A Kansas Revival of 1872

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“IN all places of business yesterday, the only topic of conversation was religion. To such an extent was the interest, that we obtained local items with great difficulty.”¹ The Topeka reporter who wrote this could have written the same about Leavenworth, Lawrence, Atchison, Fort Scott and a score of other Kansas communities during the winter and spring of 1872. From January to May a revival swept Kansas which competed successfully for space in the newspapers with such items as the Grant scandals, the “liberal Republican” movement, the meeting of the state legislature, and the progress of railroad construction across the Plains. On several occasions it made the front page, which, almost without exception in those days, was reserved for national and international news.

The central figure in the revival was the Rev. Edward Payson Hammond, an internationally-known evangelist. Hammond was born in Ellington, Conn., in 1831. He was graduated from Williams College in 1858 and then studied for two years at Union Theological Seminary in New York. This was followed by a year at the Free Church Theological Seminary in Edinburgh, Scotland. It was during the year in Scotland that his evangelistic abilities were first discovered. He was ordained an evangelist by the Presbytery of New York, Third, of the Presbyterian Church (U. S. A.) in January, 1863. Following his marriage in 1866, he and his bride spent nearly two years abroad visiting and conducting meetings in Italy, Egypt, Palestine, France, and England. From the time he returned to the United States until he arrived in Kansas in January, 1872, he had conducted meetings in many of the larger cities of the country.

Hammond was described by the editor of the Leavenworth Times as being a “‘Muscular Christian’; he is rather short, ‘thick set’, and squarely built, has a very powerful voice, looks and talks like a well-fed Englishman, and might very readily be taken for the original of the wood-cut pictures in the illustrated papers of Jim Fisk.”² One of Hammond’s admirers resented the comparison of the beloved evangelist to Fisk. The editor was informed “that such comparisons are not at all pleasant to the ears of the great

¹ Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, March 21, 1872.
² Leavenworth Daily Times, January 27, 1872.
many admirers of Mr. Hammond in this city. We hope he will be more choice in his comparisons hereafter." 3 To this chastisement the editor’s only comment was that Fisk’s friends hadn’t been heard from yet. The same editor later confessed a liking for Hammond, in spite of describing him as being “as full of life . . . as George Francis Train, as indomitable as Andy Johnson, and as persistent as an insurance agent.” 4

An account of the Lawrence revival contained several interesting descriptive passages:

He is of a class of men who, while their labors relate almost exclusively to another world, enjoy a hearty laugh and a good dinner in this. . . . He has a mobile and expressive countenance, capable of instantaneous changes of expression, depicting all the varying emotions of the human soul, a bright smile, and a wonderfully sympathetic voice. . . . One secret of Mr. Hammond’s power, we think, with the masses of men not allied to him in belief, is the absence of anything like professional severity in his demeanor. He adopts the clerical suit of black, and the white neckcloth, but further than that has little to mark him for a clergyman. 5

Hammond spent more than three months in Kansas. He arrived at Leavenworth on January 21, 1872, from Kansas City, Mo., where he had been conducting meetings. He remained in Leavenworth until February 16. Subsequent engagements took him to Lawrence from February 16 to March 8; Topeka from March 8 to March 28; Atchison from March 31 to April 12; and Fort Scott from April 13 to May 2. Following the Fort Scott meetings he spent less than a week in Paola and Ottawa, after which he returned to the east.

Every evangelist has certain techniques which are used extensively and Hammond was no exception. He began his work in each city by holding several, usually three or four, children’s meetings. These sessions were designed especially for children and youth who would be accompanied by their parents. At the first children’s meeting in Lawrence, there were “at least five hundred of the children, and altogether, by actual count, there were 1,994 persons in attendance.” 6 This was probably typical of the ratio between children and adults at most of the children’s meetings.

At the first meeting Hammond would explain in simple terms the plan of salvation and the necessity for everyone, including children, to accept it. At the second and subsequent meetings, the children were asked to repeat short sayings and prayers which were enter-

3. Ibid., January 30, 1872.
4. Ibid., February 15, 1872.
5. A Brief Account of the Great Revival in Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence, 1872), p. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 5.

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taining as well as educational. At the second children's meeting in Topeka "at the close of his sermon, he stationed several ministers at the foot of the platform to examine the children who thought they were converted, and then pass them up on the stage."  

The validity of child conversions was questioned by some of the adults. In an age when conversion was regarded as strictly an adult concern, this is not surprising. Hammond, however, remained firm in his belief in the value of work among young children and was supported by the local ministers who worked with him in the meetings. Six of the Lawrence clergymen testified at the morning prayer meeting on February 21 that they were convinced that child conversions were as genuine and lasting as those of adults. The Reverend Mr. Cordley of the Congregational Church told of his own experience in which he said that when "he was ten years old he had just as clear an idea of sin and the necessity of repentance as he had now."  

Dr. F. S. McCabe, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Topeka, who was visiting and observing the Lawrence meetings in view of asking Hammond to come to Topeka, supported the statement of his fellow clergymen. He told the same congregation that he had examined some of the children himself and was perfectly satisfied. "Yesterday he asked a lad 'why he loved Jesus?' 'Because,' said the boy, 'he died to save me.' What synod, association or conference could say more?"  

At Fort Scott two boys from Atchison and one from Topeka took the platform at the first children's meeting to tell of their conversion during the meetings held in their cities.

The task of convincing parents that the conversion of their children was either desirable or conducive to good conduct was not easy. The Reverend Mr. Cordley answered the objection of at least one parent who said he would be convinced about the conversion of children when his own began to show some religion around home. "We do not expect children," Cordley replied, "to become perfect, full-grown Christians at once. This is the work of a lifetime. But their conversion affords a starting point, a basis to build on."

The Leavenworth Times reported a rather far-fetched story which was said to be only one of a dozen such being told in Leavenworth:

It appears that people become sinners at a very early age in this part of the country. We heard of one yesterday only two and a half years old, who becoming convinced that he was a great sinner, and had been all his life, concluded to have prayers in the family thereafter. His father, being a very bigoted and over bearing man objected and, told him that if he must have prayers it could not be in that house; and so the brave little Christian went upstairs to pack his trunk.11

The most popular part of the meetings was the song service which was a novel feature of revivals in 1872. The evening meetings would open with hymn singing which might last as long as 30 minutes. Hymns would also be interspersed between prayers and personal testimonies during the remainder of the service. Hammond had compiled a hymn book called *New Praises of Jesus* which was used at his meetings. It contained a large number of new hymns with lively tunes. The favorite hymn was "Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By" which was sung to the tune of "Sweet Hour of Prayer." The words of the first verse were

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What means this eager, anxious throng,
Pressing our busy streets along?
Voices, in accents hushed, reply,
"Jesus of Nazareth passeth by."
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The daily schedule of meetings began with a morning prayer service at 9 o'clock. Weather permitting, a late morning street meeting at one of the main intersections rounded out the morning activities. The evening service began at either 7 or 7:30 o'clock. On Sunday an afternoon meeting was held.

In addition to a sermon, usually by Hammond, the time in the meetings was given to testimonials by lay people who would relate their experiences in finding Christ and urge others to follow their example. Until such time as a corps of converts could be obtained in a city, Hammond would utilize the converts from his previous meetings. Thus, the congregations at the early meetings in Lawrence heard the Leavenworth converts speak of their experiences. At Topeka the Lawrence people were used until sufficient numbers of local converts were obtained. For the benefit of those from Lawrence who wished to attend the Topeka meetings, the Kansas Pacific railroad offered three-day excursion tickets at two dollars. In order to take advantage of the excursion rate, purchasers were "provided with a certificate from Rev. Mr. Cordley in order to show that the excursionist is activated by a religious motive."12

The evening meetings had no formal closing. After the sermon and speaking, the congregation would gather in small groups and talk of things religious. This gave the converted an opportunity to talk to the nonconverted personally and help them overcome their fears and doubts about being forgiven for their past life and their ability to lead a new one. This period, known as an “inquiry meeting,” would often last as long as an hour with people leaving the church or hall as they desired.

There was more to the revival than holding meetings. Other work needed to be done. Saloons and houses of prostitution were visited by eager workers in hope of leading both the operators and patrons from their life of sin. Although there is little evidence that these labors produced the desired results, the operators, for the most part, did not seem to mind the intrusion. Children were organized into evangelistic teams in Atchison to sing in the saloons. On the afternoon of April 6, the children, divided into two groups, visited all the saloons on Commercial street. A few of the proprietors refused them admission but most of them let them sing and depart in peace. Not all of the work in the saloons was without incident.

The Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, of March 23 gave an account of a fight which took place in front of Mr. Pauley’s saloon at Kansas and Fifth the preceding afternoon. The Rev. E. O. Taylor, with others, entered the saloon hoping to hold a meeting. Pauley asked them to leave and the meeting was held in the street in front. As Taylor was speaking, Jim Kelley, identified only as an Irishman, shouted, “It is a d—d lie.” At this point, Dick Brown, an engineer for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad, challenged Kelley to a fight at the conclusion of the meeting. The fight took place and the two, along with Jim’s brother, Pat, were haled into court. They were found guilty by the judge with Jim Kelley drawing a fine of ten dollars and costs, and the other two five dollars and costs each. Taylor’s defender did not go unrewarded. After the trial, Att. Gen. Archibald Williams, Jacob Smith, and several other prominent citizens stepped forward and paid Brown’s fine.

Closely allied with the campaign against the saloons was the anti-gambling crusade. One meeting in each town was devoted to the gamblers. This was always announced several days in advance and proved to be a popular meeting. In Lawrence it drew the largest audience of the revival. In Topeka the Christians were
asked to leave Union Hall and go to the Presbyterian and Congrega-
tional churches to make room for the unconverted. The text of
the sermon for the gamblers was Romans 6:23—"For the wages of
sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Jesus Christ our
Lord."

Hammond also visited the jails and, while at Leavenworth, made
several visits to the state penitentiary in Lansing.

Hammond made the claim that he never came into a city except
by invitation from the local clergymen and churches. Such was
the case in Kansas. As a matter of fact, he had more invitations
than he was able to accept. In all cases he was fully backed and
supported by the pastors of the evangelical churches. They usually
held several meetings in the week preceding Hammond's arrival
and the meetings continued several weeks after his departure.
The meetings in Topeka lasted four weeks after Hammond left
and about the same length of time in Lawrence. In the other cities
the meetings were continued from two to three weeks.

As could be expected, the revival drew opposition. Most of it
came from the groups which were theologically opposed to the
co-operating churches. Hammond often berated the Unitarians,
Universalists, and other groups known generally as "free thinkers."
As a result their spokesmen in the various cities held meetings of
their own and issued challenges to Hammond or a representative
of his to debate questions of religion.

The first challenge to Hammond came toward the close of his
Leavenworth meetings. The Times of Sunday, February 11, 1872,
carried a letter from I. J. Stine, a local book agent, in which he at-
tacked the revival as being bigoted and narrowminded and listed
a number of propositions which he would be willing to debate with
any representative of the revival group. This challenge was ignored
but Stine did not weary easily. He appeared later at Atchison and
Fort Scott while the revival was in full progress in those cities. Only
at Fort Scott did Stine appear before the final days of Hammond's
meetings. More will be said of the Fort Scott encounter later.

A vocal exchange was touched off in Lawrence during the last
week of Hammond's appearance when he delivered a sermon on the
Trinity aimed at the Unitarians and Universalists. The following
Sunday (March 3), the Rev. W. C. Brooks, pastor of the Universalist
church in Lawrence, devoted his sermon to a defense of the prin-
ciples espoused by the Universalists. A series of weekly meetings,
held on Friday evening, which lasted through March and April
followed. Brooks took a live-and-let-live attitude toward the revival. At his meeting on April 5 he told the congregation that he was immune to those who attacked his faith. Even if his faith was not the best, he knew it was the best for him. He illustrated the point by saying that an oak, even if transplanted in better soil, is likely to die.

The Unitarians sponsored a series of lectures by Mrs. M. J. Wilcoxson which began on April 7, 1872. This was a month after Hammond had left Lawrence but the revival meetings were still being carried on by the local pastors. In her first address, which was on the subject "Religious Revivals," she gave her reasons for the enthusiasm shown by the revivalists.

[She] accounted for the remarkable enthusiasm of the revival by the fact that some men have certain psychological powers by which they lead people away from the calm use of their own reasoning and common sense. If each person was educated in his religious principles so as to be well founded, such a man as Hammond could not lead them into these excitements.13

Opposition to the "excitements" as the basis of the revival was echoed by every speaker who spoke against it. Hammond and the revivalists, on the other hand, constantly denied this to be the case. They maintained that excitement or emotionalism was not encouraged and had no place in the revival meetings. To them, the opponents of the revival could not distinguish between emotionalism and enthusiasm. Mrs. Wilcoxson continued her lectures through April and the first two Sundays in May.

A different line of attack was taken by a person who wrote an open letter to the Kansas Daily Tribune published on April 9, 1872, and signed "Third Story Front." The revival was attacked on several points. First, that it was like a pendulum. Morals, it was stated, will swing as low in reaction as they go high in response to religious fervor. Second, that the revival was more commercial than religious. Some persons, it was charged, were converted because "it will help your business, you know." Hammond's own commercial interest was questioned because he sold his books during the revival meetings. Third, that the revival was divisive. It tended to divide the community into two groups while religion should be a uniting force. Fourth, the inquiry meetings only served the purpose of bringing together young men and young women for doubtful purposes. The revivalists countered by saying that the assumptions of "Third Story Front" were totally false.

13. Ibid., April 9, 1872.
It was in Topeka that the opposition was most active. Unlike the other cities in which Hammond appeared, his adversaries did not wait for his arrival or, as in some cases, his departure. By mid-February a debate was in the offing between Elder D. P. Hall of Olathe, a Christadelphian, and Dr. T. B. Taylor, the leader of the Spiritualist Society of Topeka. The proposition to be debated was “Resolved: That modern Spiritualism is taught in the Bible and, as opposed to materialism, is true.” The question was to be affirmed by Taylor and negated by Hall. All arrangements for the debate were completed by February 15 except for the time. For some undisclosed reason the debate did not begin for another two months. The first discussion took place on April 15 with nightly meetings held for a week following. During this two months interim Hall dropped out of sight but Taylor and the spiritualists were active in other areas.

The first encounter between the spiritualists and the revivalists arose over a resolution adopted at a mass meeting on February 25 preparatory to Hammond’s expected arrival in Topeka on March 1. The meeting passed a resolution requesting the board of education to dismiss the afternoon session of school on the days when Hammond would hold children’s meetings. The first written protests were carried in the Commonweal on February 28. On that day two letters appeared, one of which was signed by “Philo,” who identified himself only as a spiritualist, and the other by Theodore Mills, a leader in the Topeka Spiritualist Society. “Philo’s” protest was brief. He wrote, in part, “I protest against the interruption of our common schools for the furtherance, supposed or real, of any other interest whatever.”

Mills, who wrote several other protest letters in the days following, was not quite as firm as “Philo.” He did not approve of a general dismissal but was willing to have those children dismissed who brought requests from their parents that they be excused to attend the revival. He opposed a general dismissal of school because a large number of people had no confidence in this type of meeting and did not want their children to miss a single recitation.

The day following Mills’ first letter came the announcement that Hammond would postpone his arrival in Topeka one week because of physical exhaustion. Mills took this opportunity not only to further his stand on the school problem but to question Hammond’s sincerity. He wrote:

The reason why Mr. H[ammond] does not visit Topeka now, is for the lack of funds; for Mee [possibly the Reverend Mr. McCabe] and Samuel Dolman . . . must remember that, so far as Mr. Hammond is concerned it is “purely a matter of business.” So if the brethren of Topeka don’t lay down the “pew-ter,” the Rev. Mr. H. will not visit us and the poor little children will have to go unconverted, and go to h—l at last, and all this for the lack of a little of that which Mr. H’s bible calls “filthy lucre,” the love of which is said to be “the root of all evil,” as to let the dear children of Topeka go to the bad place for lack of “his revival.” 15

The board of education granted the request of the revivalists and only a morning session of school was held for about two weeks.

It was T. B. Taylor, rather than Mills, who led the attack against the revival. Taylor announced that on Sunday evening, March 3, he would answer the Rev. D. P. Mitchell of the Methodist church who had previously spoken against spiritualism. “The public,” the announcement read, “that has been induced to believe that Spiritualism is such a monstrosity, and Spiritualists such monsters, as Mr. Mitchell has pronounced them, are cordially invited to attend. Mr. Mitchell, in person or by proxy, is also invited.” 16

Taylor apparently had asked permission to speak at one of the revival meetings and had been denied. Toward the end of Hammond’s stay in Topeka, Taylor wrote him an open letter. He began by explaining that it was necessary to “take this method of speaking to you and to others who are not permitted to hear me in the meetings in consequence of this ostracism—in consequence of this infringement of one of the dearest of American human rights, the liberty of speech.” 17

He continued by relating briefly three conversion experiences of his own. He had been a Methodist clergyman for nearly a quarter of a century until he had been banned from the church a year previously for ideas expressed in lectures on the resurrection of the dead. Taylor volunteered to be a guinea pig by attending the meetings and following Hammond’s instructions to see if he could be forced to change his mind.

Taylor closed his letter by attacking three basic theological beliefs of the revivalists. He stated that he did not believe in a personal God but rather that “God is a spirit”; that Jesus was not God but that he manifested the God-spirit in all of his deeds; and, that the doctrine of vicarious atonement was a logical and theological

15. Ibid., March 1, 1872.
17. Ibid., March 21, 1872.
paradox because no one can substitute or suffer for the sins of another.

The testimony of R. N. Collingsworth at one of the revival meetings in which he blamed all of his past sinful deeds on spiritualism served as the occasion for another Taylor letter. He wrote:

If Mr. C., or anyone else, has ruined the character of an unsuspecting girl, and had thus thrown her out of society as an outcast upon the heartless world, then he must hunt up such and do all in his power, by his money and otherwise, to bring her back to society and friends again; that if he has “taken anything wrongfully he must restore it with interest.” But no, no, that is too costly . . . for Mr. C. and a great many others. They must seek to lay all these shameful crimes on some one else, who is innocent. And this is the beautiful theology that Mr. Hammond and all the rest of these zealous souls are teaching.

But rather let them “bring forth fruits meet for repentance” and think not to say, “Jesus has died for my sins and I will go scott free.”

They expect to live as they list, say a prayer, make a profession, say they “love Jesus,” and go into heaven on a white horse with a great flourish of trumpets; but instead, they will hear, ringing in their ears, these awful words, “Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.” 18

The verbal blast by Taylor was not the end of this incident. The day following the appearance of the letter, Collingsworth chanced upon Taylor on Kansas avenue where he administered a beating, by the use of his cane, which required Taylor to seek medical assistance.

The practice of the revivalists in praying for the conversion of specifically named persons brought forth at least one letter to the editor in each city conducting revival meetings. E. E. Barnum of Topeka wrote a letter to the Commonwealth which was typical. Barnum attended the meeting in which he was the particular object of prayer. “I was made the subject,” he wrote, “of public exhibition and scurrilous attack, which was utterly uncalled for, and without justification.” 19 In the same letter, he also wrote:

The spirit manifested by these revivalists in condemning as “heretics” and “vile sinners” all those who chance to disagree with them in matters pertaining to religion, is identical with that which in all ages of the world has pursued and put to the tortures of the inquisition honest men and women who conscientiously differed from them in their interpretation of religious faith. 20

The revival meetings had competition from a phrenologist who delivered a series of lectures at Costa’s Opera House midway

18. Ibid., March 24, 1872.
through Hammond’s stay in Topeka. The lecturer, Prof. O. S. Fowler, delivered a speech on “Love, Courtship and Matrimony” on the evening of March 15. This was followed the next day by an afternoon lecture to ladies only on “Female Health and Beauty Restored” and an evening discussion to gentlemen only on “Manhood: Its Strength, Impairment, and Restoration.” These lectures had little effect, if any, on the attendance at the revival meetings.

The attacks on Hammond’s character did not end with his departure. At the revival meeting on Sunday evening, April 7, Mr. Hunter, an employee in the AT&SF railroad shops, reported that three men in the shops had accused Hammond of all sorts of crimes and that they could prove their accusations by evidence from people in Peoria, Ill. Hunter had written Robert G. Ingersoll and received a reply which probably was not satisfactory to either side. Ingersoll wrote:

The Rev. Mr. Hammond conducted what is generally called a “revival” at this place [Peoria] some two or three years ago. I know nothing for or against his character. I have regarded him as a kind of fanatic whose intentions might be good enough, but whose lack of real sound sense was fearful. I never saw the man, and have never heard much about him one way or the other. From what I have seen in the papers, I am satisfied the man is responsible for his actions, but is entirely carried away by his unfortunate belief in the gospel. He acts in my judgment as any real Christian ought to act. He is doing what he can to help people out of hell. If there is danger of eternal punishment being inflicted upon sinners, every honest Christian should give his whole life to the business of rescuing souls from such terrible fate. Mr. Hammond acts out his doctrine and of course acts like a crazy man. No man of decent heart can believe in the doctrine of eternal punishment without becoming insane.21

In comparison to his stay in Topeka, Hammond must have felt that Atchison was rather dull. The opponents of the revival were relatively inactive. It is difficult to ascertain whether there was no active organized opposition or whether the community was indifferent to the revival. The latter is probably nearer the truth since in the cities, such as Lawrence and Topeka, where the revivals were regarded as more successful, the opposition was more active.

Reference has been made to the children’s groups organized in Atchison for the purpose of singing in the saloons. William H. Irwin, who reported the meetings for the papers in Atchison and Fort Scott, reported the following incident which occurred on the afternoon of April 6:

Several boys followed the little Christians, and abused them, hit them with sticks, insulted them in many ways, but the little fellows can afford to be per-

21. Ibid., April 9, 1872.
secuted for the sake of the dear Jesus, and can claim the promise: "blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." 22

Toward the end of Hammond's stay in Atchison, Stine appeared to deliver his series of lectures and issue his challenge to debate as he had done in Leavenworth. This time the challenge was accepted by the Reverend Mr. Van Wagner of the Congregational church. He attended Stine's lecture on April 12 prepared to present the revival cause. Stine spoke for two hours and then refused to give the platform to Van Wagner. The audience insisted that both sides be heard. Stine not only gave up the platform but left the hall without hearing Van Wagner's presentation. To the revivalists it was a great triumph. Van Wagner wrote in the Champion:

It is well known that this man Stine was sent for to counteract the revival, and that he is in the habit, wherever he goes, of challenging the clergy, particularly, and calling us a set of hypocrites, knaves and cowards, and declaring that we dare not meet him, nor discuss the various questions of belief and disbelief. . . .

The arguments and positions are the same substantially, by all infidel lecturers. It is only Hume, Volney, Voltaire, Shaftsbury, Paine, and later still, Strauss and Renan over again, all of whom have been met and vanquished from the field. The latest foe of infidel thought is Darwinism, and Darwinism is nothing but the old doctrine of Pythagoras . . . pushed with scientific investigation. It is merely the development theory of Combe and modern spiritualists. . . . And even if it were true that man is only an improved monkey, it would not disprove the existence of God nor the sacred record. 23

Stine appeared in Fort Scott a few days after Hammond's arrival having been requested by some of the citizens to give his lectures. Upon his arrival the Monitor observed that "Free Religion" and Christianity are about to lock horns for a struggle in this city. We opine that the meek and lowly Nazarine will come off victor. 24

"The Great Imposture; or, the True and Untrue in Christianity" and "God and Man" were the titles of the two lectures Stine delivered wherever he appeared. These were presented to crowded audiences in McDonald Hall at Fort Scott on the evenings of April 19 and April 20. He delivered a third lecture on Sunday evening, April 21, which was to be his last. His followers asked him to remain a while longer which he consented to do. On the evening of April 23 he preached from the text used by Hammond on the previous day.

22. Atchison Daily Champion, April 7, 1872.
23. Ibid., April 19, 1872.
Following his usual course, Stine attempted to arrange a debate with one of the local clergymen. He wrote the following note to the Reverend Mr. McCarthy:

Yesterday morning [April 21], if I did not misunderstand you, you publicaly announced your ability and readiness to defend and debate the general principles of the Christian religion.

Was your language meant as a challenge to discussion? If so, will you be kind enough to name a time and place, when and where, during the present week, I can have the privilege of meeting you, in open and fair debate on the general question, "Is Christianity true?" 25

McCarthey followed the Old Testament injunction and refused to descend to the plains of Ono. V. W. Sunderlin, who delivered the letter to McCarthy for Stine, reported that the "above letter was presented by me to the gentleman addressed, with a request to reply over his signature. As no such reply could be obtained, I wish only to state that fact." 26

Stine made another attempt to stir a debate during a street meeting in front of the Wilder House. The meeting was conducted by the Reverend Mr. Paulson, a presiding elder of the Methodist church. William H. Irwin reported the incident:

The remarks were good, instructive and kind, all was quiet until he [Paulson] made some allusion to Tom. Paine, when a poor, lost, blind sinner, by the name of Stine . . . openly and shamefully disturbed the religious meeting by calling the Rev. Mr. Paulson a liar. This is in keeping with his teaching. 27

Paulson, like McCarthy, wasn't interested in descending to the plains from his well fortified heights.

The Fort Scott revival was held in a large tent. During the last days of the meetings a nuisance was caused by "a large number of obnoxious individuals who, it seems, take a great delight in obstructing the passage in and out of the tent by their persons and whiskey fumes, mixed with tobacco smoke and other than gentlemanly deportment." 28 It was hoped that the local police would correct the situation.

It is difficult to evaluate the effect of a revival meeting. There can be no doubt, while the revival was in progress, that most people were amazed at its success. A report in the Atchison Daily Champion was typical:

25. Ibid., April 23, 1872.
27. Ibid., April 24, 1872.
28. Ibid., May 8, 1872.
The fruits of the revival were seen on the Sabbath, in the increased attendance, at all the various churches and Sabbath Schools, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather. We can but believe that from this time the history of Atchison, in this respect is to be changed, and that our churches, instead of being thinly attended, and struggling for existence, are to become stronger, and a power in our city that will be felt in all directions.

The revivalists worked with vigor and enthusiasm. From the centers of the revival, clergymen and laymen traveled to the surrounding towns and villages to spread the fruits of the revival as widely as possible. It was not unusual for entire families to travel as far as a hundred miles to attend the meetings for a day or two.

Statistically, the revival was a success. It is impossible to determine the exact number of conversions. In round numbers, the following were generally accepted:

- Leavenworth: 500
- Lawrence: 1,000
- Topeka: 600
- Atchison: 300
- Fort Scott: 400

The number who joined the local churches during the revival was only about half this number. Most of the newspapers carried a statement attributed to Hammond that he regarded the Lawrence revival as his most successful to that time except for the one held in Dunfries, Scotland.

There were always those ready to scoff. A Lawrence convert was jailed in Kansas City for drunkenness. "He told several persons that his visit to Kansas City was to escape the importunity of the revival people in Lawrence, and to enjoy a quiet drunk."

References to the revival were carried frequently in the papers for several months. As for the long range effect of Hammond's visit to Kansas, the following is probably a good summary:

In general it may be said that there has been no time of wide-spread religious interest when the foundations of society were stirred to their depths, such as has sometimes been seen in different ages and portions of the church. But Kansas has by no means been left unblessed.

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30. Fort Scott Monitor, May 18, 1872.
32. The Rev. Timothy Hill, Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas (Topeka, 1877), pp. 22, 23.