel songs to transform his audience, Chapman would not have achieved, during his lifetime, the status of one of the greatest church leaders and evangelists in America.

One of the reasons that J. Wilbur Chapman disappeared from historical remembrance was that he was a pastor at heart, rather than a rising star in the realm of new ideas. He was a story-teller and an inspirational preacher. As a boy, his first desire was to be the pastor of a congregation and as he changed his work from church ministry to denominational leadership to evangelism, Chapman made those fields his congregations. Although his life was influenced by organisational geniuses and he

¹⁵⁷ "Noted Preachers," *The Treasury, An Evangelical Monthly for Pastor and People*, volume 8, no. 4, New York: E.B. Treat, August 1890, p. 239.

applied their techniques to his work with great success, Chapman remained a pastor-evangelist and a pastor-denominational leader. History records ministers who make contributions to their field and it remembers Chapman, but his work in Evangelicalism and revivalism has largely been overlooked.

Chapter Three

Moody and Chapman

Among the people who affected Chapman's life and ministry, none had a greater impact than Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899). Moody was the premier evangelist of the later nineteenth century and his influence dominated the Evangelical landscape. As Chapman grew into manhood, newspapers frequently made favourable references to Moody's power and Chapman desired to emulate the evangelist.¹ When he joined Moody in ministry in 1878, Chapman's respect for his mentor grew steadily and by 1900, he stated, "I never came in my contact with him that my heart did not beat a little faster and my pulses throb a little more quickly."² By the end of Moody's life, his name had become sacred to Chapman.³ How did Moody influence Chapman's life and ministry and to what extent if any, did Chapman differ from Moody?

Historians looking at the trajectory of revivalism have made Moody the focus of their studies on late nineteenth-century evangelism. Moody is an appropriate figure to consider since he represented a transition between the evangelism of the earlier part of the century to a new style that encouraged people to come to Christ out of love rather than fear or judgment. Moody had many disciples of his new evangelism and they followed in his tradition. In his book *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (1959), William McLoughlin acknowledged Moody's influence on

¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody, Presented to the Christian World as a Tribute to the Memory of the Greatest Apostle of the Age*, Philadelphia: Universal Publishing Company, 1900, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Chapman, but he did not provide an analysis of the significance of that relationship.⁴ James Findley, in *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (1969), also admitted that Chapman had a dependence on Moody but, like McLoughlin, he did not investigate the scope of its importance.⁵ Other historians have recognised the relationship between the two evangelists, but have offered little definitive information about its nature. The focus of this chapter is to investigate how Moody was a mentor to Chapman in order to discover what influence he had on the younger evangelist.

Admitting to an inclination for becoming a hero worshipper from an early age, Chapman wrote that Moody's name made a deep impression upon him whenever his mother quoted from the evangelist, as she was prone to do.⁶ Born into a poor family on 5 February 1837 in Northfield, Massachusetts, Moody had been brought up with a deep respect for religion, but with no aspiration for spiritual devotion. His mother, Betsey, instructed her children in Bible stories every Sunday afternoon and often read scripture texts, offered prayers and sang hymns before meals.⁷ Her influence on the young Moody was so great that she stood as the symbol of his fundamental values in life and ministry.⁸ Moody and his five siblings were baptised as young children and were enrolled in the local Unitarian church. No sooner had the members of the Moody family joined the church than they were commissioned to bring in other students for the Sunday school

⁴ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Evangelism: From Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 1959, p. 364.

⁵ James F. Findley, Jr, *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 308.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ George Thompson Brown Davis, *Dwight L. Moody, the Man and His Mission*, K.T. Boland, 1900, p. 29.

⁸ Findley, Jr, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 36.

lessons. Dwight and his brother, George, became aggressive home missionaries and this experience proved useful for his evangelistic work in later years.⁹

Moody did not have an interest in spiritual matters, but when he moved to Boston for employment he consented to attend the Mount Vernon Congregational Church in order to fulfil an agreement with his uncle, the owner of the Holton Shoe Store.¹⁰ His Sunday school teacher, Edward Kimball, stated about Moody, "I can truly say that I have seen few persons whose minds were spiritually darker when he came into my Sabbath school class, or one who seemed more unlikely ever to become a Christian of clear decided views of gospel truth, still less to fill any sphere of extended public usefulness."¹¹ Kimball noted that Moody often fumbled over pages to find his place in his Bible and seemed to be the worst student in the class.¹² Concerned about Moody's salvation, Kimball paid a visit to Holton's store on 21 April 1855 in order to address Moody's need for Christ.¹³ Finding Moody in the back of the store wrapping shoes, Kimball placed his hands upon him and asked if he had received Jesus Christ. When Moody answered in the negative, Kimball asked him if he would like to do so and, after an affirmative response, Kimball prayed with Moody.¹⁴ There is some question whether Moody's encounter with Kimball at Holton's marked the day of his conversion, since Moody often credited the following year as the actual date, but the experience in Holton's store became at least a transitional moment in Moody's life.¹⁵

⁹ William Revell Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹¹ Edward Kimball quoted in Paul Dwight Moody and Arthur Percy Fitt, *The Shorter Life of D.L. Moody*, volume I, Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1900, p. 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

¹³ Dwight Moody in William Revell Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Moody and Fitt, *The Shorter Life of D.L. Moody*, p. 9.

On 16 May 1855 Moody was baptised and examined for membership in the Congregational church. Moody, however, failed his examination. The deacons were not convinced that there was enough evidence of Moody's conversion, and so they required him to wait another year during which time would receive mentoring from Kimball and two other men in the congregation.¹⁶ The following March, Moody sat before the pastor and the deacons once again. This time he was enrolled in the membership of the church, but with remaining hesitation on the part of the church leadership. Reflecting on this lengthy and strict process of attaining membership, Moody acknowledged the wisdom of the deacons. He understood that he had needed to be trained in Christian principles so that he could give a better account to others for the hope that he had in Christ.¹⁷ The prolonged path to membership and acceptance into a church played an integral role in Moody's life and he considered it one of the most fortunate circumstances of his early training.¹⁸ It awakened his understanding of the critical role that knowledge had in deepening a believer's spiritual maturity.

The Bible played a central role in Moody's life and ministry. The scriptures were, to Moody, the infallible revelation of the eternal God, the source of faith, the manual of devotion and the inspiration of life.¹⁹ In reference to the Bible, Moody wrote, "This book will keep you from sin or sin will keep you from this book; here search and

¹⁶ Mount Vernon church register reprinted in Elias Nason, *The American Evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey with an Account of their Work in England and America*, Boston: D. Lothrop and Company Publishers, 1877, p. 48.

¹⁷ William Revell Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 44.

¹⁸ Elias Nason, *The American Evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey with an Account of their Work in England and America*, p. 48.

¹⁹ August Warner Williams, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody, The Greatest Evangelist of the Nineteenth Century, The Founder of Northfield Seminary, Mount Hermon School for Boys and the Chicago Bible Institute*, Philadelphia: A.W. Williams, 1900, pp. 371-2.

great shall be your store; here drink and thirst shall be no more.²⁰ The Bible, for Moody, was the remedy for “sin-sick souls” and it held the power to convince a man of his need for God.²¹ For this reason, Moody allowed only people skilled in the knowledge of the Bible to be counsellors in the Inquiry Room, a place set aside for those who sought counsel following a service, so that the seeker could receive knowledgeable answers to his questions. He believed that when God’s Word was explained to a person, the Holy Spirit was “pledged to apply that word to the seeking soul” and the result was salvation.²²

Noted for his love for the Bible and passion for souls, Moody made a deep impression on Chapman’s faith during their first encounter in 1878.²³ This meeting, recounted by Chapman twenty-two years after the event, indicates the “Christ-like” role, in Chapman’s mind, that Moody played in his life. Inwardly doubting his salvation during his Lake Forest years, Chapman wrote that although at times he believed that he was saved, there were many times when he dwelt in the “doubting castle” and needed assurance that he belonged to Christ.²⁴ Attending Dwight L. Moody’s lectures at Farwell Hall in Chicago in 1878, he remained after the address with a few other young men to meet the great evangelist. To Chapman’s surprise, Moody sat down next to him and asked what he could do for him. Chapman informed the preacher that he was unsure of his salvation. The interaction that followed between the evangelist and Chapman had such a deep impact on him that thirty-three years later, Chapman called the moment as tender as “a mother to a child.”²⁵ Moody asked Chapman to read aloud the words of John

²⁰ Dwight L. Moody quoted in George Thompson Brown Davis, *Dwight L. Moody, The Man and His Mission*, K. T. Boland, 1900, p. 358.

²¹ Dwight L. Moody quoted in William Revell Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 497.

²² Chapman, *Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 374-5.

²³ William Revell Moody, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 114.

²⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1911, p. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

5:24, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." Moody then asked Chapman, "Do you believe this?" "Certainly" Chapman responded. "Are you a Christian?" Moody asked. "Sometimes I think I am and again I am fearful." A second time the same instruction was given and the same answer was received. Moody then turned to Chapman and sharply said, "Whom are you doubting?" Immediately, Chapman realised that he had been doubting God's assurance of salvation. After a third instance of this exercise, Moody asked Chapman, "Are you a Christian?" and he replied "Yes, Mr Moody, I am." "From that day onward Chapman said, "I have never questioned my acceptance with God."²⁶ Moody had given Chapman the confidence of salvation he needed for his personal life and Moody's use of the scriptures played a critical role in confirming Chapman's faith. Although Chapman had held the scriptures in high regard from childhood, his encounter with Moody in 1878 strengthened his trust in the Bible.

The Farwell Hall incident was not the only time that Moody affirmed the essential role that the Bible would play in Chapman's ministry. During the first few years of his ministry, whenever Chapman became frustrated about the effectiveness of his work, it was Moody who reminded him about how the Bible could produce change. In one instance, the elder evangelist put one hand on Chapman's shoulder and the other hand on an open Bible and said, "Young man, you had better get more of this into your life"²⁷ Chapman subsequently adopted Moody's dependence on scriptural assurance for

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

²⁷ Chapman quoted in John Wesley Hanson, *The Life and Works of the World's Greatest Evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, A Complete and Authentic Review of the Marvelous Career of the Most Remarkable Religious General in History*, Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1900, p. 220.

salvation and for growth in the Christian life. Ford C. Ottman (1859-1929), Chapman's biographer and colleague, stated that Chapman's practice during evangelistic campaigns over the years was to "take one after another texts that had some bearing upon the open confession of Christ and the certainty of salvation, and expound these with a directness and simplicity that none could escape"²⁸ Chapman frequently ended his message with the same text that Moody used to affirm Chapman's certainty of conversion.²⁹ Moody's counsel and continued friendship encouraged Chapman to remain dependent on the Bible for effectiveness in his work for God.

When Chicago was declared the site of the 1893 World's Fair, Moody, called "The General" because of his organisational skills and command of volunteers, invited Chapman to join him and a well-known group of evangelists to preach to the masses who planned to attend the event.³⁰ Moody was skilled in recognising people gifted for the work of Christian leadership and making them his lieutenants in revivalism. Among the notable figures were Congregationalist and evangelist Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928), Presbyterian pastor and writer A.T. Pierson (1837-1911), theologian Cyrus I. Scofield (1843-1921) and Baptist minister A.J. Gordon (1836-1895). Moody recognised Chapman as a promising evangelist, admired his work at the Bethany Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia and sought to use his skills in Chicago.³¹ The World's Fair provided the evangelists with the opportunity to conduct crusades for twelve weeks in five hundred services, reaching over three hundred thousand persons from all over the

²⁸ Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, p. 30.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁰ Description of Moody by Charles M. Alexander, D.L.M. Campaigns, World's Fair, Moody Bible Institute Archives, undated, pp. 4-5.

³¹ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 94.

world.³² Moody's plan was to use small tents at strategic locations around the Fair in addition to renting a circus tent for \$300 for combined Sunday services.³³ At the Haymarket Theatre, Moody himself preached to an audience of three thousand people every Sunday morning for the next six months. Chapman accepted Moody's invitation, but did not join the list of speakers for the Fair until mid-September.³⁴ His preaching schedule was limited to no more than five occasions, three of his engagements being on the same day and two on the following Sunday.³⁵ Chapman was considered one of the more popular speakers and was now viewed as an integral part of Moody's inner circle.³⁶

The invitation to utilise Chapman as a speaker included occasions at Moody's own Northfield Conferences in Massachusetts. These summer conferences began in 1880 as an attempt to encourage people to take the gospel into the world. Young men and women attended in masses. Some slept in dormitories while others found their rest in tents or under the trees of the surrounding hills in Northfield.³⁷ Chapman believed that Moody had set the pattern for Christian Bible training schools and he praised the evangelist for giving so much of his time and energy to educational causes.³⁸ He also believed that Moody's conferences at Northfield were the most important influence in the country.³⁹ Impressed by Chapman's skill at preaching at the World's Fair, Moody offered him a teaching position at the Northfield conferences and by 1895, Chapman's

³² "The World's Fair Campaign," The Assembly's Committee Report on Evangelistic Work, Chapman and Charles Steltzle, *Union Seminary Magazine* (Virginia), volume 16, pp. 175-77.

³³ Receipt from The Adam Forepaugh Shows, 7 June, 1893, D. L. Moody Archives, Moody Bible Institute, DLM Revival Campaigns, World's Fair.

³⁴ "The Chicago Evangelistic Movement," *The Interior* (Chicago), 14 September 1893, volume 24, no. 1216, p. 24.

³⁵ Agenda of Speakers at the World's Fair, D.L.M. Revival Campaigns, World's Fair, Moody Bible Institute Archives, 28 May to 31 October 1893.

³⁶ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 97.

³⁷ Lyle W. Dorsett, "D.L. Moody: More than an Evangelist" in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London: T and T Clark International, 2004, p. 36.

³⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 203.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

name appeared first on the list of speakers.⁴⁰ By 1896, Chapman had become an important speaker in the Northfield conferences and excerpts of his talks were compiled in a devotional booklet that included sixty-nine other famous preachers of the assemblies including Moody, F.B. Meyer, A.C. Dixon (1854-1925), A.T. Pierson (1837-1911) and C.I. Scofield (1843-1921).⁴¹ Chapman, with Moody's support, had now become a leading figure in American evangelical ministry.

One year following the World's Fair, during which time Chapman continued to teach at the Northfield Conferences, Moody was reported to have considered Chapman his successor in evangelism. To a visiting Scottish teacher, Moody confessed, "in this young man is wrapped up the hope for American evangelism."⁴² When Solomon C. Dickey (1858-1920), the supervisor of home missions of the Presbyterian Church for the State of Indiana, desired to build a summer conference centre at Winona Lakes, Indiana, which would combine Moody's Northfield conferences with a Chautauquan experience, he sought Chapman's counsel.⁴³ Chautauqua was a phenomena from the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries which provided week-long retreats for lessons to adults and families on a variety of subjects including entertainment, education and culture. The sites were rural and a vast array of singers, lecturers, comedians, educators and public figures were invited to address the attenders. In the same way, Winona, Dickey hoped, would become a common meeting place for Christians to find rest, counsel, inspiration and

⁴⁰ "The Moody Northfield Schools," *The Christian Work* (New York), volume 58, no. 1475, 23 May 1895, p. 844.

⁴¹ Delavan Leonard Pierson (ed.), *The Northfield Year-Book for Each New Day*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1896, p. 3.

⁴² "America's Great Evangelist," *Fort Wayne Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, Indiana), 23, volume 79, no. 7, November 1910, p. 14

⁴³ "A Christian Summer Resort," *Our Day* (Chicago), volume 18, issue 1, 1898, p. 295.

recreation.⁴⁴ Chapman referred Dickey to Moody, believing that if the camp was to be a success, Moody needed to give input for Winona's formation. When Dickey consulted Moody, he replied, "Why don't you get Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman if I am to have a successor in evangelism, it will be a man like Dr. Chapman"⁴⁵ Whether or not those statements, written several years following Moody's death, were anything more than noble reflections about Chapman, there were some who believed that Chapman had inherited Moody's mantle of success.

In 1895, because of Moody's trust in Chapman's ability as a speaker and an educator, Chapman was asked to become the Vice-President of Moody's Chicago Institute. The Institute was created in 1886 by the evangelist to train teachers, ministers, missionaries and musicians for Christian work. Moody, who had recognised Chapman's effectiveness in previous engagements, saw this as an opportunity to recruit him and apply his talents to further the work of the Institute's "ever increasing good"⁴⁶ On the advice of Moody, the Institute's board elected Chapman, affirming that he was the right candidate for the position because of his reputation in two areas. First, the board commented, "In the list of evangelists, no two names, Moody and Chapman, stand higher to-day"⁴⁷ Secondly, Chapman's organisational skills and extensive educational training assured the board that he was a qualified candidate to assist Moody in developing the framework of the educational programmes. Moody and the board agreed that Chapman's extensive college and seminary experience lent credibility to the Institute,

⁴⁴ L.W. Royse (ed.), *A Standard History of Kosciusko County Indiana*, volume 1, Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1919, p. 301.

⁴⁵ Sol C. Dickey, "Memorial Address" *Winona Echoes: Addresses Delivered at the Winona Bible Conference*, Winona: Winona Publishing Society, 1919, pp. 374-6.

⁴⁶ "The Bible Institute" *Record of Christian Work* (Chicago), January 1895, volume 14, no. 1, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, p. 14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

later named the Moody Bible Institute.⁴⁸ Chapman served the organisation for five years in a role that was largely advisory in nature, with no specific duties. He remained its Vice-President until his resignation in early 1900 to pursue evangelistic work more extensively.⁴⁹

By the end of 1897, Moody continued to affirm Chapman's abilities as an evangelist, but was concerned that he had not yet been offered a chance to demonstrate his full capability. Chapman, he thought, had been overlooked in some of his former campaigns and desired to correct that error before the next endeavour.⁵⁰ In 1898, Moody encouraged his team to make all they can of Chapman and his colleague F. B. Meyer in preparation for Moody's campaign in Pittsburgh.⁵¹ That same year Chapman was invited to join Moody at the Exposition Building in Pittsburgh as part of the event to reach the city with the gospel message.⁵² When Chapman accepted an offer to return to the Bethany church in Philadelphia following this campaign, Moody was disappointed. He recognised Chapman's talent for leading men to Christ and wished that he had remained in full-time evangelism and not chosen to return to the demands of pastoral life.⁵³ There is no explanation, from Chapman, regarding his decision to return to the church pulpit, except to note the fact that his commitment to the Presbyterian denomination was strong. Bethany had made several attempts to bring Chapman back to the congregation following his departure in 1892 and it is likely that John Wanamaker, Chapman's mentor and one of

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁹ "About People" in *Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper* (New York), volume 68, no. 1720, 1 February 1900, p. 170.

⁵⁰ Moody to Gaylord, 7 December 1897, D.L. Moody Correspondence, Moody Bible Institute Archives, volume 6, December 1896 to January 1898.

⁵¹ Moody to Gaylord, 15 January 1898, D.L. Moody Correspondence, Moody Bible Institute archives, volume 6, December 1896 to January 1898.

⁵² J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life of D.L. Moody*, p. 19.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 78.

his wealthy supporters, may have had some influence in Chapman's decision to return. Chapman was keenly aware of Moody's disappointment and his concern that Chapman's choice might limit his effectiveness in evangelism.⁵⁴ Though Moody was sacred to him, Chapman was nevertheless inclined to follow his own path. Chapman's responsibilities were largely committed to church oversight during the next few years and he continued to conduct evangelistic campaigns until he dedicated himself to full-time evangelistic work in 1902.⁵⁵

An examination of Chapman's evangelistic styles and methods reveals some of Moody's influences and, at the same time, illustrates some of their differences. The strongest connection the two men shared was their dependence on the Bible and their belief in its ability to transform society. Moody believed in the necessity for clergy to preach Christ from the Bible rather than depending on other methods like science or human ability to produce changes in a community. Moody wrote that the greatest need in working with the less destitute was "to raise up men and women who will put their lives alongside the life of the poor and labouring classes, and to bring the influence of the Gospel to bear on them."⁵⁶ During his early efforts in Chicago, and while still employed in full-time professional work, Moody had gone into the poorest sections of town to seek the lost and bring the message of the gospel to them. In the summer of 1858, Moody had recruited twenty mission Sunday schools to aid him in this activity.⁵⁷ He soon realised that these schools did not have the ability to reach the lowest strata of society and so he started his own Sunday school called "The Sands," also known as "Little Hell." The

⁵⁴ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and His Message*, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1962, p. 79.

⁵⁵ Cf. chapter two for Chapman's pastoral work.

⁵⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 230.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Sands was one of Chicago's vilest and most dangerous districts.⁵⁸ Within three months, Moody's Sunday school reached two hundred pupils. By the end of the first year, attendance averaged six hundred and fifty to one thousand. Chapman believed that in all Moody's work as an evangelist around the world, no deeper impressions were made than in the first days of his active work as a Sunday school teacher and leader.⁵⁹

Chapman, like Moody, saw the potential of youth to make an impact on society. He had discovered that among the Protestant churches in America, five-sixths of adults who attended church were converted before their eighteenth birthday.⁶⁰ There were twelve million children and youth currently in the Sunday school programmes across the nation and they were, according to Chapman, "a vast army" waiting for their chance to transform society for Christ.⁶¹ The Bethany church had a solid Sunday school programme with an attendance of 5,323 in 1890 when Chapman was first called to become its pastor, but the total Sunday school attendance reached a record high enrolment of 6,027 in 1898 under his leadership, making it the largest Sunday school programme in the nation.⁶² Training children and youth in Christian principles, Chapman believed, was necessary to ensure that the church could continue to be successful in its charge to reach people for Christ since adult conversions were not as common.⁶³

Chapman viewed Moody's efforts as a way to combine social work, education and soul saving. This became a three-point model for him in his Christian work. The paradigm was best illustrated in his work for the Bethany Church in Philadelphia from

⁵⁸ Donald L. Miller, *The City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*, New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 1996, pp. 135-137.

⁵⁹ Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody.*, p. 99.

⁶⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, p. 38.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶² John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 46.

⁶³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1899, p. 58.

1890 to 1899. When a man was led to Christ, Chapman's volunteers ensured that the man received Bible studies. Education in the scriptures, Chapman believed, was essential in his journey toward spiritual growth.⁶⁴ At the same time he was counselled about his living situation. If he required medical help, it was available to him for a small fee. If his living conditions were dire, he received assistance or instruction on how to change his status. For those who desired to dedicate themselves to ministry, Chapman's Bethany College had a Christian Work Department to train laypersons in the same methods that Moody utilised.⁶⁵ Chapman was concerned that the church should narrow the gap between Christian transformation, social needs and education.

A distinguishing characteristic of Moody was that his revivals were focused on urban centres. Prior to the evangelist, revivalism had been mostly rural.⁶⁶ Moody rose to prominence during the years of industrialisation and he had the ability to recognise the potential to reach the populations flocking to the cities. During his time, almost one-half of American workers were employed in factories and real wages doubled between 1860 and 1890.⁶⁷ Chapman, unlike Moody, began his evangelistic campaigns in small towns. It was not until after he worked with Moody and some of his leaders that Chapman primarily targeted major urban areas.

Following Moody's death, Chapman's strategy became highly precise and technical. Moody's practice was to divide cities into strategic areas in order to preach to

⁶⁴ Bethany Church of Philadelphia, *The Chautauquan* (Meadville, PA), January 1891, volume 12, no. 4, pp. 470-3.

⁶⁵ J. Michael Utzinger, *Yet Saints Their Watch are Keeping: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and the Development of Evangelical Ecclesiology, 1887-1937*, Macon: Mercer University Press, 2006, p. 40.

⁶⁶ David W. Bebbington, 'Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical' in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George (ed.), London: T and T Clark International, 2004, p. 80.

⁶⁷ Clarence D. Long, *Wage and Earnings in the United States, 1860-1890*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960, p. xvii; David W. Bebbington, 'How Moody Changed Revivalism' *Christian History*, February 1990, p. 22.

each section systematically. Chapman adopted the evangelist's strategy while teaming up with Moody and continued using it during the first years of his own campaigns. By 1904, however, Chapman changed the tactics of his campaigns in order to develop a simultaneous method.⁶⁸ Instead of preaching to different groups of people on a rotating schedule, Chapman's approach reached the entire city at the same time by using fellow evangelists spread across different sections of the city. Each team used the same text, songs and message. By doing so, Chapman modified Moody's strategy, making it more efficient and more productive.

Like Moody, Chapman's campaigns appealed to all socio-economic classes and, also like Moody, he established significant relationships with the elite. Moody has been criticised by some historians for promoting the economic status quo, while others have shown that Moody was more apt to stand with the masses against the bourgeoisie.⁶⁹ He had an ability to garner the support of wealthy individuals, but as David Bebbington has pointed out, Moody also had the ability to "resist his patrons"⁷⁰ Chapman's work does not indicate that he stood against the upper classes, though he frequently challenged government practices, such as the exclusion of a Sabbath-day observance for postal workers in 1899 or campaigning for prohibition during his lifetime.⁷¹ Like Moody, Chapman was a populist and he sought to better the situation for the masses, but he saw no need to upset the class structure. "Talk about the difficulties between capital and labor" he wrote, "I believe there would be no such things if the Spirit of Jesus controlled

⁶⁸ Cf. chapter 7 for Chapman's simultaneous method of evangelism.

⁶⁹ Richard Kyle, *Evangelicalism: An Americanized Christianity*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006, pp. 69-70; see also James F. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 321-7 and David W. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical" in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, p. 87.

⁷⁰ David W. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical" p. 86.

⁷¹ "Sabbath Observance Discussed" *Lebanon Courier* (Lebanon, PA), volume 65, no. 18, 12 July 1899, p. 3.

both sides.⁷² The historian William McLoughlin has evaluated Chapman's work as a promoter of capitalism and a maintainer of the status quo by noting that Chapman's only advice to the poor came in 1906 when he said, "If you tell me yours is a home of poverty, and Jesus abides with you, then I know that you do not mind poverty."⁷³ McLoughlin's analysis, however, fails to provide the context of Chapman's entire sermon. Chapman's words were also directed toward wealthy individuals who did not abide with Christ and therefore, he believed, lacked real treasure.⁷⁴ Chapman's primary objective was to encourage people to develop a relationship with Christ rather than change their economic status.

Another feature similar to Moody is that Chapman included women workers in his evangelistic work. He used "the Saloon Evangelist" Virginia Asher (1869-1937), widely in his evangelistic campaigns. Among the many evangelical leaders that Chapman invited to speak at his Winona Conferences, one of his most favoured speakers was Evangeline Booth (1865-1950), the Commander-in-Chief of the Salvation Army in the United States. Booth became a regular guest speaker for her daily "inspirational hour" talks.⁷⁵ During one of these events, he was so stirred by her annual message on the text of Isaiah 9:6 entitled "His name shall be called Wonderful" and the way she moved the crowd to tears that he requested her to join him on his future evangelistic campaigns.⁷⁶ Chapman considered Booth to be one of the greatest workers in the Christian field and during his year of moderating the Presbyterian Church in 1917, promised his services to

⁷² J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Master Is Come," *Evangelistic Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922, p. 22.

⁷³ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Master Is Come" p. 13; McLoughlin, *Modern Evangelism*, p. 384.

⁷⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Master Is Come" p. 13.

⁷⁵ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 100.

help her raise a large sum of money to provide assistance to the soldiers returning to the States from the war.⁷⁷

Perhaps the greatest difference between Chapman and his mentor was their levels of education. Moody was trained by the experiences of life and his work with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). It has been noted that his total educational training, by today's standards, would have amounted to that of a fifth-grade level.⁷⁸

Chapman, on the other hand, had received extensive educational training. He was a graduate of Lake Forest University (Illinois) and Lane Theological Seminary (Ohio).

Recognised for his educational and professional work, Chapman was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the College of Wooster (Ohio) in 1898.

Chapman was a visiting lecturer at Lane Seminary from 1908 to 1909 on the subject of evangelism.⁷⁹ In the area of theology, Chapman was more of a scholar than Moody.

There were noted differences between the two men's preaching style. A reporter for the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* stated that Moody's image was that of a 'well-kept business man' and Chapman's was like that of a 'college professor'.⁸⁰ Moody's style often included the use of humour, but Chapman's style used humorous anecdotes or stories sparingly.

Moody's language was ungrammatical and forcible, while Chapman's speech was 'clear and polished'.⁸¹ The two men shared a passion for winning souls and their demeanour

was similar when it came to preaching about God's love, an emphasis both agreed to be the most important topic on which to preach. Tears sometimes flowed from both men,

⁷⁷ Letter to Evangeline Booth, 10 December 1917 in Evangeline Booth and Grace Livingston Hill, *The War Romance of the Salvation Army*, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1919, p. 332.

⁷⁸ Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, p. 41.

⁷⁹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, New Series, volume 9, no. 2, August 1909. Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, pp. 295-6.

⁸⁰ 'Comparison of the Two Evangelists', *Pittsburgh Daily Post* (Pittsburgh), 7 February 1898, no issue number, p. 2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2

though Chapman tried to avoid emotional moments in public unless he was bidding farewell to crowds at the end of a campaign.⁸² Though Chapman adopted much of Moody's style of evangelism, his presentation of the gospel message was more sophisticated in mannerisms.

A further issue that separated Moody and Chapman was their slight differences in religious teachings. Chapman was a stronger adherent to dispensational theology than Moody. His work in the first decade of the twentieth century occurred at a time when there was a greater development of dispensationalism due to the rising tide of Pentecostalism and an emerging trend towards fundamentalism. Chapman came from a congregation where creeds played a prominent role. In 1901, a time when there was agitation among Presbyterian theologians about a possible change to the Westminster Confession of Faith to confer upon unbaptised infants a salvific status, Chapman preached a sermon titled "Presbyterians and Their Creed"⁸³ In his message, he mentioned the strength of the Presbyterian system and its adherence to the Westminster creed. He affirmed the denomination's requirement for strict allegiance to its standards for ordained office, but agreed with its position of aligning only to the essential tenets of the Christian faith for one to join the church.⁸⁴ Chapman's reliance on confessional statements was stronger than that of Moody, who avoided creeds and confessions for the sake of evangelism. The difference in theology between the two men, however, was minimal and one newspaper surmised that Chapman had been so dependent on Moody's

⁸² J. Wilbur Chapman on Moody, "A Master in Moving Men" *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 21; Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 171; "Chapman Weeps" *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 69, no. 284, 28 November 1910, p. 11.

⁸³ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Presbyterians and Their Creed" 19 May 1901, microfilm, Presbyterian Historical Society, record group 2, box 7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

theology that in 1911, twelve years after Moody's death, Chapman "would not trust the New Testament beyond the endorsement of Dwight L. Moody"⁸⁵

When it came to the issue of biblical criticism, Moody and Chapman shared similar views on the scriptures and also a desire to avoid controversy. Moody hoped to avoid disagreements on theological positions and when two men argued about the matter of biblical criticism at his Northfield Conference in 1899, he stated, "couldn't they agree to a truce and for ten years bring out no fresh views, just to get on with the practical work of the Kingdom?"⁸⁶ Unlike Moody, Chapman was more contradictory at times about his position. During his later years at Winona, a time when divisions were beginning to stir in the proto-fundamentalist camp, he reminded Winona attendees of the essential principles on which the centre had been founded, the inspiration of the scriptures and the deity of Christ. He steered clear of making much of his premillennialism and other potentially divisive doctrines for the sake of promoting a more inclusive position for Evangelicals.⁸⁷ Chapman's dependence on a more literal reading of scripture also seemed to soften during the Winona years and he was able to adopt a less strict biblical hermeneutic than his fellow dispensationalists. In 1908, Chapman commended Harvard University's Professor of Social Ethics, Francis Greenwood Peabody (1846-1937), a Unitarian, for his contribution in describing the problems of social reform. In one of his most famous sermons that year called "Another Mile" Chapman made frequent use of Peabody's book *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* and wrote that it was "the position

⁸⁵ "An Ultra-conservative Is Evangelist Chapman" in *Toronto World* (Toronto), 9 January 1911, p. 9.

⁸⁶ Quoted by George Adam Smith in Henry Drummond, *Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts*, New York: McClure, Philips and Company, 1900, p. 30.

⁸⁷ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 133.

of the best advocates of social reform.⁸⁸ Peabody's arguments in this book depended heavily on German higher criticism to develop his case, a matter that did not concern Chapman in this instance. A few years later however, in 1910, while serving as Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions for the Presbyterian Church, Chapman recalled all missionaries from the field who did not support a literal interpretation of the Bible.⁸⁹ It is probable that his contradictory policies were largely due to his work in general evangelism, while at the same time attempting to maintain his allegiance to his denomination and his commitment to its work. Chapman tended to avoid controversy like Moody, but his attitude varied depending on his responsibilities at the time.

Similar to Moody, Chapman had an ability to gain support from a vast array of churches, but he sometimes showed disloyalty to the unity he preached. Moody worked with mostly Evangelical churches, but he often showed cordiality to those who were outside. When a Roman Catholic church was built in his hometown of Northfield in 1886, Moody donated an organ to the congregation and, though he was criticised by some for "fellowshipping with anti-Christ" and informed that he was "consigned to the outermost part of hell," Moody chuckled.⁹⁰ Though he did not have a practice of working with Roman Catholics in his ministry, Moody was not unfavourable to them. Most of the time, Chapman shared the same spirit to inter-denominational relationships as his mentor. During his Boston campaign in 1909, his efforts were backed not only by most evangelical denominations, but also by several non-evangelical congregations including

⁸⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Another Mile and Other Addresses*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁹ "The Gospel in the World," *Institute Tie: The Christian Worker's Magazine*, (Chicago), New Series, volume 11, no. 1, September 1910, p.122.

⁹⁰ Paul Moody quoted in Lyman Abbott, *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1922, p. 209.

Unitarians and Jews, religious traditions that were not a part of Moody's work.⁹¹ Chapman's inter-denominational trust, however, showed weakness in 1905 when he felt threatened by the influx of immigrants and their varied religious ideals. In particular, he became antagonistic toward parochial schools and Romanism. When Jeremiah J. Crowley (1861-1927), a priest who withdrew from the Roman Catholic priesthood after twenty years of service to the Church, wrote a scathing book on the Catholic Church's parochial schools in America, Chapman was quick to endorse his work.⁹² Crowley posited that the parochial schools were under the control of an Italian Pope and this factor caused a threat to the training of Christian values and citizenship.⁹³ He also wrote that the priests who supervised the parochial schools were not "men of God" because of their unspiritual life and immoral practices.⁹⁴ Quick to agree with Crowley, whose message resonated with Chapman's concern for a converted and spiritual life, not to mention his melding of American and Christian values, Chapman wrote that it was time to "sound a note of alarm which Americans would do well to heed"⁹⁵ Seven years later, when Crowley wrote an additional book on Romanism and its threat to the nation, Chapman was swift a second time to endorse the author's thesis and did so under the title "The Evangelistic Leader of the Presbyterian Church"⁹⁶ The greatest concern, for Chapman, was his understanding that schools had the power to influence young minds and make permanent impressions on scholars before they had reached adolescence. Chapman was

⁹¹ Cf. chapter seven for Chapman's work in evangelism.

⁹² "The Parochial School: A Curse to the Church, A Menace to the Nation," *The Interior* (Chicago) volume 36, no. 1848, 26 October 1905, p. 1361.

⁹³ Jeremiah J. Crowley, *Romanism: A Menace to the Nation*, Cincinnati: Jeremiah J. Crowley, 1912, pp. 400-403.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 401-7.

⁹⁵ "The Parochial School: A Curse to the Church, A Menace to the Nation," *The Interior* (Chicago) volume 36, no. 1848, 26 October 1905, p. 1361.

⁹⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman to Jeremiah J. Crowley, *Romanism, A Menace to the Nation*, p. 7.

aware that the Roman church had advertised that if people gave their children to them to educate for the first nine years of their lives, they would never be able to win them away from the Catholic Church again.⁹⁷ He was amenable to fending off a Roman influence in order to secure a more Christian society. In relation to Moody, who worked with Evangelical congregations broadly and also had a respect for a variety of religious traditions, Chapman's version of unity among the churches was very wide in campaigns, yet it could be narrow in practice.

One of the most profound effects Moody had upon Chapman was his use of gospel music. Moody had a talent for bringing sacred songs from the church into the public square. Further, he developed his own style of song that stressed the comforting presence of a loving and merciful God. Moody's songs resonated with the public, who preferred to hear newer songs about God's love and grace and had grown tired of many of the older hymns.⁹⁸ His ability to discern the style of music and lyrics that supported his message helped bring people to a moment of decision for Christ. Within a short time, largely due to the vast circulation of the gospel songs Moody employed, evangelicals used his gospel tunes more often than the hymns of Isaac Watts or Charles Wesley.⁹⁹ Moody was able to see his songs make their way into churches, Christian Associations, educational institutions and Bible schools because he had a sense of what worked and what did not.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, pp. 44-5.

⁹⁸ Ian C. Bradley, *Abide With Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, Chicago: GIA Publications, 1997, p. 174.

⁹⁹ Donald P. Hustad, "D.L. Moody and Church Music" in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁰ William R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 171.

One of the reasons for Moody's success in gospel music was his song leader Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908).¹⁰¹ Sankey's parents had instilled in him the love for gospel music as a child, spending many evenings with him singing church hymns.¹⁰² In 1856, at a church revival near his home in Edinburg, Pennsylvania, Sankey was converted. Within one year, he was a Sunday school director and choir leader at the Methodist Episcopal Church in New Castle. Following brief service in the Civil War, he returned to New Castle and in 1867 worked as a government official for the Internal Revenue Service and spent his volunteer time for the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1870, the YMCA provided Sankey with the opportunity to attend one of Moody's campaigns in Indianapolis. Sankey attended the early morning prayer meeting led by Moody. During a time set aside for singing, Sankey noted that the song leader was "dragging through a metre hymn in the slow old-fashioned way"¹⁰³ Encouraged by a minister sitting beside him to take over the song leader's responsibilities, Sankey arose just after the song leader finished and sang in a powerful voice. At the close of the service, Moody offered Sankey the position of his song leader. He insisted that Sankey should forfeit his current employment because Moody declared that Sankey "was just the man I have been looking for, for a long time"¹⁰⁴ He said, "I want you to come with me; you can do the singing, and I will do the talking"¹⁰⁵ The gospel team of Moody and Sankey had formed and, as David Bebbington has suggested, their partnership was the greatest innovation in evangelism during the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Chapman and his

¹⁰¹ Henry A. Drummond, "D.L. Moody and Revivalism" in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, p. 99.

¹⁰² W. K. McNeil (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music*, New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 329.

¹⁰³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁶ David W. Bebbington, "How Moody Changed Revivalism" p. 22.

song leader Charles McCallon Alexander (1867-1920) followed the famous team's strategies almost perfectly.¹⁰⁷

The sermons of Moody with the music of Sankey were a powerful combination to influence people in making a decision for Christ.¹⁰⁸ Sankey believed that, except for the preaching of the Bible, God had not given a greater power for the conversion and sanctification of the soul than the singing of hymns and spiritual songs.¹⁰⁹ The Moody-Sankey style was practical and it introduced gospel music to people who were not inclined to participate in older church traditions with slower hymns. Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos*, originally published in 1872, became enormously popular. By 1903 it contained over twelve hundred songs that were played and sung in churches all over the United States.¹¹⁰

Chapman considered the success of the Moody-Sankey partnership's musical efforts "blessed beyond comprehension" and a major reason for the success of their evangelistic efforts.¹¹¹ To Chapman, their gospel songs became the remedy for the stagnation of the First Church in Albany in 1885.¹¹² The use of a formal and traditional hymnody, Chapman believed, remained a limiting factor in his attempt at filling the church pews.¹¹³ Seeking Moody's counsel, Chapman was encouraged to utilize less formal practices in the order of worship for all services. Moody contributed some of his

¹⁰⁷ Cf. chapter seven for the evangelistic work of Chapman and Alexander.

¹⁰⁸ Elias Nason, *The American Evangelists: Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns and of Sacred Songs and Solos*, Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1906, p. vi.

¹¹⁰ David Nicholls (ed.), *The Cambridge History of American Music*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 155.

¹¹¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life of D.L. Moody*, p. 134-8.

¹¹² Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York, American Tract Society, 1918, p. vii.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

gospel songbooks to replace the old hymns.¹¹⁴ When Chapman distributed them in the pews, one of his elders informed him that he could not replace the old hymns, because the gospel songs, he felt, "were not in keeping with the spirit of that church"¹¹⁵ When Moody learned about the situation, he advised Chapman to slip them into the pews unannounced and "use them anyway"¹¹⁶ Moody's hymns were well received by the congregation and leadership of the church and because of Moody's counsel to Chapman, the First Church in Albany was converted from its reliance on centuries-old music to a congregation that welcomed his gospel hymns.¹¹⁷

Chapman's encounter with Moody at the Albany church solidified his understanding of the power of newer music to promote the gospel. He believed that a great service of song should be held on a monthly basis at a church.¹¹⁸ "New hymns," he wrote, "should be used with the old."¹¹⁹ Together, they represented the bond between the historical and modern church. For this reason, he advised that the selection of hymns, whether old or new, was important, so that the sermon and song could reinforce each other.¹²⁰ He had observed the ineffectiveness of a poorly selected song which "chilled" rather than inspired the audience after an emotionally-laden message of salvation.¹²¹ The hymns, he believed, needed a tender element so that the audience could nurture a relationship to Christ or be moved to receive his love.¹²² This characteristic was at the heart of Victorian romanticism and it was utilised by Moody and Chapman effectively.

¹¹⁴ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 229.

¹¹⁵ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. 104.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹¹⁸ Chapman, "An Organized Church" in *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, p. 125.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹²⁰ Chapman, "Why Some Fail" in *The Problem of the Work*, p. 249.

¹²¹ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 55-6.

¹²² Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, p. 52.

Both evangelists relied on expressed sentimentalism rather than doctrine to evoke emotions in their audiences. Chapman, however, was concerned that gospel songs should remain within theological parameters. He expressed his disappointment in the fact that although many songs touched people's hearts, some gospel hymns contained theological inaccuracies.¹²³ Chapman was more concerned than Moody about sacrificing precision in orthodoxy for the sake of worship or evangelism.

Chapman, like Moody, acknowledged that the Christian musician was as important, if not more important, than the revivalist.¹²⁴ "To sing the gospel, according to Chapman, was oftentimes more effective than to preach it."¹²⁵ Children, he believed, receive their theology mostly from the hymns they sing.¹²⁶ For this reason, he believed that there was a strong need for some individuals to recognise the call of God to become musicians, just as there is for others to become ordained ministers.¹²⁷ The invitation to become a song leader or musician was not issued lightly. Chapman believed that there were five essentials to qualify for this position: a call from God, a life yielded to God, a consecrated life, a heart determined to win people for Christ and a conviction that the talent he or she has was given by God for God's use.¹²⁸ When these qualities were present, Chapman believed that a musician could promote the message of the gospel as effectively as any preacher.

Another important influence that Moody had upon Chapman was that of recommending urgency for people to make a commitment for Christ. Having served as a

¹²³ J. Wilbur Chapman in *Alexander's Gospel Songs*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908, foreword.

¹²⁴ Chapman, "The Evangelist in Song" in *Present Day Evangelism*, p. 192.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹²⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman (ed.), *Montreat Hymnal* (1916), see also Mary McPhail Standaert and Joseph Standaert, *Montreat*, p. 48.

¹²⁷ Chapman, "The Evangelist in Song" pp. 197-8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-9.

chaplain in the Civil War (1861-65) and being present with soldiers during their last moments in life, Moody spoke with men about the condition of their souls. Taking wounded soldiers on a boat down the Tennessee River, Moody declared to his fellow Christian workers, "We must not let a man die on the boat without telling him of Christ and heaven"¹²⁹ In 1871, Moody was invited to speak to the largest crowd he had ever encountered as a preacher up to that point. At the end of the evening, Moody encouraged people to return to their homes and consider the question of what they should do with Christ in their lives. The following Sunday, he advised them, they would address their decision to come to Christ at a formal service. A few hours following the service, the Great Chicago fire broke out and Moody considered his advice for people to postpone a decision for Christ as a terrible mistake. He said, "I have never seen that congregation of men and women again. I never expect to see them this side of the throne of God. I learned a lesson that night which I shall never forget. I never shall forget that it is my business as a preacher of the gospel to press men and women to an immediate decision when I present the claims of Christ."¹³⁰ In 1892, Moody was sitting on Olivet in Israel and he had an ambitious vision of evangelism for Chicago for the following year.¹³¹ That vision provided Moody with the overall emphasis for the work at the World's Fair the following year. Speaking to his colleagues at the beginning of the event, Moody said,

Hundreds of wretched, lost, despairing men could there be reached by such workers every night. Talk as you will about a future state and all that, I believe these men in their awful condition are going down to hell. If we don't rescue them they will perish forever.

¹²⁹ Dwight L. Moody quoted in J. Wilbur Chapman, *From Life to Life: Illustrations and Anecdotes for the Use of Religious Workers and for Private Meditation*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1900, pp. 38-40.

¹³⁰ *The Life and Work of Dwight Moody: An Address at the D.L. Moody Memorial Service in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium*, Chicago, 7 February 1915; *The Christian Workers Magazine* (Chicago), volume 18, no. 6, p. 461.

¹³¹ Lyle Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D.L. Moody*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1997, p. 390.

It is a question of life or death, of heaven or hell, with them now,
and few brief days will settle it. We have no time to lose.¹³²

Moody recognised the fragility of life and believed that a commitment to Christ must not be postponed.

Like his mentor, Chapman believed that it was a risk to delay a decision for Jesus Christ because “there was no guarantee, he believed, “that a man has another day to live”¹³³ It was a dangerous thing to wait “even for a moment” Chapman wrote in 1900, “for it may be God’s last call”¹³⁴ In his book *The Problem of the Work* (1911), he instructed church leaders to create an “evangelistic” Sunday school programme that presented students with an urgent invitation to confess Christ.¹³⁵ Delaying the call for a decision, he believed, was “bad advice”¹³⁶ “Take Him! Take Him!” or “Yield to Him” was often Chapman’s cry as he ended his messages.¹³⁷ Clear and urgent invitations for people to make a decision for Christ in the immediate moment were present in his sermons and evangelistic campaigns following his initial work with Moody.

The most significant influence from Moody to Chapman regarding evangelistic strategies was his example of how to use the popular media to promote the gospel. Moody was the first to harness the power and reach of the newer forms of mass media to use them in evangelism.¹³⁸ Moody was a master of method and his precision for detail included his shrewd use of advertising. He believed that there was no more effective

¹³² Charles M. Alexander’s report on the 1893 World’s Fair, “Cheering Them On” (no date), p. 7 in Collection: *DLM Revival Campaigns, World’s Fair*, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago; access date 7 July 2012.

¹³³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *From Life to Life: Illustrations and Anecdotes for the Use of Religious Workers and for Private Meditation*, pp. 28-9, 48-9, 51, 56-9, .

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, pp. 202-13.

¹³⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, “Your Sins” in *Evangelistic Sermons*, p. 125. See also J. Wilbur Chapman hymn, “Yield to Him Now” in *Victorious Life Hymns*, Philadelphia: Sunday School Times, 1911, p. 5.

¹³⁷ Chapman, “Your Sins” p. 125.

¹³⁸ Bruce J. Evanson, *God’s Man for the Gilded Age: D.L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p.12.

method of circulation than the press and the more publicity given evangelistic meetings and addresses the better.¹³⁹ To the critics who said that religious advertising was undignified, Moody responded that there was no dignity in preaching to empty pews.¹⁴⁰ Whatever methods ensured success in business, Moody asserted that the same should be utilised for churches. If a church failed to embrace entrepreneurial skills, Moody believed, it would be out of work much like any business that failed in the same way.¹⁴¹ Chapman followed in his mentor's footsteps and between the years 1890 to 1910 he became the dominant force in the evangelical landscape for revival advertising. Chapman recognised an opportunity for increasing interest in his campaigns when the famous baseball player-become-revivalist William A. Sunday (1862-1935) desired to join Chapman's team in 1893. Chapman sent him into cities to stir up the crowds prior to his arrival and often had Sunday read Chapman's sermons, since Sunday had little religious training or knowledge of preaching. Newspapers and stores advertised the Chapman campaigns and businesses were eager to attach their names to the event. Chapman was also able to acquire broad ecumenical support because he, like Moody, was considered conservative in theology but catholic in spirit.¹⁴² He adopted the organisational methods of Moody and wrote that "the Holy Spirit is not bound by rules, but it certainly cannot be displeasing to Him to have a well-defined plan and as nearly as possible a perfect organisation"¹⁴³ Chapman, having learned from his mentor how to reach urban centres

¹³⁹ Dwight L. Moody, "How to Develop and Make Pastoral Evangelism General" (New York), *Homiletic Review*, volume 35, issue 5, May 1898, pp. 408-9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 408

¹⁴² "A Revival in Rhode Island" *The Congregationalist and Christian World* (Boston), volume 92, no. 6, 9 February 1907, p. 189.

¹⁴³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Revivals and Missions*, New York: Lenthion and Company, 1900, p. 83.

with modern techniques, reached larger crowds during the first two decades of the twentieth century than Moody had during his lifetime.

Moody's last address was at the Bible Institute in Chicago on 10 November 1899. Failing health had caused him to cancel speaking engagements in October, but these setbacks seemed temporary and he had hoped to fulfil further preaching commitments.¹⁴⁴ On Friday 22 December 1899 Moody died at his home in Northfield, Massachusetts, just before noon. His funeral service was held the following Tuesday and Chapman presented one of the eight addresses that afternoon. He stated that his mentor "was the dearest friend I have had. If my own father were lying in the coffin I could not feel more the sense of loss."¹⁴⁵ In the following year, Chapman wrote about his relationship to Moody and said, "I question if this generation has known a man who was more Christ-like than D.L. Moody."¹⁴⁶ Chapman noted that Moody had preached to more people during his lifetime than any other man, "possibly in the world's history."¹⁴⁷ The loss of Moody was, for Chapman, an end of an era and the loss of his most dependable adviser.

Chapman's relationship to the Moody family became strained following Moody's death. Unbeknownst to Chapman was the fact that Moody had requested that his son, William, should pen his biography.¹⁴⁸ Pressured by numerous requests from many people who considered Chapman to be the most appropriate person to compose Moody's biography, Chapman initially declined to do so, but by early 1900, when the John C. Winston Publishing Company in Philadelphia requested a biography from him, three

¹⁴⁴ Henry Davenport Northrop, *Life and Labors of Dwight L. Moody*, Philadelphia: Globe Bible Publishing Company, 1899, p. 46.

¹⁴⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman in John Wesley Hanson, *The Life and Works of the World's Greatest Evangelist*, p. 220.

¹⁴⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

¹⁴⁸ William Revell Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 1.

reasons led Chapman to relent. First, he realised that the funds from the book could afford a great opportunity to contribute to a benevolent or educational endeavour to honour Moody's work. Second, he had been convinced by friends that he could provide experiences of Moody as an evangelist that would reach households which would otherwise not have the opportunity to learn the particulars of Moody's life. Finally, writing the biography was a way to pay tribute to the "most consistent Christian man" he had ever known.¹⁴⁹ Chapman completed the work within three months of Moody's death and as quickly as the book was published, the response from the members of the Moody family was swift and contentious.¹⁵⁰ They were not pleased that Chapman would consider himself to be more of an authority on Moody than William. Though Chapman was aware that William's biography was being written, he did not believe that his book would compete with William's work. He had photographs and experiences of Moody as a close colleague that the family did not possess and he believed that his work would be more reflective in nature. Chapman's completed work, however, turned into a biography. In an attempt at good faith, the members of the Moody family requested that the publisher should insert a copy of a letter from them upon the distribution of Chapman's book stating that the Moody family did not view the biography as "detracting from their affectionate regard" for Chapman.¹⁵¹ The publisher agreed to this proposition, but when the book was distributed, he also inserted an article from a Chicago newspaper disparaging William as one who lacked the literary ability to pen his own father's

¹⁴⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, preface, p. v.

¹⁵⁰ "Two Lives of D.L. Moody," *The Standard* (Chicago), volume 47, no. 27, 12 May 1900, p. 14, see also "Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody," *New Outlook* (New York), volume 64, no. 15, 14 April 1900, p. 880.

¹⁵¹ "Life and Work of D.L. Moody," *The Outlook* (New York), volume 64, no. 15, 14 April 1900, p. 880.

biography.¹⁵² In the months that followed Chapman and William's books, newspapers carried advertisements for both, often on the same page. The Winston company stated that Chapman had been Moody's most intimate co-worker and listed his credentials for publication while the advertisement for William's edition declared it to be the "only one authorized life of Moody"¹⁵³ The publishing controversy continued for several years and the relationship between Chapman and the members of Moody's family remained cordial, but not close.

There had been many similarities and a few differences between the two revivalists. Moody and Chapman had a passion for winning souls. Moody's Sunday school classes projected him into full-time ministry and Chapman's success as the pastor of the largest Sunday school in the nation contributed to his fame. Both men conducted mass evangelistic meetings and targeted large urban centres for their revival work. Chapman exceeded the efficiency of his mentor by using the simultaneous method of evangelism to reach more people at a given time. In matters of theology, Moody and Chapman used a new style of evangelism, a focus on the love of God to influence people to make a decision for Christ rather than messages of God's wrath as former revivalists had emphasised.¹⁵⁴ They both relied on a common sense reading of the Bible to understand the nature of God's love and salvation. Chapman's development of dispensationalism was more refined than Moody's and this was due to the rising fundamentalist tendencies following Moody's death. Moody and Chapman were inter-denominational in their evangelistic work, but unlike Moody, Chapman broke with

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 880.

¹⁵³ *Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper* (New York), volume 68, no. 1719, 25 January 1900, p. 123.

¹⁵⁴ James A. Miller, "Evangelism ó From Jonathan Edwards to W.J. Dawson," *Homiletic Review*, Volume 59, no. 4, April 1905, pp. 259-60.

Roman Catholics, whom he believed threatened the nation with their allegiance to the Pope. Moody and Chapman were masterful at harnessing the media to create attention for their campaigns, but Chapman's era was that of vaudeville and he had to compete harder than Moody against popular forms of entertainment. The largest difference between the two men was their levels of education. Chapman was a trained minister in the Presbyterian Church and Moody was a shoe salesman with no college experience. Chapman spoke with eloquence, but Moody's speech was common to the lay person. Both men garnered the support of wealthy contributors, but Moody was less inclined to be influenced by them than Chapman. While there are a few notable differences, Chapman's achievement was to expand the work of Moody and make it more efficient.

Chapman's relationship to Moody, which began at an early age in the form of hero worship by Chapman, grew into a mentorship by Moody and came to completion as the status of an adviser to a student. Ford C. Ottman, Chapman's biographer and colleague in the Chapman-Alexander Campaigns, stated that Moody, twenty-two years Chapman's senior, "undoubtedly became the dominant influence in the purposeful dedication and career of the young Chapman"¹⁵⁵ Chapman copied the elder evangelist's methods of revivalism, depending on a song leader similar to Moody's to get the crowd ready for the preaching of the gospel. He received instructions about music from Moody and found that by utilising the wisdom of his mentor, his churches and campaigns flourished. Chapman was appreciative of being under Moody's tutelage and said, "for some reason Mr Moody always seemed to keep me in mind. He came into my church in the early days of my ministry, told me where he thought I was wrong and suggested how I might be more greatly used of God. He advised me to give my time wholly to

¹⁵⁵ Ottman, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 41.

evangelistic work...¹⁵⁶ There is no evidence to suggest why Moody took such an interest in Chapman, since Moody had mentored several young men in evangelism, but of those he mentored, Chapman became Moody's favourite. 'To him,' Chapman said, 'more than any other man, I owe the greatest blessing that ever came into my life.'¹⁵⁷ Summing up what Moody meant to him, he wrote,

It was through Mr Moody's agency that I became a Christian, through his influence I entered the ministry and when my ministry was poor and unfruitful, he was the messenger from God through whom I received the spiritual impulse and blessing which has given any fruitfulness to my work as evangelist, minister and pastor. Very often I have sought him at critical times for counsel and always received from him the brotherly sympathy and help I needed.¹⁵⁸

It was Chapman's decision at an early age, from what he had heard of him and from what the newspapers had printed of his work, to be influenced by Moody above any other man living at his time and Chapman's life and ministry testified to that reality.¹⁵⁹ He recognised Moody as a 'master of strategy when dealing with the spiritually torpid' and a 'master of moving men'¹⁶⁰ There were a few differences between the two men including strategies for evangelism, theology, and style, but Chapman was as close to being Moody's successor as any evangelist could be.

J. Wilbur Chapman, however, was overshadowed by Moody. He was popular in his day for his significant work, but he did not acquire the same lasting memory as his mentor. Chapman's name was never attached to organisations as Moody's name had been. Moody's Evangelization Society in Chicago became the Moody Bible Institute

¹⁵⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman quoted in John Wesley Hanson, *The Life and Works of the World's Greatest Evangelist, Dwight L. Moody*, p. 291.

¹⁵⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ 'The Reviver of Revivalism' in *Collier's: The National Weekly* (New York), volume 50, no. 19, 25 January 1913, p. 19, Chapman, *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 21.

following his death in 1899 and its influence continued into the twentieth century by training young men and women for ministry. Moody was larger than life in the minds of the people and living in his shadow was a significant factor for Chapman's lack of prominence in historical remembrance.

Chapter Four

Presbyterianism

An essential part of the foundation of J. Wilbur Chapman's fame as a pastor and an evangelist was his relationship to the Presbyterian denomination. In 1882, Chapman graduated from Lane Theological Seminary. During the twenty years following seminary, Chapman served six parishes: four Presbyterian congregations and two Reformed churches until 1902, when he began his full-time work for the General Assembly.¹ In 1904, he ventured out on his own and, though sponsored by the Presbyterian Church, operated as a non-denominational evangelist. The next year, the Presbyterian denomination called him its "evangelistic Napoleon"² Did Chapman regard himself the same way the denomination viewed him or were his denominational ties coincidental to his work and his devotion more to the evangelical faith? To what degree was Chapman committed to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and how did his allegiance wax and wane over the years?

There is no previous historiographical analysis of Chapman and his relationship to his denomination. Historians have acknowledged his association with the Presbyterian church, but they have not studied it as a contributing factor of his life and work. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse Chapman's responsibilities in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and to examine his allegiance to it. The chapter will also look at Chapman's ability to function as both a denominational evangelist and

¹ Cf. chapter two for Chapman's church work.

² "Some Assembly Personalities" *The Westminster* (Philadelphia), Volume 20, no. 21, 27 May 1905, p. 10.

an un-denominational evangelist to discover how they affected his contributions to the Evangelical world.

The Presbyterian Church was one of America's earliest and most prominent religious traditions. The first Presbyterian congregation, the Southampton church in Long Island, was established in 1640. Francis Makemie, an Irish minister, arrived in America in 1683 and for his work in founding Presbyterian churches he was called "The Father of Presbyterianism".³ With six other ministers, Makemie organised the first presbytery in Philadelphia in 1706. A little more than twenty years later, the Adopting Act in 1729 made the Westminster Confession and its Larger and Shorter Catechisms, in all the "essential and necessary articles", the confessional standard for the American Presbyterian church.⁴ John Witherspoon (1723-1794), a Presbyterian minister and educator, became the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Presbyterianism, in America, had been a major influence in religious thinking and practice. It was dependent on classical Calvinism and it was rooted in the Westminster Confession of Faith.

In 1837, the Presbyterian church, the largest denomination in America at the time, divided into Old School and New School sides. It was a reaction to the Plan of Union in 1801, an agreement between New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians to join together to evangelise the American frontier. Charles Hodge (1797-1898), a professor of Princeton Seminary and an Old School critic of the plan, claimed that it undermined Presbyterian polity, leaving union churches without denominational control. He also argued that it was a continuation of the New Divinity theology that modified Calvinism

³ Randall Balmer and Joseph Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993, p. 24.

⁴ S. Donald Fortson, *The Presbyterian Creed: A Confessional Tradition in America*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008, p. 12.

making it more revivalistic in nature. What was at stake, for the Old School, were the notions that sinners had no ability in themselves in any way to enter the path of salvation, that people were redeemed by the imputation of Christ's righteousness and that the saving effects of Christ's atonement were for the elect and not for all of humanity.⁵ Though Old School adherents did not oppose the concept of revivals, they did not believe that doctrine should be modified to accommodate efforts, nor that evangelism should become too wild. New School advocates, on the other hand, accepted the idea of revivalism and the modified Calvinism that could extend an invitation to sinners to choose to be saved. The factions were contentious and Presbyterians were divided almost equally.

Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), a revivalist in the Second Great Awakening and considered by some to be the progenitor of modern revivalism, was the most criticised proponent of the New School ideology. Those who held Old School beliefs felt that Finney's evangelism offered an instant moment of salvation, reinforcing Pelagian heresies about being able to secure one's own salvation. Finney's use of the anxious bench, an open seat near the front of the revival for those who were contemplating their salvation in an evangelistic campaign, was viewed as an affront to true faith. William McLoughlin noted that old Calvinists had measured a person's piety by the number of months one spent agonising over salvation and that quick conversions represented to them a sign of ignorance and bad breeding.⁶ New School adherents did not see a problem with Finney's methods. Further, they did not view the Westminster

⁵ Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 125.

⁶ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1959, p. 98.

Confession of Faith to be in opposition to the concept of one's ability to choose God's gift of salvation. By the mid-nineteenth century, New School revivalism held a dominant position within the Presbyterian tradition.

The New School's progressive Calvinism influenced revivalism and social reform, issues that were at the heart of Chapman's work.⁷ Evangelicals during Chapman's time were changing and in the twentieth century, the Old School found an ally with New School adherents. With some reservation, Old School conservatives began to develop cordial relations with dispensationalists and holiness preachers.⁸ This was due, in part, to their common sense reading of the scriptures and an attempt to curb the influence of modernism. Chapman was sympathetic to New School Presbyterianism, since he had an admiration for Finney and his revivalist techniques. Like Finney, Chapman believed that one could choose to follow Christ, and, as a revivalist, called upon people to stand up, raise their hands or meet a counsellor in the enquiry room to receive salvation. The majority of his work occurred after the merger of Old School and New School sides, but tensions existed. The most notable conservative Calvinist during his time was Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921), a professor at Princeton Seminary like Hodge before him. Chapman and Warfield were acquaintances, but Chapman was never the object of his criticism, mainly because they were colleagues in the Presbyterian Church and because Chapman avoided matters of doctrine. Warfield's target was Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928), Chapman's colleague in revivalism.

Although Chapman's early Christian experience was multi-denominational, the congregations he served as a minister shared a Reformed heritage. Most of his churches

⁷ Balmer and Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians*, p. 66.

⁸ George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1987, p. 32.

were Presbyterian in polity and theology, but between 1883 and 1890 he was the pastor of two Reformed congregations: the Dutch Reformed Church at Schuylerville, New York (1883-1885) and the First Reformed Church in Albany, New York (1885-1890). The Schuylerville church required Chapman to preach a message on the Heidelberg Catechism (1562) every Sunday. The catechism was a Reformed creed from Germany originally created to solve the tension between the Lutheran and Reformed churches over the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but while it contains instruction about the Christian life, only one question out of one hundred and twenty nine concerns the sacrament. The catechism, though familiar to Presbyterians, was not used as often as the Westminster Confession of Faith, a creed in which Chapman was better versed.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America appointed Chapman to a position on the Board of Evangelism from 1895 to 1897. He was a solid candidate for this denominational board, because of his expertise in conducting mid-sized campaigns during his seminary and post-seminary evangelistic crusades with B. Fay Mills.⁹ His experience with Dwight Moody at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 brought him to the forefront among the nation's evangelists and, as a Presbyterian, his experience of working with leaders from several different denominations provided him with an ecumenical understanding of church work. Mills was a Congregationalist and Moody was a Baptist.

Chapman continued parish ministry at the Bethany church, but in 1897, he was asked to change his membership from the Board of Evangelism to the General

⁹ Cf. chapter seven for Chapman's evangelistic campaigns.

Assembly's Board of Foreign Missions.¹⁰ The critical issue confronting the missions board was the need to address the decreasing support from churches to the work of foreign missions. In 1897, the support had dropped \$100,000 from the previous year. It was a significant deficit, an amount equal to one-tenth of its total budget.¹¹ The decrease of funding was viewed as unparalleled and the committee sought different ways to respond to the crisis.¹² Chapman's leadership was vital, since he had proven himself to be an organisational genius and one adept at fundraising. Among the selected alternatives Chapman proposed were recommendations to urge Sunday school classes to educate students about foreign missions, to have local churches collect an annual offering for foreign missionaries on the Sunday prior to Christmas and to require that all congregations check with board secretaries to confirm the credentials of visiting missionaries. This last recommendation was necessary because several missionaries received donations from church offerings, but were not on the list of those approved by the denomination.¹³ Chapman notified congregations about these recommendations and he quickly became the face of Presbyterian work in foreign missions. Combined with the endless multi-tasking responsibilities of parish ministry which included a heavy visitation schedule, numerous committee meetings, a rigorous preaching schedule and other pastoral duties, these additional responsibilities exhausted him. His desire had always been focused on preaching Christ rather than toiling under the weight of parish

¹⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Proceedings of the 111th General Assembly*, Volume XII, 1899, p. 73.

¹¹ *The Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, 30 April 1897, pp. 5, 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

responsibilities and denominational work.¹⁴ The work of the board, though a natural fit for Chapman's abilities, became a burden. His service to the board, however, and the relationships he developed, especially that with John Converse, an influential leader in the denomination, proved to be useful preparation for his work as an evangelist to the world.¹⁵ In later years he was able to acquire the board's aid in his evangelistic efforts. When he conducted a tour of the Orient in 1909, for instance, the secretaries on the Board of Foreign Missions paved the way by sending letters ahead of him as a way of introduction. The Presbyterian committee aided Chapman's efforts to the larger church around the world. Chapman served as the first executive leader of the Committee of Evangelism and devoted nine years to this position.¹⁶ Following his resignation in 1909 to focus on world-wide evangelistic tours, he remained a special representative to the committee in an advisory position, a relationship that showed the denomination's trust in Chapman as its leader.¹⁷

Chapman published several books during his time on the Special Committee on Evangelism, some of which became instantly popular for Presbyterians and for non-Presbyterians. In 1899, when he wrote four different articles about the model for Sunday School programmes in *The Sunday School Times*, the response from the public was so great that the publishers asked Chapman for permission to print the articles in one binding. The book was titled *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School* and the publication

¹⁴ D. Edward Evans to Ford C. Ottman in Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, pp. 34-5.

¹⁵ Cf. chapter two for Converse and Chapman.

¹⁶ -Reports of the Boards' *Minutes of the General Assembly in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., One Hundred Seventeenth Annual Report, 15 May 1919*, New York: Office of the General Assembly, 1919, p. 42.

¹⁷ -Reports of the Boards' *Minutes of the General Assembly in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., One Hundred Seventeenth Annual Report, 15 May 1919*, New York: Office of the General Assembly, 1919, p. 55.

was quickly recognised by a variety of denominations as the best contemporary guidebook to evangelism and church growth. It remained a favourite training manual for many years.¹⁸ Chapman's approach to church growth was evangelistic in nature and every point in the book guided the leader to the 'Decision Day' when children were encouraged to make a public confession of faith and begin the journey of discipleship.¹⁹ Church leaders in Evangelical congregations were eager to learn from Chapman's success as pastor of some of the largest churches in America.²⁰ Further publications followed which were not specifically designed for those in his denomination, including pamphlets on personal and pastoral evangelism, special work for men, the Sunday evening service, acquiring and holding an audience, organising a church and the study of the Bible. In 1911, Chapman wrote *The Problem of the Work*, which became a popular handbook for assisting Evangelical churches to organise their efforts in Christian work. In the book, Chapman emphasised his concern for training church leaders because, 'officers, no matter the denomination, were critical to the success of their church's ministry'²¹ Chapman's instructions were viewed by the public as useful methods for all churches, not simply for the Presbyterians.

In April 1899, Dwight Moody, Chapman's mentor and close friend, visited the meeting of the Presbyterian Church's Committee for Social Action in Philadelphia and pleaded for the denomination to organise its evangelistic work for the city and country's

¹⁸ 'The Forward Movement of the Christian Church', *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Volume CXI, no. 26, 26 June 1919, p. 619.

¹⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1899, p. 50.

²⁰ 'Sunday School Books', *The Weekly Bulletin: Students Christian Association of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Volume 24, no. 13, 10 January 1902, p. 2.

²¹ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, p. 141.

sake.²² Two years later, in May 1901, the Presbyterian General Assembly met in Philadelphia and found that the fervour of Moody's visit was still lingering in the city.²³ Philadelphia, the Assembly believed, was ripe for a new endeavour in evangelism.²⁴ The Assembly appointed a committee to stimulate churches in evangelistic work and to make evangelism a significant factor in the new direction of the church for the twentieth century. Moody had been a catalyst for a new venture in evangelism and the denomination recognised Chapman's association with Moody to have been a valuable resource for their evangelistic goals. Although Moody had supporters in the Presbyterian church already, Chapman had brought Moody's influence to the attention of the General Assembly and had helped the Presbyterian church expand its relations with other denominations.

While Chapman continued his denominational work and maintained his schedule as the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church in New York City, a plan was being devised to re-direct his work into full-time evangelism. John H. Converse, a son of a Presbyterian minister, an elder and leader in the General Assembly of Chapman's denomination and the President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, considered the possibility that the railroad could operate as an effective vehicle for the spread of the gospel. He was eager to utilise his locomotives as evangelistic machines to respond to the lagging rate of conversions in the church.²⁵ His plan was to find a way to transport a team of competent evangelists from one city to another as quickly as possible to

²² -Report of Rev. Wm. H. Roberts, D.D., *The Presbyterian Banner* (Pittsburgh), 27 January 1910, volume 96, no. 34, p. 1123.

²³ -World Evangelistic Movement, *New York Observer* (New York), 27 January 1910, volume 88, no.6, p. 163.

²⁴ -Report of Rev. Wm. H. Roberts, D.D., *The Presbyterian Banner* (Pittsburgh), 27 January 1910, volume 96, no, 34, p. 1123.

²⁵ Cf. chapter two for Converse's plan to acquire Chapman for full-time evangelistic work.

maximise the efficiency of revival work. In 1901, Converse approached the General Assembly with a resolution to form a special committee to enquire into evangelistic work.²⁶ Chapman, he believed, had the ability to reach large cities better than any other evangelist at the time since he had proved successful in his urban campaigns.²⁷ He was aware that Chapman had been associated with Moody and by the 1890s had become known as a man who possessed possibilities of service such as come to few men in the history of the church²⁸ Converse was also aware of Chapman's tendency to select moderate-sized cities for campaigns rather than large urban centres like Moody and he wanted to enable the evangelist to apply his skills in a greater scope. In 1894, for instance, Chapman had conducted a campaign in Paris, Indiana, from 11 September to 4 October. Its range involved ten local churches, two large tents in the middle of the town and 100 volunteers from the churches who comprised the union choir.²⁹ It was a successful endeavour for a moderate-sized town, but it was not the level which Converse believed that Chapman could reach.

The Presbyterian denomination formed Converse's recommended Special Committee on Evangelism in 1902.³⁰ Chapman accepted the assignment to the board because he believed that the committee would be able to respond to the lack of

²⁶ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Proceedings of the 113th General Assembly*, Volume XIV, 1901, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, p. 42.

²⁷ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and His Message*, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1962, pp. 50-1.

²⁸ Henry M. Wharton, *A Month with Moody in Chicago: His Work and Workers*, Baltimore: Wharton and Barron, 1894, p. 61.

²⁹ "The Churches," *The Interior* (Chicago), Volume 25, no. 1258, 15 November 1894, p. 1480.

³⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Proceedings of the 114th General Assembly*, Volume XV, 1902, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, pp. 33-40.

evangelistic efforts in his time.³¹ Its tasks were to stimulate the churches in evangelistic work, to consider the methods essential to the success of such work, to assess the committee's conduct in relation to the churches and to report on recommendations to the General Assembly at its annual meetings.³² William Henry Roberts, the Stated Clerk of the Assembly, agreed to act as the Corresponding Secretary to the General Assembly's Special Committee on Evangelistic Work, but within a few months, he recognised that the enormous workload of this committee was beyond his energy and acknowledged his inability to continue as its Corresponding Secretary.³³ Chapman was recommended to succeed him because of his acknowledged reputation as a man of organisational competence.³⁴ Chapman's primary directives were to oversee the purpose of the committee and ensure that its goals were being met. In addition, he was also responsible to direct the activities of fifty-one evangelists in four hundred and seventy cities spread throughout the United States.³⁵ Chapman's authority over denominational issues reached a new level and the Presbyterian church began to depend more heavily on his leadership and guidance.

During Chapman's first year of service on the committee, he made a special effort to increase awareness of the necessity for evangelistic efforts on the part of congregations and clergy. Chapman reported that more than one hundred thousand communications had been sent to pastors and elders reminding them of their responsibility to offer people opportunities to choose Christ. Five thousand copies of a booklet on evangelistic

³¹ Chapman, *The Presbyterian Brotherhood: Report of the First Convention Held at Indianapolis, 13-15 November 1906*, Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1907, pp. 193-5.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-40.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁴ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 121.

³⁵ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in United States of America, Proceedings of the 115th General Assembly*, Volume XVI, 1903, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, p. 34.

methods had been printed and sent to congregations around the country. Twelve hundred ministers had been enrolled to create a "circle of prayer" for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on churches for a new revival.³⁶ Chapman's influence upon the church expanded its commitment to evangelism and by the end of his first year not only was his title changed to General Secretary, but his insight and advice on evangelism were requested by other denominations.³⁷ By 1903, the Special Committee on Evangelism was increased to sixteen members as the denominational effort on evangelism developed.³⁸ Chapman commissioned ten men as Field Secretaries to cover all areas of the United States. He encouraged each presbytery to organise Committees on Evangelism to ensure that the work of revivalism was being accomplished in its jurisdiction. At the heart of Chapman's work for the Presbyterian church was his dedication to evangelism first in the denomination, then also to Christians outside its boundaries.

In 1902 Chapman's work as General Secretary to the Committee on Evangelism placed such a burden of responsibility upon him that he resigned from the Fourth Presbyterian Church of New York.³⁹ He could no longer continue balancing the demands of pastoral ministry to a congregation while maintaining his extensive obligations to a denominational committee. Converse recognised Chapman's departure from parish ministry as an opportunity to acquire him for full-time evangelistic efforts and made a substantial offer to the General Assembly to underwrite all Chapman's expenses, thus

³⁶ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1902, pp. 36-7.

³⁷ Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 50.

³⁸ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 1903, p.34.

³⁹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 1903, p.36.

easing the financial commitment on the denomination to provide for this endeavour.⁴⁰ In order to secure Chapman's services, Converse offered him the same salary that he was making at the Fourth Presbyterian Church in New York, eight thousand dollars per annum, in addition to certain personal and business expenses.⁴¹ Most ministers, especially those within Chapman's denomination, averaged salaries of less than one thousand dollars per annum. Converse's provision of funds was very generous and it was also noted as such among his colleagues and fellow Christians who believed that Chapman was worth his weight in usefulness.⁴² The relationship between Converse and Chapman shows that one of the influences that contributed to the success of Chapman's ministry was the power of the American dollar.

Chapman's reputation expanded beyond the denomination's walls and his control over national evangelistic enterprises quickly took shape. An essential component for Chapman's work as an evangelist was his leadership and participation in the Interdenominational Association of Evangelists (IAE). The organisation was started at Winona Lake Bible Conference in Indiana in 1904 by Sol Dickey (1858-1920), a Presbyterian minister who asked Chapman to become its director.⁴³ Winona Lake was Chapman's first attempt at leading Christian conferences and over the course of time, the conference was successful in establishing a Chautauquan-esque experience for Christians. By the first decade of the twentieth century, it was considered equal to Moody's

⁴⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Proceedings of the 114th General Assembly*, Volume XV, 1902, p. 71.

⁴¹ Converse to Chapman, 17 October 1902, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁴² John Heman Converse, L.L.D., *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Volume 5, no.7, 1909-1910, Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Historical Society, 1910, pp. 301-10.

⁴³ McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 365.

Northfield in reputation and by 1912, many considered it the "Presbyterian Northfield"⁴⁴ The IAE's main purpose was to unify and standardise American evangelism among Protestants, not just Presbyterians.⁴⁵ In order for an evangelist to belong to this association, it was required that he belong, in good standing, to some evangelical denomination.⁴⁶ To Chapman, an evangelist needed accountability to some religious body. He had a little regard for "irresponsible and uncontrolled" ones.⁴⁷ Chapman had been concerned about the methods of evangelism and claimed to have seen the harm that untrained or unethical men had brought upon the church by leading people into false doctrines or performing the work to obtain wealth.⁴⁸ He wanted to assert his influence on men who were seeking to enter the field and desired to create standards for this sacred office.⁴⁹ Prior to the IAE, Chapman wrote that it was the place of the Sunday school to ensure proper training for the orthodoxy and orthopraxy of called evangelists, but with the creation of the association, he found an agency for his sentiments.⁵⁰ By 1907, the IAE had 170 members and Chapman served as its president.⁵¹ Within three years, almost every evangelist in Chapman's staff was a member of this association.⁵² By 1911, Chapman took a stronger stand on his position for evangelists, stating that every evangelist working for a church or a denomination should be "accredited"⁵³ In an age

⁴⁴ "Winona" *New York Observer* (New York), Volume 90, no. 16, 18 April 1912, p. 482.

⁴⁵ Year Book of the Churches, *The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920, p. 147.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴⁷ "Evangelism from the International Standpoint: An Interview with J. Wilbur Chapman" *The Homiletic Review*, Volume LXI, January to June, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, Company, 1915, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁸ John Wilbur Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1903, pp. 185-6.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.

⁵¹ *The Bible Record*, Volume 5, no. 1, January 1908, New York: The Bible Teachers Training School, p. 124.

⁵² McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 381.

⁵³ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, p. 178.

when the culture of professionalism was beginning to develop across the nation, Chapman's certification and approval of evangelists ensured that he had control over the field of denominational evangelists and also over those from other churches.

One of the most significant means of control over the IAE was Chapman's influence on the board to appoint William E. Biederwolf (1867-1939), another Presbyterian, to its presidency. A graduate of Wabash College, Princeton University and Princeton Seminary, Biederwolf stood out as a man of great theological training. After his first pastorate in 1897 at Logansport, Indiana, Biederwolf signed on with Chapman as one of his campaign assistants. By 1905, he had secured a position of leadership in Chapman's staff and was one of the keynote speakers at Chapman's Denver revival that same year.⁵⁴ In 1906 he ventured out on his own and encountered tremendous success. By 1915 he was receiving \$15,000 per year, almost exclusively collected from free-will offerings at his campaigns.⁵⁵ Biederwolf was considered one of the most popular speakers among the revivalists in the nation and Chapman said of him that "there was no better evangelist"⁵⁶ Biederwolf remained a colleague of Chapman and served with him as a member of the board of the Commission of Evangelism until Chapman's death in 1918.⁵⁷ His leadership in Chapman's evangelistic endeavours ensured that the IAE was continuing with the same fervour that Chapman had shown and it also maintained the Presbyterian influence over the organisation.

⁵⁴ "The Denver Revival," *The Westminster, A New Series of the Presbyterian Journal*, Volume 30, number 2, 4 February 1905, p. 83.

⁵⁵ McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 395.

⁵⁶ Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery: The Life Story of an East Side American*, New York: George H. Doran, 1926, p. 217.

⁵⁷ *The Churches Allied for Common Tasks*, Report of the Third Quadrennium of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1916-1920, New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1921, p. 95.

In addition to Chapman's development of the IAE and his sought after wisdom on evangelism in the church, he created a "School of Evangelism" within the denomination in 1908. The school was separate from the IAE and its purpose was to distribute leaflets to congregations, instructing them about the importance of the "after meetings" personal and pastoral evangelism, the Sunday evening and mid-week services, acquiring an audience, holding an audience's attention and "drawing the net"⁵⁸ Chapman's influence on evangelistic methods, within the Presbyterian Church and outside its purview, became enormous. His specialty was training and educating laymen. Charles Palmer, the national superintendent of the Gideons, an organisation of volunteers committed to evangelism by the distribution of Bibles, remarked in 1903 that the movement among laymen in the Presbyterian Church, headed by Chapman, was the greatest force in revival work. "I must say," Palmer wrote in the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, "that the churches that have the greatest evangelistic spirit in them today are the Presbyterian churches. If one should ask why, I should answer that it was directly traceable, in almost every instance, to this lay movement, which has as its guiding spirit Rev Dr J Wilbur Chapman"⁵⁹

In 1905 Converse reaffirmed his financial commitment to the Presbyterian work for evangelism and presented the denomination with the means to acquire Chapman's release from the Special Committee on Evangelism in order to free him to focus solely on revival campaigns.⁶⁰ Converse granted an initial endowment of two hundred thousand

⁵⁸ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Proceedings of the 115th*, New Series, Volume VII, no. 2, 1908, pp. 34-5.

⁵⁹ "Two Notable Lay Movements Among the Laity," *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Chicago), Volume 51, no. 14, 9 April 1903, p. 8.

⁶⁰ Converse to Chapman, 1 February 1905, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

dollars to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide for the work of evangelism, both within the denomination and in evangelistic work outside the church. The conditions of the endowment provided three quarters of Chapman's salary for a two-year trial period. Converse paid the remaining quarter of his salary directly to Chapman. In addition, Chapman received monetary compensation from the Winona Association with provisions for a manse and a pension.⁶¹ Converse's endowment conditions were unusual and complicated, but they ensured that he retained control over the funding and decisions of evangelistic efforts while his generosity enabled the denomination to provide Chapman with the freedom to reach beyond the boundaries of Presbyterianism.

Chapman's compensation package was a generous one when compared to the compensation given to other pastors. It represented the high esteem in which Chapman and his work was held by Converse and the Presbyterian denomination. In 1904, Converse considered changing his deed of trust so that it would be handled directly by the Trustees of the General Assembly, of which Converse was president, rather than remaining under the jurisdiction of the special Committee on Evangelism.⁶² He asked Chapman's advice on this matter and Chapman's response indicated an apprehension for the level of support for evangelism in the denomination. Chapman responded,

I can quite understand your wish that the fund should be controlled by the trustees of the General Assembly, but may I not suggest that in view of the fact that the next five or ten years will be my productive years, that in so far as it may be possible, you so word the deed of trust that I may be reasonably sure of what you mean for me to have. General Assembly might be persuaded after a while that evangelistic work is not necessary and that

⁶¹ Chapman to the Trustees of the Converse Trust Fund, 20 May 1911, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁶² Converse to Chapman, 8 November 1904, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

the fund used for its prosecution would be more helpful to the church if directed into other channels⁶³

There is no record to show why Chapman had this view of the denomination's possible lack of commitment to ongoing financial support, but it indicates that Chapman's trust of the Presbyterian system was not always constant. Converse agreed with Chapman's scepticism about the Presbyterian Church's commitment to evangelism and withdrew his suggestion. He continued to provide funds directly to the committee. Following his death in 1910, Converse's will ensured all funds necessary to Chapman for the next seven years on the condition that Chapman should continue his evangelistic efforts.⁶⁴

Converse's contributions to Chapman's ministry enabled him to acquire a team of evangelists and song leaders that he believed were the leading professionals of the time. During his campaign in New Haven, Connecticut, he was approached by Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920), a life-long Presbyterian and Reuben A. Torrey's former song leader. Alexander proposed a merger of their ministries. Chapman was eager to acquire his services.⁶⁵ He had met Alexander several years prior at a convention in Indiana and had seen him capture the attention of the crowds with his charisma and song-leading skills.⁶⁶ Chapman inquired of Converse, stating that Alexander had been the better part of the combination of the Torrey-Alexander team and suggested the possibility of joining forces in order to achieve an enlarged influence throughout the Christian

⁶³ Chapman to Converse, 9 November 1904, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁶⁴ Chapman to the Trustees of the Converse Trust Fund, 20 May 1911, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁶⁵ Chapman to Converse, 9 January 1908, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁶⁶ Frank Grenville Beardsley, *A History of American Revivals*, New York: American Tract Society, 1912, p. 321.

world.⁶⁷ He also believed that this merger had the potential to create a world-wide campaign which could include England, Scotland and Australia.⁶⁸ Converse's response was enthusiastic. Within a few weeks, Chapman submitted a contract for Alexander's services to both Converse and the evangelistic board. Chapman's memorandum to Converse also recommended the acquisition of pianist Robert Harkness, a composer of over five hundred hymns at the time, and songwriter George T.B. Davis. Harkness's services would be provided at fourteen hundred dollars per year plus two dollars and fifty cents per day for entertainment. Financial compensations for Alexander, Davis and Harkness, including any extra help necessary during the day-to-day operations of each campaign, would be provided by the Converse trust fund.⁶⁹ Converse agreed to these terms and, in return, he requested that any extra offerings or donations should reimburse the fund as each campaign ended.⁷⁰ The Presbyterian church gave its approval of these arrangements after the details had been determined. The agreements between Chapman and Converse illustrate the authority that both men had in the denomination. The Presbyterians trusted the financial backing of Converse and they trusted the leadership of Chapman.

Alexander was pleased to receive a favourable response from Chapman and their partnership ran from 1907 until Chapman's return to denominational work following their world tours in 1914 was predominantly inter-denominational. Alexander had been labouring without a partner for over a year. His marriage to Helen Cadbury, heiress to

⁶⁷ Chapman to Converse, 30 January 1908, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid..

⁷⁰ Chapman to the Trustees of the Converse Deed of Trust, 20 May 1911, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 1, Folder 4.

part of the Cadbury chocolate fortune, in 1904 had been arranged in such a way as to bring her to the States from England for a short tour with Torrey. Having experienced medical complications during the American campaign, Helen needed to return to England for an operation. Shortly after the tour ended, Alexander and Helen travelled back to Britain for this procedure and, while there, Alexander and Torrey conducted campaigns throughout the country.⁷¹ Helen's health did not return as quickly as expected and Alexander remained in England with his wife while Torrey returned to the United States. By the time Helen had fully recovered, Alexander found that Torrey had become involved in the creation of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles and was no longer in need of a song leader. After being unemployed for a year, the merger with Chapman provided Alexander with a new opportunity to continue his work as a song leader in a similar fashion to his role in the Torrey-Alexander campaigns. The difference was that after a lifetime of Presbyterian education and training, he had now found a Presbyterian colleague in Chapman.

By 1907, Chapman's work in evangelism was essentially independent of denominational ties, except for submitting meticulous records of his work to the General Assembly. The Presbyterian church had provided him the necessary support for his work, but he desired to reach beyond the denomination to all churches. At the start of Chapman's efforts outside the Presbyterian church he had already acquired a reputation as a national leader on the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and his work was recognised as a force that could bring the denominations together.⁷² In 1905, Frank DeWitt Talmage, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles, grieved the

⁷¹ Helen C. Alexander, *A Romance of Song and Soul Winning: Charles M. Alexander*, Murfreesboro, TN: Sword of the Lord, 1920, p. 112.

⁷² "The Making of Tomorrow," *The World Today*, (Chicago), Volume 10, no. 6, June 1906, pp. 652-3.

inability of all churches to unite in Christian work, but expressed his belief that Chapman had a unique ability to bring churches together for common tasks. "Unless a mighty evangelist like J. Wilbur Chapman comes along to unite the different churches into one," Talmage commented, "we will not be united. Every sectarian minister wants to hoe his own sectarian row." ⁷³ From 1905 to 1914, Chapman was regarded as an evangelist, rarely as a "Presbyterian" evangelist. ⁷⁴ The men and women who served with Chapman during these years came from all parts of the country and from varying denominations. Their religious background made little difference to him as long as they had shown success and won recognition. ⁷⁵

The Pocket Testament League stood out as one of Chapman's greatest non-denominational achievements. Helen Cadbury founded the League in 1893 when she and a few friends sewed pockets on to their dresses to carry around small New Testaments provided by her father. Signing a pledge card to read a chapter of the Bible every day, Cadbury and her friends encouraged others to do the same. ⁷⁶ After her marriage to Alexander in 1904, Helen became the inspiration for her husband's efforts to continue this work. When Alexander joined Chapman in 1908, both evangelists founded the Pocket Testament League in America at Philadelphia. ⁷⁷ The League was a soul-winning, scripture-reading movement that committed people to carry the New Testament along with a pledge to read it every day. According to the notes contained in the League's Bibles, after deciding to follow Jesus Christ as Saviour and confess him before others, the

⁷³ "The Pacific Coast in Grief," *The Pacific* (San Francisco), Volume 55, no.8, 23 February 1905, p. 4.

⁷⁴ J. G. Patton, "Modern Methods of Evangelism," *The Christian Work and the Evangelist* (New York), Volume 75, no. 1915, 31 October 1903, p. 593.

⁷⁵ "No Experiments in Chapman Corps: Success is the Main Requirement for Service," *The Minneapolis Journal* (Minneapolis), 15 November 1905, p. 16.

⁷⁶ George Thompson Brown Davis, *The Pocket Testament League Around the World*, Philadelphia: Pocket Testament League, 1910, pp. 1-8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

Bible was to be carried in one's pocket every day, changing it to another article of clothing only when changing one's clothes.⁷⁸ In every Chapman-Alexander campaign that followed, the Pocket Testament League shared a prominent spot in the campaigns and every new convert was encouraged to take the pledge. By 1917, near the end of Chapman's life, there were three million adherents to the League.⁷⁹ Chapman's Presbyterianism played little significant role in the effort to distribute and promote the League, but he encouraged the Presbyterian Church to become one of its strongest adherents. From 1908 to 1918, the Pocket Testament League's work was meticulously reported to the General Assembly and often well-funded by the denomination. By 1918, the denomination had distributed more than 500,000 of the League's Bibles and in the previous year alone, had spent \$75,000 to support the Chapman-Alexander team's cause.⁸⁰ All activity of the Pocket Testament League remained, however, under the auspices of the Chapman-Alexander team.

The Chapman-Alexander team became highly successful for the remainder of Chapman's life and it dominated the American and international landscape of evangelism. Some Christian leaders feared that the Presbyterians, under Chapman's direction, would overshadow other denominational efforts. Phyllis Airhart argues that Methodist churches in Canada during the time of Chapman's work, for instance, were leaning toward progressivism and social gospel work rather than the revival methods they had known in the past and that Methodist leaders in Canada during Chapman's campaign in 1907 in Winnipeg grew concerned that their denomination was in jeopardy of losing its

⁷⁸ Helen C. Alexander, *A Romance of Song*, p. 205.

⁷⁹ *The Missionary Review of the World*, Volume XXX, New Series, New York, January 1917.

⁸⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Volume 18, 1918, p. 385.

historic status as the foremost denomination of evangelism to Chapman's Presbyterians.⁸¹

They complained that when Chapman and his denomination invited other churches to cooperate in a campaign, the Presbyterians were in control of the strategy and relegated the Methodists to lesser positions of authority.⁸² It was a legitimate charge since he had placed Presbyterians in vital positions. Chapman's evangelistic work, endeavouring to break free from denominational constraints, was sometimes not viewed as independent from his status as a member of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church.

Chapman, though attempting to be non-denominational, was viewed as a Presbyterian first and foremost by some denominations.

A further blow to Chapman's efforts to unite denominations in evangelistic efforts came in 1909 when the Congregational churches in Brooklyn notified John F. Carson, a member of the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly's Evangelistic Committee, that they objected to the possibility of working with Chapman should he visit the city the following year. Although Brooklyn's Congregational churches assured Chapman that their refusal of his visit had nothing to do with his theology or fondness for his evangelistic work, the objection reveals that there was tension between the two denominations and Chapman represented the Presbyterians.⁸³ The Interdenominational Ministerial Conference on Evangelism in Brooklyn decided that due to the Congregationalists' objection, there was sufficient cause to refuse a Chapman campaign.⁸⁴ The Brooklyn churches, they said, wanted an evangelistic campaign, but

⁸¹ Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, pp. 4-5.

⁸² "Have We an Evangelical Policy?" *The Christian Guardian* (Toronto), 13 October 1909, p. 24.

⁸³ "A Sad Split on Revivalists" *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (New York), Volume 70, no. 140, 21 May 1909, p. 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

wanted it to be locally controlled by the various congregations in the city. They also regarded Chapman as a professional evangelist and they were concerned that his campaign might lead to the creation of a special class of evangelists.⁸⁵

Even though there were incidents of resistance to Chapman's leadership in certain campaigns, his denominationalism did not limit his work with many churches around the world. Between 1911 and 1914, following a successful world campaign in 1909 and a short trip to the United Kingdom in 1910, Chapman and Alexander toured the world at the invitation of a variety of churches. The tours began in Ireland and Wales in 1911 at the request of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, but they received invitations also from the English Free Churches, the Welsh Free Church Council and the Synod of the Calvinistic Methodists of South Wales.⁸⁶ In 1912, Chapman and Alexander were invited by various denominations to conduct campaigns for eleven months in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. The team utilised every building available to them, including YMCAs, conference centres and houses. From October 1913 to April 1914, the team conducted campaigns in Scotland after receiving an invitation from the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. Though predominantly Presbyterian, the Chapman-Alexander meetings were considered to have reached across the span of churches. In Edinburgh, *The Scotsman* reported that Chapman's team had 31 representatives from the Church of Scotland, 33 from the United Free Church, 7 from the Baptist church, 3 from the Congregational Church, 3 from the Wesleyan Methodist

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

⁸⁶ J. McIlveen, Chairman and Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly in Belfast, to Chapman 20 April, 1911, G. Parry Williams, Secretary of Synod of the Calvinistic Methodist Church of South Wales to Chapman, 21 April 1911, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

Church and 2 from the Primitive Methodist Church.⁸⁷ In Glasgow and Edinburgh alone, there were 25,000 converts and it was the first time in forty-three years that the ministers of the established Church and the United Free Church of Scotland met together in conference.⁸⁸ Alexander Lee, a church leader from the United Free Church of Scotland wrote, "Never in the history of the country had we such large attendances at evangelistic services, nor have we ever had such numbers professing conversion."⁸⁹ The campaigns from 1911 to 1914 were very general among a variety of religious traditions and Chapman, because of his ability to work among many different denominations, was recognised as an ambassador evangelist by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.⁹⁰

Ford C. Ottman, a close personal friend of Chapman and his biographer stated that John Knox (1513-1572), the Scottish Reformer and founder of the Presbyterianism, "captivated and fascinated the thought of Dr Chapman and for Scotland he cherished a deep and singular affection."⁹¹ Presbyterianism was founded in Scotland by John Knox in the sixteenth century and it was derived from John Calvin's teaching in Geneva, Switzerland. As a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, Chapman's trips to Scotland reinforced his admiration for the faith of his ancestors. The campaigns also served to strengthen the relationship between the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the various denominations in Scotland, especially during Chapman's years as Moderator of the General Assembly during the years of the war.

⁸⁷ "Chapman-Alexander Mission," *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), no. 22,033, 17 January 1914, p. 11.

⁸⁸ "The Evangelistic Field," *The Christian Worker's Magazine*, Volume 14, no.11, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, July 1914, p. 758.

⁸⁹ Alexander Lee to W.H. Roberts, Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 10 April 1914, John Wilbur Chapman Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

⁹⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New Series*, Volume XIV, August 1914, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1914, p. 448.

⁹¹ Ford C. Ottman, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 259.

A few months after returning from his tour of Britain in 1914, Chapman and his wife, Mabel Cornelia Moulton, boarded the *Lusitania* and sailed back to Britain, arriving in Liverpool on 29 September. The vessel, protected by cruisers on their trip to and from the United Kingdom a few weeks later, was eventually destroyed by a German submarine on 7 May 1915. Earlier that year, Chapman had stated that the people of Scotland were nearer a revival than any other land he had visited in his previous travels and that the Scottish people were "more desirous of a spiritual blessing upon their land than others."⁹² Although the Chapman's trip was to be an investigation of a future possibility for another campaign in Scotland, they were advised by church leaders in Britain that they should not make definite plans for future campaigns because of the dangers of war. Chapman's plan for another revival in Scotland, though disappointed, reinforced his dedication to the Presbyterian faith and strengthened his commitment to the denomination in the last few years of his life.

1917 was a busy year for Chapman and, though he and Alexander had been conducting evangelistic campaigns across the nation since his return from Britain in 1914, he was asked by the denomination and the government to use his influence to encourage people to support the war. Chapman was invited to speak at conventions under the auspices of the National War Commission as a representative for the organisation.⁹³ His messages were filled with patriotic images and the necessity to defeat the enemy's control over Europe. In April 1918, Chapman conducted a campaign in San Diego, California. Prior to this meeting, he visited the naval base a few miles away and

⁹² "Conference in Dumfries," *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* (Dumfriesshire), volume 60, no. 3046, 11 April 1914, p. 6.

⁹³ "Churches Devoted to Welfare of Soldiers," *The Continent* (Chicago), volume 49, no. 10, 7 March 1918, p. 252.

encouraged two hundred sailors to make their stand for Christ.⁹⁴ In a letter to Alba B. Johnson, the director of the Converse Trust Fund, Chapman asked for special permission for flexibility to be provided in his contract so that he might visit servicemen engaged in overseas conflict.⁹⁵ He had received a request from the War Council of the YMCA to go abroad and minister to the soldiers fighting in the war. Further, the countries of France, the United Kingdom and Australia had requested his services as an evangelist to encourage their troops. Chapman wanted to lend his support to aid the soldiers in their desperate need for the hope of the gospel. None of these plans was realised since the year between 1917 and 1918 would prove to be challenging for Chapman's health.

Since Chapman was regarded as a statesman for his work in the Presbyterian denomination, the role of the moderator of the General Assembly was conferred upon him at the Assembly's meeting in Dallas, Texas, in 1917.⁹⁶ It was not the first time that Chapman had been considered for the position of moderator. In 1894, a few years following his ordination and success in mid-sized evangelistic campaigns, he was nominated on the ballot. Some believed, at the time, that Chapman had already been overlooked in recent years and thought that he should be the favoured candidate because of his ability to avoid factions in the church, he was a pastor and not a college professor as most moderators had been and his reputation as a church leader was world renowned.⁹⁷ The vast majority of votes, however, went to another candidate. In 1917, however,

⁹⁴ "Sailors Won at Chapman Meeting," *The Continent* (Chicago), volume 49, no. 20, 16 May 1918, p. 590.

⁹⁵ Chapman to Alba B. Johnson, 14 May 1918, Presbyterian Historical Society, microfilm reel 1, box 4, folder 1.

⁹⁶ *The Morning News* (Dallas), 18 May 1917, Billy Graham Archives, Chapman Collection 77, Box 4, Folder 1.

⁹⁷ "For Church and Creed," *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 56, no. 140, 20 May 1897, p. 10.

Chapman was considered unbeatable and his election was secured on the first ballot.⁹⁸ There was hope that Chapman's selection could bring together the northern and southern branches of Presbyterianism which had been divided since the Civil War.⁹⁹ It was a noble hope and one they believed Chapman had the ability to accomplish because of his prior experiences of uniting denominations for evangelistic work. Further, having cooperated in revival campaigns with the southern denomination, he had established a long relationship of trust with their leadership. By the time the Assembly met, Chapman's leadership as a member of the Committee on Church Cooperation and Union in the northern denomination had already been instrumental in discussions with the southern church about "organic" union for several years.¹⁰⁰ The optimism about unifying the two branches was high, because the new crisis in Europe required a consolidation of efforts in religious work. The union, Chapman believed, would pave the way for a larger effort in evangelism.¹⁰¹ Both denominations failed to obtain enough votes and it would take more than sixty years after Chapman's death for the breach to be healed.

On the second day of the Assembly, 18 May 1917, Chapman addressed the commissioners by presenting a patriotic speech in support of the war and their Christian duty to uphold its efforts. He encouraged the ministers and the membership of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to support in every way "the just and

⁹⁸ "J. Wilbur Chapman Elected Moderator" *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas), 18 May 1917, clipping, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

⁹⁹ "Chances for Union" *The Morning News* (Dallas), 18 May 1917, clipping, John Wilbur Chapman Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Minutes of the Fifty-Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917, p. 27.

¹⁰¹ *The Morning News* (Dallas), 19 May 1917, clipping, Collection 77, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

necessary war¹⁰² It was a well-received message which offered the government the availability of every resource of the denomination in the efforts of war. Charles Stelzle, a Presbyterian colleague of Chapman^ø and a columnist for the *Dallas Dispatch*, reported that under Chapman^ø leadership and stirring words, the representatives sent a letter to President Wilson declaring that their patriotic support –and more^ø was given in order –to secure such terms of peace as shall prepare the way for an organization of the world that will make the war impossible forever^ø¹⁰³ Assigned by the Assembly to offer encouragement to President Woodrow Wilson, a Presbyterian elder in the denomination, a telegram was sent by Chapman during the latter part of the week. The telegram indicated the Presbyterian church^ø support for Wilson^ø Fourteen Points for Peace and the creation of the League of Nations. President Wilson returned his gratitude for the support of the Presbyterians.¹⁰⁴ At a critical time in the nation^ø history, Chapman^ø speech at the Assembly unified the denomination around his leadership. The message was a sign that the Presbyterian church played a significant role in leading the nation and that Chapman was its representative.

Chapman^ø efforts for the war were not only an endorsement of the denomination^ø patriotic duty to the nation. The war, to Chapman, was a conflict between good and evil and it represented his dispensational position.¹⁰⁵ As the first signatory of the –Declaration as to the War Emergency^ø he endorsed the war^ø fundamental efforts to advance the kingdom of God on earth. Thomas R. Marshall (1854-

¹⁰² –Declaration as to the War Emergency^ø *The Assembly Herald, Official Magazine of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. General Assembly*, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, Volume 24, no. 5, 12 February 1918, p. 222.

¹⁰³ –Presbyterians in Strong War Declaration Stand by President^ø *The Dallas Dispatch* (Dallas), clipping, 24 May 1917, Billy Graham Archives, Box 4, Folder 1.

¹⁰⁴ Chapman to Woodrow Wilson 19 December 1917, Presbyterian Historical Society, microfilm reel 1, box 4, folder 1.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. chapter 5 for Chapman^ø dispensationalism.

1925), the twentieth-eighth Vice-President of the United States of America during Woodrow Wilson's presidency, was also a Presbyterian and served on the Layman's Council of the New Era Movement. He stated that Chapman was a "model citizen" and an "illustrious Presbyterian" and a "high-minded patriot" who encouraged the nation to understand that the fight overseas was a conflict between "Bethlehem and Berlin"¹⁰⁶

Chapman gave his enthusiastic support to the work of the "New Era" Expansion programme and served as Vice-Moderator for the first few months until his death in December 1918.¹⁰⁷ The New Era Movement (NEM) was initially a programme approved by the 130th General Assembly in 1918 to oversee the return of soldiers and sailors from the First World War and to foster cooperation among Presbyterian boards and committees.¹⁰⁸ It was also a plan that included raising five hundred thousand dollars to rebuild Protestant churches in France, Belgium and Italy that had suffered losses for simply being in the war zone.¹⁰⁹ The projected cost was twelve and one-half million dollars for first year of the five-year plan, an enormous amount of funds for the project. Chapman's strategy was not to burden the church with debt. Nine General Assembly committees' budgets would be combined to begin the endeavour, but the NEM would have to depend on fundraising for the next few years. On 16 May 1918, Chapman delivered the sermon at the Assembly that would become the rationale for the work of the

¹⁰⁶ Thomas R. Marshall to John F. Carson in *Memorial Addresses*, 29 December 1918, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, p. 56.

¹⁰⁷ "Reports of the Boards" *Minutes of the General Assembly in the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., One Hundred Seventeenth Annual Report*, 15 May 1919, New York: Office of the General Assembly, 1919, p. 90.

¹⁰⁸ "Administrative History" *New Era Movement Records*, Collection 105, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, folder 1, box 1.

¹⁰⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The New Era Movement of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A." *Union Seminary Review*, Volume XXX, no. 2, 1919, pp. 117-125.

NEM. His text was I Chronicles 16:36, "And all the people said, Amen."¹¹⁰ His message was rife with patriotic images that called for loyalty to the nation and to Christ. Though it had little to do with Presbyterianism, it showed that by the end of his life he had equated the Evangelical faith to that of nationhood. It was Chapman's farewell address as moderator of the General Assembly and the Presbyterians supported Chapman's vision unanimously.¹¹¹ Following the Assembly, Chapman was assigned the oversight of all New Era rallies.¹¹² The Assembly regarded Chapman as a great prospect for its success because he had shown his dedication to the movement and he had not received compensation for his efforts.¹¹³

Chapman's message at the General Assembly illustrated his understanding of the relationship between the denomination and the larger Christian church. Having been authorised as an ambassador for church relations around the world by the Special Committee on Evangelism in 1914, Chapman believed that all denominations should work together with one another and that the lines of separation could be blurred if they concentrated on their similarities rather than their differences.¹¹⁴ At the same time, however, Chapman stated that denominations should not be faulted for attempting to work with people who shared "the same temperament"¹¹⁵ The tension of bringing together various churches in a common work, yet recognising the value of differences,

¹¹⁰ "Minutes" *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, New Series, Volume VIII, August, 1918, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, p. 3.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹² "New Era Movement" *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, volume 19, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1919, p. 185.

¹¹³ "The New Era Movement" *The Assembly Herald, the Magazine of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, (Philadelphia), volume 24, no. 10, October 1918, pp. 465-7.

¹¹⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, New Series, Volume XIV, August 1914, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1914, p. 448.

¹¹⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Amen" *Presbyterian*, 16 May 1918, p. 8.

illustrates Chapman's position that the existence of denominations is not necessarily wrong for the Christian church, but that a common purpose should unite them.

It took a while for Presbyterians, especially foreign missionaries, to accept the work of the New Era Movement. There was concern that this movement was another denominational programme that would quickly fade away like other good ideas of the past. By 1920, the missionaries in foreign services viewed the movement with scepticism along with some hopefulness.¹¹⁶ The lagging commitment on the part of missionaries, church leaders and laymen led to its eventual downfall. Within three years, the *New Era* magazine was discontinued due to a lack of interest.¹¹⁷ The collapse, however, occurred following Chapman's death and some wondered if he could have rescued the failed efforts, since, though he was only vice-president, the public considered him to have been the executive head of the programme.¹¹⁸

The eventual downfall of the NEM occurred when it became enmeshed with the Interchurch World Movement (IWM). The IWM was formed on 17 December 1918, when the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States invited 135 representatives of foreign mission boards across the Protestant denominations in North America to come together in order to unite churches in North America to provide services and programmes to bring order to the chaos and confusion that World War I had caused. By 1921, the Presbyterian Church scrambled to develop a plan to dissolve the organisations and respond to the financial crises of the programmes. Certificates of

¹¹⁶ 'Reception and Effect of Movement on Foreign Field' *New Era Magazine, Official Medium of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.*, (Philadelphia), volume 26, no. 3, March 1920, pp. 169-170.

¹¹⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New Series* Volume XXI, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, August, 1921, pp. 169-70.

¹¹⁸ 'Field of Christian Effort' *The Continent* (New York), volume 50, no. 1, 2 January 1919, p. 23., c.f., 'Obituaries' *The Bookseller, Newsdealer & Stationer*, volume 50, no. 1, 1 January 1919, p. 33.

indebtedness were issued, promising the purchaser a yield of 6 percent in order to liquidate the New Era and Interchurch debts.¹¹⁹ At his last General Assembly in May 1918, Chapman had cautioned the NEM leadership that its goal should be spiritual, rather than material, but the NEM leaders became heavily dependent on administration and finances following his death, a position that some believed caused its downfall.¹²⁰ The original strategy outlined by Chapman for the NEM had five components: pastors should preach the gospel more clearly than ever before since the chaos of the war demanded a new evangelism, the prayers of all people should be with their pastor to do his work more efficiently, families needed to focus on prayer in homes, Bible reading must be performed daily, especially using the Pocket Testament League publications, and finally, conferences needed to be set up all over the country to address evangelistic work, stewardship and living with more consecrated lives to God.¹²¹ Chapman's leadership was replaced, after his death, by businessmen and these foundational underpinnings were discarded.¹²²

On 25 December 1918, Chapman died from complications due to gallstone surgery. His work as a pastor, evangelist and denominational leader over the years had made his name one of the most recognisable in society. Presbyterianism, for Chapman, was a platform for the sake of evangelism. The rich experience of attending the Quaker, and Methodist meetings as well as Presbyterian ones made an impression on Chapman that there was a common bond among churches and that all Evangelical congregations

¹¹⁹ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, August 1921, pp. 170-3.

¹²⁰ "Amen" *New Church Messenger*, (Chicago), 7 August 1918, Volume 115, no. 3291, p. 94-5.

¹²¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The New Era Movement of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.," *Union Seminary Review*, Volume XXX, no. 2, 1919, pp. 120-121.

¹²² Aaron W Sizer, "A Beautiful Prophecy Waiting Fulfillment: The Presbyterian New Era Movement and Religious Reconstruction, 1918 to 1925" Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 2012, pp. 113-114.

were a vehicle for the proclamation of the gospel. It mattered little to him what denominational affiliation he or anyone held when it came to being a Christian. He believed that while ecumenism had value, the focus of attention must be on the gospel, not an individual church. "Church preference" he wrote, "was not a matter to boast about since denominations do not save."¹²³ Church membership, however, was another matter. One needed to belong to a congregation and in his own situation, and so Chapman was proud to be a Presbyterian.¹²⁴

At age 17, Chapman had chosen to become a Presbyterian like his father. He was grateful to have served on the Special Committee on Evangelism and believed that the Presbyterian committee was suited to respond to the lack of converts to the faith. His faith in Presbyterianism waned briefly as evidenced by his scepticism about the denomination's long-term commitment to evangelism, but he remained in the church with the help of Converse's support. Throughout his tenure in the denomination, which spanned from 1895 to the end of his life, he had hoped to reach outside its boundaries and help people become Christian, not particularly Presbyterian. Chapman was noted as a man who had such skills that he could influence the most popular Christian leaders in the country and for this, the Presbyterian church trusted him.¹²⁵ Chapman's books on the general field of administration in the church guided a variety of congregations in church leadership and evangelism outside the denomination. His distribution of Pocket Testament League Bibles in his campaigns was independent of denominational affiliation. Chapman's oversight of the IAE was an effort to ensure that evangelists were

¹²³ John Wilbur Chapman, "What is a Christian" in *Revival Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1911, p. 11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁵ "News from Winona" *The New York Observer* (New York), Volume 83, 20 July 1905, p. 94.

trained in all denominations, not just those within the Presbyterian church. By 1908, after teaming up with Alexander, his dominance of the evangelistic field became unmatched and Chapman hoped to promote the message of the gospel to all churches and people everywhere. There were people who viewed his Presbyterianism as a threat to their own denominations and their place within the larger field of evangelism, yet Chapman had an ability to reach across church lines and acquire the assistance of a whole variety of traditions. From 1911 to 1915, Chapman's focus was on world tours and further evangelistic campaigns around the nation and Canada. His allegiance to the Presbyterian church during those years was loose, only reporting to the denomination which held authority over him as an ordained minister and church worker. When he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1917, Chapman's larger focus was his work in the denomination and its patriotic duty to make the war an end to all wars. He became its strongest leader at a time when the church needed a powerful figure to represent the strength of America. At the time of his death, though hoping to continue his evangelistic efforts across the nation and return to Britain for another campaign, Chapman died a Christian and also a Presbyterian. His Evangelical faith was that of New School Presbyterianism, though he avoided controversy with those still adhering to Old School Calvinism. His success as a pastor, an evangelist and a church leader indicates that Chapman had been the Presbyterian "Napoleon" that the denomination had desired of him.¹²⁶

J. Wilbur Chapman's work in the Presbyterian Church contributed to his lack of remembrance in history. He was skilled in reaching beyond the walls of his

¹²⁶ "Some Assembly Personalities" *The Westminster, A New Series of the Presbyterian Journal*, Volume 30, no. 2, 27 May 1905, p. 10.

denomination to cooperate with many religious traditions, but his efforts were noticeably Presbyterian and they were extensively denominational at times. Having become famous as a pastor of large congregations, respected for his work in the denomination and admired for his revivalism, Chapman was overtasked. His labours for the denomination required him to pay attention to intricate details of administration and polity and they limited his ability to focus on one area of work as Moody had done. Although his efforts were as great as Moody's in many ways, his energy was spread across a wide variety of roles during his lifetime.

Chapter Five

Theology

Although trained as a Reformed thinker in seminary, J. Wilbur Chapman's theology was a product of nineteenth-century revivalism which had received a modified Calvinism that contained elements of Arminianism. His evangelistic methods and theological practices illustrated the style found in New School revivalism. He could claim the sovereignty of God who elected people for salvation, yet he could also encourage people to make their own choices for eternal life. It was an important type of theology for evangelism that made it possible for Chapman to reach large numbers of people from a variety of denominations and to impress upon them the need to dedicate their lives to Christ. Chapman's Reformed Evangelicalism developed further the trajectory of revivalism from the beginnings of the American revivalist tradition down to Dwight L. Moody. What was Chapman's theology and how was it a part of the revivalist tradition during his time?

Historians have documented an extensive examination of revivalism. Mark A. Noll in *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (2002) provided a broad review of Evangelicalism and the changes that were necessary to modify Calvinism in a way that made it possible for men like Finney, Moody and Chapman to be evangelists in the Reformed tradition. Ernest R. Sandeen in *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1870-1930* (1970) discovered that the beginnings of fundamentalism appeared much earlier than the 1920s, a time that historians have often mistakenly attributed as the beginning of the movement. Both of

these characteristics held significant importance for Chapman. As an evangelist, he came from a Calvinist background and he had fundamentalist tendencies. This chapter will examine the theological factors that contributed to Chapman's work as a leader in revivalism.

Raised in a Christian home, Chapman's beliefs had been influenced by his family and Sunday school teacher. His father, Alexander Hamilton Chapman, was, as we have seen, a Presbyterian whose strong morality and strictness regarding church attendance impressed upon Wilbur the importance of developing a good character and the need to sustain a continued relationship to the body of believers. Chapman's mother, Lorinda McWhinney (1837-1872) had roots in Methodist and Quaker backgrounds, both anti-Calvinist traditions. She was a woman of prayer and deep spiritual contemplation. Her religious practices and cheery disposition inspired him to a deeper Christian devotion.¹ Early family life experiences, along with church-related activities, provided him with a theological framework to understand how character, devotion to Christian disciplines and conversion were an integral part of religious faith.²

During his teen years, Chapman sought out theologians to study and emulate. He held a great admiration for Charles Spurgeon (1834-1892), the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London. His mother frequently read from Spurgeon's sermons to the Chapman family during his early years. When he had the opportunity to read from Spurgeon's personal Bible prior to attending seminary in 1879, Chapman noted that Spurgeon wrote next to John 5:24 the words, "my text"³ The passage stated, "Verily,

¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917, p. 8.

² Cf. chapter 2 for Chapman's early life.

³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *We Know*. New York: American Tract Society, p. 5, envelope 42, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.ø Chapman claimed that Spurgeonø emphasis on Godø ability to save people from condemnation and transfer them from death to eternal life by the vehicle of faith had helped him acquire a stricter devotion to Calvinism with its emphasis on Godø ability to save and thus to depend on the full assurance of his acceptance with God.⁴

Although Spurgeon was a major influence on Chapman in his early years, there were other notable preachers who shaped his theology. From Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887) he learned that the act of preaching and praying could enable a person to experience the divine.⁵ John Hall (1829-1898), pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church in New York City, shaped Chapmanø theological conviction about the connection between orthodoxy and orthopraxy when he read Hallø exposition on I Timothy 4:6; -If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christí ø⁶ The work of these preachers provided Chapman with a way to begin developing a deeper theological framework than the early devotional spirituality he had learned from his family and local congregation.

One of the most notable contributors to Chapmanø development of theological convictions came from Charles Grandison Finney, a minister, an evangelist and a leader in the Second Great Awakening. He was also the chair of Systematic Theology at Oberlin College. Chapman believed that Finney was a man filled with Godø power whose preaching could startle people into action.⁷ He appreciated Finneyø reliance on

⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

⁷ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, p. 85.

man's free agency which often put Finney, a Presbyterian, at odds with those in his own Reformed body who allied themselves with the Old School side.⁸ The Old School adherents rejected a style of revivalism like Finney's that contained hyper-emotional elements and new measures based on the notion that they contained Pelagian tendencies. Finney revivals depended on people making a choice to receive salvation and it represented New School Presbyterianism, a system that believed in many styles of evangelistic measures, including those which evoked emotional responses. Finney shaped Chapman's understanding on the theology of evangelism and Chapman admitted that he held a deep admiration for him.⁹

At Lake Forest University in Illinois in 1877 Chapman studied under La Roy Griffin (1844-1916), a scientist who wrote frequently for many newspapers and magazines and was later known for two volumes of considerable importance to students of natural science, *Elementary Natural Philosophy* (1881) and *Griffin's Lecture Notes in Chemistry* (1881).¹⁰ Griffin emphasised a classical and 'Latin-scientific' approach, which was a term used by Lane Seminary to indicate the use of empirical method in the study of science.¹¹ It was a methodology that Chapman incorporated into his practice of ministry. Although he believed that science could more readily confirm the evidence of punishment rather than that of reward, he was convinced that theology was best expressed by the ideals of a common-sense realist epistemology.¹²

⁸ John Wilbur Chapman, *Present Day Evangelism*, New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1903, p. 31.

⁹ Cf. chapter 2 for Chapman's views on Finney.

¹⁰ *The Granite Monthly*, A New Hampshire Magazine, (new series, vol. XI, no. 8) August, 1916, p. 221.

¹¹ *The Annual Register of Lake Forest University for the Academic Year 1887-1888*, Chicago: J. J. Spaulding and Company, 1887.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

After completing an undergraduate degree in 1879, Chapman enrolled in the newly-organised Lane Theological Seminary in Ohio and graduated with its first class in 1882. His curriculum involved a review of the classics of Reformed theology such as John Calvin's *Institutes* (1536) and a variety of Jonathan Edwards's works along with the required texts of Edward Robinson's *Lexicon* (1851) and Georg Benedikt Winer's *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1869).¹³ Winer's *Grammar* represented a new approach to the study of linguistics at the time. His method was based on an application of ancient Greek texts which sought to explain all the phenomena of languages, even of their anomalies in the modes of thought which characterize nations and individual writers.¹⁴ In order to accomplish this task, Winer compared the Greek of the New Testament to secular Greek of the same time.¹⁵ It was a method that was common sense in nature and, as Winer claimed, it provided a scientific basis for the study of New Testament grammar.¹⁶ Winer's *Grammar* was the standard text in the latter part of the nineteenth century until it was replaced by comparative-historical methods at the turn of the century that examined terms in kindred languages, rather than within a particular specific linguistic group.¹⁷ It is important to note that Chapman, whose original desire was to excel in mathematics, Latin and Greek, was trained in scientific methods of

¹³ *Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lane Theological Seminary*, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1879-1882.

¹⁴ Georg Benedikt Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, translated by W.F. Moulton, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1870, p.7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1. Daryl Schmidt, "The Study of Hellenistic Greek Grammar in the Light of Contemporary Linguistics" in Charles Talbert (ed.), *Perspectives on the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Frank Stagg*, Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985, p. 28.

¹⁶ Winer, *Grammar*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Schmidt, "Study of Hellenistic Greek Grammar" p. 28.

theology, an epistemological position that represented empiricism towards the scriptures.¹⁸

Chapman's class at Lane was small, fourteen men, and interacted regularly with the seminary's five faculty members. They were Zephaniah Humphrey who lectured on church history, Edward Morris who taught theology with a Christocentric emphasis and who concentrated on character development, James Eells who taught homiletics, Llewellyn Evans who taught hermeneutics and Henry Smith who taught ancient Hebrew and served as the seminary's librarian.¹⁹ The ratio of professors to students ensured that Chapman and his classmates interacted with men who functioned as both lecturers and mentors to guide them in the doctrines and practices of the faith.

Lane, a Presbyterian seminary, affirmed the Bible's authoritative status as God's word, but, at the same time, challenged its students to consider recent scholarship which provided newer methods for research. One of the few required textbooks, for instance, was Edwin Cone Bissell's *Historic Origin of the Bible* (1873). This text devoted two chapters as an appendage to discuss the propositions for and against the need for a revision of the scriptures.²⁰ Against the rise of higher criticism, the author concluded that revisions were needed in order to make the scriptures current linguistically and conceptually, but the method was to preserve the true historic mean, avoiding alike the peremptoriness of theological prepossessions and the looseness of an unguarded liberalism.²¹ Bissell's text suggested prominent people to serve as members of a

¹⁸ I.M. Hughes letter to J.H. Fairchild, 1 September 1876, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, Box 1.

¹⁹ *Catalogue of Lane Theological Seminary, 1879-1882*, records held at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

²⁰ Edwin Cone Bissell, *The Historic Origin of the Bible: A Handbook of Principal Facts from the Best Recent Authorities, German and English*, New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Company, 1873, pp. 345-97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

committee in order to do the massive translation work. Among them was a notable Princeton scholar, Charles Hodge (1797-1878), Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature at the seminary. Hodge was a defender of Newtonian and common-sense epistemology and Chapman considered him a "celebrated theologian"²² The professor's reliance on the scriptures as the foundation for theology paralleled Chapman's trust in the Bible, even though Hodge was a supporter of Old School Presbyterianism, which did not agree with the new measures of revivalism as a concept, the style that Chapman used in his work.

During the early years of the twentieth century, when Chapman was serving on the Committee of Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church as the Corresponding Secretary, he became frustrated about the liberalising view of the Bible among theologians and laypeople. He attributed the decline in viewing the scriptures as a revealed text to the upper classes which had the leisure to investigate all sorts of new ideas. Chapman further believed that those of the higher echelon were far more corrupt than the poorer classes who needed the hope the Bible could give them. These upper classes, he stated, had turned the Bible into an "ordinary book of history"²³ Those who sought to over-intellectualize the scriptures, therefore missing the point of the simple message of the gospel, were committing a far worse crime than anything done by the immoral practices of the poor.²⁴ By 1908, Chapman shifted his position for the sake of evangelistic goals while working with churches across a broad theological spectrum, but only to allow a "reverent" criticism of the word of God which he limited to authorship, dates of

²² J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot with Other Evangelistic Stories*, Winona: Winona Publishing Company, 1906, p. 372.

²³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1903, pp. 241-242.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

manuscripts and matters of correct translation. Every debate, however, must yield to the truth of the Bible, he believed.²⁵ The scriptures were, for him, the revealed word of God and the ground of our assurance²⁶

Chapman found that Bible conferences were excellent occasions to affirm his emphasis on the scriptures. His unflinching support of the Montreat Conference Centre in North Carolina, the Stony Brook Conference Centre in Long Island, New York, and the Niagara Bible Conferences was due to their unqualified declaration of faith in the Bible as possessing divine authority.²⁷ These conferences, as advertised at the time, were opportunities for people to teach and study the Bible, deepen spiritual life and most especially, to promote the rapid evangelisation of the world.²⁸ Chapman viewed these conferences and their teachings on the scriptures as an aid to his understanding of biblical truth. He also viewed them as a tool to increase his knowledge of revelation and the way in which God had worked in the world and how God was going to continue to work in the future until Christ's return.²⁹

One of the most important conferences that shaped Chapman's theology, especially in the area of eschatology, was the Niagara Bible Conference. These conferences were the catalyst for the spread of dispensational teaching in later nineteenth-century America and they became highly popular for providing systematic instruction in a literal interpretation of biblical prophecy.³⁰ The teachings of John Nelson Darby (1800-

²⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Another Mile and Other Addresses*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, p. 28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

²⁷ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Stony Brook Bible Conference," *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Dayton), Volume 102, no. 37, 15 September 1910, p. 16.

²⁸ "Miscellaneous," *New York Observer*, Volume 76, no. 27, 4 August 1898, p. 145.

²⁹ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 107.

³⁰ Herbert W. Bateman IV (ed.), *Three Central Issues in Contemporary Dispensationalism: A Comparison of Traditional and Progressive Views*, Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1999, p. 43.

1882) about dispensations of scripture and his explanations of biblical prophecy struck a chord with Christians in Europe, Canada and the United States. In the northern United States, dispensationalists were drawn largely from the Presbyterians and Baptists.³¹ The system provided a way to interpret the prophecies of the Bible and apply them to future events by separating history into seven epochs, or dispensations, to show the way that God had related to humans in history and would continue to work with them in the future. These distinct eras found their fulfilment in the eternal state of man.³² The conferences served as the model for prophetic seminars and influenced almost every prophetic assembly in America, including Chapman's endeavours in summer conferences.³³ By 1878, largely due to a reliance on a literal view of scripture, the conference acknowledged premillennialism as an important doctrine of the church, almost equal to the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ.³⁴

Chapman credited his first understanding of the dispensational system to Mrs Agnes P. Strain, a talented Bible teacher and member of his congregation at the First Reformed Church in Albany, New York. Agnes influenced his belief in millennialism, apocalypticism and literalism and encouraged him to attend the Niagara conference during the summer of 1886.³⁵ After attending the first conference, he admired Niagara's strict reliance on the Bible and believed that its hermeneutic provided a framework for

³¹ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 46.

³² Cyrus I. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth (2 Tim. 2:15); Being Ten Outline Studies of the More Important Divisions of Scripture*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907, pp. 12-16.

³³ Mark E. Sidwell, "The History of the Winona Lake Bible Conference" Ph.D. Dissertation, Greenville: Bob Jones University, 1988, pp. 25-29.

³⁴ Gary J. Dorrien, *The Remaking of Evangelical Theology*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998, p. 15.

³⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Lord's Return" in *Light on Prophecy: A Coordinated Constructive Teaching Being the Proceedings and Addresses at the Philadelphia Prophetic Conference, 28-30 May, 1918*, New York: The Christian Herald, p. 355.

the fundamental propositions of Christian belief.³⁶ Niagara's strict dependence on a fourteen-point creed resonated with Chapman. The creed was a proto-fundamentalist statement drafted by James H. Brooks (1830-1897) in 1878. Brooks was a Presbyterian minister and the author of a very popular book on dispensational thinking titled *Maranatha: or the Lord Cometh* (1889). Brooks's creed, adopted by the conference in 1890, included statements on the reliance of the scriptures, the doctrine of original sin, the necessity to be born again, the community of those who are born again and the restoration of the nation of Israel.³⁷ Because of Niagara, Chapman came to trust in the imminent return of Christ.³⁸ This was a doctrine that he liberally spread across his sermons and, as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1917, commended to ministers and all Presbyterians.³⁹ His conviction about premillennial theology grew steadily and, near the end of his life, he wrote that it had been one of the never-failing inspirations in his ministry.⁴⁰

In 1909, when Cyrus I. Scofield (1843-1921), a Congregational minister and one of the prominent speakers at the prophetic conferences, published *The Scofield Reference Bible*, Chapman adopted it for his personal and professional use. Scofield's extensive notes written in the margins of the book helped laymen understand the prophetic texts in a dispensational framework.⁴¹ By 1910, Chapman declared that Scofield's text was a

³⁶ Ibid., p. 355.

³⁷ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1870-1930*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, pp. 273-77.

³⁸ Chapman, "The Lord's Return in Light on Prophecy," p. 355.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 354-9.

⁴⁰ John W. Chapman, *A Reason for My Hope*, New York: Our Hope Publishing Office, 1916, p. 4.

⁴¹ Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1994, p. 119.

most remarkable book, one that was "positively invaluable to me"⁴² He commended it to students and ministers for their training.⁴³ Chapman also encouraged non-scholars to use it for personal meditation, believing that the Bible should be interpreted by everyone as readily as it was by the scholar.

Like several other dispensational preachers and colleagues such as Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928), A.C. Dixon (1854-1925), and James M. Gray (1851-1935), who were all connected in one way or another to Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Chapman believed that Christ was coming soon, so one should "avoid sin, reject impurity, live cleanly and be faithful"⁴⁴ He did not have an interest in debating this eschatological view with critics, as did some of his colleagues, since he focused his efforts on conversions instead of doctrinal exposition. Dixon and Torrey, however, believed that dispensationalism was a part of the common faith delivered to the saints.⁴⁵ When they were involved in editing *The Fundamentals* (1910-1915), a twelve-volume series which expressed anti-modernistic tenets of the Christian faith and helped shape the later fundamentalist movement, Chapman was engaged in world evangelistic campaigns and local revival opportunities.

Chapman's optimism about the approaching eschaton and the ability to work for the transformation of the world while Christ tarried was ironical. He believed that the world had been damaged by sin and that it could not be repaired by human effort.⁴⁶ At the same time, he set up lasting structures for the betterment of communities such as

⁴² J. Wilbur Chapman's endorsement of the Scofield Reference Bible in *Christian Worker's Magazine* (Chicago), February 1910, p. 169.

⁴³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York: American Tract Society, 1918, p. 37.

⁴⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, "What is the Gospel?" *Revival Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1911, p. 71.

⁴⁵ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, p. 145.

⁴⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Light on Prophecy*, p. 354.

orphanages, schools and societies for aid to the poor. Chapman stated “some people say that to believe in the Lord’s near return is to cut the nerve of Christian effort, but this could hardly be true when we realize that this was the belief of John Wesley, of C.H. Spurgeon, of D.L. Moody, of A.J. Gordon, and of a multitude of other men who still live and work⁴⁷ He, like several of his nineteenth-century colleagues, had already rejected Darby’s belief in the “ruin of the church” and the Allied victory of World War I confirmed his belief in God’s righteousness and vindication over sin.⁴⁸ Chapman’s positive attitude about the Lord’s imminent return to earth, combined with a celebration of an immediate post-war victory, preceded the two 1918 prophetic conferences in New York which set the tone of the millenarian movement during the decade of the twenties. As a personal comment about the concept, he wrote, “But for this blessed hope, I think that many times I would have grown discouraged and felt like giving up⁴⁹ Chapman’s adherence to prophetic interpretations about the Lord’s return was an optimistic assurance that God was moving history to a glorious end.

By 1908, his eschatological convictions made Chapman an advocate for Zionism when he read the book *Jesus is Coming* by William Eugene Blackstone (1841-1935), the founder of the Chicago Hebrew Mission and a participant in the first conference of Jews and Christians in 1890. He stated that the book “completely revolutionized” his thinking and that it was instrumental in crystallising his belief in the three important concepts of the millennium: the rapture, the one-thousand-year reign of the saints and the restoration

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 355.

⁴⁸ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, p. 70.

⁴⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *A Reason for My Hope*, p. 4.

of Israel.⁵⁰ Along with A. T. Pierson (1837-1911) and C. I. Scofield, men of similar mind regarding Christian Zionism and editors of the *Scofield Reference Bible*, Chapman became one of the noted signatories of a "Call to Prayer for the Jews," an attempt to pray that the Hebrews would recognise their uniqueness as God's chosen people and consider returning to Jerusalem in the last days. He had already believed, by 1902, that the Jews had a special role to play in prophetic events since they were now more "disposed toward the gospel than in all the Christian centuries past."⁵¹ After reading Blackstone's book, Chapman believed that the time of Jewish conversions was at hand and that their return to Israel would signal the return of Christ.

Chapman's trust in the plain view of prophetic interpretation from the Bible caused him to vocalize his concerns about the war in Europe and the necessity to strengthen America's spirituality. When the threat of World War I faced Europe in 1914, America adopted a complacent stance towards sin and this prevarication troubled him. In his sermon called "Eternity" (1916), he preached that judgment would come upon America if in "her pursuit after pleasure and her love of power she continues to forget God."⁵² He warned about the danger awaiting America if she turned away from righteousness and became like the nations of Europe which had softened the truth of the scriptures. The looming danger to the world due to the war was, to Chapman, a warning to turn to God and flee from a false sense of security. "I am neither a prophet," he said, "nor the son of a prophet, but I know what will come to America if she continues to

⁵⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman in preface, William E. Blackstone, *Jesus is Coming: God's Hope for a Restless World*, New York: F. H. Revell, 1908, p. 1.

⁵¹ *Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Summary of the Press Throughout the World on All Important Current Topics*, New York, January-June 1902, volume 32, no. 20, p. 630.

⁵² Chapman, "Eternity" in *Evangelistic Sermons*, p. 41.

forget God.⁵³ The powers of the enemy, he believed, were under the influence of the Kaiser, whom Chapman had deemed prior to the United States' entry into the war "the beast" of the Book of Revelation, and they were on their way to destruction.⁵⁴ The war in Europe, to Chapman, was more than just an earthly conflict. It was, for him, a battle between God and the devil.

When America entered the war in 1917, Chapman was eager to lend his support to the Allies. Most of the American clergy were in accordance with his views. The modernists considered this war as an opportunity to campaign for the kingdom of God and unite everyone against the evils of the world. For some of them, the war was a crusade to further a progressive world order by removing this last obstacle.⁵⁵ Chapman and other conservative Evangelicals viewed the war as an unfolding act of the end-times. The Kaiser and Germany, the place that gave birth to the rise of biblical criticism, were regarded by Chapman as evils which had to be resisted.⁵⁶ America, he believed, was rushing toward Armageddon and the war was a spiritual conflict between good and evil.⁵⁷ As the first signatory on the "Declaration as to the War Emergency" Chapman, then moderator of the General Assembly, endorsed the war's fundamental efforts to advance the kingdom of God on earth.⁵⁸ Chapman was an enthusiastic supporter of the opportunity to secure justice, but, as a dispensationalist, he viewed America's sacred position as the enemy of evil for eschatological reasons.

⁵³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Eternity*, Billy Graham Center Archives, collection 77, box 7, folder 4, 25 February 1916, p. 41.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁵ Charles Chatfield, "The Bible and American Peace Movements" in Ernest R. Sandeen (ed.), *The Bible and Social Reform*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982, p. 113.

⁵⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Phi Gamma Delta*, volume 41, no. 4, February 1919, p. 255.

⁵⁷ Cf. chapter four for Chapman's work as Moderator of the General Assembly during the war.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Whether it was in the struggle to defeat man's sin in the first decade of the twentieth century or in the conflict against the Kaiser during the War, Chapman's version of dispensationalism was not as pessimistic as that taught by other American exponents of the system after 1918. In *Present-Day Evangelism* (1903) Chapman wrote, "the skies are brightening and there is the assurance of the dawning of a new day"⁵⁹ This optimism led him to conclude that the difficulties of his time were only temporary moments and that soon they would yield to a great awakening of man which was already being realised as "the first droppings of the shower"⁶⁰ Further, his positive attitude led him to believe that the evangelisation of the world was possible in his day. Chapman understood the church to be an elect body and believed that when the last of the foreordained had chosen Christ, the eschaton would make its appearance.⁶¹ He had hoped that his preaching would aid in this great moment of time and that he would have had the privilege of bringing the last person to faith so that the end of the world could come.⁶²

Chapman was adept at simplifying Christian tenets in order to make theology accessible to laypeople. D. Edward Evans, a close classmate of Chapman's at Lane Theological Seminary, said that while he could master any subject, Chapman always saw his studies as a "means to the high end of preaching the everlasting Gospel of Christ"⁶³ Chapman's goal was to bring people to the moment of a decision to choose a relationship with Jesus Christ as their saviour. This simplicity in theology was a core value for him and even though he was an excellent student in seminary and had the capacity to absorb numerous theological doctrines and subjects easily, Chapman did not see himself as a

⁵⁹ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, p. 243.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Lord's Return" in *Light on Prophecy*, p. 355.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6.

⁶³ quoted in Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. 34-5.

philosopher, but as an evangelist.⁶⁴ His preaching yielded many conversions, but when he expanded on highly technical theological matters, he sometimes found himself in a difficult position. In 1906, during a campaign in Des Moines, Iowa, Chapman preached about the necessity of salvation in order to escape eternal punishment. Quoting Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the evangelical theologian who helped to create a theological framework for understanding the phenomena of conversions during the First Great Awakening in the American colonies (1740s), Chapman contradicted himself by blending Edwards's theology of eternal damnation from the famous sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" with a modified concept of hell found in the later nineteenth century.⁶⁵ Edwards preached a vivid description of the place of torment where "natural men are held in the hand of God over the pit of hell; they have deserved the fiery pit and are already sentenced to it; and God is dreadfully provoked" ⁶⁶ Chapman stated that Edwards's truth was a "neglected truth" but when called upon by the Indiana State Librarian, Johnson Brigham, to explain his commendation of Edwards's understanding of hell, Chapman responded by stating that he had hoped that he had not presented the same view as Edwards.⁶⁷ Further, in response to Brigham, he admitted "that it was in its expression and vocabulary not for this generation"⁶⁸ Brigham quoted, from a printed copy of the sermon, places where the preacher had, indeed, confused the two views of an

⁶⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot*, p. 80.

⁶⁵ "Evangelist and State Librarian have Correspondence" *Register and Leader* (Des Moines), 15 December 1906, Presbyterian Historical Society, (Philadelphia), J. Wilbur Chapman collection, microfilm box 4, reel 1.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, 1741 reprinted in Wilson H. Kinnach, Caleb J.D. Maskell and Kenneth P. Minkema (eds), *A Casebook Including the Authoritative Edition of the Famous Sermon*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 40.

⁶⁷ "Chapman's Letter" *Register and Leader* (Des Moines), 13 December 1906, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm, box 4, reel 1.

⁶⁸ "Brigham's Reply" *Register and Leader* (Des Moines), 14 December 1906, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm, box 4, reel 1.

eternal state. Chapman's and Brigham's correspondence points out that Chapman, an admirer of Edwards, could not adequately defend his position and his theology was not as precise as it needed to be to reply to Brigham, a man quite familiar with Edwards's teachings. The correspondence ended when Brigham stated that he was unable to reconcile the difference between Chapman's quotation from the sermon and Chapman's responses in his letter.⁶⁹ Chapman sent no further explanation.

The incident in Des Moines in 1906 was unusual for Chapman because he normally followed Moody's pattern of avoiding subjects that raised complicated doctrinal issues, especially when it came to the notion of hell. Yet Moody did not ignore eternal judgement or negate an eternal place of separation from God. Moody preferred to focus on the love of God and put the emphasis on a hell on earth that comes from a rejection of God's free gift of salvation rather than upon God's wrath. If the destitute were not converted, he believed, they would experience a life of misery. He also believed that the act of rejecting God's grace led one to a future separation from God. In his words to his assistants at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, Moody said,

Hundreds of wretched, lost, despairing men could there be reached by such workers every night. Talk as you will about a future state and all that, I believe these men in their awful condition are going down to hell. If we don't rescue them they will perish forever. It is a question of life or death, of heaven or hell, with them now, and a few brief days will settle it. We have no time to lose.⁷⁰

Heaven, in contrast to hell, was a matter that Moody believed men should choose. He was concerned about people's souls and, though his preaching often avoided the images of hell, he did believe in its eternal reality.

⁶⁹ Ibid., box 4, reel 1.

⁷⁰ Charles M. Alexander's report on the 1893 World's Fair, "Cheering Them On" (no date), p. 7 in Collection: *DLM Revival Campaigns, World's Fair*, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago; access date 7 July 2012.

The love of God, rather than the judgment of God, was Moody's focus. His favourite passage of the Bible was the eighth chapter of Romans. This passage, declared Moody, began with an affirmation of God's love toward people and ended with a reminder that nothing can separate us from God's love.⁷¹ For a believer in Christ, Moody stated, "not only is the present life filled with the peace of God, but the future is bright with hope"⁷² When asked about what happened to the well-known atheist, Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899) following his death, Moody declared, "I don't know. I don't see how a man can live without such a hope. It must be terrible. We are not his judges. It is for God alone to judge him."⁷³ Moody's view of judgment was that it was a matter for God to decide.

Even though Chapman was similar to Moody when it came to the avoidance of the topics of hell and eternal judgment, he stood midway between Moody and two of Chapman's closest colleagues in evangelism Reuben Archer Torrey (1856-1928) and William Sunday (1862-1935). Torrey, after a highly successful career as an evangelist, became the superintendent of the Chicago Evangelization Society (later Moody Bible Institute). He took a similar approach to the concept of hell to that of Moody in his evangelistic campaigns, but he was much more apt to address the issue of eternal punishment when expounding doctrine theologically. In his campaign in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1907, Torrey preached that the wrath of God was soon to come, that hell was real and that people needed to find their "hiding place" in Jesus Christ before they were

⁷¹ "Moody to children" 10 May 1884 (England), *Some Unpublished Letters of D.L. Moody*, D. L. Moody Correspondence, D.L. Moody Correspondence, volume 11, Moody Bible Institute (Chicago); access date 7 July 2012.

⁷² Dwight L. Moody quoted in William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900, p. 430.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

lost forever.⁷⁴ In the midst of World War I, Torrey drew a picture of hell in this way, "Hell is incomparably more awful than the war now raging in Europe, and this awful hell of which we have been studying to-night is the destiny of some of you here in this room unless you soon repent and accept the Lord Jesus Christ! Determine to escape this awful hell at any cost."⁷⁵ As a theologian, Torrey provided detailed exegeses of Bible passages on the subject. In his book *How to Bring Them to Christ* (1910), he listed verses in the Bible that illustrated an eternal state of conscious torment for those who rejected Christ.⁷⁶ Torrey, like Moody, was concerned for the downtrodden and worked in social activism from the time he accepted a parish in Minneapolis in 1883.⁷⁷ But even in his work with the poor and while preaching on the love of God, Torrey was much more outspoken on the reality of an eternal hell than Moody had ever been.

Sunday was more extreme about the notion of hell than Torrey. He began his career as an evangelist under the direction of Chapman. Sunday read from Chapman's manuscripts in the first few campaigns, but he soon spoke forcefully on the topic of eternal judgment. He was a master of popular language and his use of the term "hell" was rife with modern advertising techniques, helping churches compete with movies, magazines and other forms of popular entertainment.⁷⁸ His sermons contained warnings about an eternal damnation for those who refused to believe in Jesus Christ. When speaking on the good news that Jesus Christ had conquered sin, he said, "It was good

⁷⁴ Reuben A. Torrey, "Mission in Cleveland, Ohio, 1907" Billy Graham Institute, (Wheaton), collection 107 "Reuben Archer Torrey Senior" p. 19.

⁷⁵ Reuben Archer Torrey, *The Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Faith*, New York: George H. Doran, Company, 1918, p. 302.

⁷⁶ Reuben Archer Torrey, *How to Bring Men to Christ*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910, pp. 73-5.

⁷⁷ Timothy E.W. Gloege, "Consumed: Reuben A. Torrey and the Construction of Corporate Fundamentalism" Ph.D. Thesis, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007, pp. 80-94.

⁷⁸ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996, p. 61.

news, but never has such news reached the world as that man need not go to hell, for God has provided redemption for them that will accept of it and be saved.⁷⁹ Sunday believed that salvation had been accomplished by Christ, but also believed that life on earth was a pathway that led to eternal life in heaven or hell. The pathway avoiding hell was difficult because "It takes the combined efforts of the Trinity," according to Sunday, "to keep you out of hell."⁸⁰ He was not reluctant to use the language of eternal judgment to strike fear into his listeners about their eternal state but, like Moody who focused on the concept of hell on earth in a social context, Sunday employed the term in a similar fashion, especially when speaking on the evils of drunkenness and its effect upon society. As an outspoken critic of liquor, he saw the consequences of a life of debauchery. The necessity was not just to clean up the man, but to help that man on the way to heaven in order to avoid an eternal state of suffering.

Chapman stood mid-way between Moody on the one hand and Torrey and Sunday on the other. He was known for a "newer evangelism"⁸¹ His was a method that rejected the former way of convicting sinners of the endless and troubled future to which they were hastening. Instead, he emphasised the love of God and encouraged people to come to Christ in the affirmation of God's acceptance, not the fear of judgment. His sermons, under Moody's influence, focused on the reception of joy that God's presence could bring when a man repented. A tabulation of the themes in Chapman's sermons and written works shows that the subject of God's love topped the list, followed by sin,

⁷⁹ Billy Sunday, *Eternity! Eternity!* in William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday, The Man and his Message :With His Own Words Which Have Won Thousands for Christ*, Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, Publishers, 1917, pp. 388-9.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7.

⁸¹ "The Newer Revivalism" *Boston Evening Transcript* (Boston), 6 February 1911, PHS, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm, box 4, reel 1.

repentance, faith, salvation in Jesus and the second coming of Christ. In 1895, Chapman wrote that it was a love that could bring back the Apostle Peter from his sin when he betrayed the Christ.⁸² "It is infinite love. What is infinite love? The purest, sweetest, tenderest thing known on earth is the over-hanging heart of a mother over the cradle! yet the love of the mother is but a drop in the ocean when compared with the love of God. It is infinite, infinite!"⁸³ This theme is also found in one of his most famous sermons, "Ivory Palaces of the King" (1897), where Chapman describes the great love of God who sent his Son to this world in order to save human beings. It was a love that Chapman considered "most touching of all" because Jesus left his throne in heaven to come to earth and be despised by all in order to offer this type of sacrificial love for everyone.⁸⁴

Following Moody's death in 1899, Chapman continued to emphasise the love of God in his messages, but his concern for people's salvation in order to escape judgement became more urgent because he believed that one could not know his appointed time to meet God. In "The Unpardonable Sin" (1909), Chapman asked his hearers to turn away from sin before the "constant, continual, and at last final rejection of Jesus Christ" occurred.⁸⁵ In "Sin, Righteousness, Judgment" (1906), he cited numerous examples of those who had rejected Christ, then found that it was too late to enter eternity. "To-day if ye will hear His voice harden not your heart. To-morrow may never come, and if it comes the door of mercy may be closed."⁸⁶ Age was not an excuse to postpone the day of decision according to Chapman. Illustrating the way death showed no favouritism, he

⁸² J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Peter and Other Messages*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1895, pp. 38-51.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 91-2.

⁸⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Ivory Palaces of the King*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Unpardonable Sin" in *Awakening Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1928, p. 161.

⁸⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Sin, Righteousness, Judgment" in *Revival Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1911, p. 168.

provided an example of one of his congregants who, having never experienced any signs of illness in his life, wished the same for Chapman himself. A few months after standing at the foot of Chapman's pulpit, this man dropped dead without any warning.⁸⁷ If the young listeners might have felt relieved that this man was more advanced in years than they were, Chapman warned them about the death of his young nephew in this manner,

But you young men say: How old was he?...We were seated in a hotel in Australia and were resting for the evening, when a quick knock came at the door. I took a cable from the boy, and got the code book and deciphered this: "Charles died to-day. Sick two days. He was dead. My nephew. A promising athlete, trained in military school. Never sick a day in his life. Gone in two days. Prepare to meet thy God."⁸⁸

Chapman believed that it was the responsibility of all people to prepare themselves by receiving God's grace before it was too late.

The concept of an eternal realm of punishment in Chapman's messages between 1911 and 1918 remained implied rather than directly stated. In "How Shall We Escape?" (1913), Chapman illustrated the doom awaiting one who continued to reject Jesus by using the image of a burning building. As each successive level is being consumed by fire, a man on the ninth floor feels comfortable until he hears the crackling of the fire below him. When he attempts to flee he finds that the fire escapes are too hot to touch and, Chapman concludes, "the rest of the story I need not tell you"⁸⁹ One of his better known illustrations was about a boy gathering eagle's eggs. Climbing over the edge of a cliff with a rope tied around his waist, the young man finds the nest and begins to collect the eggs. Suddenly, the eagle returns and swoops down upon him. Taking out his pocket

⁸⁷ Chapman, "Prepare to Meet Thy God" in *Evangelistic Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, p. 88.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Chapman, "How Shall We Escape" in *Revival Sermons*, pp. 153-4.

knife, the boy strikes back at the eagle in defence, but strikes his rope instead.⁹⁰

Chapman preached, "Is that what you have been doing to God?"⁹¹ The image of swinging over the abyss with a rope about to break was as close as Chapman came to an Edwardsian hell. In the same sermon, Chapman eventually mentioned the term "hell" but gave it a mere three sentences at the end of the message and was quick to point out that it was a word from another preacher whose point it was to say that it is not God's judgment, but one man's upon himself.⁹² Chapman's sermons, for the most part, indirectly pointed out the eternal consequences of rejecting Christ, but the thrust of his messages usually pointed to the love of God which, if received, could bring a person into heaven.

The effects of sin were real and immediate, for Chapman, because they had the power to cause damage to people and their surroundings in this present world. When a forger came to him for relief from his seared conscience, Chapman declared that his sin brought hell upon himself and, further, had the power to harm those who were entirely innocent around the sinner.⁹³ The torments of hell, for Chapman, were more illustrative of this earth but he still believed that it was critical for people to believe in a literal hell.⁹⁴ His task, he thought, was not merely to preach people "out of hell" but to preach "hell out of people"⁹⁵ Sin, he believed, led to hellish situations in this world and its effects were

⁹⁰ Chapman, "Cast Off Because" in *Revival Sermons*, p. 181.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁹³ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York: American Tract Society, 1918, pp. 145-6.

⁹⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot*, p. 201, "Men Must Believe There Is a Hell" *Toronto Mail* (Toronto), 21 January 1911, also see Eric R. Crouse *Revival in the City, The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, p. 117.

⁹⁵ "Message to Wage Earners" *The Westminster* (Philadelphia), volume 33, no. 12, 21 March 1908, p. 31.

recognised by poverty and death.⁹⁶ He acknowledged society's need for transformation from a hell on earth, but did not limit that state to this world.

From his work with Moody, Chapman recognised that correct theology led to activism. At an early age, he considered his Moody's endeavours with the poor and downtrodden to be a factor for his success as an evangelist.⁹⁷ A few decades later, after becoming acquainted with the work of William Booth (1829-1912), Chapman discovered that he had the same admiration of the Salvation Army and its focus on transforming society. By 1908, Evangeline Booth (1865-1950), the daughter of General William Booth and National Commander of the Salvation Army, was often called upon by Chapman to teach at the Winona Bible Conferences. Booth gave a hearty endorsement of the "remarkable spiritual character of the Chapman meetings"⁹⁸ In 1909, Chapman invited Booth to preach a revival sermon at the Tremont Temple during his highly-successful campaign in Boston. Chapman found an ally in the Salvation Army and was not afraid to put its female leader at the forefront of his campaigns in order to effect change in society. By 1917, as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, he pledged his support to help raise a million dollars for the Salvation Army's work to soldiers home and abroad, because he believed in their efforts to reach them with the message of salvation. Chapman believed that the Army was the most effective and organised agency to make this happen.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Butler, *Softly and Tenderly Jesus is Calling: Heaven and Hell in American Revivalism, 1870-1920*, p. 118.

⁹⁷ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 98-9.

⁹⁸ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman*, p. 40.

⁹⁹ Chapman to Evangeline C. Booth, 10 December 1917, in Evangeline Booth and Grace Livingston Hill, *The War Romance of the Salvation Army*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, p. 332

While some of his revival colleagues in the first decade of the twentieth century, like his good friend B. Fay Mills and Charles Steltzle, considered themselves to be active participants in the social gospel movement, Chapman adopted more of a Salvation Army emphasis.¹⁰⁰ He made a distinction between the social gospel as a movement and the church's work for social justice because he feared that the message of the cross in the hands of social gossellers would be replaced with an ethic of work rather than that of grace. He said,

Why may we not as Christians join hands and hearts in insisting upon the individual coming into right relations with God by faith in Christ and then as God-fearing and God-loving men proclaim a social gospel which will right wrongs, lift burdens, rebuke iniquities, condemn selfishness and make God known among the people? As Christians an obligation rests upon us to help our brother bear his burdens, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, wipe away another's tears, and to rebuke and resist as our Master would everything that hurts society or mars a human life.¹⁰¹

Chapman preferred to use the term "social service" which meant, to him, that the church was to rebuke behaviour that did not serve the ends of justice. He wrote, "This is the age of social service and it is the time when the church must be called upon to bear the burden of those who are oppressed. Selfishness, greed, avarice, and all kindred sins we rebuke without fear or favour but of course we insist upon the acceptance of Christ as personal Saviour."¹⁰² Chapman's activism relied on the transforming power of the gospel, not on human effort alone.

Chapman's view of activism meant that the church had a significant role in the work of transforming society. The church's job was to evangelise its community first by

¹⁰⁰ Winthrop S. Hudson and John Corrigan, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life*, New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1992, p. 349.

¹⁰¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *New Church Messenger* (Chicago), Volume 115, no. 1, 7 August 1918, p. 95.

¹⁰² Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, New York: Ronald Press, 1959, p. 383.

preaching conversion, then as hearts were moved by the Holy Spirit, changes in society would follow. Speaking at a 1906 conference with the Presbyterian social gospeller, Charles Stelzle, the focus of the convention's messages was a clear charge that "more men should be brought to Christ and more energy must be expended on civic reform"¹⁰³ The responsibility of the Christian, Chapman believed, was to go into the inner cities and work with the poor. As a general rule, any work for reform was acceptable. Chapman, as a Presbyterian minister, was willing to work with the Federal Council of Churches, which proposed the preservation of a Christian society. He differed with the Council only over the means of accomplishing the task of transforming society and it provided him with an opportunity to encourage its work with that of evangelism.¹⁰⁴ Although Chapman was not an active campaigner for social reform in the method of the social gospellers, he spent a great deal of energy on programmes for the poor and the elderly. Theology to Chapman was incomplete without the notion of activism.

Chapman disliked the rising stigma attached to doctrinal conservatism which called his theology other-worldly. He admitted that there was not enough consideration given to social injustice in the evangelistic preaching of his day, but he believed that the kingdom ethic of Jesus could inspire the church to transform the miserable conditions of the poor.¹⁰⁵ Chapman set the example for the churches he served by preaching in the slums and by establishing organisations to help people in need. He created special programmes to reach shut-ins, the elderly, the poor living on the streets and other specialised groups unable to attend public gatherings. He admired the work of S.H.

¹⁰³ *Report of the Brotherhood Convention, 1906* in William B. Patterson, *Modern Church Brotherhoods*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, p. 100.

¹⁰⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Church in Evangelistic Work" *Report of the Meeting of the Federal Council, Philadelphia, 1908*, New York: The Revell Press, 1908, pp. 391-3.

¹⁰⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, pp. 57-65.

Hadley (1842-1905), the superintendent of the Jerry McAuley Water Street Mission in New York, who, following his own conversion, helped thousands of men and women turn from drunkenness and poverty to a transformed life in Christ. Chapman wrote Hadley's biography and called him "a chosen apostle to the poor, the outcast, the sinful, the abandoned, labouring among them with a love that was divine and a tenderness that was Christ-like"¹⁰⁶ Hadley was frequently invited to Chapman's summer conferences at Winona Lake, Indiana, because Chapman believed that Hadley was a good example of a man who lived as close to Jesus as anyone had.¹⁰⁷

Chapman's activism evolved from his crucicentrism. The revelation of God's love, he believed, was found nowhere better than in the cross. In his book *And Judas Iscariot* (1906), he declared that the "crown of theology is the atonement by Christ, his sacrificial death upon the cross"¹⁰⁸ In his sermon "The Ivory Palaces of the King" (1893), Chapman stated that the cross of Jesus was always in Christ's shadows, at Bethlehem, in Egypt, at Nazareth, in Gethsemane and on Calvary and so it must be a focal point for the Christian.¹⁰⁹ By 1916, Chapman and his song leader, Charles M. Alexander, handed out printed cards with the diagram of three crosses, each with scriptures beneath the images explaining the atonement of Christ.¹¹⁰ The outside two crosses represented the sin that remains on people and the central cross, representing Christ's cross, illustrated how the prophet Isaiah had foretold that the suffering servant would take the place of sinners in order to make them righteous. Chapman's soteriology

¹⁰⁶ John Wilbur Chapman, *S. H. Hadley of Water Street: A Miracle of Grace*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1906, p. 226.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot with Other Evangelistic Messages*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Ivory Palaces of the King*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander, *The Three Crosses*, 1916, PHS, Philadelphia, PA, microfilm, box 5, reel 1.

depended on the substitutionary atonement theory. He did not hold to a moral theory of the atonement because he was at odds with a theology that relied on anything less than Christ's substitutionary act. Yet he also did not espouse a penal theory, because the focus of God's saving act was on human beings, not on a God who needed to be appeased. Jesus, to Chapman, had taken a sinner's place in death and the sinner had taken Christ's place in righteousness.¹¹¹ Chapman believed that a rejection of the substitutionary view meant that there was no hope for any person.¹¹²

Chapman believed that God had become a man in order to offer a perfect sacrifice for the propitiation of sin. No mortal man could fulfil this task. It required a man born under the law and without sin. He must be willing to die as an offering to God and his sacrifice must be able to provide an atonement which would "make the wandering sinner and the love God had, one"¹¹³ Chapman believed that only God himself could fulfil these requirements and so God emptied himself and became flesh, known to the world as Jesus of Nazareth.¹¹⁴ To consider Christ less than God was to disrespect the Son and doing so obscured people's vision of God.¹¹⁵ Further, denying his divinity resulted in being led astray from the path to eternal life and the person who did so "would face judgment before God one day"¹¹⁶ Denying the incarnation of Christ also had immediate consequences. Chapman believed that there was a link between effective Christian work and a high Christology. He noted that during his evangelistic tours of Australia, China, Japan and Korea in 1909 that when Christians acknowledged the deity of Christ, the work

¹¹¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Seeking a Man" in *Another Mile and Other Addresses*, p. 91.

¹¹² J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot*, pp. 206-7.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

¹¹⁴ "Stony Brook Bible Conference Opens," *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Dayton), 15 September 1910, volume 102, no. 37, p. 1168.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1168.

¹¹⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, "A Forsaken Master," *The Expositor and Current Anecdotes* (Cleveland), March 1914, volume 15, no. 6, pp. 375-6.

flourished, but whenever they doubted Christ's incarnation, the work languished.¹¹⁷ He believed that when people robbed Jesus of his deity, it was one of the primary reasons for failure in Christian work.¹¹⁸ In 1909, when Chapman conducted a successful campaign in Boston, it was reported that he filled the city with his testimony to the inspired word of God, to the essential deity of Christ, the Son of God incarnate, and to Christ's power to save men.¹¹⁹ Chapman's belief in a high Christology was one of the major tenets of his faith.

Even though Chapman was successful in producing many converts to the faith, he did not consider conversion to be a simple act or a one-step process. His understanding was that conversion involved several steps. The first one, contrition, occurred when a man acknowledged that he had a wounded spirit and a broken heart and that his sin had separated him from God. "Your sin is against God," Chapman wrote, "and being against God, resolution cannot touch it. When you truly realize this you will come to the place where in deep contrition you will say, God be merciful to me a sinner."¹²⁰ Following this act of self-realisation, conviction occurred. This was the moment when the Spirit awakened a deep remorse in a person. Being open to this step required a softening of the heart because it meant that a man was confronting God's presence and being aware of his sin. This was a difficult step, Chapman felt, because, "men are too easy about their sins."¹²¹ He longed for the days when "men sobbed their way into the kingdom" because of their knowledge of sin.¹²² Conviction, though wrought by the Holy Spirit, could be

¹¹⁷ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Still the Power of God," *The Sabbath Recorder* (Plainfield, N.J.), 15 August 1910, volume 69, no. 7, p. 210.

¹¹⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot*, pp. 275-6.

¹¹⁹ "The Revival in Boston," *Christian Faith and Life* (New York), March 1909, volume 10, no. 3, p. 160.

¹²⁰ Chapman, "What Must I Do?" in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 40.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 40-41.

produced by engaging in -singing a hymn, the offering of brief prayers and pondering the thought of a sermon¹²³ Conviction was essential to true conversion and when it occurred, Chapman regarded the conversion as being -generally real¹²⁴ because it illustrated the Spirit¹²⁵ presence upon the sinner and this step produced true repentance.¹²⁴ Repentance, the product of conversion, was the step in which a man¹²⁵ will turns to God by making -a right about face¹²⁵ The three-step process of contrition, conviction and repentance, was followed by a fourth one - confession. Until the repentant openly declared Jesus Christ his saviour, the process of salvation had not fully taken place.¹²⁶ Contrition, conviction, repentance and confession were, to him, the sequential steps which defined the transformation from a sinner to a saint. By 1903, Chapman¹²⁶ model of the four steps of conversion was utilised as a method for evangelistic messages.

One of the most important aids to help people make a decision to be converted and to support them in their new lives as Christians was the image of a godly home. Heaven was illustrated by its earthly representation in the form of the family and the concept of the home. Heaven was, to Chapman, the place where one¹²⁷ true home could be found.¹²⁷ His sermons revealed the loving heart of a God who pleaded for the sinner to come home and enjoy the benefits of familial ties. He often used the image of the -prodigal son¹²⁸ to illustrate how God, as the heavenly father, had patience on those who had strayed from the righteous path and who eagerly awaited each person¹²⁸ return home.¹²⁸ As a representative of the heavenly father, it was up to each earthly father, in

¹²³ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, pp. 129-30.

¹²⁴ Chapman, -What Must I Do¹²⁴ in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 41.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹²⁷ John Wilbur Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917, pp. 7-11.

¹²⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *And Peter: And Other Evangelistic Sermons*, p. 7.

Chapman's view, to represent God in the home. This was based on his personal experience with his own father as a child. In his sermon "Not Far From the Kingdom" he credited his own conversion to his father whom he had seen "live an absolutely consistent life"¹²⁹ "If there were no other influence in this world that would have brought me near to Christ," he stated, "it would have been the influence of my father"¹³⁰ This fatherly image of God, represented by each earthly father, he believed, was the revelation of the true heart of God.¹³¹

The image of heaven, Chapman believed, was further revealed in the relationships of the rest of the family members also. "I can think of no greater need today than that we should have more parents of the old-fashioned sort—the old-fashioned mother who taught her children to pray, who read God's word to them, or told them Bible stories, and who often sang them to sleep, when only the music of her voice could quiet them."¹³² The warmth and love of an earthly home represented to Chapman a visual and real image of what it would be like for Christians in an eternal state. In his book *When Home is Heaven* (1917), Chapman stated that as one studies the New Testament, "every description of Heaven is typical of what we may have here and now in earthly homes, when God is enthroned in our individual lives, and when all that Jesus taught is put into practical operation by the members of the household"¹³³ "When the father is Christ-like, the mother true, the children considerate, and when the atmosphere of the home is as God intended it should be; then the home is Heaven, and as we journey toward the Eternal

¹²⁹ Chapman, "Not Far From the Kingdom" in *Revival Sermons*, p. 137.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹³¹ Chapman, "Going Home" in *Evangelistic Sermons*, p. 208.

¹³² Chapman, *When Home is Heaven*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917, pp. 46-7.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

City we have a Heaven to go to Heaven in.¹³⁴ At a time when many people found themselves leaving homes to work in the cities, it is not hard to understand one of the reasons why Chapman's revivals had a great influence on people was his emphasis on home as a representation of heaven.¹³⁵

The eternal home, for Chapman, perhaps because of his own life experiences which had exposed him to the death of his mother, spouses and children, held the promise of something beautiful.¹³⁶ Born two years before the outbreak of the Civil War, his early childhood took place during the years of conflict and reconstruction. These years made an impression on his mind that life was difficult and that a spiritual foundation, such as the security of a good home life, is a necessary tool to enable a person to leave this world behind and grasp the eternal one. It was for this reason that among the cards often signed for commitments to Christ, Chapman included a "Family Covenant Card"¹³⁷ It was up to the father as the "head of the household" to ensure that the pledge of daily family prayer, the singing of hymns and Bible readings was consistently followed while both he and the mother were to lead each morning's devotions with sincerity. "The influence of family worship" he wrote, "is as lasting as eternity."¹³⁸ If a family welcomed Christ to reside in the home, Chapman believed that the promise of a beautiful life on earth was attainable. Though he did not contribute new ideas to theology in the way of doctrine, his promotion of home as an image of heaven, a place of godly atmosphere to sustain one in Christian discipleship and the relationship between family members which illustrated the bond that

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

¹³⁵ Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, p. 116.

¹³⁶ Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 210.

¹³⁷ Chapman, *Day After Day: A Manual for Individual and Family Use*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, 1919, pp. 5-8.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

Christians shared in eternity were the most important influences that Chapman had upon religious thinking.

Among all the practices for Christian growth, prayer stood out as the linchpin of Chapman's theology. In regard to the Christian home, he wrote, "A prayer-less home is a powerless home"¹³⁹ He was so convinced of the effectiveness of prayer that during his campaigns between 1900 and 1910, he set aside thirty minutes every morning following the workers' reports to offer petitions to God. During his Boston meetings in 1909, he recommended that preachers should spend an hour in prayer over their sermon outlines. After doing so, he declared, they would have the power to tell the story of Jesus from their pulpits.¹⁴⁰ His understanding of prayer led him to suggest that it was, along with the knowledge of bringing others to Christ, the essential practice that would make great ministers and useful Christians.¹⁴¹ Once, when asked to write the rules for soul-winning on a postcard, he responded, "I have a book of five hundred pages by Dr. Torrey on soul-winning, and this man wanted me to write on a post-card. I used to think we began soul-winning when we learned verses of Scripture. Now I know we begin when we know how to pray."¹⁴² Far greater than any other factor, he believed that prayer was the foundation for the Christian life and that without it one could only remain in a life of sin.

Chapman believed that the degree of power given by God through prayer was proportionate to a person's willingness to yield to the Holy Spirit. During his time at Moody's Northfield Conferences, Chapman met Frederick B. Meyer (1847-1929) in 1892

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Arcturus Z. Conrad, *Boston's Awakening: A Complete Account of the Great Boston Revival under the Leadership of J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander, January 26th to February 21st, 1909*, Boston: The King's Business Publishing Company, 1909, p. 130.

¹⁴¹ Chapman, "The Sin of a Prayerless Life" in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 84.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 93.

and was awakened to a new life in the Spirit's power. He learned from Meyer the power of surrendering his life to the Spirit and the way in which it could be done, even if the soul was unable to yield. Meyer told him, "If you are not ready to surrender everything to God, are you ready to say 'I am willing to be made willing?'"¹⁴³ Chapman took his advice and experienced the infilling of the Holy Ghost, declaring that from that moment on, the Spirit had been a "living reality."¹⁴⁴ Two years later, Chapman wrote *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* (1894). It was enormously popular in the two decades that followed its publication and it influenced people to seek a deeper experience of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴⁵

Above all the factors that shaped Chapman's theological training was the influence of Dwight Moody.¹⁴⁶ One Canadian reporter commented that Chapman "would not trust the New Testament beyond the endorsement of Dwight L. Moody."¹⁴⁷ He adopted Moody's three great theological truths: the Bible, premillennialism and the Holy Ghost.¹⁴⁸ Similar to Moody who claimed to believe in the doctrine of election, yet did not attempt to reconcile God's sovereignty with man's free agency, Chapman held on to the doctrine of election, but tempered it with man's free will. "I want to make it as plain as I can to you that there comes a time when, in addition to the mother's prayers, and the minister's pleading, you must act for yourself. You must will to enter the Kingdom. You must say I choose Jesus Christ to be my personal Saviour."¹⁴⁹ Chapman learned from

¹⁴³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1894, pp. 85-6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. chapter seven for Chapman's pneumatology.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Chapter three for Chapman's relationship with Moody.

¹⁴⁷ "An Ultra-conservative Is Evangelist Chapman" in *Toronto World*, 9 January 1911, quoted in Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City*, p. 117.

¹⁴⁸ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of D.L. Moody*, pp. 396-413.

¹⁴⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "Not Far From the Kingdom" in *Revival Sermons*, p. 134.

Moody to remain committed to the foundational message of the gospel, but to avoid divisive doctrinal matters.

At the end of his life, Chapman declared his convictions in what were to him the cardinal truths of the gospel: the divine inspiration of the scriptures, the deity of Jesus Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the primacy of the atonement, and the return of the Lord.¹⁵⁰ He popularised premillennial dispensationalism and helped disseminate this view into his era's teachings by his sermons and articles. His theological convictions tended toward a modified Calvinism, one that believed in election, but he was persuaded that one could choose salvation and that preaching should focus on God's love rather than condemnation. Chapman presented a clear message of what he was for instead of men like Sunday, who preached more on what they were against. He was regarded as a preacher who delivered his sermons "with a directness and simplicity and a tenderness of voice which immediately arrests the attention and holds the interest of his hearers till the last word is spoken"¹⁵¹ Chapman's theology, modelled on that of Moody, shaped by dispensational teaching was a product of New School revivalism. He believed that the Bible was the word of God and his hermeneutic for understanding it was that of a common sense interpretation. He did not believe that his evangelistic work could be successful if it did not lead to the betterment of society. He preached the centrality of the cross for the act of salvation and he also taught that one must have a conversion to receive eternal life. Chapman's theology was similar to other evangelists of Moody's generation by seeking to bring people to faith by the preaching God's love rather than the fear of the Lord.

¹⁵⁰ John F. Carson in the introduction to Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, pp. xi-xii.

¹⁵¹ "Church News," *The Christian Advocate* (New York), volume 80, no. 49, 7 December 1905, p. 1953.

One of the reasons that Chapman was not remembered for his work is that he was non-polemical. He did not produce anything new in the field of theology or expand scholarly principles and he sought to inspire people rather than to create controversy. Chapman's proto-fundamentalism was evident, but he never argued his views. He preferred to bring a variety of theological thoughts together for the sake of his work as a bridge-builder rather than a dogmatist. Chapman was a pastor who was first, and foremost, a revivalist. History tends not to remember non-controversial figures.

Chapter Six

Pneumatology

By the time of Chapman's emergence into the ministry, a popular emphasis in Christian teaching was the work of the Holy Spirit and holy living, a concept that had gone through radical changes during the previous century.¹ John Wesley (1703-1791), an Anglican minister and revivalist, had taught about the possibility of an eradication of sin, a concept that seemed attractive to many Evangelicals. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, his Methodists had begun to outpace the growth of Christians in other denominations and it appeared that Arminian theology would overtake Reformed revivalism. By the 1830s, Charles Grandison Finney and Asa Mahan (1799-1889), two professors at Oberlin College in Ohio, developed a way of thinking about holiness that came to be called "Oberlin perfectionism." Their teachings were a blend of Arminianism and Calvinism that supported Reformed revivalists and aided people in understanding the interaction between the Spirit and the Christian. A few other holiness movements appeared by the 1860s which were, in nature, either of the Arminian or Reformed camps, but on the eve of the Civil War (1861-1865) there was, as Timothy L. Smith pointed out, a coalescing of revivalistic Calvinism and Arminianism.² This combination included the idea of Christian perfectionism, a concept of how the Spirit could make a person holy in the most complete sense.³ By Chapman's time Evangelicals were undergoing a transformation of their views on the Holy Spirit that would lead some into Pentecostalism

¹ Donald W. Dayton, *The Higher Christian Life: Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal, and Keswick Movements*, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985, p. vii.

² Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1957, pp. 32-33.

³ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1987, p. 64.

in the early twentieth century. Chapman participated in this transforming moment by popularising the work of the Holy Ghost and the way in which a Christian could receive the Spirit's power. His book *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* (1894) gained immediate attention after publication and it remained one of the most popular texts on the subject until the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. How did Chapman's understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit develop and how did he influence people's concept of the Spirit's power available to them as Christians?

Much material has been written on late nineteenth and early twentieth century views on the Holy Spirit in Evangelicalism. Donald Dayton has examined the relationship between Methodism and the holiness movements in *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (1987). Vinson Synan in *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition* (1997) has traced the trajectory of the holiness movement to Pentecostalism in the first decade of the twentieth century and its influence in the years that followed. Chapman was not a Pentecostal, though he shared the same language as those in the holiness tradition and he was a popular teacher on the subject of the power of the Holy Spirit. This chapter will examine the effects of the holiness movement on Chapman and investigate how it shaped his teaching on pneumatology.

One of the earliest influences on Chapman's understanding was John Wesley's view of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of a Christian. Chapman considered Wesley a man of great courage whose work "shook three kingdoms" with God's power and he admired Wesley's dependence on the power of the Holy Ghost for his work as an evangelist.⁴ Wesley believed that the state of perfection was possible for the believer, since Christ had commanded it by declaring, "Ye shall therefore be perfect as your Father

⁴ Chapman, *The Minister's Handicap*, New York: American Tract Society, 1918, p. 128.

who is in heaven is perfectø(Matthew 5:48).⁵ His argument against those who believed perfection was impossible in this life was that Christ would not have commanded perfection if it were not attainable.⁶ Recognising that Christians fail to live without sin, he believed that they needed the sanctifying power of the Spirit through a post-conversion experience to make them complete in holiness.⁷ In Wesleyø personal situation, this second moment of transformation had come after his own conversion and it unleashed the power to live a holy life, though he never claimed to have attained entire sanctification.⁸ The effects of transformation, Wesley believed, did not necessarily mean that a person was free from ignorance or mistakes.⁹ He granted that most believers were not completely sanctified until near death, but he believed that the seed of every virtue could be instantaneously planted in the Christian by the Spirit and brought to fruition as the Christian died to sin and grew in grace.¹⁰ The outcome of this decisive sanctification he called ‘perfect love’ and it was the desire one had to please God and allow the Spirit to purify the heart.¹¹ Wesleyø concept of the eradication of sin was challenged by Calvinists who believed that sin is always present in the life of Christians in this world, but his convictions became popular among nineteenth-century teachers of holiness. Further, Wesleyø views grew in popularity as Methodist adherents increased in numbers.

The most famous revivalist of the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, Charles Grandison Finney, approached the work of the Spirit in a

⁵ John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection as Believed and Taught by the Reverend John Wesley from the year 1725, to the year 1777*, New York: Lane and Scott, 1850, pp. 170-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37.

¹⁰ Randy L. Maddox (ed.), *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 12: Doctrinal and Controversial Treatises*. Nashville: Abindgon Press, 2012, p. 102.

¹¹ Wesley, *A Plain Account*, p. 159.

similar fashion to Wesley, even though his background was that of a Reformed theologian. A professor of systematic theology at Oberlin College (1835-58), Finney caused a stir among Calvinist theologians with his insistence on a doctrine of a second blessing and a state of spiritual perfection. He contended that it was possible for the endowment of power to be instantaneous, as was his experience.¹² He also believed that the process could either be immediate or it could commence like the dew and increase to a shower.¹³ In *God's Provision of Power* (1840), Finney explained the difference between a Christian who simply had received the peace of God at conversion because of his forgiven sins and a Christian who had both the peace and power of God by receiving a second blessing of the Spirit.¹⁴ This infilling of the Spirit was so complete, he declared, that a truly regenerated soul could reach a state without sin.¹⁵ Finney did not believe that this perfected state meant the removal of sinful appetites, but rather the mastery over them.¹⁶ Although the ability to sin remained, Christ's call to repentance, he believed, was constant as the Spirit's inspiration continued moving one toward a righteous perfection.¹⁷ The power of the Holy Spirit, to Finney, was essential to living in the fulness of the Christian life. His theological dependence on the work of the Spirit is evident in his *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, where he devoted one chapter to the subject of conversion and six chapters to sanctification.¹⁸

¹² Charles Finney, "God's Provision of Power" in Asa Mahan's *Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, Clinton: Williams Publishers, 2001, p. 184.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁵ Charles Finney, *Power from on High: A Selection of Articles on the Spirit-Filled Life*, Fort Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, 1962, p. 78.

¹⁶ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, Oberlin: James M. Fitch, 1846, p. 575.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁸ Frederick Dale Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1970, p. 41.

Chapman acknowledged his dependence on Finney's pneumatology. In addition to his matriculation in 1876, one year after Finney's death at Oberlin College, where the memory of Finney was most revered, Chapman held a life-long admiration for the evangelist. In one of his most frequently delivered sermons between 1914 and 1918, "The Enduement with Power for Service or The Secret Power" Chapman wrote that Finney "was a giant intellectually, and so filled with God that sometimes he could but announce his text and the Spirit of God would fall upon his assemblies and conversions would occur literally by the hundred"¹⁹ Like Finney, Chapman believed that the Holy Spirit could create a revival at any time or in any place, if certain conditions were met.²⁰ Also in a similar way to Finney, he believed that where the Spirit renewed churches, the conversion of sinners followed and he called this the "quickening of the saints"²¹ Chapman respected Finney's theology and wrote that his dependence on the Holy Ghost put him in the category of famous men such as Martin Luther, John Wesley and Dwight Moody.²²

Asa Mahan, another Oberlin professor and a contemporary of Finney's, made a strong impression on Chapman with his reliance on the term "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" Mahan had expressed concern about the work of the Spirit when he recognised that so many Christians had been baptized with water, yet lived without the power of the Holy Spirit.²³ The Holy Ghost, he believed, may be present in one's life by grace, but it was not until the Spirit descended upon that person that he could claim to have truly

¹⁹ Chapman, "The Enduement of Power for Service or the Secret Power" (14 April 1914), p. 2. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, box 5, folder 1.

²⁰ Chapman, "On Evangelism" (Lima, OH), 6 January 1915, Presbyterian Historical Society, microfilm, reel 4, box 5, folder 1.

²¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Revivals and Missions*, New York: Lentilhon and Company, 1900, p. 2.

²² Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1903, p. 117.

²³ Asa Mahan, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, p. 21.

received spiritual power. Mahan taught that a baptism of repentance toward God and faith toward Jesus Christ was a first step towards this baptism which is marked by love and obedience.²⁴ He was convinced that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was the remedy for an unfilled life and he encouraged people to wait in earnest and to pray until the Spirit filled them with power.²⁵ Like Mahan, Chapman was concerned about the lack of spiritual power present in the church during his day. By 1900, Chapman declared that his desire was to preach the immediate presence of the Holy Ghost which came at the time of regeneration. He urgently pleaded with his audience to ask for the infilling of power which was readily available to every Christian.²⁶ Like Mahan, he believed that simply being a Christian was not a guarantee that a man would receive God's power. It was in the process of earnestly seeking God and asking for that blessing that the Christian could be filled with the power of the Spirit.²⁷

By the 1850s, especially following the revival of 1857-8, an explosion of holiness ideals and perfection teachings shifted the emphasis of Wesley's perfectionism from a process of sanctification experienced later in one's life to an earlier point in Christian experience. As Donald W. Dayton stated, these developments, known as the Higher Life or Victorious Life movements, provided a way to make entire sanctification the presupposition rather than the goal of normal Christian experience.²⁸ Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874), a prominent Methodist evangelist and teacher at this time, taught that Christians who were entirely willing to surrender their bodies, souls and spirits to God

²⁴ Ibid., p. ix.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 92.

²⁶ Chapman, *From Life to Life: Illustrations and Anecdotes for the Use of Religious Workers and for Private Meditation*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1900, p. 156.

²⁷ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, p. 52.

²⁸ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, pp. 68-9.

could receive an instantaneous moment of transformation from sin to purity. This outcome, she believed, was obtainable when one was found in a state of holiness –with the powers of body and mind consciously given up to God²⁹ In addition to the total surrender of self, the steps toward holiness involved a life of obedience to biblical mandates, which she called –laying all on the altar and public testimony.³⁰

Chapman often promoted Palmer’s principles. He taught about the completely surrendered life and a Christian’s compliance with the scriptures. He spoke about the necessity of laying one’s life on the altar of God, both symbolically, like Palmer, but also physically by inviting people to come to the altar in a church as an opportunity to surrender to Christ and begin lives of obedience.³¹ Those whose hearts had been stirred by the Spirit were asked by Chapman to speak to their acquaintances –in the spirit of confidence so that the same Spirit who stirred their hearts would move upon others.³² The term –proxy evangelism was used to explain this method.³³ Chapman, like Palmer, emphasised the importance of holy living, writing that it would –reflect the character of the Master himself by giving the world living illustrations of what men may become who are partakers of the divine nature³⁴ Though Chapman used Palmer’s terms, his position was closer to the Reformed tradition, viewing sanctification as a covering of sin rather than an eradication of it.³⁵

²⁹ Phoebe Palmer, *Entire Devotion to God*, London: Alexander Heylin, 1857, p. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 119-23.

³¹ Chapman, *The Spiritual Life of the Sunday School*, Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1899, pp. 56-7.

³² Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, p. 102.

³³ –Chapman Converts Thousands Through Proxy Evangelism \emptyset *The Chicago Examiner* (Chicago), 25 October 1910. Billy Graham Archives, microfilm box 2, reel 2, folder 2.

³⁴ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, pp. 37-38.

³⁵ Cf. chapter 1 for the difference between the eradication of sin and the counteraction of sin.

Another proponent of the higher life principles, and one to whom Chapman owed a debt for often-used illustrations about the Spirit's power and why Christians fail to receive it, was William E. Boardman, a Baptist pastor and teacher. Boardman asserted that there is a second experience of the Holy Spirit in a believer's life.³⁶ Chapman was closer to Boardman's view of sanctification than Palmer's because in his book *The Higher Christian Life* (1858) Boardman provided a way for Reformed Christians to deal with the concept of full salvation.³⁷ Avoiding the terms "instantaneous sanctification" and "Christian perfection" phrases that, he believed, had become points of contention in debates between differing theological positions and confused Christians, Boardman focused on the term "higher life" to describe this second experience of the Spirit.³⁸ This higher life process was one that sought to remove the barriers to receiving the full intensity of the Holy Spirit. The believer who had experienced conversion was likened to a dimly-lit gaslight. The gas was able to flow through the proper channels, but until it was fully turned on from the mains the amount of light was significantly limited.³⁹ The Christian who yielded his life to the Holy Spirit by abiding in Christ experienced the power of the higher life.⁴⁰ Chapman's book *The Surrendered life* (1897) is replete with Boardman's concept of the possibility of removing barriers from perfect obedience and the usage of terms such as the "higher life"⁴¹

³⁶ Boardman, William E. *The Higher Christian Life*, Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1858, p. 51.

³⁷ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 164.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁴¹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Kadesh-Barnea or, the Power of a Surrendered Life*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, p. 7.

Chapman credited the Keswick conferences in England with teaching much about the Spirit to his mentor, Moody, to Chapman's colleagues and to himself.⁴² The Keswick tradition began in 1874 when William Boardman and Hannah Whitall Smith and her husband, Pearsall, organised a series of meetings in England to promote holiness and Bible study. These meetings expanded into a conference on holiness in the Lake District of England the following year. Keswick's teaching on holiness rejected the Methodist view of the possibility of an eradication of sin and also rejected, as too weak, the suppressing of one's sinful nature by Christ's righteousness.⁴³ As an alternative, a middle way called "counteraction" was taught at Keswick which suggested that when the Spirit fills a life with power, the person no longer has an inclination to sin, though an ability to sin remains. If the Spirit's presence were removed from one's life, the person would return to sin.⁴⁴ Hannah and Robert Smith shifted the emphasis from the Wesleyan purity of heart to that of an endowment of spiritual power for service.⁴⁵ Whitall's work, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1870), became one of the most influential books of the movement.⁴⁶ Faith was the key to keeping a believer's life in victory over sin and it was the Spirit who provided the power to do so.⁴⁷ By stressing a counteractive model of the Holy Spirit's work against sin, the Keswick tradition was able to retain its Reformed beliefs about man's fallen nature while assimilating the process of sanctification into a

⁴² J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody, Presented to the Christian World as a Tribute to the Memory of the Greatest Apostle of the Age*. Philadelphia: Universal Publishing Company, 1900, p. 216.

⁴³ John Charles Pollock and Ian Randall, *The Keswick Story: The Authorized History of the Keswick Convention*, Fort Washington, PA: CLC Publications, 2013, pp. 75-6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴⁵ Donald W. Dayton, "From Christian Perfection to the Baptism of the Holy Ghost" in Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, Jean Miller Schmidt (eds), *Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays*, Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1993, p. 295.

⁴⁶ David W. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England: The 1998 Didsbury Lectures*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000, pp. 76-77.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

higher life model. By replacing the terms "eradication" with "counteraction" and focusing on "fillings" instead of "baptisms" of the Spirit, Keswick offered concepts similar to Wesley's while retaining the notion that one is never without sin.⁴⁸

Chapman believed that Keswick's teaching, an unfolding process of sanctification as one "yielded his life to God" was the one that provided the best view for an understanding of the Spirit's work.⁴⁹ The movement, he wrote, rested on six principles for the achievement of the higher life.⁵⁰ The first stage was that of an immediate abandonment from "every known sin or hindrance to holy living." A renunciation of the "self-life" or a life that centres in self-indulgence, marked the second stage. The third step was to surrender one's will in loving and complete obedience to God. At that point, the fourth step occurred: "the infilling of the Holy Spirit" and the reception of a spiritual experience of power. The last two principles of Keswick's teachings were ones that involved a revelation about the daily presence of Christ in the believer's soul and the victory that led to "power over sin, passion for souls, conscious fellowship with God" and prevailing prayer and intercession.⁵¹ Although Chapman did not attend Keswick, he was indebted to its pneumatology and often declared that it was in the daily act of "surrendering to the Holy Ghost" that one was "kept from sin."⁵²

The successive stages of sanctification from Keswick, Chapman stated, influenced the teachers of Moody's Northfield Conferences, the American equivalent the

⁴⁸ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 78.

⁴⁹ Chapman, *And Judas Iscariot with Other Evangelistic Sermons*, Chicago: Winona Publishing Company, 1906, p. 161.

⁵⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Keswick Movement" *Life and Work of Dwight Moody*, pp. 216-17.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵² "The Revival Within the Church" *The Chapman-Alexander Campaign Book of Remembrance*, Sydney: Australian Christian World Printing and Publishing House, 1909, p. 13.

English movement.⁵³ These conferences, in his opinion, were of greater significance than others of the higher life movement, including Keswick, because Moody, whom Chapman considered a “genius” gave his full attention to the management of the events and the recruitment of world-renowned speakers.⁵⁴ Chapman’s teachings about the infilling of the Holy Spirit followed the Northfield model and his use of phrases from the conferences was noticeable by the last decade of the nineteenth century. Chapman’s reputation as a holiness teacher grew during this decade and, by 1899, one of his colleagues in ministry and at Northfield, John F. Carson, acknowledged Chapman’s influence and reputation in helping people receive infillings of the Spirit.⁵⁵ A few years after the founding of the Winona Lake Conference Center, a location that Chapman helped to create in 1894, Chapman shifted his teaching from Northfield to the new location. Winona became an extension of the teachings of Keswick and Northfield and became a popular site for Christian retreats and conferences in the first decade of the twentieth century under Chapman’s leadership. As Winona’s influence grew as a Bible conference equal to that of Northfield, Chapman became one of the chief propagators of Keswick teachings in the United States.⁵⁶

Although Chapman was dependent on holiness teaching and borrowed phrases and concepts from Wesley, Finney, Mahan, Palmer, Boardman and Smith, his experiential developments in relation to the Holy Spirit were indebted to Dwight L. Moody, Frederick Brotherton Meyer, S. H. Hadley (1842-1906) and John Hyde (1865-1912). By his own admission, there were no greater influences on Chapman’s

⁵³ J. Wilbur Chapman, “The Pre-Eminence of Northfield,” *Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. 217.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-20.

⁵⁵ John F. Carson, “The Filling with the Spirit,” *Northfield Echoes: Northfield Conference Address for 1899*, Volume 6, East Northfield: Northfield Echoes, 1899, pp. 295-303.

⁵⁶ “Winona,” *New York Observer* (New York), Volume 90, no. 16, 18 April 1912, p. 482.

pneumatology than those of his most important mentor, Dwight L. Moody, and Meyer, an important teacher at Keswick.⁵⁷ In 1894 Chapman dedicated his book *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* to these two men. Moody was an advocate of the need for a further experience of the Spirit if a Christian was to follow God faithfully and obtain power in his life. In 1871, after suffering from a form of spiritual depression, Moody was encouraged by two Free Methodist women to seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He prayed for this experience and when it occurred, he described it as a "filling" moment after four years of wrestling with God in a "cold state" of the heart.⁵⁸ In an instant, his selfish ambitions in preaching disappeared and he received a special power from the Spirit to do God's work. In his frequent messages on this secret power, Moody stressed that the key element that brought the Spirit's fulness upon a believer was the act of surrendering to God's will.⁵⁹ This action, though a simple step, was also a difficult matter, because it required giving up one's entire being to God in order to receive the power of the Spirit. Moody, Chapman believed, was the most Spirit-filled man he had ever known and he owed a debt for having learned the importance of the Holy Ghost's work in evangelism from him.⁶⁰

Meyer influenced Chapman by suggesting a new way of experiencing the power of the Holy Spirit. At one of Moody's Northfield conferences in 1892, Chapman met Meyer and asked him for his advice about the frustration he had experienced in performing Christian work. Meyer told him that he was expending energy, but he was not taking it in. He told Chapman that unless he breathed in the Holy Spirit as he would

⁵⁷ Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, title page.

⁵⁸ Dwight L. Moody, *Glad Tidings*, New York: E. B. Treat, 1876, pp. 471-2.

⁵⁹ Stanley N. Gundry, "Demythologizing Moody" in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr. Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London: T and T Clark International, 2005, p. 23.

⁶⁰ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody*, p. v.

air for his body, he would not be able to overcome his problem.⁶¹ It was a revelatory moment for Chapman to recognise his need for seeking the presence of God's Spirit. Chapman recognised Meyer as a kindred spirit and the two became friends. They shared a common influence in their early spiritual training from their mothers. Meyer's grandmother and mother were Quakers and he sometimes mentioned the experience of an inner witness to confirm the Spirit's work in one's life. In *The Call and Challenge of the Unseen* (1928), Meyer wrote, "Outward incidents combine with the inner light as the gleam of the lighthouse tallies with the readings of the chart in the captain's room."⁶² Chapman's first encounter with faith came from the same tradition. His mother sent him to a Quaker First Day School every Sunday morning before attending the Methodist church in the afternoon.⁶³ Quakers believed in a direct communion with God in quiet meditation and stillness. Chapman fondly remembered his mother sitting near her children, folding her hands and turning her face upward to sing a hymn.⁶⁴ His mother's Quaker image of pietism and devotion enabled Chapman to recognise the importance of a relationship with the Holy Spirit.⁶⁵

Meyer and Chapman shared an intense struggle about their conversions as young men and faced anxiety about their salvation until someone helped them attain a deep conviction about their souls. Meyer's anxiety was alleviated by the Baptist preacher, Charles Spurgeon (1834-1892). In a sermon which Meyer heard Spurgeon deliver, the famous preacher declared that what was important was not the date or the ability to

⁶¹ F.B. Meyer, *The Call and Challenge of the Unseen*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1928, pp. 66-7.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁶³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1911, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁵ Meyer, *The Call and Challenge*, p. 73.

remember the event of a new birth, it was, rather, that someone knew he was alive, even if his birthday had been forgotten.⁶⁶ Meyer, who could not remember a specific moment when his conversion took place, received Spurgeon's statement as an affirmation of his salvation and no longer worried about the eternal state of his soul. Chapman's friendship with Meyer was one of the closest he had and he considered Meyer "helpful and practical and the most intensely spiritual writer in the world."⁶⁷

Chapman credited Meyer as the man who taught him how to surrender his will to the Spirit. In 1891, when Chapman was a minister at the Wanamaker Church in Philadelphia, he became discouraged with his ministry and contemplated writing a letter of resignation. He believed that he would be more effective if he escaped to business life from the ministry. Chapman read Meyer's book *Israel: A Prince with God* (1891) and came upon the phrase, "If you are not willing to give up everything for Christ, are you willing to be made willing?"⁶⁸ After struggling with little spiritual power for five years, Meyer's words struck a chord in Chapman and he prayed, "My Father, I now claim from thee the infilling of the Holy Ghost."⁶⁹ From that moment onward, Chapman considered the act to be the time of his "baptism in the Spirit" and declared that doing God's will became the "origin, motive and gladness" of his life.⁷⁰ The experience initially troubled Chapman because it was "without emotion" but Meyer had indicated that emotions were not necessary for the process, since the precondition to receiving the "blessing" according to Meyer, was to long for and desire it, surrender whatever hinders, and when done, to

⁶⁶ Ian M. Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change: The Contribution of F.B. Myer (1847-1929)*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003, p. 5.

⁶⁷ J. Wilbur Chapman in F B Meyer, *Light for Life's Duties*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1895, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Frederick B. Meyer, *Israel: A Prince with God. The Story of Jacob Re-Told*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1891, p. 175.

⁶⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1894, p. 87.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

believe to have received it whether or not there was a resulting emotion.⁷¹ Meyer's statement had an impact on Chapman who taught the same process for reception of a spiritual baptism in his messages after that date.⁷² This event so impressed his life that he often issued a challenge to his audiences to seek the same experience saying,

We say that we believe in the Holy Ghost. If we really did, He would transform our living; he would reveal Christ to us so powerfully that we could accomplish marvelous things, and He would make the Bible so plain to us that even its hidden truths would become plain, and He would make service an ever increasing delight.⁷³

Chapman declared that the filling of the Holy Ghost was so powerful that it transformed every area of his life, eventually making him a true soul winner.⁷⁴ Like Meyer, Chapman cautioned against the temptation to idolise the Spirit and the danger of making an experience of the Holy Spirit, or indeed the Holy Spirit Himself, the object of a religious movement.⁷⁵ Meyer shaped Chapman's understanding of the Holy Spirit and became the first person to awaken within him a new experience of spiritual power.

Chapman believed that the power of the Holy Spirit was available to every believer and he encouraged people to receive it. In his book *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* (1894), he developed his epistemology for the reception of the Holy Spirit and divided the topic into four sections: "What Saith the Scripture?", "How May I know Him?", "How May I Receive Him?", and "What is the Result?" After systematically laying out his biblical support for the Spirit's empowerment of one's life, Chapman addressed the dilemma of why some people seem to have tremendous spiritual power, while others do

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 66.

⁷² Chapman, *The Personal Touch*, pp. 8-9.

⁷³ Chapman, sermon notes on "The Secret Power" 4 April 1915, p. 2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Box 4, reel 3.

⁷⁴ Chapman to Reuben A. Torrey, quoted in Aaron M. Hills, *Holiness and Power for the Church and the Ministry*, Cincinnati: Revivalist Office, 1897, pp. 337-8.

⁷⁵ F. B. Meyer, *The Call and Challenge*, p. 64.

not. He wrote that the common Christian is often confused about how the Spirit works because Satan is at work to keep us away from spiritual power. "Satan very well knows that so long as he can keep us in doubt, he has nothing to fear."⁷⁶ In order to receive an immediate filling of the Spirit, two conditions must be met: "first, making an unconditional surrender to him and, second, believing in his promise to receive him."⁷⁷

Chapman was usually careful to use precise language to affirm his conviction that the Holy Spirit was given at the time of conversion and did not need to be given a second time. When Christ commanded his disciples to tarry in Jerusalem until they were "endued with power from on high, the word translated "endued" he wrote, is elsewhere represented as "poured out."⁷⁸ The believers had already received the Spirit by their faith in Christ. The moment of Pentecost, for them, was a "filling of" or a "taking complete possession of" the Spirit rather than a new reception of the Holy Ghost.⁷⁹ "There were two views concerning the filling of the Spirit," Chapman wrote in *Secret Power* (1915):

the first [step] is that when we accept Christ we do not receive all that God meant that we should have. We halt, hesitate and stumble until we learn that there is what we call a second blessing. The second view is that when we receive Christ we receive, so far as God is concerned, all that makes for strength of Christian character and spiritual power, but alas, we do not appreciate it. I have always felt that the second view was the better and the more scriptural. Therefore, I hold to it, and am persuaded that in accepting Christ I have everything if I only appropriate and move forward in the strength of the appropriation.⁸⁰

Further, Chapman wrote, "to be filled with the Spirit is a far more scriptural expression than to be baptized with the Holy Ghost."⁸¹ "Every child of God," he wrote, "has received

⁷⁶ Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, p. 35.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸⁰ Chapman, sermon notes on "The Enduement with Power for Service or The Secret Power" (14 April 1914), Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, box 5, folder 1. pp. 2-3.

the baptism of the Spirit.⁸² Chapman concluded, “so, then, it is unscriptural for the Christian to be talking about the baptism of the Holy Ghost when he has already received it.”⁸³ Chapman was not averse to using the term “baptism” to interpret the appropriation of spiritual power, but he avoided identifying it as another baptism, because the Holy Spirit had already been received by a person at the moment of conversion.⁸⁴ The power could be lost because of immoral behaviour and it could be recovered when a Christian was filled with the Spirit again. He believed that “there is, therefore, one baptism, many fillings.”⁸⁵ Accordingly, Chapman’s understanding of the reception of the Spirit retained a Presbyterian stance, a vital component for him as a denominational pastor and leader.

Chapman’s position on this matter, however, was not always clear. While he attempted to be precise in his teaching that the believer received the Holy Spirit at the time of conversion and needed only infillings, his preaching sometimes referred to the experience in terms of a “baptism” or a “second blessing.” In 1898, for instance, *The New York Observer* reported Chapman speaking at a conference at Ocean City, New Jersey, where he freely used the term “baptism of the Holy Spirit” and spoke of a “second blessing.”⁸⁶ Chapman sprinkled these terms in his message as he described the two-fold blessing of receiving “the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world” and then receiving another blessing, a second blessing, which was distinct and separate as the Spirit came upon a follower of Christ.

⁸¹ Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, p. 73.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

⁸⁶ “Bible Study at Ocean City,” *The New York Observer* (New York), volume 76, no. 32, 11 August 1898, p. 182.

When it came to the matter of evangelism, “stirred hearts” combined with an affirmation of the truth of the Bible’s message, for Chapman, were a sign of the Spirit’s presence.⁸⁷ A sermon by Chapman once so greatly influenced a notable Philadelphia businessman that he decided to give his entire income to the church and to the work of *benevolence*. This man, described as an anonymous businessman, came to Chapman, fell on his knees and begged him to take his whole income in order for the preacher to carry on the work of the gospel.⁸⁸ This type of extraordinary evidence of the Spirit, to Chapman, was also reported at a campaign in Roanoke, Virginia, when persons who had been considered so unconvinced by arguments or persuasions of the need for faith, found themselves converted by the power of the presence of the Spirit. Chapman called this experience “Jesus of Nazareth passing by.”⁸⁹ Following Chapman’s preaching, usually highlighted by illustrations of heaven and hell, it was not unusual for his audience to experience what Chapman considered the conviction of God and to remain quietly in their seats. An observer at the Roanoke campaign reported in the *Roanoke Journal* that “there were those in the audience who asked for prayers, while others sat as though stunned.”⁹⁰ Chapman emphasised the Spirit’s ability to hush his audience by intentionally creating moments of quietness. In his campaign in Australia in 1906, while addressing ministers and their wives, Chapman purposefully ended the message with a quiet time. The *Australian Christian World Mission Special* reported that there was no “demonstration of emotion, no gale of spiritual passion, no sobs of broken-hearted return

⁸⁷ “Why Ministers Fail,” *The Homiletic Review*, Volume 59, no. 3, March 1910, p. 177.

⁸⁸ “Rich Man Gives Income to Church,” *Norfolk Landmark* (Norfolk, Virginia), 24 April 1908, Billy Graham Archives (clippings). Microfilm reel box 2, folder 4.

⁸⁹ *The Roanoke Journal* (Roanoke, Virginia), 15 November 1906. Billy Graham Archives (clippings), microfilm reel box 2, folder 4.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Billy Graham Archives, microfilm, box 2, reel, 2, folder 4.

to the soul's first love, only a calm and quiet moment when people were asked to raise their hands to be wholly dedicated to the Lord's service.⁹¹

As Chapman entered the twentieth century, his messages became more dramatic. Though he maintained the appearance of a non-sensational type of revivalism, times were changing and the public responded favourably to exhilarating events. Chapman's messages included more references to the battle of cosmic forces between the Spirit and the devil. It was the power of the Holy Ghost, he believed, which drove Satan out of towns. Caricatures of Chapman and his leadership team were drawn by newspaper cartoonists showing the devil fleeing from their presence.⁹² Some cartoons depicted the devil packing his bags or gathering up his belongings in a frantic attempt to get out of town before the power of Chapman's 'Holy Ghost campaign' took full effect.⁹³ Chapman, himself, supported this characterisation by stating to one newspaper at the start of the campaign, 'You can picture with good effect the devil planning to leave Des Moines'⁹⁴ Chapman's imagery of a spiritual battle encouraged people to make a decision for Christ and join God's work in the world. The Holy Spirit, he believed, granted one power to overcome all forces of evil and he was available to everyone who was willing to receive him.

⁹¹ 'Dr. Chapman among the Sydney Ministers', *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 17 June 1909.

⁹² *Des Moines News* (Des Moines), 5 December 1906, Chapman collection 77, Billy Graham Archives (clippings), microfilm, box 2, folder 2, reel 6.

⁹³ *Des Moines News* (Des Moines), 3 January 1907, Chapman collection 77, Billy Graham Archives (clippings), microfilm, box 2, folder 2, reel 6.

⁹⁴ *Des Moines News* (Des Moines), 5 December 1906, Chapman collection 77, Billy Graham Archives (clippings), microfilm box 2, folder 2, reel 6.

Chapman believed that "right living" would lead to "victorious dying"⁹⁵ This dying to self would promote a Spirit-filled life which would affirm the image of Christ and authenticate the work of the Holy Spirit in transformation.⁹⁶ Because of his experiences fighting sin in the 1909 Boston campaign and the 1910 Chicago campaign, in 1915 he wrote that a lifestyle of pretence was "sham" Christianity and said, "I hate sin; I despise inconsistency; I abhor hypocrisy"⁹⁷ What the world needed was to see what he called "real" Christianity, a vibrant and living faith in Christ, empowered by the Holy Ghost. Unfortunately, he declared, the reality for most of Christendom was that Christians pretended to be Spirit-filled. This was the reason for so many unconverted people. "Christians," he said, "settle for religious services rather than living honestly according to the precepts of Jesus."⁹⁸

While there is no mention of occurrences of irrational behaviour in Chapman's campaigns such as those often associated with encounters with the devil in historic revivals, it was understood that the power of the Spirit was necessary to engage the supernatural forces of darkness. The primary forms of emotional behaviour reported were the stirring of hearts, the weeping of those convicted of their sins and the stunned silence of the audience at the conclusion of the services. The Holy Spirit, Chapman said, was extending an invitation to people to "come" to Christ while the devil was counteracting his words with the call to "wait"⁹⁹ There was no time to wait, since the day of salvation, Chapman believed, had come. He considered the devil to be a liar whose

⁹⁵ "Side Lights on Evangelism" *Utica Herald-Dispatch* (New York), 22 March 1907, Billy Graham Archives (clippings), microfilm box 2, folder 2, reel 6.

⁹⁶ "The Evangelistic Church" *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 17 June 1909.

⁹⁷ Chapman's sermon, "On Evangelism" (Lima), 6 January 1915. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., microfilm, reel 4, box 5, folder 1.

⁹⁸ "Dr. Chapman's Daily Editorial to Chicagoans" *The Chicago American* (Chicago), 16 November 1910.

⁹⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Great Resister" in *Awakening Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1928, p. 36.

strategy was to trick Christians into believing that they could not demonstrate their faith with the same power as the heroes of faith in history.¹⁰⁰ Preachers, pastors, singers and campaign workers were to be prepared to live holy lives in order to engage the supernaturally dark forces which would attempt to block the work of conversion. The front page of *The Pawtucket Times* in 1907, for instance, reported that there was great anticipation of the work of the Holy Ghost and it was expected to come from all Chapman's workers who had joined the crusade to "drive out Satan."¹⁰¹ The emphasis of the campaigns between 1905 and 1907 indicated that the Chapman-Alexander crusades had come into town to conquer the forces of darkness.

A chief element of the holiness movement was its emphasis on social reform.¹⁰² To Chapman, there was no greater evidence of the power of the Holy Spirit than the conversion of Samuel Hopkins Hadley (1842-1906), the superintendent of the Old McAuley Water Street Mission in New York City. Hadley was homeless and addicted to drink. After converting to Christ, an immediate transformation took place that changed Hadley into the most famous reformer and revivalist of his time, except for Moody. Chapman, like Moody and other revivalists, found an example of social transformation in Hadley's life that became a paradigm for the life yielded to God's Spirit. Under Hadley's leadership, more than 75,000 committed to a reformed life at the McAuley Mission, most of those by making a decision to receive Christ. For Hadley, "conversion" meant the coming of the Holy Ghost into a person's life with the purpose of empowering the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰¹ "Women Evangelists Join Big Crusade to Drive out Satan" *Pawtucket Times* (Pawtucket, Rhode Island), 22 January 1907.

¹⁰² George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, p. 6.

individual to reform society.¹⁰³ It was Chapman's belief that Hadley shared the greatest likeness to Christ of any man who lived and he noted that Hadley's passion was to reform society by the conversion of souls and the filling of the Holy Ghost.¹⁰⁴

The most essential element in Chapman's pneumatology was his belief that the Holy Spirit was the primary cause of revivals and the one who sustained everything that took place within them. "The Spirit," Chapman wrote, "is the ever-present teacher in prayer; he is the guide into the deep things of God; he is the revealer of hidden mysteries."¹⁰⁵ In April 1911, Chapman recounted an experience that shaped his view on the Spirit's operations of power. John Hyde, an American missionary to India, visited Chapman's campaign in Shrewsbury, England. Having heard about the missionary and his successful work in India, and having been discouraged by the current lack of commitments to Christ, Chapman was grateful for Hyde's visit, since he believed that he might offer some advice. When the missionary first appeared at Chapman's evening meeting, Chapman believed that the atmosphere was changed by his presence. Sixty people came forward at Chapman's invitation to receive Christ and within five days he recalled that "people swept into the Kingdom by the hundreds."¹⁰⁶ The power of the Holy Spirit on Hyde's life was something Chapman desired to know. He invited the missionary to pray for him and his ministry, expecting Hyde to petition God with passionate pleas and powerful words on his behalf. Instead, Hyde put his arm around Chapman, waited five minutes in silence, then offered this short prayer, "O God, here is a

¹⁰³ J. Wilbur Chapman, *S. H. Hadley of Water Street: A Miracle of Grace*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1906, p. 220.

¹⁰⁴ "Samuel Hopkins Hadley," *The Christian Advocate*, Volume 81, no. 7, 15 February 1906, p. 213; Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, pp. 110-11.

¹⁰⁵ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁶ Chapman, "The Sin of a Prayerless Life" in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 90.

man who needs a blessing. He works very hard. Sometimes he feels very discouraged. Put thine arms of blessing around him and hold him.¹⁰⁷ Waiting five minutes more in silence, Hyde then rose from his knees and said "Goodbye" and walked away. That was the extent of Hyde's petition, but it was, for Chapman, a lesson that taught him that it was not the method of prayer, but the presence of Holy Spirit in prayer, which made the difference.¹⁰⁸

The Spirit was also, for Chapman, the power that sustained the lasting effects of revivalism. For a revival to be authentic, he believed that permanent good must follow his campaigns.¹⁰⁹ After Chapman's campaign in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1905, *The Morning Call* printed responses from local clergy who supported his work in the area, including a prominent rabbi, Abram Isaacs (1851-1920), a well-known author and professor. These spiritual leaders wrote that the key to evaluating the effectiveness of a campaign was to see what elements remained on a long-term basis and they were pleased with the moral good they observed during and following Chapman's campaign.¹¹⁰ J.B. Bushnell, pastor of the Westminster church in Minneapolis, provided an evaluation of Chapman's campaign in Minnesota in 1905 one year afterwards. Bushnell wrote,

the results of their labours here fully justified our best hopes. All our churches were greatly stimulated and large numbers were added to them. They left only the best impressions behind them and now one year later, I am not able to find any undesirable results or unhealthy conditions to be ascribed to them. The work was so sane, wise and good that we have felt no reaction but on the contrary a permanent increase of spiritual power.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 90-1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁰⁹ "Delegates from North Declare that Permanent Good Followed Revival," *Toronto News* (Toronto), 13 January 1911, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ "Responses," *Morning Call* (Newark, N.J.), 1 December 1905.

¹¹¹ "Message from Minneapolis," *Lafayette Journal* (Indiana), 23 October 1906, Billy Graham Archives, microfilm, box 2, reel 4, folder 1.

One of the many editorials of the *Lafayette Courier* exalted Chapman's work at the start of the same campaign to alleviate fears about the economic damage such an event might inflict on local businesses. The writer stated that wherever he visited, the saloons would be adversely affected and these were the source of the destruction of all classes of people.¹¹² Chapman believed that his campaigns produced lasting good in communities and he attributed the changes to the work of the Spirit.

When talking about the reception of the Holy Spirit or the experience of spiritual power, the greater issue, for Chapman, was not how it takes place, but why it occurs. The power of the Spirit in a person's life, he taught, depended on moral conditions. First, there are Christians who do not receive the Spirit's power because they do not follow the clear commands of Christ.¹¹³ Secondly, a person could live in a relationship with God, but never actually admit sins. Chapman made a distinction between living in disobedience and neglecting the act of confession. The one who ignored sin, Chapman believed, negated the possibility of spiritual power.¹¹⁴ In his chapter on "Grieving the Spirit" in the book *The Power of a Surrendered Life or Turning Back at Kadesh-Barnea* (1901), he wrote "You are the temple of God, and the Spirit dwelleth in you, so that if you want Him to fill you, the first thing to do is to get the temple clean"¹¹⁵ The Holy Spirit's power, he believed, was effective in changing the world for the better when a person chose to live in holiness.

¹¹² "Religious Awakening," *Lafayette Courier* (Indiana), 23 October 1906, Billy Graham Archives, microfilm box 2, reel 4, folder 1.

¹¹³ Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, p. 92.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-7.

¹¹⁵ Chapman, "Grieving the Spirit," *The Power of a Surrendered Life or Turning Back at Kadesh-Barnea*, Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1901, pp. 88-9.

The most essential conviction that a Christian needed was that of the assurance of salvation. Affirming that one was a child of God was the primary work of the Holy Ghost and the lack of it for a Christian was one of the most important indicators that the Holy Spirit had been grieved.¹¹⁶ The absence of the assurance of salvation paralysed a person's life and work. For Chapman, it was an issue that he had experienced personally prior to his first encounter with Moody. In an interview with M. A. Martin, a writer for *The Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1910, Chapman said, "To doubt one's salvation is serious; it robs us of peace, for we are not sure of his word; it deprives us of power, for we do not feel that we can claim the gift at his hands; it robs us of victory, for we do not know that he is near and this is always a real cause of failure."¹¹⁷ The most extreme case of this lack of assurance, for Christians whom Chapman encountered, was the fear that one had performed the unpardonable sin. There were many Christians who were crippled with the thought that they had committed the "sin that leads unto death" as mentioned in I John 5:16. Chapman declared that the sin unto death was the continual rejection of the Spirit's invitation to receive the gospel and "the constant, continual, and at last the final rejection of Jesus Christ"¹¹⁸ The devil sought to deceive people into believing that they had already committed this sin so that it would keep them away from Christ and isolate them from the work of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁹

By far the most important shift in holiness trends during Chapman's time was a move away from theology towards ethics.¹²⁰ Theology remained important to Chapman,

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 85-6.

¹¹⁷ *The Herald of Gospel Liberty, General Convention of the Christian Church*, Dayton: Christian Publishing Association, volume 102, 8 September 1910, p. 1136.

¹¹⁸ "The Unpardonable Sin" in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 161.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 150.

¹²⁰ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 177.

but the evidence of the Spirit's presence in every work was discerned by the lasting changes to society. Preaching a doctrine of holiness "which leads men into the clouds of mysticism and deceives them with a useless sentimentality," he wrote, "is not scriptural."¹²¹ Chapman believed that holiness could occur only when the scriptures were trusted as the words of the Spirit and he was convinced that there was an indissoluble connection between knowing the Bible and knowing the Holy Spirit. "It is our poverty of the knowledge of the Word of God," he said, "that makes us poor in our understanding of the Spirit."¹²² The Bible, Chapman believed, is the "sword of the Spirit."¹²³ It is the enacted power of the Spirit and the only weapon given by God to defeat evil and the devil. As the mind trusts in the word of God, the Holy Spirit grants the Christian power to "thrust" the sword into the devil to defeat him and his plans.¹²⁴ The connection between the scriptures and the Holy Spirit, according to Chapman, is so strong that the Spirit has stamped his approval on the Bible's last book when he says, "Amen, saith the Spirit."¹²⁵ These words, for Chapman, indicated that the Bible is the eternal word of the Spirit.¹²⁶ To deny the Bible is to deny the words of the Holy Ghost and, as a result, any transformation apart from it would prove ineffectual in creating permanent change in the world.

Although Chapman was considered a patient and gentle preacher, when it came to the work of the Holy Spirit and his consecrating power upon Christians, he had little tolerance for worldly entertainments and easy living. In 1917, Chapman wrote that the

¹²¹ Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, p. 63.

¹²² Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, p. 97.

¹²³ Chapman, "The Great Resister" in *Awakening Sermons*, p. 33-4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹²⁵ Revelation 14:13.

¹²⁶ Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, pp. 97-9.

rule that had governed his life was this: "Nothing that dims my vision of Christ, or takes away my taste for Bible study, or cramps me in my prayer life, or makes Christian work difficult, is wrong for me, and I must, as a Christian, turn away from it."¹²⁷ He viewed worldly entertainments as the enemy of the Spirit and a barrier to the higher life. Asked why there are certain people in the church who live in spiritual power, while there are others who lack such power, Chapman identified the problem as an unwillingness to consider the effects of right living. To live immorally, Chapman believed, was allowing one's self to "sow to the wind" of evil instead of the Spirit.¹²⁸ It was both an attitude of uncaring and a lack of resistance to guard against evil desires and habits which anaesthetised a Christian's life. Among the many factors which tempted people away from the Holy Ghost and into improper living were, for Chapman, most notably drinking, dancing and card playing. In his own words he said, "I never saw one really Spirit-filled, red-hot, passionate soul-winner who went to the theatre, or danced, or played cards."¹²⁹ Temperance, he believed, was a necessary precondition for the Spirit to initiate the next religious awakening in America and he said that "men may argue as they please against the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic, and may array themselves against local option, but the facts confronting us prove that communities are better in every way where licenses are not issued and where the sale of liquor is not permitted."¹³⁰ He hated the liquor traffic and often spoke words of "shame" on his audience if they did not view it as

¹²⁷ Chapman quoted in Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, p. 322.

¹²⁸ *The Times Dispatcher* (Richmond, Va.), 11 January 1909, Billy Graham Archives, microfilm, box 2, reel 4, folder 1.

¹²⁹ *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 22 June 1909.

¹³⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, pp. 53-4.

a detriment to the Spirit's work of sanctifying them.¹³¹ While Chapman acknowledged that dancing could be found in the Bible, he believed that in contemporary society, it always led to sin.¹³² Card playing was never innocent and its influence, he believed, led to the destruction of people's lives as much as drunkenness.¹³³ The theatre, he believed, was simply a distraction from the work that Christ had commissioned his church to do and speaking fondly of it could send a confusing message to people, leading others to believe that – even Vaudeville might contain a moral quality to it.¹³⁴ During the Chicago campaign of 1910, Chapman preached more than he had in the past about the meaningless forms of amusement, which offered little hope of promoting holy living.¹³⁵ He believed that the growing number of opportunities for entertainment was a distraction from the Spirit's work of sanctifying people's lives.

Chapman had little patience for ministers who failed to lead the members of their churches into holiness and he reasoned that it was because they neglected to give the Holy Spirit room to work.¹³⁶ If preachers would allow the Spirit to do the work of the ministry, he believed that they would experience tremendous success for their churches and the result would be numerous conversions. Further, this yielding to the Spirit would give the clergy an authentic –power to preach.¹³⁷ During Chapman's Chicago campaign in 1910, the *Inter-Ocean* newspaper reported that more than six thousand people

¹³¹ *The Portland Daily Press* (Maine), 24 January 1910. Billy Graham Archives, microfilm, box 2, reel 4, folder 1.

¹³² *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 23 June 1909.

¹³³ *Ninety-Sixth Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, New York: American Bible Society, 1912, p. 366; –A Remarkable Bible Conference, *The Christian Work and the Evangelist*, volume 81, no. 2067, 29 September 1906, p. 404

¹³⁴ *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 23 June 1909

¹³⁵ *The Inter-Ocean Sermon Supplement* (Chicago), 29 October 1910.

¹³⁶ –Dr. Chapman among the Sydney Ministers, in *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, 17 June 1909.

¹³⁷ Chapman, –The Victorious Life, *The Minister's Handicap*, p. 125.

observed the local clergy making a deeper commitment to yield their lives to the fulness of the Holy Spirit in order to bring humanity to the Saviour's throne¹³⁸ In every campaign, Chapman offered a moment for Christian ministers and church leaders to surrender their lives and ministries to the Spirit as they lay their all on God's altar a phrase directly linked to Palmer.¹³⁹ Chapman's emphasis on inspiring clergymen to seek a Spirit-filled life reinforced his influence on the public on matters of the Holy Ghost.

Chapman's identification with the holiness movement took a different path from that of the rising Pentecostal movements that appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century. They shared a common sense reading of the Bible, but the major difference between Chapman's pneumatology and that of the new movements was the view of a baptism in the Spirit. For Chapman and his closest colleagues in revivalism, the infilling of the Holy Ghost was necessary for spiritual power and usefulness. Pentecostals spoke of a baptism for purity.¹⁴⁰ Chapman and his colleagues viewed the Spirit's role as one to transform the world for the betterment of society. Pentecostalism, while borrowing the terms of the revivalistic holiness teachers, moved toward isolationism and sought ecstatic experiences like speaking in tongues as a sign of the Spirit's baptism. Chapman's teachings on the Holy Spirit to the end of his life in 1918 remained similar to those of Moody and Meyer and the influence of Keswick.

Chapman's contribution to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pneumatology was that he affirmed the trajectory of Wesley's dependence on the Holy Ghost and believed that evangelism could only be accomplished by the Spirit's power. Like

¹³⁸ *The Inter-Ocean Sermon Supplement* (Chicago), 29 October 1910.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 2.

Wesley, he believed that the moment of conversion should lead one to live a holy life, but he was not Arminian in his theology and so, unlike Wesley, he differed on the extent to which a person could be sanctified before death. Similarly to Finney, Chapman believed in the necessity of an infilling of the Spirit in order for one to live in the fulness of the spiritual life. Chapman adopted Mahan's concept of the "baptism of the Holy Ghost" and encouraged people to seek that experience. Shaped by Keswick and Northfield, Chapman's Winona conferences promoted holiness teachings on the issue of the infilling presence, power and work of the Holy Spirit. Hyde taught Chapman the power of prayer as the vehicle for the Spirit's interaction with a believer. Influenced by Moody and Meyer, Chapman claimed that a life fully yielded to God would "doubtless" be evidenced by a "manifestation" of the Spirit, whether it was a great act or as small as "a little drop of water"¹⁴¹ The request for the Spirit's filling required a man to be intentional in yielding his life in order to receive it, but if an infilling of the Spirit was desired and sought after, he believed that the life of spiritual power was available to every Christian.

Chapman's messages about surrendering one's life to the Holy Spirit in order to receive spiritual power and perform effective work for God's kingdom were widely distributed. He encouraged people to seek the blessing that came from the Holy Spirit, because he believed that without the Spirit's power, it was impossible to accomplish anything powerful or permanent.¹⁴² Chapman's ideas on the work of the Holy Ghost reinforced pneumatological terms that he and his revivalist colleagues had emphasised as a major component of the Spirit's work. He encouraged people to transform society by the Spirit's power at a time when Pentecostals were shifting from social reform to an

¹⁴¹ John Wilbur Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?*, pp. 76-7.

¹⁴² Sermon notes on "The Enduement with Power for Service" (14 April 1914), p. 5.

inwardly-focused faith. His teachings on the Holy Spirit were popularised in his sermons, publications and his well-received book *Have Ye Received the Holy Ghost?*. Chapman became one of the most recognised teachers of holiness during the first and second decades of the twentieth century and his efforts propagated the understanding of the Holy Spirit at a time when pneumatological views were experiencing radical transformation. One of the earliest recollections of Chapman following his death in 1919 was that he had been "The Evangelist of the Spirit"¹⁴³

Although well-known and respected for his ability to teach on pneumatological concepts, J. Wilbur Chapman's legacy as a holiness teacher did not last long. The cause for the lack of remembrance in teachings on the Holy Ghost is that Chapman developed and expanded material from others rather than introducing new ideas. Boardman and Pearsall are remembered because they stood at the forefront of movements. Keswick was known for its ability to help people of the Reformed faith understand matters of the Spirit's work in their lives. Northfield's conferences were attached to Moody's name. Meyer's understanding of the Spirit inspired others to deepen their experience with God and he was prolific in his writings on the subject. Chapman should be remembered for being an influential figure who shaped the lives of Christians in his day, but his work was not on the forefront of new teachings on the Spirit so he did not secure a lasting place for himself among history's holiness teachers.

¹⁴³ "J. Wilbur Chapman: The Evangelist of the Spirit" *The Journal and Messenger: The Central National Baptist Paper*, Volume 88, no. 1, 2 January 1919, p. 2.

Chapter Seven

Evangelism

By the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Benjamin Fay Mills (1857-1916), Reuben Archer Torrey (1856-1928) and J. Wilbur Chapman were generally perceived to have been the most notable recent evangelists in America.¹ All three were disciples of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899). Mills left Evangelical Christianity for Unitarianism in 1897, even though many church leaders had suspected his departure from orthodox Christianity several months earlier.² Torrey, the most famous disciple of Moody, devoted much of his time and attention to his work as superintendent of Moody's Bible Institute from 1889. He continued sporadic evangelistic campaigns in the years that followed, but by 1907, Torrey's focus was on increasing educational opportunities, both within the Institute and, in 1912, a new venture, the formation of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA). Chapman, however, left the parish ministry in 1903 and gave his full-time attention to evangelistic work. In 1907, when he joined with Torrey's former song leader, Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920), Chapman's fame spread. Within a few years, many viewed him as the man upon whom Moody's mantle rested.³ The crucial problem, for Chapman, as it had been for revivalists before him, was how to adapt to the phenomenon of the modern city in his evangelistic campaigns. As the leading revivalist of the first and second decades of the

¹ "Revivals of Religion," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, Volume X, 1911, p. 16. "In the World of Society," *The Index* (Pittsburgh), Volume XX, no. 12, 20 March 1909, p. 14.

² "B Fay Mills and the Unitarians," *The Literary Digest*, Volume XV, no. 14, 31 July, 1897, p. 408.

³ "D.L. Moody's World-Wide Influence," *The Christian Worker's Magazine* (Chicago), Volume XVI, no. 6, February 1916, p. 436.

twentieth century, what were his techniques and how did he adapt them to the changing world?

There has been much analysis on the subject of evangelism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Previously, Chapman's contributions have been examined largely for his relationship to well-known figures like Moody and Torrey. Reviews of Chapman's campaigns often focused on specific locations rather than his total work overall. Historians like Eric Crouse in *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada 1884-1914* (2005), Margaret's Lamberts Bendroth in *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston Churches, 1885-1950* (2005) and Thekla Ellen Joiner in *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880-1920* (2007) have investigated Chapman's revivals, but as one part of the work of many evangelists in particular locations. This chapter will consider a more comprehensive view of Chapman's evangelistic work by looking at his major campaigns, strategies and techniques in order to analyse the factors that contributed to his success as an evangelist.

Chapman's first efforts at evangelism took place during his college and seminary years.⁴ Partnering with Benjamin Fay Mills, a college friend, preacher and evangelist, Chapman observed and learned Mills's techniques and acquired the necessary tools to conduct evangelistic campaigns. He recognised the genius of Mills's ability for organisation and his talent for captivating crowds.⁵ Mills depended heavily on the use of Ira D. Sankey's (1840-1908) gospel hymns, the same hymns that Chapman found most effective for his work as an evangelist. Mills emphasised the power of prayer in his campaigns and used prayer cards to help a person make a decision for Christ. The prayer

⁴ Cf. chapter five on Mills and Chapman.

⁵ "An Effort to Win B. Fay Mills's *The Pacific*, San Francisco, 16 February 1905, pp. 6-7.

cards were small note cards that were handed out by Mills's volunteers to each person in attendance who stood during the invitation to dedicate one's life to Christ. The new convert was invited into an inquiry room to sign the line at the bottom of the card, promising to do one or more of the following steps for spiritual growth: set aside ten minutes every day for Bible study and prayer, establish and maintain a family altar, attend regular mid-week prayer services, visit the sick, give to the church for the Lord's work, lead one soul to Christ every year, attend church, take a teacher's training course, help children learn their Sunday school lessons and confess Christ publicly at every opportunity.⁶ Mills instructed his volunteers to distribute the signed cards to local congregations after each campaign, so that church leaders and ministers could contact each person to offer an opportunity to join a church, a method that Chapman refined in his later campaigns. Mills's crusades were heavily predisposed toward activism, and, by the early 1890s, he focused on social responsibility and action in addition to individual reform, a characteristic replicated in Chapman's campaigns during the span of his career.⁷ In 1892, Chapman assisted Mills in his Cincinnati-Covington, Ohio, and Minneapolis campaigns. Mills divided the towns into sections to organize the work among church volunteers, another system that Chapman adopted for his campaigns.⁸ Chapman's initial responsibilities were relegated to that of an assistant speaker, but his reputation grew. As early as 1890, Chapman was considered a quasi-equal evangelist to the "successful

⁶ Mills's prayer card in William Biederwolf, *Evangelism, Its Justification, Its Operation and Its Value*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1921, p. 144.

⁷ Elia Peattie, "The Work of the Worker: Qualities in Evangelist Mills That Gave Him Success in Soul Winning" 15 December 1892 in Susanne George Bloomfield (ed.) *Impertinences: Selected Writings of Elia Peattie, a Journalist in the Gilded Age*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2005, pp. 141-2.

⁸ *Mills Meetings Memorial Volume: An Account of the Great Revival in Cincinnati and Covington, January 21st to March 6th, 1892*, Vineland, NJ: Standard Publishing Company, 1892.

Mills.⁹ In 1893 Mills came under the influence of George D. Herron (1862-1925), a leading exponent of the social gospel movement. He became convinced of the effectiveness of Christian socialism and affiliated with the Unitarian church. Formally leaving Evangelicalism in 1897, he turned his focus away from soul-winning and toward a message of repentance by the elites for their "business selfishness."¹⁰ Mills, who once was assumed to be Moody's successor in evangelism, found that his reputation had suffered enormous damage after his departure from historic Christianity. Although he returned to the Evangelical camp in 1915 due to the efforts of Chapman, Mills was unable to regain his former status as an evangelist in the years that followed.

After the Mills campaigns, Chapman was invited to participate in Moody's evangelistic meetings at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago. Chapman accepted the invitation, but was not on the list of speakers until mid-September.¹¹ For six months, Moody preached to an audience of three thousand people every Sunday morning at the Haymarket Theatre. Chapman observed the great evangelist and was offered the opportunity to preach on five occasions. Although his speaking engagements were few, Chapman was considered one of the more popular speakers and viewed as an integral part of Moody's inner circle.¹² Moody's mentorship of Chapman continued for the next few years until Moody's death in 1899.¹³

From 1893 to 1895, Chapman conducted campaigns in small cities around the country and attended several conventions of evangelistic societies. In 1894, he conducted

⁹ "Noted Preachers," *The Treasury* (New York), Volume VIII, no. 4, August 1890, p. 239.

¹⁰ "Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills," *The Social Gospel* (Commonwealth, GA), Volume I, no. 7, August 1898, p. 12.

¹¹ "The Chicago Evangelistic Movement," *The Interior* (Chicago), 14 September 1893, volume 24, no. 1216, p. 24.

¹² Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman: A Biography*. Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920, p. 97.

¹³ Cf. Chapter three on Moody's relationship to Chapman.

a series of revival meetings in Burlington, Vermont. The numbers of attenders were impressive, but small compared to Moody's and Mills's campaigns. People were added to the membership of local congregations. The principle of Chapman's method was to create a heightened atmosphere of revival in the church and one of the congregations, First Church, adopted his paradigm for its leadership meetings and ministries.¹⁴ Chapman's adaptation of evangelistic work to churches made it convenient for congregations to embrace his approach. The emphasis on an evangelistic spirit for church ministry he had learned from Moody, who encouraged him to keep revivalism as the target of pastoral work.¹⁵ In 1899, while serving at the Bethany Church, Chapman attended the evangelistic convention of the Christian Endeavor, a society formed in 1881 to encourage youth to accept Christ and work in Christian service. The meeting was held in Philadelphia and his message was "Loyalty to Duty" encouraging Christian workers to remain faithful to their responsibility of evangelising the world.¹⁶ Chapman believed that revivalism was the important focus of all church work and the responsibility of each Christian.

Evangelism, to Chapman, was never simply a matter of saving souls. It was also about the betterment of society. His ministry occurred during the Progressive Era (1890-1920) and the degree to which welfare groups interacted with one another during this time indicates that social reform was a significant movement.¹⁷ The problems of society were numerous. Unemployment, caused by urbanisation and complicated by periodic

¹⁴ "The Signs of New Ideas" *World Wide Endeavor: The Story of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor from the Beginning and in all Lands*, Volume 57, no. 642, 1895, pp. 354-5.

¹⁵ Cf. chapter three for a discussion on Moody's influence.

¹⁶ "The Philadelphia Convention" *World Wide Endeavor: The Story of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor from the Beginning and in all Lands*, Volume 57, no. 642, pp. 278-9.

¹⁷ Norris Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920*, Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1977, p. v.

recessions in the economy, created a large group of indigent people. Criminal activity, including robbery and prostitution, were on the rise. The poor lacked skills necessary to obtain jobs. The Salvation Army and other welfare agencies attempted to curb the rising numbers of the less fortunate, but attitudes toward the underprivileged became increasingly negative. Evangelicals had to remind the public that the majority of homeless people would work if they were given an opportunity.¹⁸ In matters of alcoholism, a factor that many deemed to be a destructive force upon men and families, the work of Christian evangelists was to preach the gospel while providing practical means of help like shelters and work. Frances Willard (1839-1898), president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and a former colleague of Moody's, worked with both liberals and conservatives to end liquor licences. Chapman had worked with Willard in the Christian Alliance, a group that was formed in 1887 after A.B. Simpson (1843-1919), a Presbyterian minister, called together Evangelical leaders to promote home and foreign missions as early as 1884.¹⁹ The Alliance's motto was, "of all those in all the world who hold in unison the faith of God and the gospel of full salvation"²⁰ The term "full" meant that an individual's soul was not the sole focus of Christian work. The objective for evangelism was to bring about a transformation of the entire society on issues of holiness, unemployment, temperance and aid to the poor, the same concerns that were featured in Chapman's campaigns.

Like Moody, Chapman believed that each campaign's outcome needed to reach the underprivileged as much as it needed to reach other classes. Chapman had admired

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁹ J. Michael Utzinger, *Yet Saints Their Watch Are Keeping: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and the Development of Evangelical Ecclesiology, 1887-1937*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2006, pp. 62-3.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 63.

Moody's attention to the poor and the evidence that Chapman emulated his mentor can be seen in the crusades with Mills and afterward. In 1903, he wrote, "It is the hope and dream of my life that the last years of my evangelistic experience may be devoted to preaching to the poor."²¹ Unlike Moody, however, Chapman believed that the way to accomplish this was to permeate his campaigns with evangelistic work that would have a more permanent effect than that of a swift visit of a famous evangelist. Both Moody and Chapman involved pastors and congregations in their campaign, but Chapman, due to his concern for social welfare, placed the church leaders at the forefront and encouraged them to continue the work of social services and revivalism without interruption after the completion of the campaign. Critical to this method was Chapman's instruction that the Sunday evening services, times that were normally dedicated to focus on evangelism, were the responsibility of each congregation during and following each campaign.²² Chapman believed that the continued efforts of evangelism rested on the church leaders.

The success of Chapman's initial campaigns and his increasing respectability as an evangelist who guided church leaders in revivalism provided him with an opportunity to leave congregational ministry and seek full-time evangelistic work. In 1900, John Converse, a former benefactor to the Moody and Torrey campaigns, proposed a new committee for the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.²³ This new venture, the General Assembly's Committee on Evangelism, was a reorganization of the old evangelistic committee and it provided for more oversight and more control over the

²¹ Chapman to John Converse, 24 January 1908, J. Wilbur Chapman records, box 1, folder 4, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

²² J. Wilbur Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1903, p. 231.

²³ *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Proceedings, Etc., of the 114th General Assembly*, 1901, New Series, Volume I, no. 1, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1902, pp. 170-171.

work of evangelists. Converse had enormous influence in the denomination, having served as the General Assembly's Vice-Moderator in 1900, chairman of the Business Committee of the Board of Publication, a board member of Princeton Theological Seminary and a board member of the denomination's then current evangelism committee and having been a generous contributor to the work of the Presbyterian Church.²⁴ Responding favourably to Converse's recommendations, the denomination approved the new committee in 1901 and, in 1902, hired Chapman to become its Corresponding Secretary.²⁵ The new position freed Chapman from the demands of congregational ministry and allowed him to focus his attention solely on evangelism. For the next twelve years, he directed the activities more than fifty evangelists around the nation.²⁶

The greatest asset to Chapman's revivalism was his partnership from 1907 with song leader Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920).²⁷ Scott Sterling Hobbs, in his doctoral thesis on Chapman notes correctly that without Alexander, Chapman would not have been as significant as he was as an evangelist.²⁸ Alexander was a showman who had a penchant for stirring up crowds. Known to his audiences as "Charlie" he told stories and jokes instead of prayers like song leaders before him. He was a master of ceremonies and used clever techniques to get everyone singing. Sometimes he pitted the choir against the attenders. Once the choir sang their hymn, he asked whether the crowd could do better and then made them sing the same song in return. On other occasions, he challenged

²⁴ Cf. chapter two for a description of John Converse's influence on Chapman.

²⁵ *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Proceedings, Etc., of the 114th General Assembly, 1902, New Series, Volume II, no. 2, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1902, p. 34.*

²⁶ Cf. Chapter four for a description of Chapman's denominational work.

²⁷ Cf. chapter 4 for Alexander and Chapman.

²⁸ Scott Sterling Hobbs, "The Contributions of J. Wilbur Chapman to American Evangelism" Ph.D. Thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, UMI microform 9805569, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1997, p. 145-151.

people in the audience to compete with each another and after one section sang, he said, "Good for you! Now you quality folks in the balcony, let us hear from you."²⁹ As soon as they finished their song, he said, "Now aren't you folks on the floor ashamed of yourself?"³⁰ His method was entertainment and he had the ability to draw people to the Chapman campaign. Not everyone appreciated his antics or his style. William McLoughlin noted that the evangelist Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928), Alexander's previous partner, complained that Alexander enjoyed the spotlight and used a publicity agent to help his career.³¹ His songs, almost identical to the style of Ira Sankey, Moody's song leader, were less pietistic and more contemporary than Sankey's so they appealed to rising vaudeville style of the day. His criteria for selecting hymns at a campaign were that "songs must be easy to learn; there must be a simple, easy, flowing melody, and a small range, not much over an octave, and a picture in every line of every verse. The words must be simple, but full of faith, hope and promise."³² Alexander's responsibility was to warm up the crowds to receive Chapman's words and to enable each person to experience a feeling of participation in the Chapman-Alexander campaign. His ability to prepare the crowds for the preacher's messages helped the evangelist make a deeper impression upon people and without him, it is likely that Chapman would not have attained the reputation he held as the greatest evangelist of his time.

Assistant song leaders were equally essential to the success of each campaign.

Before 1907, Chapman used a group of song leaders who were adequate for the crusades,

²⁹ "Boston Repenting," *The Literary Digest*, Volume 38, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 27 February 1909, p. 338.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, p. 376.

³² Charles M. Alexander in Helen C. Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, *A Romance of Song and Soul Winning: Charles M. Alexander*, Murfreesboro, TN: Sword of the Lord, 1920, p. 63.

but were not prominent in their field. After 1907, with the acquisition of Alexander's services, the Chapman-Alexander team included a wide range of talented song leaders, musicians and gospel hymn writers. Alexander brought to the team the legendary pianist and songwriter Robert Harkness (1880-1961), a prolific artist who wrote over 2,000 hymns during his lifetime. He also acquired the services of a gifted young trombone player named Homer Rodeheaver (1880-1955).³³ Rodeheaver paired up with Billy Sunday in 1909 and in 1913 he subsidised the music school at Chapman's Winona Lake Bible Conference.³⁴ Chapman recognised Alexander's skill for finding capable musicians and the contributions of Alexander's assistants projected Chapman's work into fame.

Between 1904 and 1912, Chapman focused his efforts on the simultaneous method of evangelism. He was eager to maximise the potential to reach as many people as possible in one campaign.³⁵ The simultaneous method divided towns into sections to extend the opportunity for people to participate in the city-wide crusade. Mills, Chapman's partner in previous campaigns, had created divisions in the cities in their earlier efforts, but this was to support the advertisement of a central event. Chapman decentralised the strategy and assigned an evangelist and song leader to each section so that all the events could occur at the same time. Every meeting was in accord with the central services conducted by Chapman and Alexander and each one used the same texts of the Bible, similar songs and messages on the same theme of repentance. During his 1904 campaign in Atlanta, Georgia, Chapman divided the city into nine districts and carefully selected evangelists to preach messages to attenders. At noon each day following, the

³³ Billy Graham Archives, Collection 77, John Wilbur Chapman, "Partial list of Chapman's Associates"

³⁴ Al Disbro, *Winona Lake*, Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012, pp. 81-100.

³⁵ Cf. Chapter two for the influences of John H. Converse and John Wanamaker on Chapman.

workers reported the previous evening's activities and received instruction from Chapman for the next effort of that evening. Costing less than five thousand dollars for the whole endeavour, this first simultaneous event became a paradigm for the more complicated campaigns that followed.³⁶

Although the simultaneous method of evangelism did not originate with Chapman, he was the one who developed it.³⁷ Originally, the idea appeared in 1903 when G. W. Munhall and Dean Gray of Moody Bible Institute invited Chapman to join them to conduct an evangelistic outreach in Pittsburgh. During their planning stage the thought came to them that if three evangelists could conduct three meetings, what could more evangelists do? By the time the plan was implemented in the spring of 1904, nineteen evangelists at nineteen centres conducted simultaneous meetings and Pittsburgh was 'struck like a tornado'³⁸ The simultaneous method of evangelism, refined by Chapman, proved to be a successful strategy to reach larger crowds at one time by utilising a greater number of volunteers at key locations in the city.

Chapman's initial trial of the simultaneous method on a larger scale took place from 12 March to 19 April 1908 in Philadelphia. He mapped out forty-two simultaneous centres around the city and for three weeks, twenty-one pairs of evangelists worked in half of the town. After this time, the evangelists, along with their choirs, changed districts and conducted daily campaigns in the second half of the city for three additional weeks. Chapman and Alexander conducted their centralised services at the Bethany Church during the first half of the campaign and then conducted the services at Russell H.

³⁶ 'Presbyterian Evangelism' *The Westminster*, (Philadelphia), 19 October 1907, Volume 32, no. 42, p. 12.

³⁷ 'The Simultaneous Campaign' *Collier's The National Weekly* (New York), Volume 50, no. 19, 6 February 1913, p. 15.

³⁸ 'The Reviver of Revivalism' in *Colliers, The National Weekly* (New York), Volume 50, no. 19, 6 February 1913, p. 15.

Conwell's Baptist Temple during the latter half. Members of several denominations from over four hundred churches participated in this effort, including the Lutherans, Moravians, Mennonites and Schwenkfelder congregations. Attendance was estimated at thirty-five thousand people per night for the campaign and the total expense amounted to over thirty-thousand dollars.³⁹ Philadelphia's total attendance at this campaign reached 1,470,000 and surpassed Moody's crusade of the same city in 1875-6 with an attendance of 1,050,000.

During the Philadelphia campaign, Chapman added two special and well-known features to the method. The first was the use of note cards which provided directions on how a convert could follow up on his initial commitment by submitting a written pledge of discipleship to the main evangelist. Those who attended a meeting led by another evangelist and responded to a call to receive Christ were given a "Special Card of Invitation" with instructions about attending a service presided over by Chapman later in the week, a crucial innovation to retain the evangelist's personal attention to people that could be lost in the simultaneous method. These cards were presented to Chapman at the special service for the newly converted or re-committed. The message dedicated to these services was intentionally focused on the subject, "May I know if I have been converted?"⁴⁰ Assurance of one's salvation was important to Chapman, who had needed to be convinced of his own faith by Moody during his years in college.⁴¹ The inquiry room was the second feature. Chapman borrowed this method from his mentor, Moody. The inquiry room offered a person inquiring about his faith an opportunity for personal contact with a campaign worker. It provided a chance for the unconverted to enquire

³⁹ "Philadelphia" *The Westminster* (Philadelphia), 13 June 1908, Volume 33, no. 24, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Billy Graham Archives, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Box 2, File 1.

⁴¹ Cf. chapter three for Moody and Chapman.

about the Christian faith, ask for prayer and/or receive assurance of salvation. The campaign worker's goal was to help the person trust in God and commit one's life to Jesus Christ. Chapman considered these two methods as primary elements in conducting a simultaneous campaign.⁴²

In May 1908, a group of men in the Evangelical Alliance in Boston under the direction of Arcturus Z. Conrad, the well-known minister of Boston's Park Street Church, wrote to Chapman and requested his consideration for a campaign in Boston.⁴³

Convinced of the effectiveness of Chapman's simultaneous campaigns, the committee was eager to obtain his services. Chapman, however, was reluctant to schedule a crusade in Boston and had refused to conduct an earlier campaign in January 1905 because of the lack of cordial sentiment among the churches.⁴⁴ Further, he was unconvinced of Boston's readiness for such a campaign since the city had become noted for its Roman Catholic and Unitarian influences. Chapman composed a letter to his brother, Edwin G. Chapman (1861-1938), a successful businessman and associate of his campaigns, requesting him to travel to Boston in order to determine if the attitude of the Boston pastors was amenable for such an endeavour.⁴⁵ Eddie, as Chapman referred to him, had been a support to the evangelist in the past.⁴⁶ During Chapman's college days, Eddie had worked as a bank teller and, from his salary, often provided much-needed funds for

⁴² "First Steps in Evangelism," *The Homiletic Review: An International Monthly Magazine of Current Religious Thought, Sermonic Literature and Discussion of Practical Issues*, New York, Volume 47, January 1904, p. 63.

⁴³ Arcturus Z. Conrad, *Boston's Awakening: A Complete Account of the Great Boston Revival Under the Leadership of J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander, January 26th to February 21st, 1909*, Boston: Tremont Temple, 1909, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁴ "Event and Comment," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 7 October 1905, Boston: The Pilgrim Press, Volume 90, no. 40, p. 471.

⁴⁵ Conrad, *Boston's Awakening*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ "Dr Chapman's Brother, the Man Behind the Scenes," *Inter-Ocean*, (no date) 1909, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

Wilbur to continue his studies. In 1904, Eddie left his career in the milling industry and became Chapman's chief administrator. He returned to business as the secretary-treasurer of the Belt Line Brick Company following the evangelist's death in 1918.⁴⁷ When Eddie returned from Boston with a favourable report, Chapman agreed to visit the city to see if the time was ripe for such an event.

The decision to make Boston a priority for the Chapman-Alexander campaign schedule was reached after Chapman visited the city's leaders and recognised their commitment to such an endeavour. He conducted an initial meeting with three hundred and seventy clergy and laymen and then scheduled two additional meetings during the six months that followed. By the end of the preparatory period, three hundred and seventy clergy and laymen had signed a formal invitation to secure Chapman's leadership and had given him full control over the selection of all the evangelists.⁴⁸ Chapman now had complete oversight of his efforts, but knew that if he was to succeed in the city, he would need to receive a similar commitment from a variety of denominations and churches, especially Unitarian and Roman Catholic congregations since they had a strong representation in Boston. The religious community was quick to respond. Unitarian, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Swedish Baptist and Adventist congregations signed up to participate in the events of the campaign. The Unitarians, as Margaret Lamberts Bendroth noted, applauded the strong ethical tone of Chapman's messages.⁴⁹ Surprisingly, Chapman's efforts to incorporate a variety of religious supporters included even the Jewish community. After one of the synagogues, Temple Israel, was addressed

⁴⁷ *Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 15, no. 2, February, 1938, p. 44.

⁴⁸ Conrad, *Boston's Awakening*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston's Churches, 1885-1950*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 131; "Revivals and Civic Cleansing" *Congregationalist and Christian World*, (March 1909), no. 6, p. 301.

by a representative of the Chapman-Alexander campaign, Jewish leaders acknowledged the good that would come from the social work, but did not dedicate themselves to active participation.⁵⁰ Chapman's ability to reach out to a large spectrum of churches, including non-Evangelical and non-Christian congregations, indicates the respect he received from religious communities and an understanding that the campaign was an effort to fight the social ills of the day rather than only an attempt to convert Bostonians to a particular belief system.

Convinced of the dedication of the religious leaders and, now, congregations, Chapman sent Ralph C. Norton (1868-1920), his overseer of personal work, to aid E. G. Chapman in the organisation of the event. Typical of Chapman's previous models for campaigns, seven committees were established: the Boston Evangelistic Campaign Committee, the Executive Committee of Twenty Five, and committees responsible for finances, buildings, music, entertainment and personal work and ushers.⁵¹ Donations were received from local congregations to meet the goal of raising sixteen thousand dollars to pay for the expenses of the twenty-five centres established for the simultaneous mission. It was decided that the evangelists would be paid from the collection of offerings during the last three days of the event. When the Chapman-Alexander team agreed to accept its share of whatever amount was received from this collection the logistics for the campaign were complete.⁵²

Aware of Boston's strong religious sentiments, especially that of Roman Catholicism, Chapman wrote an article for the front page of *The Boston Globe* on the day before the start of the campaign and stated that it was not his intent to divide the religious

⁵⁰ Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City*, p. 128.

⁵¹ Conrad, *Boston's Awakening*, p. 21.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.

organisations of the city, but that he would ask everyone to support the work of ridding Boston of sin.⁵³ To Chapman, and to those who invited him to come, Boston's religious community had suffered from years of low numbers in church attendance. People had become complacent and had turned to "pleasure, the passion for power, and spiritual inertia"⁵⁴ The Chapman-Alexander campaign of 1909 was permeated with a strong theme of civic responsibility. This was a characteristic emphasis of Chapman during most of his campaigns and it identified a difference between him and Moody. Whereas Moody preached the cross and repentance from sin, Chapman's call for sinners to come forward to receive Christ focused on pledging to live a Christian life. He desired to combine the concerns of an inward spirituality with an outward social action. The gospel, he believed, had the power to bring about inward and outward change if one received Christ. For this reason, he invited all people, whether they were Jew or Gentile, atheist or Christian, socialist or single taxer, Republican or Democrat, high tariff or low tariff, believed in the eight-hour work-day or not or believed in the "merry widow hats or rights of men" to join him in discussing the relevant issues of the day as a central theme in his Boston campaign.⁵⁵

One of the main concerns in Boston was about the increasing crisis of unemployment and the rights of the workers. Prior to 1909, Boston had experienced growing expenditure by the city government and costs that had become out of control. A new charter had just been enacted before Chapman's arrival which limited the mayor's term to four years and ensured that the City's minutes and records were published on a

⁵³ "Spirituality for Coming Campaign" *The Boston Globe*, 26 January 1909, p. 1. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁵⁴ Conrad, *Boston's Awakening*, p. 15.

⁵⁵ Conrad, *Boston's Awakening*, p. 170.

weekly basis.⁵⁶ It was a season of mistrust and this new charter offered reform-minded civic organisations access to city hall. Politicians quickly realised that they could succeed by employing the language of progressive reform to their constituents. Both labour and management viewed Chapman as an advocate who could plead to heaven for a solution to the crisis and they treated him respectfully, while gently pushing their agendas on to his campaign.⁵⁷ Chapman believed that a man could be successful in business and be a Christian at the same time.⁵⁸ When approached by a labour activist in February with a set of demands for workingmen, Chapman requested that the businessmen who attended his meeting the following day should provide jobs for those out of work. For the next several days, he also set aside special times for prayer and lectures on practical Christianity which focused on the problems of the unemployed. The plight of the poor reflected Chapman's own experience as a child when his father lost his job. He explained that as a boy, he had sold newspapers on the street and had driven a coal wagon and milk cart to support his family during its lean years.⁵⁹ Chapman was able to use this technique to help his audience identify with his message of hope.

Chapman identified the lack of concern about the liquor licence as one of the factors contributing to unemployment and sin in the city. He desired to eradicate the sale of alcohol because of its negative effect upon families and its destruction of lives.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁶ *Municipal Register: Containing Rules and Orders of the City Council*, Boston: Printing Department, 1912, pp. 19-33.

⁵⁷ -Boston's Unemployed Seek Manna Shower, *Southern Boston Gazette* (Boston), 6 February 1909, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁵⁸ -Intense Fervor, Big Crowds, *Boston Globe* (Boston), 1 February 1909, p. 6. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁵⁹ -Boston's Unemployed Seek Manna Shower, *Southern Boston Gazette* (Boston), 6 February 1909, Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, Collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁶⁰ -Evangelist Chapman Defends Prohibition in Vigorous Terms, *Portland Evening Express and Advertiser* (Portland), 24 January 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

facts of liquor sales and distribution, he believed, showed that communities were better off where prohibition was in operation.⁶¹ To attack this problem, Chapman employed the saloon and prison evangelists William and Virginia Asher, whom he had met during his early days with Moody in Chicago. He believed that the Ashers, who had a reputation for transforming alcoholics into saints, were the hope for the conversion of those in the slums and he had worked with them in earlier years for this same reason.⁶²

Married in 1887, William Asher, a Scottish immigrant, and Virginia, a native of Chicago, became a formidable evangelistic team. Virginia had attended the Chicago Conservatory of Music and by the time of her graduation she had dedicated her gospel singing and preaching to the service of the King.⁶³ When she met William, she was already a well-seasoned veteran of evangelism at brothels, saloons and churches. In 1893, Virginia was chosen by Moody, along with eleven other women, to participate in his World's Fair revival in Chicago. She had the specific task of evangelising on the Midway, the entrance to the exposition's amusements.⁶⁴ Both William and Virginia enrolled in the Chicago Bible Institute in October 1897 and William was trained to speak to people in saloons while Virginia learned the methods of bringing evangelism to urban areas. During their enrolment at the Bible Institute, both William and Virginia were asked to join the staff at the Jefferson Park Presbyterian Church. William served as an assistant pastor under the supervision of the senior pastor, J. Frank Talmadge. Virginia supervised the women's work and was in charge of the church's music. In 1900, the

⁶¹ John Wilbur Chapman, *The Problem of the Work*, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, pp. 53-4.

⁶² Dr Chapman in Syracuse, *The New York Observer* (New York), Volume 84, no. 3, 18 January 1906, p. 91.

⁶³ Buffalo Campaign Account, 18 March 1917, Papers of William Ashley Billy Sunday and Helen Amelia Thompson Sunday, Collection 61, Billy Graham Archives, Wheaton, Ill.

⁶⁴ Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (eds), *Women Building Chicago, 1790 to 1990: A Biographical Dictionary*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, p. 48.

Ashers left Chicago to work for the Duluth Bethel, a rescue mission in North-eastern Minnesota for seamen, lumbermen and miners.⁶⁵ For the next five years, William honed his preaching skills in the Bowery in Duluth, Minnesota, and Virginia accompanied each of his evangelistic efforts by playing on the organ and autoharp or singing songs until they joined Chapman in 1904.⁶⁶ They worked with the evangelist until 1911, when they joined the staff of William Ashley -Billy- Sunday (1862-1935), Chapman's former advance man. Sunday, by that time, had become a well-known evangelist on his own and, like Chapman, recognised Virginia's talent to captivate crowds with her melodious voice and assist his staff with her strong administrative skills.⁶⁷

William and Virginia targeted the saloons almost exclusively. They searched for men unlikely to participate in the Chapman-Alexander crusades, let alone join in any church activities.⁶⁸ William's role was to preach to the men after Virginia offered a song or deeply emotional story that exposed the damage of alcohol use. One of her favourite themes was the image of a mother looking for her wayward son. This image, the newspapers reported, often produced a penetrating silence in which men looked down at their folded hands in shame.⁶⁹ Following her message, William preached about the consequences of sin and the need to receive Jesus Christ in order to set their lives on a holy path, often using his favourite text on the prodigal son and the forgiving father.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.49.

⁶⁶ Papers of Virginia Healey Asher, Billy Graham Archives, collection 197.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ -Saloon Crusade-, *The Journal* (Detroit), 27 October 1906. Papers of Virginia Healey Asher, Billy Graham Archives, Collection 197.

⁶⁹ -Double Saloon Meeting-, *Lafayette Journal* (Lafayette), 22 November 1906. Papers of Virginia Healey Asher, Billy Graham Archives, Collection 197.

⁷⁰ -Ashers Do Good Work-, *The Journal* (Detroit), 1 November 1906. Papers of Virginia Healey Asher, Billy Graham Archives, Collection 197.

The Asher's use of emotionally-laden singing and preaching was effective at summoning up images of each person's sin and need for conversion.

Chapman, while not a fan of vaudeville, was not averse to using entertainment as a tool for reaching a crowd in Boston. In addition to his entertaining song leaders and soloists, a magician, song leader and evangelist, Everett R. Natzger, captivated the young children with a sleight of hand as he prepared them to hear the gospel message. Natzger, formerly a vaudeville actor and a young student at DePauw University in Indiana, was raised in a Methodist church as a son of a presiding elder. His conversion into the ministry and away from vaudeville allowed him to use his previous skills as tools in teaching lessons from the Bible. His tricks included appearing to turn water into wine and back again and making different-coloured handkerchiefs appear from nowhere in order to illustrate lessons about the darkness of sin and purity of light.⁷¹

The Boston simultaneous campaign was scheduled to focus on twenty-seven strategic centres around Boston, but it achieved its greatest fame at Tremont Temple in the heart of the city. Tremont Temple was a highly strategic location for Chapman. Called "America's Pulpit" by Dwight L. Moody, the Baptist Free Church claimed to be the first integrated congregation in America in 1850, eleven years after its charter.⁷² The goal of the Temple's original leadership was to be "a church with free seats where everyone, rich or poor, black or white, should be on the same religious level."⁷³ It was a place where several evangelical preachers such as Moody and Torrey conducted successful, and similar, campaigns to Chapman. It was the church where Abraham

⁷¹ "Revivalist Uses Sleight of Hand Act as an Aid to Regeneration of Souls," *The Boston Traveler* (Boston), 5 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁷² "Our History," Tremont Temple Baptist Church archives, access date 29 March 2015.

⁷³ Ibid.

Lincoln visited in 1848 and where Charles Dickens gave his first reading of *A Christmas Carol* (1843) in America. Echoes of history were present at the Tremont Temple and, for Chapman, it became the location of his most notable experience of the campaign.

Expectations were high in anticipation of seeing the popular evangelist and the excitement intensified after Chapman and Alexander arrived in Boston on 26 January 1909. Twenty-five thousand people attended the first meeting, but within five days the crowds numbered sixty thousand per night and, at the major weekly meeting, crowds numbered one hundred thousand.⁷⁴ One week following the first meeting, the simultaneous meetings increased from twenty five to fifty six in order to accommodate the numbers attending.⁷⁵ By 3 February, the attendance was so great that the police reserves were called in to control the overflowing crowds.⁷⁶ The next day, Tremont Street was totally blockaded with vast throngs eager to attend the revival services.⁷⁷ Part of this chaos was the result of poor planning on the part of the evangelistic committees who underestimated the response and part stemmed from the attempt of several people who had acquired advance tickets to sell them for profit while miscommunicating the intended dates.⁷⁸ By 19 February, Chapman and Alexander were forced to move their daily meeting from Tremont Temple to the eight-thousand seating capacity of Mechanics

⁷⁴ "Over 2,500 Converts at Monster Meetings Attended by Over 100,000," *The Boston Post* (Boston), 8 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁷⁵ "25,000 Attend Revival Services Last Night," *The Boston Post* (Boston), 27 January 1909; "After Day of Rest," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 7 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁷⁶ "Scenes Unparalleled in History of Religious Movements in U.S.," *Boston Traveler* (Boston), 2 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁷⁷ "Tremont Street Blockaded," *The Boston Globe* (Boston), 3 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁷⁸ "Tremont Street Blockaded," *The Boston Globe* (Boston), 3 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

Hall.⁷⁹ On the last day of the campaign, however, four thousand people were turned away because of the hall already being filled to its capacity.⁸⁰ The three-week simultaneous campaign in Boston from 26 January to 21 February 1908 was recognised as one of Chapman's greatest achievements in evangelism.⁸¹ William Biederwolf, one of Chapman's assistants, tracked the growth of Boston's churches in the ten years before and two years following Chapman's crusade. The growth of Protestant churches in membership following his campaign was 2,102 the first year and 1,621 the following year, an average increase of more than fifty percent over the previous years.⁸²

Chapman's second-largest simultaneous campaign was conducted in Chicago from 16 October to 27 November 1910. Chicago was, at the time, the second largest city in the United States and the fourth largest in the world. Four hundred churches and thirty-thousand church members pledged themselves to bring Chapman and Alexander to Chicago in order to purge the city of immorality.⁸³ At that time, Chicago was rife with political corruption. Republicans and Democrats fought to gain political control and accused one another of fraud. Although two-thirds of the city was dry in 1909, the liquor licences were abundant in the slums and working-class neighbourhoods.⁸⁴ In public, men and women were seen drinking in bars and on the streets.⁸⁵ That same year, prostitution was no longer viewed as a vice that decimated young woman and lowered social

⁷⁹ "Record Revival Says Dr Chapman," *The Boston Post* (Boston), 8 February 1909. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁸⁰ John C. Ramsay, *John Wilbur Chapman: The Man, His Methods and His Message*, Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1962, pp. 131-2.

⁸¹ "Record Revival," Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁸² William Biederwolf, *Evangelism*, p. 50.

⁸³ "Thousands Converted; Whole City Stirred in First Week of Revival," *The Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), 23 October 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

⁸⁴ Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston: 1880-1920*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1999, p. 217.

⁸⁵ "Troubles of the Drama and Its Immoral Waves," *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 48, no. 7, 14 February 1909, section 7, p. 9.

standards. It was becoming normalised as a part of society.⁸⁶ Twenty-five hundred licensed houses of prostitution were available in the city and each location had reputedly ten rooms that were used on a continuing schedule every day and night.⁸⁷ Sexual promiscuity was not only reserved for houses of prostitution, nightclubs and saloons. It was becoming a part of public life. Even more concerning to many was the fact that there was an increasing amount of sexual misconduct in the public high schools which had ruined many female young people.⁸⁸ The British evangelist Rodney Gipsy Smith (1860-1947) had attempted to curb sin in Chicago the year before and had left the city with several converts, but little changed. Chicagoans recognised their need for a revival and Chapman was viewed as the man to accomplish it.⁸⁹

Strategically, Chapman targeted secular locations. In addition to the famed Opera House, the White City Casino, an amusement park opened in 1904, provided the backdrop for Chapman's war against extravagance and debauchery. Billed as the city of a million electric lights, Chapman believed that his was a holy crusade to rid Chicago of immorality and launched his efforts in the casino's ballroom.⁹⁰ When Chapman's daughter, Irene, standing in front of the image of the casino's lights, sang a poem written by her father, the words were particularly useful in providing a contrast between darkness and evil. The lyrics were:

I know of a world that is sunk in shame, where hearts oft faint and

⁸⁶ Karen Abbott, *Sin in the Second City: Madams, Ministers, Playboys, and the Battle for America's Soul*, New York: Random House, 2007, p. 5.

⁸⁷ "First Week of the Services Ended on Sunday," *The Daily Republican* (Monongahela, PA), Volume 62, no. 284, 26 April 1909, p. 1.

⁸⁸ "Says There's Immorality in Chicago High Schools," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 October 1908, Volume 47, no. 241, p. 5.

⁸⁹ "Too Many Isms for Preachers to Oppose," *Chicago Post* (no date), Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

⁹⁰ "Meeting in White City Dancehall Inaugurates Great Evangelical Campaign," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 16 October 1910, Volume 69, no. 248, p. 6.

tire, but I know of a name, a precious name, that can set the world
afire. It's [sic] sound is sweet, it's [sic] letters flame. I know of a name,
a precious name. 'Tis Jesus.⁹¹

As Irene sang the words, Virginia Asher invited women to make a decision to turn away from sin and give their hearts to Jesus. As a result, one thousand women dedicated themselves to help fight immorality in the city.⁹² The newspapers were quick to report this emotionally-driven beginning to the Chapman-Alexander campaign and it rapidly took on an enormously successful momentum. Within the first few days of the event, Chapman delivered on his promise to address the city of vice. At the Opera House, he pleaded with Chicagoans to "save the children from lives of vice and its attendant wretchedness and return to an "old-time religion" which saved many souls for Christ.⁹³ Chapman's selection of strategic locations helped to support his delivery of the gospel message.

In addition to the fight against liquor, the elimination of sin and concern for the unemployed, Chapman sought to take on the United States Postal Office and its neglect of the sabbath day. The evangelist had received a note from a female clerk in a local post office asking him to remember the moral and social evils that result from long work hours and from employment on Sundays. Chapman pledged not only to preach against labour on the Sabbath day, but also to make personal visits to government authorities using his considerable influence to convince them to end these practices.⁹⁴ By the end of the campaign, Chicago had been urged to remember the moral ways of the past and to

⁹¹ "Revival Touches Women to Tears," *The Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 69, no. 249, p. 1.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹³ "Old Fashioned Religion is Good Enough for All," *The Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), 21 October 1910, Volume 39, no. 211, p. 5.

⁹⁴ "Revival to Invade U.S. Post Office," *The American* (Chicago), 27 October 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

return to the "old-time religion of their ancestors"⁹⁵ Chapman declared the campaign a victory and instructed the ministers of the city to continue the work that the crusade had accomplished.⁹⁶

An unusual moment occurred for Chapman at this campaign when he was moved to tears and visibly shaken during his farewell speech.⁹⁷ The campaign, beginning with his daughter's song at the White Casino to Chapman's tears at the end, indicated that it had been conducted in a highly emotional fashion. In all of his messages, numbering between two and four per day, Evangelical Christianity was tempered with the message of civic responsibility. At the middle of the campaign, the Chapman-Alexander team dedicated to the city the song "Chicago for Christ" composed by Chapman's pianist and song writer, Robert Harkness.⁹⁸ Eight hundred thousand people had heard Chapman and Alexander during the extent of the meetings and the costs exceeded fifty-thousand dollars.⁹⁹ Eighty of the top leaders, personally trained by Chapman, in addition to pastors from over four hundred churches plus thousands of volunteers, contributed to making Chapman's Chicago campaign a tremendous success.¹⁰⁰

Chapman's popularity as an evangelist reached beyond the borders of the United States. He held crusades in nine Canadian cities between 1907 and 1911 and his campaigns exceeded those of Moody's from 1884 to 1888. Chapman's evangelistic

⁹⁵ "Urges Religion of Earlier Days," *The Tribune* (Chicago), 2 November 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

⁹⁶ "Chicago an Ideal Place for Booming Revival," *The Daily Times* (Chicago), 28 November 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

⁹⁷ "Chapman Weeps in Last Appeal," "Chapman Weeps," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 69, no. 284, 28 November 1910, p. 11.

⁹⁸ "Special Music Supplement," *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* (Chicago), 30 October 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

⁹⁹ "Revival Work Ends with Meet Tonight," *The Chicago Herald* (Chicago), 27 November 1910. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

¹⁰⁰ "Chapman and Alexander in Chicago," *The New York Observer* (New York), 29 December 1910, p. 836. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

activities were recorded as the most extensive ones in twentieth-century Canadian history.¹⁰¹ This was due, mostly, to his method of blending popular culture with conservative Evangelicalism. He had a way of selecting and presenting topics that grabbed people's attention, an ability refined during his leadership years at summer conferences, oversight of retreat centres and speaking engagements at Chautauquan events.¹⁰² Chapman understood what motivated crowds and he depended on song leaders and other forms of entertainment to captivate his audiences. Following a successful campaign in Winnipeg in 1907, news spread around Canada of Chapman's methods and skills in reaching diverse types of people.¹⁰³ Chapman was invited to return to work with the Presbyterian Church of Canada's General Assembly. In 1908, his addresses to the General Assembly resulted in the creation of a special committee to promote Canadian evangelism.¹⁰⁴ The committee quickly adopted Chapman's simultaneous method, believing that it contained three important factors conducive to reaching a larger population than previously. First, the meetings were organised employing a de-centralised approach, providing local clergy to speak to local congregations. Their job was to encourage participation from every Christian in an evangelistic crusade, especially by prayer and attendance at all, or most, of the campaign's events. Further, they asked for commitments from church people to bring their neighbours to the crusade and to seek out those who were spiritually lost to invite to the meetings. Second, national and local evangelists needed to conduct only one or two mass meetings to draw attention to local

¹⁰¹ Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, p. 23.

¹⁰² Cf. chapter four for a description of Chapman's summer conferences and retreat centres.

¹⁰³ 'Fruits of the Chapman Campaign in Winnipeg' in *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, Volume 93, number 1, 18 January 1908, p.82.

¹⁰⁴ Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915*, SR Supplements, Volume 20, Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988, p. 34.

opportunities for continued revivalism. The aim was to maximise the opportunity for evangelists to use their talents, rather than have the event promote any single person. Finally, the planning of the campaign was done by local committees and voluntary organisations, so that the needs of the city were addressed by people who understood them best. Chapman, like Moody and Torrey before him in the Canadian efforts, stressed that the result of a campaign should prove its success by creating services to the poor and needy along with further contributions to the betterment of society. These factors, it was believed, would foster Christian unity and raise the moral condition of the Canadian cities, values that the Presbyterian Church in Canada considered Chapman to be effective at accomplishing.¹⁰⁵

The turning point of popularity for the simultaneous method occurred in 1911 when, during one of his Canadian revivals, Chapman recognised the decline of its effectiveness. Although Chapman had conducted a very successful campaign in Orillia, Ontario, in 1908, the tone of his Toronto campaign in 1911 changed considerably. During the 1911 campaign, crowds came to hear the musicians and his preaching from 5 to 29 January, but Chapman had to compete with secular concerts and lectures which were planned at the same time around the city. One of his colleagues in the crusade, Ford C. Ottman (1859-1929), stated that several Protestant leaders refused to provide the support Chapman needed for the campaign, which led him to vow never to conduct any revival in a community unless he could count on the complete participation of all churches and their ministers in the area.¹⁰⁶ There appeared to be a lack of interest and

¹⁰⁵ "The Board of Moral and Social Reform," *The Westminster* (Philadelphia), Volume 13, no. 1, July 1908, p. 68.

¹⁰⁶ Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 218.

competing opportunities for entertainment. By 1911, churches in Canada no longer demonstrated widespread support for American revivalism as they had in the past.

In 1911, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America had also reported problems with the simultaneous crusades. The numbers at Chapman's crusades began dropping. Without Chapman's direct and personal leadership, which became unavailable due to his international tours, the simultaneous method did not yield the results the denomination desired. The Committee on Evangelism requested that future simultaneous events should be planned by avoiding mid-week and Sunday evening services so that they would not compete with the local churches.¹⁰⁷ Further, the committee requested that Chapman and Alexander should preside personally at the large central meetings for no less than a week to ten days and that any pastors cooperating in the simultaneous campaign should not simply be licensed, but also demonstrate that each one of them was evangelistic in nature.¹⁰⁸ When Chapman turned his efforts to world-wide evangelism, no one stepped forward to replace him to sustain the tremendously complex simultaneous method. By 1911, the simultaneous paradigm lost its favour as a method and evangelists, even Chapman himself, returned to the larger meetings conducted by a single evangelist or one team of evangelists.

The changing nature of advertising also contributed to the end of the simultaneous method. The promotion required during the years of the approach depended on scores of assistants who, by the formation of committees, organised volunteers to raise awareness and excitement. By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, the new

¹⁰⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Proceedings of the 122nd General Assembly, Volume XXIII, Philadelphia: The Office of the General Assembly, 1911, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

advertising method required the presence of a popular figure, something that Chapman had tried to avoid in past campaigns. By his Charlotte campaign in 1915, it was difficult to find an article in Charlotte newspapers about the Chapman-Alexander campaign that did not also contain an endorsement from a company for its product. The Charlotte Bond and Loan Company declared that the Chapman-Alexander campaign would be a "blessing to Charlotte and to those who come within her gates"¹⁰⁹ The sentence immediately following the headline said, "The Mutual Bond and Loan will be a financial blessing to everyone who enters the new series now opened" and informed its readers of the percentage rates an investor could receive by putting money in their company.¹¹⁰ As the campaign approached, the same advertiser noted the coming Chapman-Alexander event and indicated that the company supported the "good" that would come to the city from the evangelists, but also suggested that people should remember to take twenty-five cents of their weekly surplus and invest it in their savings at the bank.¹¹¹ The Little-Long Company in Charlotte, North Carolina, reminded *The Observer's* readers not to forget the Chapman-Alexander Campaign beginning on 4 April and invited the ladies of the town to attend its exposition of the season's "most charming costumes and millinery given by living models"¹¹² The Stieff Grand Piano Company also endorsed the campaign by taking out an advertisement to inform *The Observer's* readers that its grand pianos were the "Artists' Choice" to back up the choir during the campaign.¹¹³ It seemed that every

¹⁰⁹ The Charlotte Bond and Loan Company advertisement in *The Charlotte Daily Observer*, 15 March 1915, p. 10. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ "Yes, I Favor Them Bill," *The Charlotte Daily Observer* (Charlotte), 25 March 1915, p. 10. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

¹¹² "La Promenade des Toilettes," *The Charlotte Daily Observer* (Charlotte), 25 March 1915. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

¹¹³ "Chapman-Alexander Campaign Begins April 4th," *The Charlotte Daily Observer* (Charlotte), 29 March 1915. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 2.

company was eager to attach its product or service to the imminent Chapman-Alexander campaign. The Charlotte campaign, more than other Chapman-Alexander efforts in the past, offered a plethora of advertising opportunities. As local businesses sought the advertising attention of the Chapman-Alexander campaign, Chapman and his leadership succumbed to the newer methods to notify the public of his coming appearance. Since Chapman and Alexander were promoted, any indication of an incentive to divide cities into simultaneous events had disappeared because the public desired to see the main attraction. By 1915, it was apparent that campaigns needed a celebrity rather an evangelistic team to raise interest for revival work.

Advertising techniques, whether promoted by newspaper articles or advertisements, were not unusual for Chapman, nor had they been for his predecessors, Moody and Torrey. What made Chapman's promotions special, and what the businesses recognised, was that he had related the Christian experience to a successful lifestyle. He had a highly popular team of people who prepared the cities for the coming campaigns. Chapman's great advantage was that he had the undying support of wealthy donors such as John Converse, the Baldwin Locomotives entrepreneur, John Wanamaker, famous as an organisational genius and philanthropist, and Henry P. Crowell (1855-1944), president of Quaker Oats.¹¹⁴ These men were not only financiers of Chapman's efforts, they were volunteers at campaigns and leaders on Chapman's teams. Having such high celebrity among the organisers brought a sense of credibility to the endeavour. These wealthy businessmen provided a reason to trust in the viability between religion and business. The eagerness for businesses to co-operate so closely in evangelistic campaigns

¹¹⁴ Cf. chapter two for a discussion on the influences of John Converse and John Wanamaker.

demonstrated an increasingly acceptable relationship between Christianity and America's capitalistic economy.

While most clergy and evangelical Christians had a favourable view of Chapman and a high respect for his work, some doubted his methods. In 1905, Elbert Hubbard, the editor of the magazine *The Philistine* and a critic of revivalism called Chapman a "hypnotist" whose goal it was to create excitement for money.¹¹⁵ Chapman did not engage critics, but in this instance, Billy Sunday came to his defence and stated that Chapman was the most "pure minded, self-sacrificing, man" he had known and that he was aware that Chapman had been offered twice the salary he received as an evangelist if he returned to church work.¹¹⁶ Joseph Vance, a Presbyterian minister in Chicago during Chapman's second largest revival in 1910, explained why his church refused to provide support for the campaign. A fan of revivalism and a former supporter of Moody's efforts, Vance stated that the modern revival looked "too much like the up-workings of the promoter, and too little like the out-workings of the Holy Spirit"¹¹⁷ Chapman's campaign, in order to capture the attention of those who attended his events, utilised the latest methods of entertainment. He needed newer methods to attract crowds, since competition from vaudeville, theatres, opera houses and other forms of amusement was becoming highly sophisticated. Others noted that although the campaigns had the ability to attract thousands of people, the permanent effect upon church membership was minimal. During Chapman's 1915 campaign in Charlotte, North Carolina, *The Charlotte Observer* reported that the results of the Chapman-Alexander campaign were 846

¹¹⁵ "The Religious Revival a Species of Graft" *The Inter-Ocean Magazine*, Volume 34, no. 114, 16 July 1905, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ "Evangelistic Campaigns" *The Advance* (Chicago), 19 January 1911. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

conversions, 758 reclamations of back-sliders, 1,766 cards signed at the meetings, 2,002 commitments for membership in the Pocket Testament League, but only 162 decisions to join a local church.¹¹⁸ The efforts of evangelistic campaigns produced far fewer members than expected.

In 1910, Chapman's financial relationship with a Boston stock dealer named Robert E. Davie came under scrutiny. Davie, called "The Boy Broker" for having made a fortune by the age of 23, absconded with more than \$300,000 and fled the United States to an unknown location.¹¹⁹ Although Davie had defrauded many businesses and individuals, including a few widows, Chapman's evangelistic team had also suffered some loss. Davie's donation checks were returned due to insufficient funds. Chapman had put considerable trust in the broker and used his company to build a \$10,000 home. Further investigation of Davie's schemes revealed that two telegrams from Chapman in 1909 appeared suspicious. In one message, he had written that Davie had been "a great joy" to him and in a second he wrote, "Here is the \$500. Make it work this week."¹²⁰ Chapman quickly responded to the underlying allegation that he was involved in Davie's activities and he defended his words under question by claiming that he had entrusted Davie with money to purchase legitimate stock in railroad. He stated that his leadership team could vouch for the integrity of his relationship with Davie and was confident that Davie would "right himself before the world" in due time.¹²¹ Davie was apprehended in Rio de Janeiro on 23 April 1911 and was sentenced to five years in prison for

¹¹⁸ "Farewell Meeting Biggest of All," *The Charlotte Daily Observer* (Charlotte), 11 May 1915. Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm reel 7.

¹¹⁹ "Boy Broker Gone, \$300,000 is Missing," *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 69, no. 49, 4 December 1910, p. 1.

¹²⁰ "Correspondence Shows Relations with J. Wilbur Chapman, the Evangelist," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago), Volume 69, no. 297, 13 December 1910, p. 4.

¹²¹ "Dr. Chapman Tells of His Acquaintance with Davie," *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* (Fort Wayne, Ind.), 19 December 1910, p. 2.

embezzlement.¹²² The controversy surrounding Chapman's involvement quickly disappeared, but his reputation was significant enough by 1910 to be criticised by the public, examined by investigators and scrutinised by newspapers.

Feelings of scepticism on the part of churches and the public, while emerging during the time of Chapman, never attached themselves indelibly to the evangelist. They found their target on one of Chapman's most famous assistants, Billy Sunday.

William A. Sunday (1862-1935), a former professional baseball player for the Chicago White Stockings, was working for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) when he met Chapman in 1893. The organisation had just notified Sunday that it could not fulfil their commitment of payments to him.¹²³ Chapman needed an advance man to go into the cities before him to prepare the people for the arrival of the evangelist and his campaign. He was looking for a man who had a passion to preach the gospel and when he found Sunday, Chapman considered him "one of the most genuine, true-hearted men" he had ever known.¹²⁴ He admired Sunday's consuming passion for preaching Christ and when he learned of his financial need, he hired him for forty dollars a week, more than he had been promised at the Y.M.C.A. Sunday's career, like his fame in playing ball, skyrocketed during the time that he worked with Chapman. In 1895, after one year of working with Chapman, Sunday received a telegram from the older evangelist informing him that he was returning to the parish ministry. Sunday was compelled to

¹²² "Indicted Boy Broker After a Long Flight", *San Francisco Call* (San Francisco), Volume 109, no. 144, 23 April 1911, p. 19; "Boy Broker Sentenced", *The Tribune-Republican* (Scranton, PA), Volume 82, no. 34, 9 November 1911, p. 2.

¹²³ Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America*, Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004, p. 51.

¹²⁴ Letter from Chapman to Frankenberg, October 1913, quoted in Theodore T. Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday: Famous Baseball Evangelist*, Columbus: McClelland and Company Publishers, 1913, p. 7.

venture out in his own evangelistic career.¹²⁵ After a few years of conducting evangelistic campaigns, Chapman encouraged Sunday to become a minister in the Presbyterian Church. On 13 April 1903, Sunday passed his examination for ordination. Two days later, he was ordained to the ministry and Chapman was the preacher for the service.¹²⁶

Unlike Chapman, whose quiet demeanour and disciplined life brought respect from most quarters of society, Sunday was marked by flamboyant preaching and lifestyle that brought attention to his personal problems. In addition to comments about his family life and wayward children, Sunday was highly criticised for his extravagant living and high salary. In 1915, the *Charlotte Daily Observer* attempted to enlighten its readers about Sunday's expenses and his reasons for needing to collect large donations. After receiving \$100,000 from a ten-week campaign in Boston, \$15,000 from the Des Moines campaign that same year, \$46,000 from his Pittsburgh campaign and \$22,000 from his Scranton event, one-tenth of these funds went to charity, a significant portion was paid to his twenty assistants who each received \$500 per week (one-quarter of this amount came from Sunday's own donations) and the rest remained with Sunday.¹²⁷ It is not clear whether the newspaper was trying to expose or defend the evangelist, but the article added fuel to the fire of public criticism against him. In 1916, the *Danbury Reporter* stated that Sunday had "received the small sum of \$40,500 for a few weeks of work and that he had shoved it down in his pockets as he left for the next campaign."¹²⁸ Sunday

¹²⁵ William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday, The Man and His Message: With His Own Words Which Have Won Thousands to Christ*, Philadelphia: The John T. Winston Company, 1914, p. 58.

¹²⁶ Minutes of the Chicago Presbytery, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 13 April 1903, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹²⁷ "Billy Sunday's Income," *The Charlotte Daily Observer* (Charlotte), 20 March 1915, p. 4.

¹²⁸ "Billy Sunday gets a Big Salary for His Work," *Danbury Reporter* (North Carolina), 10 May 1916, Volume 44, no. 2,302, p. 3.

did not change his practices and, by 1918, the Presbyterian denomination, because of growing concern, considered capping what an evangelist could make for a yearly salary.¹²⁹ When it became apparent that Sunday and Chapman had two completely different styles of evangelism, Chapman wrote in 1913, "It is a matter of small concern to me as to what methods Sunday may use, I am not at all disturbed that he should be working plans which are exactly the opposite of my own."¹³⁰ He remained silent about Sunday in the years that followed.

The news about Chapman's successes as an evangelist reached foreign countries and he was invited to conduct campaigns in their areas. Chapman and Alexander left the United States on 26 March 1909 for an eight-month foreign tour.¹³¹ Their goal was to conduct crusades in Australia and to follow this effort with meetings in the Philippines, China, Korea and Japan. One hundred thousand Bostonians had pledged themselves to pray for the success of the endeavour along with many thousands of others in the campaign cities Chapman and Alexander had visited prior to this tour.¹³² The team consisted of Chapman and two of his children, Agnes and Alexander Hamilton, Charles and Helen Alexander and twelve others, including his later biographer, Ford C. Ottman.¹³³ Alexander, having conducted a trip and campaign to Australia with Torrey in 1907, came up with the idea of creating a daily paper to communicate the events of the crusade to the world. One of the first issues contained a poem by Fanny Crosby, the famous hymnist, which sent the team off with a blessing:

¹²⁹ Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America*, pp. 118-19.

¹³⁰ Letter from Chapman to Frankenberg quoted in Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday*, p. 9.

¹³¹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Volume 23, 1910, p. 37.

¹³² Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, Box 7, Folder 4.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

*O, heralds of the Cross of Christ,
Ye chosen of the Lord,
Take up anew your glorious work:
Gird on the Spirit's sword;
And trusting in its mighty power,
With banners wide unfurled,
Go forth and, in His name, fulfil
Your mission 'round the world.*¹³⁴

Sailing from Vancouver and taking brief excursions for the purpose of restocking the ship, the *Makura*, Chapman and Alexander were welcomed to address the people of Molokai, Hawaii, and Suva, Fiji, before the team arrived in Brisbane on 17 April 1909. The Chapman-Alexander team preached at campaigns in Melbourne, Sydney, Ipswich, Brisbane, Adelaide, Ballarat, Bendigo and Townsville. After a short tour of the Philippines, the team conducted crusades in China, Korea and Japan.¹³⁵ When the tour ended at Vancouver on 26 November, Chapman and his team concluded that God had opened up the way, not only for interdenominational co-operation in evangelistic work at home, but also for international cooperation in such work among the Presbyterian and Reformed churches throughout the world.¹³⁶ Enthusiastic about the success of his worldwide tour, Chapman acknowledged the receptivity of the world to foreign missions and requested that all denominations should send missionaries into the world to reach it for Christ.¹³⁷ He stressed the importance of two factors needed to accomplish this task. First, to retain the prominent position of the increase of Christianity, all denominations immediately needed to recall all missionaries who doubted for a moment the authority or integrity of the scriptures or who questioned the supreme glory of the person of Jesus

¹³⁴ Ford C. Ottman, *J. Wilbur Chapman*, p. 139.

¹³⁵ Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Collection 77, Billy Graham Center. Box 7, Folder 1.

¹³⁶ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Volume 23, 1910, p. 39.

¹³⁷ "Another Plea for the Bible," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Volume 23, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, September 1910, p. 700.

Christ.¹³⁸ Second, areas of the world such as Asia and Europe needed a small band of reinforcements to strengthen the work already being done. He requested that the support work should have the same emphasis on the Bible and a clear call to evangelism as he had shown on his recent tour of Australia since it had experienced tremendous success.¹³⁹

A second world-wide tour affirmed Chapman's convictions that the world could be reached for Christ no matter the method of evangelism used. Having promised the churches in Australia that he would return, Chapman organised an Australasian Council following his first world tour. The council was headquartered in Melbourne and its specific task was to organise the Chapman-Alexander return tour within a period of two years.¹⁴⁰ After a vacation in Italy and a tour of the holy land with his wife, Chapman arrived in Australia to begin the campaign on 5 March 1912. This world-wide tour lasted for more than two years and covered the countries of Australia and New Zealand. The excitement for Chapman's presence attracted large crowds. At his closing service in Melbourne, fifteen thousand people were in attendance at a five-thousand seat auditorium and the overflowing crowds had to be turned away.¹⁴¹ The tour concluded in Scotland for a campaign from 2 October 1913 to 10 April 1914. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, thousands were turned away from his appearances for lack of seating accommodation, even at buildings able to seat six thousand. According to the chairman of the Glasgow mission, one Sunday morning Chapman spoke to no fewer than 20,000 people in the same building, which was crowded at three different services.¹⁴² Twenty-five thousand

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 700.

¹³⁹ 'Another Plea for the Bible', *The Missionary Review of the World*, Volume 23, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, September 1910, p. 700.

¹⁴⁰ *The Australian Christian World Mission Special*, Australian Christian World Printing and Publishing House, 1909.

¹⁴¹ Papers of John Wilbur Chapman, Billy Graham Archives, collection 77, microfilm, reel 8.

¹⁴² 'Revival in Scotland', *The People's Journal* (Dundee), no. 2937, 11 April 1914, p. 8.

conversions were recorded in those two cities alone.¹⁴³ All the missions on the tour were conducted in single mass meetings rather than by the simultaneous method.¹⁴⁴ Chapman had become a world-renowned evangelist and his fame had spread over four continents.

During the course of Chapman's life, he conducted evangelistic campaigns in more than 179 cities in the United States and numerous locations around the world.¹⁴⁵ There were several factors that contributed to his success as an evangelist and there were features that showed he tried to adapt his evangelism to a changing society. Under Miller's and Moody's tutelage, Chapman acquired the necessary skills for evangelism, but his results were minimal until he focused on reaching large urban centres rather than moderate-sized towns. He was highly organised in planning events and in his strategy to campaign in cities. Chapman's brother, Edwin, worked hard to secure exact details for the calendar of the campaigns and set up committees to ensure that each detail was handled precisely as planned. Chapman's use of assistants to prepare for the events several weeks in advance meant that by the time he arrived, the locations were already meticulously prepared for the crusades. When he developed the simultaneous evangelism approach, he was able to use its components to maximise publicity and communicate the gospel message to more people than in previous campaigns. Chapman utilised the work of his volunteers to bring churches together to promote the events, to provide attendees, to acquire members for Alexander's choirs and to encourage each congregation to follow up on those who committed themselves. In addition, Chapman sought historic locations for his campaigns, such as Boston's Tremont Temple, to lend credibility to his work and

¹⁴³ *The Christian Worker's Magazine*, New Series, Volume 14, no. 1, September 1914, p. 758.

¹⁴⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Proceedings of the 126th General Assembly, Volume XXVII, p. 149.

¹⁴⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, collection 77, Billy Graham Archives.

tap into the city's historical significance. His advertising methods attracted large crowds. Many businesses were eager to attach their names to his campaigns, seeking a way to make his efforts mutually beneficial. Chapman's enterprise contained a few successful, and well known, businessmen who provided plausibility to the notion that there could be a relationship between capitalism and religion. Song leaders and entertainers, under the direction of Alexander, worked alongside Chapman and his team of evangelists. Their work provided a new style of vaudeville, but it also contributed to the decline of his simultaneous method of evangelism as people desired to see the celebrity instead of the assistants. Chapman's campaigns reached the elites as well as the unemployed, the poor, the alcoholics and the prostitutes who had been affected by changes in the modern cities. His attention to civic responsibility garnered the support of Evangelicals, non-Evangelical Christians and even non-Christians. His successful world-wide tours etched his name on historical records on a par with Moody and Torrey. The fact that two of Chapman's colleagues in evangelism, Torrey and Mills, had turned their attention away from evangelistic efforts cleared the way for Chapman to be unmatched so that he became the most prominent evangelist in the nation shortly after the turn of the twentieth century.

There are factors that support Chapman's lack of recognition in the history of evangelism. First, he became overshadowed by his "advance man" Billy Sunday, whose fame as an athlete had already been distinguished before his work with Chapman. Sunday stirred the crowds and reinforced Chapman's popularity as an evangelist, but his showmanship attracted the attention of the modern public who began to favour vaudevillian antics. Chapman represented Victorian America. Secondly, Chapman's

evangelistic style replicated, in some areas, the methods of Moody and Torrey, whose names were famous. Chapman exceeded the work of these and other evangelists, but similarity without examination led to the assumption that his contributions were not as significant as those of others. Unfortunately, for these reasons, Chapman has been largely ignored in the analysis of revival history.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

John Wilbur Chapman was one of the most respected clergymen, revivalists and denominational leaders in America between 1880 and 1918. The most important aspect of his work was that of an evangelist. He was a product of the American revivalist tradition, a line that spanned from the First Great Awakening in 1740 to the present in the work of the evangelist, Billy Graham (1918-present). This tradition, as William G. McLoughlin contended in *Modern Revivalism* (1959), was an effort to adjust the theological, ethical, and institutional structure of Protestantism to the changes in American culture.¹ Chapman's work reflected those changes and as he campaigned across the nation, his fame spread. One year after joining with Charles M. Alexander in 1907 to form the Chapman-Alexander team, Chapman was considered by the public to be the leading itinerant preacher in America.² The media attention to his evangelistic campaigns across America, parts of Canada, Australia, Asia and Europe secured his status as a worldwide evangelist. What role did Chapman fulfil in the trajectory of the American revivalist tradition?

The second chapter of the dissertation examined the formative influences that shaped Chapman's life and ministry. Chapman's mother nurtured his piety at home and encouraged him to attend weekly church services. Following her death, his father continued the children's involvement with Quaker, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

¹ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1959, p. 523.

² Literature, *The Christian Advocate* (Chicago), 22 October 1908, Volume 83, no. 43, p. 31.

These three heritages developed Chapman's understanding of how a person could be a Christian no matter what religious tradition one followed.³ Under the guidance of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899) and the influence of organisational geniuses like John Wanamaker (1838-1922) and John Converse (1840-1910), he developed his understanding of Christian work and acquired the knowledge needed to design strategies for effective evangelism. Had these individuals not shaped Chapman's life and awareness of the ministry, he could not have met the demands of revivalist efforts or known how to bring together a variety of groups from across the theological spectrum effectively.

The most significant influence in Chapman's life was that of Dwight L. Moody. Chapman wrote "almost all that I know of evangelistic work I learned at [Moody's] feet"⁴ An examination of the relationship between the two evangelists was provided in chapter three. During Chapman's years as a pastor, Moody advised him on how to make his congregations evangelistic in nature. An analysis of the two men shows that there were differences as well as similarities. Chapman was a trained theologian and Moody's education was comparable to only a fifth-grade level. Both men concentrated their messages on the central theme of God's love, but Chapman's theology was concerned with Christian orthodoxy and it was dependent on Christian creeds. Moody had little concern for creeds and he was not as threatened by less well-defined convictions if they led a man to Christ. Chapman and Moody each had a gift for bringing congregations together in their campaigns. Chapman's 1909 campaign in Boston garnered the support

³ J. Wilbur Chapman, "What is a Christian?" in *Revival Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, p. 11.

⁴ J. Wilbur Chapman, "The Master is Come" in *Evangelistic Sermons*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922, p. 16.

of Roman Catholic leaders, though he, unlike Moody, showed a lapse of his dedication to unity when he spoke harshly about the Roman Catholic Church during the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century. Moody's style of evangelism depended on his ability to conduct large mass crusades and Chapman learned his approach, but, following Moody's death, Chapman developed the simultaneous method of evangelism in order to reach urban centres more efficiently. Aside from these differences, Chapman's work closely resembled that of Moody and by 1900, the public considered him to be the successor to Moody.⁵ It was Chapman's decision at an early age, from what he had heard of Moody and from what the newspapers had printed of his work, to be influenced by Moody above any other man living at his time and Chapman's life and ministry testified to that reality.⁶ Chapman's evangelistic work, had it not been shaped by Moody, would not have achieved the quality and effectiveness needed to make Chapman famous.

Chapman's Presbyterianism constituted the theme of the fourth chapter. He served six churches as a Presbyterian minister until John Converse offered him the position of Corresponding Secretary of a newly developed evangelistic committee for the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in 1895. He accepted this opportunity, which transferred him from parish ministry to full-time evangelism. Chapman served on this board from 1895 to 1905 and it eventually assigned him oversight of the work of evangelism and evangelists in his denomination. In 1917, he was overwhelmingly selected to be the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In that capacity, he worked with the National Service Commission and the

⁵ Literature, *The Christian Advocate* (New York), 8 February 1900, Volume 75, no. 6, p. 227.

⁶ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody, Presented to the Christian World as a Tribute to the Memory of the Greatest Apostle of the Age*, Philadelphia: Universal Publishing Company, 1900, p. 19.

New Era Movement of the denomination, a plan designed to deal with reconstruction problems following the end of World War I.⁷ As moderator, he affirmed the denomination's support for the war to President Woodrow Wilson. Chapman's evangelistic work was largely nondenominational, but his commitment to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America remained strong. By 1905, the Presbyterian Church hoped that Chapman would be a foremost leader in Christian work and by the end of his life, he had fulfilled their expectations.

Chapter five investigated Chapman's theology and how it was a part of the revivalist tradition. Trained as a minister at Lane Theological Seminary, Chapman's studies included an overview of the Bible, history, languages, systematic theology and hermeneutics. His studies occurred at a time when Christians in America were contemplating new ideas, especially about ways to interpret scripture based on an emerging German hermeneutic. Chapman's response to the liberalising view of the scriptures was elusive, similar to that of his mentor, Moody. Chapman remained reserved about his views on liberal scholarship until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century when, in 1910, he declared that any missionary doubting the integrity or authority of the scriptures should be recalled.⁸ The focus of Chapman's work was to promote evangelism rather than theological disagreement. Thus, his sermons remained more devotional than technical. His strict training in theology identified Chapman as a scholar, but his messages were simple in nature so that his appeal could encourage a diversity of people to make a decision to follow Jesus Christ. The background for Chapman's

⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, Volume 19, August 1919, p. 82.

⁸ "The Gospel in the World," *The Institute Tie* (Chicago), October 1910, Volume 11, no. 2, p. 122.

theology emerged from New School revivalism and he was able to apply its modified Calvinism to preach and teach on the love of God for the salvation of souls.

Chapman's pneumatology was the subject of chapter six. Chapman was an admirer of Charles Finney (1792-1875), a Presbyterian clergyman and an important evangelist of the Second Great Awakening. He esteemed Finney for his success at revivals and his dependence on the Holy Spirit.⁹ Chapman wrote a book called *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* (1894) and in it declared that the reception of the Spirit was the only way for a person to have the secret power of God.¹⁰ For Chapman, an adherent to the Higher Life Movement and Keswick, the Holy Spirit was received at conversion, but there was a necessity for a continual filling of His power.¹¹ Until the Spirit is "poured out from on high" he wrote, "Christians cannot be quickened and sinners cannot be saved."¹² The key to this experience was discovered by yielding one's life in submission to God. His most influential teacher on this subject was Frederick B. Meyer (1847-1929). When Chapman realised his personal need to surrender his will to God, but found it difficult to do so, Meyer encouraged him to focus on the task of "being willing to be made willing" to surrender everything.¹³ As noted by George M. Marsden, Chapman's understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit occurred during a transitional time between Victorian Evangelicalism and the rise of Pentecostalism.¹⁴ Marsden correctly describes this period as a time of rising fundamentalist concepts and attributes it to premillennial influences, as others have done, but he also rightly relates it to holiness teachings as one of the most

⁹ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Revivals and Missions*, New York: Lentilhon and Company, 1900, p. 12-58.

¹⁰ J. Wilbur Chapman, *Received Ye the Holy Ghost?* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1894, pp. 101-127.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-6.

¹² Chapman, *Revivals and Missions*, p. 13.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

¹⁴ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 72-101.

important contributing factors.¹⁵ Chapman, as a holiness teacher, provided a significant influence toward the fundamentalist movement during the first two decades of the twentieth century. As Chapman's popularity increased by the wide distribution of his writings on the Spirit he was quickly regarded as "the evangelist of the Holy Spirit"¹⁶

Chapman was best known as an evangelist and chapter seven provided the details of several of his campaigns including his early efforts with Mills and tours with his song leader Charles McCallon Alexander (1867-1920), beginning in 1907. Following his years with Mills and his mentorship experience from Moody, Chapman became the most prominent evangelist in America between 1904 and 1910. In 1904, he developed a new strategy for urban revivals called the "Simultaneous Campaigns". He strategically organised cities into several districts and planted evangelists in each section to conduct crusades at the same time, thus reaching larger numbers of the population. After 1909, lacking Chapman's direct supervision, the method began to fail and by 1912, Chapman conducted all campaigns as the director and key-note evangelist. The simultaneous method required a level of organisation that put enormous pressure on his team to create the energy needed to maintain several concurrent campaigns. Further, given Chapman's increasing popularity, people preferred to participate in the event at the Chapman-Alexander location, rather than at one of the sites of his assistants.

Secondary materials that note Chapman's contributions in evangelism have not made him the focus of their research. The best works tracing the lines of the revivalist tradition are *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (2003) by Mark A. Noll and *The Dominance of*

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 6-7. See also Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

¹⁶ J. W. Weddell, "J.W. Chapman, the Evangelist of the Spirit," *The Journal and Messenger: The Central National Baptist Paper* (Cincinnati), Volume 88, no. 1, 2 January 1919, p. 2.

Evangelicalism (2004) by David W. Bebbington and *Modern Evangelism* (1959) by William G. McLoughlin. These three authors created a context for Chapman's life, his Evangelical faith and his work in revivalism. William H. Cooper Jr, in his book *The Great Revivalists in American Religion, 1740-1944* (2010), correctly points out that Chapman received the mantle of evangelism from Moody and was the most significant revivalist of his day, but he mentions Chapman only as a transitional figure between Moody and Sunday. To most researchers, Chapman is viewed as a secondary character, relegated to one of Moody's lieutenants or a footnote in an examination of a revival.¹⁷

The lack of attention by historians to J. Wilbur Chapman and his work is unfortunate. Chapman significantly contributed to the American revivalist tradition and spread his influence into areas of Canada and the world by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. He was a product of his age, a Victorian evangelist modelled after Moody. Chapman was a transitional figure. He was a proto-fundamentalist, a premillennial dispensationalist, a teacher of the holiness movement and a revivalist-denominational leader. What made Chapman noteworthy was that he made theology accessible for lay people by his literature on home life, sermons on the Christian growth and instruction for lay leaders in the church. He did not introduce new theological doctrines, because his focus was that of a soul-winner. He was a pastor at heart and desired to instruct people on how to live devoted Christian lives. He emphasised the conversion of souls, by the work of the Holy Spirit, so that there would be a betterment of society. Chapman was the most prominent revivalist from the early 1900s to the end of the second decade of the twentieth century.

¹⁷ William H. Cooper, Jr, *The Great Revivalists in American Religion, 1740-1944: The Careers and Theology of Jonathan Edwards, Charles Finney, Dwight Moody, Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple McPherson*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2010, pp. 131-2.

There are identifiable factors that contributed to the lack of attention to Chapman's life and influence in history. First, and most importantly, Chapman was overshadowed by the memory of Dwight Lyman Moody. Moody was the most famous evangelist in America and Britain during his time and, following his death in 1899, his reputation remained legendary for decades. This was due, in part, to the work of the institutional interests of those who claimed the name of Moody such as the Moody Bible College. Even though Chapman was considered by Moody to be his successor in evangelism, Moody was unique and his work became the model for subsequent evangelists. Moody's work was ground-breaking and innovative. Chapman's work was an expansion of what his mentor had developed. Like Moody, he adopted an evangelistic style that was successful during the urbanisation of society. Chapman had an ability to reach larger numbers of people than Moody and he received great recognition during his lifetime, but after his death in 1918, his reputation never matched that of the great American evangelist.

A second factor is that Chapman's fame was of a different type from the showmanship of one of his students in evangelism, William A. "Billy" Sunday (1862-1935). William T. Ellis, a biographer of Sunday in the 1950s, pointed out that had it not been for Chapman's fame and his assistance and training for Sunday to do revival work, by Sunday's numerous acknowledgments, he would have remained unknown to the world.¹⁸ By 1908, Sunday had been ordained to the ministry for five years and the public found his evangelistic style entertaining and extravagant. He was a showman. Sunday used every opportunity to excite crowds with unexpected antics and sensational language.

¹⁸ William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday, The Man and His Message: With His Own Words Which Have Won Thousands to Christ*. Philadelphia: The John T. Winston Company, 1914, pp. 57-8.

Sunday's messages were delivered in street talk. He declared that he "would rather preach the gospel so plainly that men could come from the factories and not have to bring along a dictionary"¹⁹ Chapman was a statesman. His messages were given without extraordinary excitement and his campaigns were methodical, sometimes criticised for being executed with "military precision"²⁰ Sunday was a scrapper and sought controversy. Speaking at the nation's capital in 1918, Sunday described Pontius Pilate as "a stand-pat, free-lunch, pie counter, pliable, lickspittle, tin-horn, peanut-grafting, ward-heeling, weasel-eyed, rat-hole of a whiskey-soaked, God-forsaken politician"²¹ George Marsden attributes Sunday's rise to popularity by 1912 to his polarising messages, a symptom of the developing fundamentalist theology of the decade.²² Chapman's messages were more complex in nature than Sunday's and they were prepared for a courteous crowd of people who attempted to live in a respectful society. The meteoric rise to fame of Sunday was due to his confrontational style of evangelism, a method that represented the shifting style of a vaudevillian era. Within the second decade of the twentieth century, Sunday's fame had eclipsed Chapman's.

A third consideration for Chapman's disappearance from history is that he was not polemical. Chapman never used Sunday's style of colourful words to criticise those with whom he disagreed. Unlike Torrey, Chapman's work was that of a bridge-builder rather than that of a prophet. He acknowledged that there could be different interpretations within certain boundaries of theology. Chapman did not stand out as a

¹⁹ William Sunday quoted in William Thomas Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, p. 69.

²⁰ "Evangelistic Campaigns" *The Advance* (Chicago), 19 January 1911, Volume 61, no. 2359, p. 10.

²¹ "The Billy Sunday Campaign at the National Capital" *The Christian Advocate* (New York), 31 January 1918, Volume 93, no. 5, p. 147.

²² George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991, pp. 31-2.

controversial figure and blended far more easily into respectful society than some revivalists. He represented the heroic aspects of Victorian society and he had an ability to draw a variety of groups together for a common cause, rather than divide them. For this reason, it is hard to discern whether Chapman would have become a fundamentalist had he not died in 1918, since one of the characteristics of the movement was a shift toward separatism. Though his closest colleagues in revivalism such as Torrey and Sunday did join the ranks of the fundamentalists as the movement developed into the 1920s, Chapman's loyalty to the Presbyterian church and his determination to unify denominations suggests that he would have avoided such a controversy. His critique of missionaries who did not accept the authority and integrity of the scriptures in 1910 suggests that he had tendencies toward those of the movement, but he would be better categorised as a proto-fundamentalist, rather than a fundamentalist. The inability to put Chapman into one of the categories makes it difficult to place him in historical analysis.

Another factor for Chapman's limited appearance in history is that his work, for the most part, was not unique. His efforts for social reform, for instance, reproduced Moody's and those of Chapman's peers. His evangelistic campaigns were also patterned on Moody's and looked similar to Torrey's. By 1907, he used Torrey's song leader, Alexander. Chapman's use of the media to promote campaigns was extravagant, but similar to the efforts of his colleagues. The one exception, and it is a large one, was Chapman's use of the simultaneous campaign to reach crowds more efficiently in urban centres. This method worked for almost ten years. It lost its effectiveness because Chapman's reputation had become that of a well-known personality and, in an era of vaudeville, everyone wanted to see the great evangelist, not his assistants. By 1912,

Chapman returned to the strategy of mass campaigns unified around his preaching. The success of the simultaneous campaign was Chapman's greatest contribution to evangelism, but it ended with him. No one was able to reproduce his success in this area and few tried to delegate the work of evangelism to their co-workers. Except for this method, Chapman's work was a continuation of standard evangelical revivalism during his time.

When it came to the realm of new ideas or new ways to think about theology, Chapman was not original. His messages were similar to Moody's in their focus on the love of God for all people. His sermons had theological points to them, but they were replete with illustrations. Chapman was a storyteller instead of a theologian. He was a revivalist first and his emphasis was on winning souls. Although, as a Presbyterian minister, he was highly trained in Reformed theology, Chapman concentrated his efforts on being a pastor and an evangelist, rather than on being a scholar.²³

A final reason for the lack of historical attention to Chapman is that his work was vast in scope and he engaged in too many varied activities to become an expert in one area. He was a trained theologian, a pastor of several churches, a Sunday school superintendent, the secretary of the Evangelistic Committee, a member of the Committee on Church Cooperation and Union, chairman of a Sub-Committee on the Union of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, the corresponding secretary of Foreign Missions and, in 1918, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Chapman became overwhelmed with these multiple responsibilities and even though he allocated some work to his assistants, he lacked the skill in delegation necessary to

²³ Arthur J. Smith in *Memorial Services, J. Wilbur Chapman, Fourth Presbyterian Church*, New York: Gillespie Brothers, 29 December 1918, pp. 46-7.

support the effort of all his endeavours. Further, from 1902 until his death in 1918, Chapman suffered thirteen serious infirmities from exhaustion and was encouraged by his physicians to resign his work when his attention to the affairs of his parishes, denomination and institutions like Moody's Bible College, Winona Bible Conference, Montreat Conference Center and Stony Brook school became too burdensome. Moody had also carried multiple duties, but he trusted experts to move his strategies forward. Chapman often maintained direct oversight in his endeavours, sometimes becoming stuck in the details of the moment. History remembers specialists, not generalists, and Chapman spread his work over a vast array of activities.

These factors explain why Chapman's reputation was lost in the crevices of historical analysis, but they do not show why he should be remembered today. Chapman was significant in his day. As Scott Sterling Hobbs noted in his thesis on Chapman, he was important because of the large number of conversions in his campaigns.²⁴ Chapman was one of the leading evangelists of the first decade of the twentieth century and his congregational work, evangelistic campaigns and leadership in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America were carefully followed by major and minor newspapers on a continual basis. Every one of his crusades received mass attention and Chapman's adeptness with the media ensured the maximisation of advertising techniques. He was a transitional figure between the evangelicalism of the late Victorian era and the evangelicalism of the twentieth century. His sermons and stories were compiled in several books and devotional lessons and provide numerous examples for pastors on the

²⁴ Scott Sterling Hobbs, "The Contributions of J. Wilbur Chapman to American Evangelism" Ph.D. Thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, UMI microform 9805569, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1997, pp. 171-176.

subjects of sin, salvation and sanctification. His songs are still sung in churches today and one of them, "One Day" recently reached the number one status for worship songs in American churches.²⁵ Even though Chapman's work was eventually overshadowed by the names of Moody and Sunday in history, by 1913 he had delivered fifty thousand sermons and preached to more than sixty million people worldwide.²⁶ Chapman should be remembered for his undeniable contributions to evangelicalism. He earned a place among history's great pastors, evangelists and church leaders.

²⁵ "One Day" Casting Crowns, *Billboard's Hot Christian Alternative*, 2011, Prometheus Global Media, New York.

²⁶ "The Reviver of Revivalism" *Collier's Magazine* (Buffalo), 25 January 1913, Volume 50, no. 19, p. 20.

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