UNTIL RECENTLY, EVEN WHILE CALLING attention to the religious dimension of Progressivism, scholars too often limited their curiosity about it to Social Gospel ministers. In the last two decades, however, it has become necessary to place Progressive-era religion in a new light. First, an increased volume of studies at the state and local levels have directed more attention to what motivated grassroots activists and voters. These studies are uncovering the extent to which religious and even revivalistic rhetoric mobilized reform sentiment among groups as diverse as southern women, big-city workers, town-dwelling Nebraskans and Kentuckians, and rural Oklahoma socialists.¹

Second, several historians have reacted to the increasingly apparent diversity of the Progressives by searching out new grounds for synthesis. William McLoughlin, for example, asserted that Progressivism was fueled by a "great awakening," by which he meant a general cultural and intellectual revitalization. David Danbom, John Burnham, Ferenc Szasz, and others have explored the Progressive "mood" or "ethos" and found it strongly related to religion, while Robert Crunden studied the evangelical backgrounds of secular Progressives such as Jane Addams and John Dewey.²


A major catalyst for Progressive reforms, however, remains largely unexplored: the Revival of 1905, a wave of religious awakenings throughout the country from 1904 to 1906. It was a significant factor in the "moral wave," producing a string of victories at state and local levels for platforms that demanded business regulation, Prohibition, and clean government. Probably the most dramatic of these victories was the Philadelphia civic upheaval of 1905, a self-styled "revolution" against machine government and corporate arrogance. It was a clear example of the confluence of civic and religious revivalism that characterized many Progressive causes.\(^3\)

In late 1904 decisive political power in Pennsylvania was lodged in the Republican statewide machine, led by U.S. Senator Boies Penrose. Its Philadelphia affiliate operated under State Insurance Commissioner Israel Durham, who had built an apparatus of 10,000 officeholders. If at times the "Gang" was capable of legislation appealing to labor leaders, good government activists found it a wicked alliance of immorality and power. As editor Edward Van Valkenburg of the Philadelphia *North American* put it:

> [T]he policeman is the protector of vice, and into the coffers of [Durham's] machine comes the tribute of the illicit liquor seller, of the debaucher of innocent girls. . . . Under the system . . . there are not schools enough for the people's children; there has not been for forty years a drop of water fit to drink from a public pipe. . . .
> Moreover, they have plundered the city treasury:
> . . . a City Hall has been built at a cost nearly four times its worth; franchises have been given away which ought to be able now, had they

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been leased, to pay half the city's expenses, and the people's money has been squandered upon favorites until there must be further borrowing or sharp advance of the tax rate.\(^4\)

Opposing these blackguards was a coalition of ministers and businessmen backed by the Philadelphia *North American, Public Ledger,* and *Press.* The Municipal League had recently disbanded; reformers now coalesced in the Law and Order Society, the Committee of Seventy, or the latter's political arm, the City party, founded in 1904. Businessmen activists included prominent church laymen, notably Quaker publisher John C. Winston, chairman of the Committee of Seventy, and Presbyterians John Wanamaker and John H. Converse.\(^5\)

As to clergymen, Rector Floyd Tompkins of Trinity Church and Bishop Alexander MacKay-Smith were Episcopal leaders in the crusade to reclaim the city. Bishop Cyrus Foss was prominent among active Methodists along with Reverend Hughes O. Gibbons, who presided over the Law and Order Society. Presbyterian ministers, too, were known for political activism. Sermon after sermon from these pastors, as reported in Monday editions of the *North American,* emphasized that politics was an extension of the religious life. Despite the widespread notion that clergy involvement in politics was for doctrinal liberals, evangelist Reuben A. Torrey, the future fundamentalist, certified that Philadelphia's ministers were "the most orthodox of any city in America."\(^6\)

Late in 1904 the *Public Ledger* began publicizing the efforts of the Law and Order Society's attorney, D. Clarence Gibboney, to fight prostitution and police protection of it. While getting nearly a hundred pimps booked in a few months, Gibboney compiled lurid details that he laid before an interdenominational gathering of ministers on February 11,


\(^5\) John Wanamaker was in Europe for much of 1905 and thus missed the civic uprising in Philadelphia.

\(^6\) Lefferts Loetscher wrote extensively about the political involvement of Philadelphia's Presbyterians and their refusal to separate religion from politics. As an example he mentions their "Christian League," whose purposes included political agitation, moral uplift, and evangelistic work among Chinese Philadelphians; Loetscher, "Presbyterians and Political Reform in Philadelphia from 1870-1917," *Journal of Presbyterian History* (hereafter, *JPH*) 23 (March 1945), 13. Torrey quote in the *Congregationalist,* Dec. 30, 1905, 977.
1905. Tales from the Tenderloin shocked the clergymen, who demanded the ouster of Public Safety Director David Smyth. Unfortunately, Mayor John Weaver, an organization good-government figurehead in whom the clergymen had once had some hope, incurred their wrath by publicly backing Smyth and espousing a hands-off policy to the Tenderloin.\(^7\)

Gibboney’s revelations suggested why religion might inspire political reform. Simply put, reformers felt that corruption—moral, political, and economic—came in a package. Houses of prostitution, the attorney claimed, were packed to bursting with imaginary voters; the same cabal that perverted democracy, ruined city services, and emptied the treasury also corrupted public morals, shielded saloons, and encouraged prostitution. If moral and political corruption came together, many reformers concluded, then the city’s predicament required a moral and political solution, for which a revival of religion was mandatory.\(^8\)

In church after church clergymen urged their congregations to “smite” the system in the approaching municipal elections. “To these pleas worshipers responded with enthusiasm,” the *North American* declared, “evidencing the quickening of the civic spirit. . . . [T]his unequaled wave of an aroused public conscience was sweeping nearly every church in the city.” Most Philadelphians, however, “slumbered” through the elections and, as one reformer put it, “[t]he machine took the scalps of the City party men in true Philadelphia style.” Yet again the city seemed to have justified Lincoln Steffens’s epithet: “corrupt and contented.”\(^9\)

Seeking divine intervention where human efforts seemed in vain, clergymen planned a day of prayer at Tompkins’s Holy Trinity Church for February 28. At least 125 ministers attended. Pastor after pastor prayed aloud so persistently that the speaker was unable to give his talk until the end. A branch of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, noting as its inspiration a religious revival at Ocean City, New Jersey (where

\(^7\) Self-congratulatory accounts appeared in the *Public Ledger*, Feb. 10, Nov. 7, 1905. For the political strife over the revelations, see the *North American*, Feb. 5, 11, 12, 14, 1905.

\(^8\) James Timberlake explored the saloon’s association with many evils fought by Progressives; see “The Political Argument” in his, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 100-124.

the mayor and several officials had become converts), summoned women to a six-hour prayer service the same day. Their rally also was impressive. “Speak to the hearts of the business men and merchants,” came one prayer, “that they will not allow public duty to be left to the hoodlums.”

Since many prayers requested the “conversion” of Mayor Weaver (a Baptist Sunday school teacher), wiseacre reporters pestered him about it. Weaver publicly ignored the prayers and politicians jeered. Ironically, newspapers elsewhere, even religious ones, were critical of the clergymen’s apparent preference for piety over action. According to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, “[T]he publicity given the incident has hurt the cause of Christianity. . . . Prayers without political work in this case are like words without deeds.”

In late February and March religious revivals occurred in many Philadelphia churches. Then, at the end of April, an unexpected development precipitated a political showdown. United Gas Improvement Company (UGI), a consortium with Standard Oil connections that leased and operated the city’s gas works, made an offer the two City Councils could not refuse: $25 million to extend its lease to seventy-five years. The new proposal would also freeze the high price of gas for much longer than the old contract. Thus, even in 1980, the North American declared, Durham would still be filching dollars from every Philadelphian’s pocket.

Business leaders responded to this grab by calling indignation rallies all over the city. The largest of these was a mass “Town Meeting” at the Academy of Music on May 3, the announcement for which carried...
the signatures of twenty-five reformers and pastors, including Converse, Foss, Winston, and Tompkins. Converse, chairman of the national Presbyterian Evangelistic Committee, was selected to preside over the monster gathering. Five thousand "merchants, doctors, lawyers, preachers, taxpayers—the men upon whom the Gang has lived and fed fat for years" filled the hall that evening. Guided by Converse and other speakers, they seethed over sin and eagerly confessed that they had tolerated it too long and promised to break with the past. The meeting authorized Converse to appoint a Committee of Nine to spearhead the citywide campaign against the gas grab.13

Meanwhile, embarrassed after learning about the UGI deal from a newspaper, Mayor Weaver at first hesitated but soon declared his opposition to it. After the measure was jammed through the City Councils over angry cries of "Thief!" and "Shame!" from the packed galleries, Weaver consulted with the Committee of Nine and determined to work for its repeal. After being reviled for months he became the hero of the hour; adoring crowds mobbed him on his daily walk from City Hall to lunch across the street. On May 22 a procession of 120 Methodist ministers joined by an equal number of pedestrians wended its way to his office, where he received them and pledged faithfulness to God to smite the system. It was high drama, replayed on page one of the North American, complete with photos and illustrations. The next day Weaver fired Public Safety Director Smyth and Public Works Director Peter Costello, replacing them with good government figures.14

Thus began John Weaver's sixteen-month career as a reform politician. Beefy, curly haired, with piercing brown eyes, the English-born Weaver looked more the tough reformer than he was. From the machine he emerged—an honest figurehead, to be sure—and to the machine he would return. Local journalist William Stewart thought he was well-meaning, but unoriginal and plastic, floating with the tide. At the high tide of the reform movement, Stewart shrewdly noted the major problem with civic revivalism:

So long as there are public-spirited men in Philadelphia willing to give of

14 North American, May 2, 23, 1905.
their time and energy to back a well-meaning mayor of this type, so long will the city government be reasonably clean. But let there once be a lapse of interest, and the fangs of the machine may again be fastened upon the municipal throat. The ring is not dead, nor yet even sleepeth.

As May wore on, newspapers and the Committee of Nine fed the popular clamor, pushing it into ward after ward. Crowds gathered in front of City Hall and other spots to be harangued by amateurs propped on lamp poles and carts. A popular button making the rounds of men's lapels featured a hangman's noose and the words "We Mean It." Ministers battered their pulpits; congregations prayed about UGI during the services and then remained for strategy sessions afterward. A rolling schedule of meetings around town drew enthusiastic crowds to cheer on the fight. On May 26 two "Stand by the Mayor" rallies in the Academy of Music and Association Hall drew 10,000 people inside and dense overflow crowds outside. The latter cheered and sang hymns in response to all they could hear from inside—which was mostly cheering. Committee literature demanded repeal and publicized the addresses and phone numbers of pro-UGI councilmen. Harassed by both neighbors and strangers, they jumped ship in droves. On May 27 UGI and the Gang gave up.

In a celebratory editorial the North American directed the reader's attention back to the dark days when reformers were so discouraged that some "really began to believe that the experiment of free popular government, undertaken by our fathers, was ending in outright failure." The ministers and women had gathered for prayer, and now look. Editor Van Valkenburg had no trouble finding the moral: "An aroused Christian spirit was instrumental in the result." He added, "there is always and everywhere a force working for righteousness, which will give the battle to virtuous men if they will fight with patience as well as with courage."

"The fight shall go on," Weaver declared, and the Committee of Nine called for more rallies. Surrounded by reform appointees and an advisory committee, including Converse and several ministers, Weaver cleaned house. He barred political assessments from city workers, ousted the secretary of the Civil Service Board, and arrested a councilman over a

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16 North American, May 21, 27, 28, 1905.
past scandal. Then he moved to void a streetcar franchise grab. Again a huge rally cheered Weaver, and repeal was voted. As a satirist put it, "[T]he Republican bosses were letting the saints do all the talking, and between the Mayor and the papers and the saints, the poor sinners could not get a word in edgeways."18

In September the City party held a nominating convention for the November 1905 city and county elections. The delegates made their choices for such offices as sheriff and city commissioner, ratified a stirring reformers' "Declaration of Principles," and then marched in procession to City Hall to receive the mayor's blessing. State elections were at stake, too, and a statewide Lincoln party was formed with the same purposes as the City party. It nominated for state treasurer William Berry, the new reform mayor of Chester, a Bryan Democrat and ardent prohibitionist.19

That fall the City party mounted an effective campaign. Clergymen never let it rest: "The man who is not a good citizen is not a good Christian," thundered Floyd Tompkins. The broad and intense public involvement drew substantial attention elsewhere. "From the captain of industry to the wife in a humble home, everybody in Philadelphia is getting into the fight," the Schenectady *Evening Star* enthused. All in all, party secretary Franklin Edmonds estimated that forty to fifty meetings went on somewhere nightly, "ranging in size from a division meeting of neighbors called at a private house to mass meetings held in the largest halls of the city." Women in particular crafted the campaign. The City party's Women's Committee organized prayer, publicity, fundraising and house-to-house canvassing. This committee alone arranged about 250 meetings of many kinds for men and women, businessmen, ethnics, and workers.20


Like the Progressive Wisconsin Mugwumps described in David Thelen's *New Citizenship*, the City party attempted to broaden its base to include nonwhite and non-middle-class groups. Confident of working-class support, activists induced factory employers to juggle work hours on election day so that their men could vote. According to the *Public Ledger* the organization had narrowed the laborers' vote by making late-hour voting difficult. Blacks also figured in the reform movement, as newspapers commented on their presence at rallies. The Women's Committee formed a "Colored Women's Auxiliary Committee," and one African Methodist minister brought a white crowd to its feet at a City party rally in October, making them forget "... that it was a negro leading them."  

The campaign surged toward an emotional climax when, in mid-October, Missouri Governor Joseph Folk arrived. Folk was a national celebrity by virtue of his aggressive prosecutions as St. Louis city attorney and his election as governor in 1904. Representing political revivalism in its purest form, he carried the gospel of reform to Philadelphia, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and other places where good and evil were mixing it up. So packed was the Academy of Music for his speech that a prominent member of the welcoming group could not get inside. After waiting a minute and a half for the cheers to subside, the governor opened up with a rousing call to civic virtue. "The fight you are making here," he declared, "is a battle which will be felt by every town, city, and State in the land. . . . The moral revolution that is now sweeping over the land is merely a revival of the rule of the people."  

Philadelphians loved it. Following Folk's speech, 3,000 enthusiasts proceeded to Israel Durham's house. "We have come to show you that we disapprove almost to revolution your thieving and prostitution of the public weal," the group's leader shouted in the era's most inflammatory terms, "and to say that there is a just God in heaven and that you have to repent of your evils and make restitution of your ill-gotten gains." An

22 From Joseph Folk speech, "The New Patriotism," quoted on the cover of the *Western Christian Advocate* (a Cincinnati Methodist paper), Nov. 1, 1905. Though the speech was delivered in Philadelphia, these words were used to inspire reform voting in Cincinnati as well.
“evangelist” then tried to “proclaim the rights of the people and to call down the wrath of God” on the Gang, but his hearers left him to march to the Philadelphia Inquirer building where they denounced its proorganization stance. Afterward they all went down to the Bellevue-Stratford to cheer Governor Folk.23

To the end, Philadelphia’s uprising had the style of a religious revival. Not that morality alone was at stake. One journalist pointed out that in a city with more privately owned homes than New York and London combined, “an issue that might not stir even a languid interest among the flat and apartment dwellers . . . [elsewhere] might work a social upheaval among the proletariat of Philadelphia.” Yet religious ideals made up a major theme of the campaign; public rallies trumpeted their own religious character. An observer wrote: “The old long-metered doxology was sung, as if by common impulse, at almost every meeting. ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’ was a favorite marching tune.”24

On November 7, a splendid sunny day with blue and gold city flags flapping in the breeze, voters trooped to the polls. Prodded by Weaver, authorities had exorcised over 50,000 phantoms from the voting lists, and dutiful policemen and deputies sworn in by the mayor overcame the threat of Gang shenanigans. University of Pennsylvania football players and frat men were also on hand. It worked. Philadelphia gave City party candidates a stunning victory, with 43,000 votes to spare in the sheriff’s race. At the same time voters statewide elected William Berry as state treasurer. In January, when the state legislature met to consider reform measures such as open primaries, the Methodist chaplain inserted into the prayer “And now, O Lord, help these men, for they are all reformers, get down to work, for the men who refuse to indorse [sic] the cast of reform will be consigned to political oblivion next November.”25

Philadelphia’s civic revival, fed by an intense moral and religious wave, was just part of a national phenomenon. According to historian Richard L. McCormick, “[T]he brief period from 1904 to 1908 saw a remarkably compressed political transformation. . . . [T]icket splitting increased,

23 Public Ledger, Oct. 17, 1905.
and organized social, economic, and reform-minded groups began to exercise power more systematically than ever before." Compressing things further, he wrote, "During 1905 and 1906 in particular, a remarkable number of cities and states experienced wrenching moments of discovery that led directly to significant political changes." McCormick attributed the change to public outrage at discoveries by muckraking journalists.26

Many observers of the time, however, credited a moral and spiritual awakening for the arousal of the voters. Up to 1904 would-be reform leaders often despaired over their fellow citizens' selfishness and apathy about moral issues, not their ignorance. William Allen White referred to political bosses like Mark Hanna and their "cash-register conscience" as a "walking, breathing, loving body of the American spirit." Even at the beginning of 1905 the president of the National Reform Association spoke of "the apparent 'slump' in the public conscience which cannot be aroused even in the presence of the greatest evils."27

Then, according to many observers, came a major change in public perceptions. "Will not 1905 go down into history as the year of the awakened conscience?" the Congregationalist exulted. "More persons than ever before have been asking . . . 'Is it right?' 'How did he get it?' 'What would Jesus do?'" The Commoner, edited by William Jennings Bryan, praised the "changed lives, changed customs, and changed social conditions" stemming from "a return from materialism and commercialism to a higher spiritual life," resulting from the religious revivals of that year. In 1906 journalist Philip L. Allen marveled at the "upheaval" of the previous two years. Before 1904, he said, civic reformers existed in abundance and so did their defeats. What was new thereafter was the popular support bearing them up.28

The parallels between these civic awakenings and the Revival of 1905

27 William Allen White, "Hanna," McClure's 16 (1900), 64. Christian Statesman, Jan. 1905, 23, 24. So apathetic were "good citizens" supposed to be that a Public Ledger editorial (April 23, 1905) expressed shock when a group of businessmen bothered to show up and testify at magistrate's court against election board fraud.
are compelling. Christian teachings combined with zeal rose in reaction against the same materialistic apathy White had complained about. Around the turn of the century many observers, religious and secular, feared that America was loose from its moral pinnings and was careening toward disaster. Relentless social change compounded intellectual, moral, and religious dilemmas. Whether the symptom was bossism, shallow piety, divorce, or social injustice, evangelical clergymen and many secular Progressives blamed the nation's selfish materialism. From around 1900 on increasing numbers of clergymen urged the church to pursue religious revival, and the topic was widely discussed.29

"Revival" in this sense was more than just organized "revivalism." Evangelical Protestants traditionally have seen revival as a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit, motivating Christians to repent of spiritual apathy, pray fervently, recommit their lives to Christ, and spread the gospel. Then non-Christians would be moved to conversion. Dedicated Christians were supposed to help this kind of revival through fervent prayer and evangelism.30

Around the beginning of the century, therefore, most evangelical denominations set up committees to mobilize preachers and lay people for evangelism and to spread the revival spirit. Philadelphia's Presbyterians led the way. In 1899 they established a Committee on Summer Evangelism under the chairmanship of John Converse. In 1901 the national denomination drew on this successful Philadelphia body to form a Committee on Evangelism, chaired by Converse, with New York City pastor-evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman as corresponding secretary. (Chapman, who was destined to play a major role in the Revival of 1905, had pastored

29 On Protestant churches beleaguered by urban social dilemmas, see Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1977). As the national Methodist leaders expressed it in 1904, "We have gloried in a material prosperity. . . . Meanwhile our political, social, moral, and religious problems have multiplied, and some of them have reached acute stages fraught with imminent perils"; "The Episcopal Address," Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1904), 139.

30 A good source for this traditional understanding of revival would be James Burns, Revivals: Their Laws and Leaders (London, 1909). Note that the hope of revival was not the exclusive property of religious conservatives. Even many secular reformers conceded that the cure had to be some kind of revitalization that would teach men to think unselfishly, and religion was part of it. As sociologist Albion Small put it, religion was "the reservoir in which a nation stores its moral power"; Small, "Christianity and National Needs," Baptist Home Mission Monthly (Jan. 1905), 21.
Bethany Presbyterian, a major Philadelphia church.) The new committee organized prayer circles, disseminated literature on prayer and evangelism, and made lists of evangelists available to lead campaigns. By late 1904 the Baptists and Methodists—both northern and southern—and Congregationalists had followed this example at national, state, and local levels.

Meanwhile, growing public interest in religion meant successful evangelistic campaigns and widespread demand for more. The Presbyterian “Converse Committee” could not keep up with burgeoning requests for evangelists, leading Chapman to resign his New York pastorate in 1903 and return to full-time evangelism. In February 1904 he led a team of evangelists into Pittsburgh for a "simultaneous" campaign, in which the preachers blanketed the city all at once. His mission received avid attention and high marks for its "uplift," organization, and 4,000 conversions. After this success Chapman, choosing from a flood of requests, planned an ambitious six-month series of campaigns through major cities, including Denver, Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon, and Seattle. The Chapman team began in Atlanta in late October, assisting in what that city’s Constitution considered the South’s greatest revival.

The revival spirit received a boost from an unexpected and faraway quarter. In December 1904 both religious and secular newspapers carried accounts of a dramatic religious revival in Wales, with stories of mass conversions and great religious zeal. Tens of thousands of the Welsh flocked to church altars as converts; while the “upheaval” lasted for over a year, crime and drinking plummeted throughout the principality and stayed low. The Welsh revival burst across the vision of American evangelicals as a major portent. It galvanized the preaching just as many churches started their annual post-New Year’s evangelism.

In January religious zeal appeared to have crossed the Atlantic. Chapman made headlines nationwide with a pervasive revival in the scandal-ridden city of Denver. At the same time pastors in Schenectady, New

31 The Congregationalists provided a bridge from liberalism to revivalism, and the liberals’ involvement in the Revival of 1905 was crucial to broadening its appeal. Even Unitarian ministers and laymen joined evangelistic campaigns, particularly in Massachusetts and California
32 Editorial, Atlanta Constitution, Nov 7, 1904
33 One of many good summaries of the Welsh upheaval available to 1905 readers was William T. Stead’s “The Great Religious Revival in Wales,” Review of Reviews (March 1905), 333. Fuller discussion of the revival may be found in Eifion Evans, The Welsh Revival of 1904 (London, 1969)
York, responded to overwhelming popular religious interest by quickly throwing together a citywide revival that packed churches for three weeks. Stories of great campaigns emerged from other large cities in the winter and spring of 1905, including Boston, New York, Louisville, Omaha, Kansas City, Los Angeles, and Seattle. In addition, small towns, villages, and settlements around the country experienced the wave of religious fervor.

Pennsylvania had some of the most striking revivals, particularly in its northeastern quarter with its many Welsh-Americans, who were influenced by revival tidings from Old Cambria. Non-Welsh were moved as well. At Waterville, for example, where an ex-miner preached for a week or two, 100 people went forward—allegedly leaving fifteen in the town “unconverted.” In Holmesburg, one small church’s nightly revivals grew until most people in town attended. “Old inhabitants say that the spiritual fervor is unparalleled since the great Revivals of nearly a century ago.” In February Philadelphians were inspired by a spectacular revival occurring in nearby Ocean City, New Jersey. People jammed into services day and night, sometimes till dawn. “The scenes there are beyond belief,” the *North American* reporter wrote. “It is impossible for half the people to get to the altar who want to get there.” In this resort town with a winter population of 1,300 (three-fourths of whom were already church members), it was said that at most fifty people “have not joined in the hallelujahs.” The mayor himself was a convert and led one of the services.

Like their colleagues elsewhere, Philadelphia ministers stressed evangelism all winter. Baptists were so busy with evangelism that they could not hold their annual midwinter conference. The Presbyterians, too, had campaigns in progress featuring well-attended services. Based on the *North American* and *Public Ledger*, however, the full force of the nationwide revival did not arrive until the end of February. “WAVE OF RELIGION, SWEEPING WORLD, STRIKES THIS CITY,” came the *North American*’s page one headline on February 28, followed by, “Pastors, Astounded by New Sentiment, Plan Revivals. PEOPLE AWAKENED. Mysterious Impelling Power, Which Moved Wales, Appears Here.”

34 The leading minister in this campaign, Schenectady newcomer George Lunn, became a citywide celebrity and a renowned evangelist as a result. For surveys of the revivals in various parts of the country, see Heinrichs, “The Last Great Awakening,” especially chaps. 3-8.
35 *North American*, March 7, 15, 1905; Feb. 27, 1905.
(This appeared on the very day clergymen met to pray for political and moral cleansing in Philadelphia.) The *Public Ledger* proclaimed the same day: "A monster revival, such as is now in progress in Wales and . . . particularly Denver and Schenectady, is looked for in this city. Baptist ministers are making preparations for its advent."

The following Sunday, March 5, the religious spirit was so marked at many Philadelphia churches that newspapers lavished attention on the sermons and the swollen church attendance. On March 7 Philadelphia ministers and laymen, prominent among them Rector Tompkins, met at First Baptist to plan "the solidification of the imminent revival." At this meeting it was announced that in the preceding winter 10,000 conversions had taken place in the city. The ministers deemed this proof "that Philadelphia is in the throes of a religious uprising that promises to equal the tremendous uprising in England and Wales." The *North American* happily passed on the participants' hope that religious fervor would translate into "the city's reclamation from vice and corruption."

Packed services and revival meetings continued into the spring. Bethany Presbyterian Church received sixty new members one April Sunday—*before* launching its campaign that same evening. Special services at Wesley Methodist Church were so heavily attended for weeks that it was decided on April 19 to "throw open all the Methodist churches in the city." That spring Philadelphia Methodists claimed more than 6,000 probationers and 10,000 converts for 1904-05. In their annual reports the churches gloried in the revival spirit that brought in these conversions and, of course, greater giving for church extension.

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36 Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, Oct. 3, 1905, American Baptist Historical Society. On the revival spirit in Philadelphia, see *Public Ledger*, March 3, 6, 1905; Feb. 28, 1905; *North American*, Feb. 28, 1905. Often the interest was literally brought home to ministers at night, when strangers dropped by parsonages to ask how to be saved.

37 *Public Ledger*, March 6, 1905. *North American*, March 6, 8, 1905.

38 *North American*, April 1, 20, 1905. For Methodist conversions, see Orr, *Flaming Tongue*, 70. *Philadelphia Methodist*, May 1, 1905. Annual reports of Methodist churches contained numerous references to the revival: "The revival spirit has been prevalent. . . . Kensington [in a working-class district], after a sweeping revival at her own altars, joined with Front Street and Hancock Street [churches], resulting in over 50 conversions"; "The spirit of revival has been very pronounced in this region"; "The churches of this section of the city have been visited by glorious revivals"; "This section of the city has been specially under the influence of the spirit of revival. Each church has reported the gracious presence of God in the conversion of souls"; from "Reports of Presiding Elders," *Annual Minutes of the Philadelphia Conference*, Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1905), 52, 61, 63.
Late in 1905 Philadelphia's evangelical clergymen decided on a unified campaign. At the urging of John Wanamaker, they booked evangelist R.A. Torrey, whose six-week mission the following spring garnered thousands of conversions. Elsewhere around the country, too, professional revivalism expanded greatly after 1905. Chapman, Torrey, and another evangelist whose ministry galloped forward that year, Billy Sunday, increased their efforts. The 1905 revivals also encouraged interdenominational cooperation at the Interchurch Conference in New York City in November 1905—which resulted later in the establishment of the Federal Council of Churches. Other interdenominational crusades were launched, too, including the Men and Religion Forward Movement (1911-12).39

There can be little doubt that the religious longings expressed in this revival and the explosion of fervor released by it contributed greatly to Philadelphia's political uprising. The pastors and their congregations kept up the drumbeat of rebellion over the long winter. They provided leadership during the UGI fight that was framed in quasi-religious terms, using religious symbolism and a revivalistic style. Going to the polls on November 7 was seen as the moral equivalent of walking the evangelist's "sawdust trail" to the altar. The revival influenced reform politics in 1904 and 1905 elsewhere as well. Muckrakers, other reform journalists such as William Allen White, and the anticorruption candidates made appeals to conscience closely paralleling the message of revivalism. They denounced not only public evils but the sin of indifference to them. They called on the public to repent, asserting that moral rightness, rather than detailed programs, was more important in the battle for reform. Moreover, the trust these opinion leaders placed in the power and righteousness of the people resembled the revivalist's faith in the Holy Spirit. In Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, and Nebraska devout Methodists were elected governor in 1904 and 1905. Reformist Republicans in Nebraska captured many pietists who had voted for William Jennings Bryan. They proceeded to implement programs of business regulation, local option for the prohibition of alcohol, and direct democracy. After 1905, too, Texas Democrats

devoted increasing attention to moral and social matters, especially temperance, and to regulating industry.\textsuperscript{40}

The cause of temperance received a powerful boost from the Revival of 1905; many towns responded to it by drying out, and enforcement of liquor laws tightened around the country. The Anti-Saloon League, whose supporting churches doubled in number between 1905 and 1915, blessed the revival. The saloon was weakened politically, too. Recalling a New York politico's aphorism that one saloon had more political clout than any ten churches, \textit{Leslie's Weekly} maintained:

\begin{quote}
[\textit{T}he period of saloon dominance in politics is nearly, if not quite, over. To the influence of good women, combined with that of the churches, the success of the political reform movement in the recent elections in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio is attributable in no small degree.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

In 1906 Mayor Weaver gratified his new constituency further by enforcing Sunday blue laws. But all was not to be well. An angry split rent the City party in September 1906 when it nominated Gibboney rather than Weaver's man for district attorney. Weaver quietly returned to the regular Republicans and then disappeared from history. Meanwhile, the Gang recovered, defeated Gibboney, and won the municipal elections in February 1907. Groused a Philadelphia paper, citizens "have wearied of the fight for the civic redemption of their city, and are willing to accept the conditions which will come with the full restoration of the old forces to power."\textsuperscript{42}

So the "cats" came home, chuckled a Republican satirist who had "stayed" and who poked fun at the religious spirit of the civic uprising. For a time Philadelphia's felines had been "fooled into believing in saints on earth when they ought to know that saints are only in heaven." Well, laughed this "cat," "the people who try the saint business on earth are

\textsuperscript{40} Cherny, \textit{Nebraska Politics}, 100 Lewis L. Gould, \textit{Progressives and Prohibitionists Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era} (Austin, 1973), 25-26

\textsuperscript{41} Robert Handy, \textit{A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada} (New York, 1977), 129 Ernest Cherrington, an Anti-Saloon League spokesman, praised "the widespread and sweeping wave of reform," claiming that its supporters not only "are ushering in a new era, but they are laying the foundation for the greatest revival of religion the world has ever seen", \textit{Pacific Christian Advocate}, April 4, 1906 \textit{Leslie's Weekly} quoted in \textit{Pacific Christian Advocate}, Jan 17, 1906

\textsuperscript{42} Unnamed Philadelphia reform newspaper, quoted in editorial, "Reaction to Political Reform," \textit{Western Christian Advocate}, March 6, 1907
a job-lot—neither fit for heaven nor earth.” Perhaps not for regular politics, anyway. By 1908 the organization was fully back in business, thrashing City party reformers one last time in the new political primaries.  

Popular fickleness turned out to be the Achilles’ heel of more than one reform movement. As mayors Mark Fagan of Jersey City and Tom Johnson of Cleveland discovered, reformers “could not compete on the basis of periodic short-run campaigns with disciplined party hierarchies controlling patronage and other material rewards.” When one came down to it, usually the people were asleep. Many urban reformers, including clergymen, ceased to rely on waves of popular support and became students of power and efficiency. Seattle’s Mark Allison Matthews, the top Presbyterian minister there, learned to play political hardball and formed tactical alliances with former enemies. The Reverend George Lunn, leader in the 1905 revival in Schenectady, renounced revivalism in 1908 and drifted into the Socialist party, through which he was elected mayor in 1911. In Philadelphia the antiboss ideology, sustained by faith in popular revival, kept many reformers from making that transition before 1908. The Committee of Seventy, under John C. Winston’s leadership, retreated from political activism and became a good government, watchdog-pressure group; it outlasted the City party by seven decades.  

In other words the “moral wave” phase of Progressivism had a short run, coinciding roughly with the period of extraordinary religious revivals that lasted into 1906. Afterward, reformers placed their trust in organizing and lobbying the centers of power rather than in arousing the people. This change neatly parallels changes in revivalism itself, which became better organized, more professional, and less dependent on spontaneous waves of religious fervor (or showers of heavenly blessings). Meanwhile, churches combined through new organizations such as the Federal Council of Churches (founded in 1908) to extend their message and ameliorate society’s evils through modern methods. A classic example is that revivalist-sociological hybrid, the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

Yet along with the increasing appreciation for efficiency and power, partisans of the varied Progressive causes—from child labor reform to women's suffrage to Prohibition to the New Nationalism—kept their revivalistic style and moralistic, even religious content. In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt made his "Confession of Faith" to frenzied Bull Moose supporters who paraded around a Chicago convention hall singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." The scene resembled many rallies in Philadelphia seven years before, when the people awoke to their moral duty to smite the system. Progressivism never truly left its revivalistic roots that were made firm in the Revival of 1905.

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