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Herman Daniel Champion Jr
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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SERMONS BY SAM JONES
DURING HIS EMERGENCE AS A NATIONAL FIGURE, 1872-1885

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col. PH.D. 1980

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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SERMONS
BY SAM JONES DURING HIS EMERGENCE
AS A NATIONAL FIGURE, 1872-1885

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of Speech

by
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December 19, 1980
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ABSTRACT

With an inimitable style out of the rural south, peppered with caustic, biting criticism and practical illustrations, Sam Jones combined the rustic, earthy qualities of southern hill country religion with the full auditoriums, careful schedules and trained assistants of urban religion. After an "apprenticeship" in North Georgia Methodist Circuits and as an advocate for the Decatur Orphan's Home, Sam Jones took his brand of revivalism throughout the United States and into Canada. He consistently attracted capacity crowds, large numbers of decisions, strong controversy and extensive press coverage.

The purpose of this investigation was to study the preaching career and sermons of Sam Jones from the start of his career in 1872 through the middle of 1885, the year of his complete emergence as a national figure in revivalism. Sermons for analysis came from two campaigns, Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, selected because of their significance in his emergence and the existence of reliable sermon texts.

The first part of the investigation involved a survey of the speaker's background, training, experience and other factors which may have contributed to his speaking success. The second part focused on the speaker's approach to revivalism, including a survey of the theological, social and political views which he ultimately expressed in his sermons and a study of the organization and conduct of both the revival campaigns and individual services in which the analyzed sermons...
were preached. The third part of the study involved a rhetorical analysis of eight selected sermons preached in the 1884 Memphis campaign and the 1885 Nashville campaign. The structure, lines of reasoning, forms of support, style and responses to his sermons were studied.

In both campaigns Jones accepted reluctant invitations and faced considerable opposition. In spite of these handicaps he generally preached two to three times a day to overflowing crowds.

Jones saw his task to be that of aligning the forces of God, "born again" church members, against the forces of evil, all others. The test which determined whether a person was among the forces of God was his deeds. A cardinal area of Jones' advocacy of the importance of deeds concerned prohibition.

Jones relied on six basic forms of support: Scripture, illustrations, examples, hypothetical reasoning, humor and comparison-contrasts. Emotional appeals occurred more in delivery than in content. Speaker credibility was his strength as people came more to hear Sam Jones than to hear a sermon.

The study concluded that Jones drew from his own rural background and experiences for sermon illustrations. That content was conveyed with biting humor and a colloquial style that could both commend and condemn. He took the revivalistic traditions of his predecessors, altered them to meet the flavor of his personality, demands of the situations, nature of the audiences and speaker's objectives, and passed on a legacy to revivalists who followed.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

With a sparse academic background and no formal training in public speaking other than practical experience, Samuel Porter Jones rose from obscurity in North Georgia to gain a national reputation both as a revivalist and a Chautauqua lecturer. His own particular style was gradually formulated during his early experience as a circuit preacher in obscure Methodist circuits in North Georgia between 1876 and 1880. During the latter half of this period he assisted fellow ministers in the area with their revivals. Invitations came in such number that he was appointed Agent for the Decatur Orphan's Home, a position that allowed him the freedom to conduct revivals regularly without the responsibilities of a regular circuit. For the next three years he branched out to other Georgia towns and in 1883 went outside the state for the first time. From 1883 through 1885 his reputation grew until his success in a meeting in Nashville, Tennessee in May, 1885 opened the door for invitations from other sections of the country. These revivals throughout the country gave him a national reputation and made him a popular figure on the Chautauqua lecture circuit.

His most significant achievement was his rise from obscurity to national prominence as a revivalist. His complete sermons frequently appeared in newspapers and publishers printed numerous volumes of his homilies from as early as 1885 throughout his career which extended to
1906. He always drew large crowds and had significant impact on the community as he condemned sins such as "drinking, gambling, and dancing." When Sam Jones preached, controversy existed, but a "considerable harvest of souls" was also reaped. He even rivalled the well-known Dwight L. Moody in attracting and persuading crowds. In ideas and style he paved the way for the more exuberant Billy Sunday to follow.

The Problem

The purpose of this investigation is to study the preaching career and sermons of Samuel Porter Jones from the beginning in 1872 through the middle of 1885, the year of his complete emergence as a national figure. An analysis of his early sermons should reveal some of the causes of his success when many other preachers were never known or heard outside their own immediate geographical areas.

Sermons for analysis are selected from two of the more important campaigns in the formative years of his career. These two campaigns were selected primarily because of their significance in his emergence as a national figure and also because of the existence of a sufficient number of sermon texts from those campaigns.

Although his preaching had been largely confined to Georgia prior to 1884, his reputation had begun to spread to adjoining states, primarily through former Georgia contacts who had moved. The Memphis revival was conducted between January 6 and February 6, 1884. The ministers issued the invitation with reservations and did not fully cooperate with Jones' initial efforts. However, his entertaining and
controversial sermons attracted larger crowds and the newspapers began to give him more favorable coverage. The turning point of the revival was the delivery of the sermon, "Escape For Thy Life," a sermon preached to men on January 20, 1884. The other two sermons selected from the Memphis campaign are "How Can You Be Saved?" preached on January 15, 1884, and "Cornelius, A Devout Man," preached on February 1, 1884, near the end of the revival campaign. Texts of these sermons are found in his books, papers, and in newspaper reports. Notations in the evangelist's diary for 1884 indicate the titles and dates particular sermons were preached in Memphis.

The second campaign from which sermons are selected for analysis was conducted in Nashville, Tennessee, May 10-30, 1884. In speaking of the Nashville meeting, Jones always referred to it as "that memorable meeting," and concluded that it was the greatest meeting he ever conducted. The ministers who invited him did so with apprehension and Jones began the meeting with the opposition of most of the newspapers and many of the citizens. During the three weeks of the campaign he conducted from three to four services daily, was successful in winning over the newspapers, and consistently attracted large crowds. The people even offered to give him a large house if he would move to Nashville. He received daily coverage by the papers whose large circulation helped spread his reputation. The Nashville newspapers

1Laura M. Jones, The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones (Atlanta: The Franklin Turner Company, 1907), p. 133.
carried reports of each of the services, and a book of sermons preached in Nashville was published after the revival campaign. From the large number of sermons preached in Nashville, the following ones are selected for analysis: (1) "Righteousness and Life, Sin and Death," preached on May 11, (2) "Grace and Salvation," preached on May 12, (3) "For Him or Against Him, the Best Wine At the Last," preached on May 19, (4) "The Fruits of the Spirit," preached to women on May 27, and (5) "God's Calls and Man's Calamities," preached on May 27, 1885. These sermons are representative of the subjects covered, the various types of meetings, and fairly well distributed over the course of the campaign.

The Procedure

The analysis will begin with a consideration of the speaker's background, training, experience, and other factors which may have contributed to his speaking success. A survey of his career will emphasize the degree and diversity of his success.

Since there are no living witnesses of Jones' preaching, information about delivery must come from newspapers, biographies and other written accounts. Answers will be sought to the following questions: How did the speaker look? What was his mode of delivery? What types of gestures, posture, movement, and facial expressions did he use? What did his voice sound like and how did he use it?

The second part of the analysis will include a survey of Jones' theological, social and political views which were ultimately expressed in his sermons, and a study of the organization and conduct of both revival campaigns and individual services.
A study of the immediate settings of the two campaigns should provide insight into the sermons selected for analysis. The analysis will focus on questions such as the following: Why was Sam Jones invited to lead the revival campaigns in the particular cities? Who invited him? Did the religious and social climates of the cities change during the campaign? Where were the services held and how many people attended? What publicity was conducted? Could the listeners see and hear? How did the people and the press react to his sermons?

The settings of the individual services where the analyzed sermons were preached will be studied in order to determine the number of people present, the chronological events of the services, and any other factors which may have had an effect on the speaker, the audience, or the sermon.

The third part of the analysis will concern the individual sermons. Theological controversy abounds in hermeneutics concerning methodological principles of Biblical interpretation. Biblical scholars do not agree on whether the Bible should be interpreted prophetically, literally, symbolically, or from the historical-critical viewpoint. Such controversies are beyond the scope of the present study which seeks to view Jones' sermons from a rhetorical rather than a hermeneutical perspective. As expressed by J. Daniel Baumann in An Introduction to Contemporary Preaching, the analysis is based on "the presupposition that homiletics is a selective application of the knowledge and skill common to all public speaking." Therefore, the

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sermons are analyzed as addresses concerned with religious and Biblical topics, whose intent is to either persuade or inform. With only minor exceptions, the categories of the analysis are rhetorical categories.

In order to understand the lines of reasoning, the following items will be studied: propositions, central ideas, premises, patterns of organization, introductions, conclusions and balance among main ideas.

The underlying appeal of all sermons is basically emotional because of the religious topics. Therefore it is seldom necessary to prove anything since the listeners generally agree with the basic premises and ideas of the preacher. The preacher makes his claims more impressive through amplification rather than proof. The analysis will consider the types of amplification used by Jones.

Although a sermon has a basic underlying emotional appeal, that does not mean that it must consequently contain an abundance of overt emotional appeals. In many sermons, delivery, rather than content, is the primary source of emotional appeals, but that aspect of a sermon cannot be analyzed unless the sermon is heard by the critic. Therefore, the only emotional appeals considered will be those which appear in the content of the sermons.

Since this study covers the formative period of Jones' reputation as a revivalist, it cannot be assumed that he automatically possessed favorable credibility when he arrived in a city to preach. A survey of his sermons reveals that he apparently felt it necessary to either change or enhance the audience's opinion of him, especially in the early services in a revival campaign. Those attempts included the three constituents of ethos, character, sagacity, and good will.
Although style is difficult to analyze, some consideration is essential. Jones was known for his slang, picturesque language and witty sayings. Reporters frequently commented about his harsh uncouth language. Since oral style, particularly word choice, was an integral part of his popular appeal and effectiveness, a study of Jones' sermons would be incomplete if it did not include style. The sermon analyses will include the four qualities of style suggested by Thonssen, Baird and Braden in *Speech Criticism*, correctness, clarity, appropriateness and embellishment.  

Finally, an attempt is made to determine both immediate and long-range response to Jones' sermons. How many people "walked the aisle?" Did attendance at the services grow? What did the newspapers report about the sermons? What were the religious and social effects of his sermons on the cities where he preached? In general, the writer will try to answer the question, "How effective was Jones in accomplishing what he hoped to accomplish?"

Sources of Material

One previous doctoral study about Jones was done by Raymond Charles Rensi. His dissertation, entitled "Sam Jones: Southern Evangelist," was completed in the History Department of the University of Georgia. It is essentially biographical and, according to the author, "endeavors to place Samuel Porter Jones in the American

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evangelical tradition and to illuminate the modifying effects that the Southern culture had upon his career." Rensi attempts to show that Jones welded together sincerity, personal talent, and his rural, white, Southern, religious heritage to achieve national success in revivalism. Although he refers to sermons and lectures and frequently quotes from them, he does not attempt to analyze them as individual entities. He does discuss Jones' manner of sermon delivery by quoting from newspaper clippings and people who heard Jones preach. At least three main values were derived from the Rensi study:

1. It conveys biographical material about Jones.
2. It aids in understanding the temper of the time.
3. Its extensive bibliography leads to excellent source material about Jones, his life, and his sermons.

Historical information relevant to the development of revivalism comes from historical works contemporary with Jones and from those written later with a more complete historical perspective.

Primary source material such as books of sermons published prior to 1887, autobiographical sketches, and biographies written by Jones' wife and co-workers are used. Newspapers published in Memphis and Nashville are consulted for information about Jones and the revivals in those cities, comments concerning the sermons preached, and the response to the revival campaigns. Other newspapers are consulted for further information on Jones and his preaching career.

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The accumulated manuscripts and documents of Sam Jones contain some copies of sermons preached, some speaking notes, information about his lecturing, a diary of his activities for 1884, correspondence concerning the revivals, his impressions of various revival services, biographical information, and newspaper clippings about various revival campaigns. His papers are housed in the libraries of the University of Georgia, Emory University, and the Georgia State Department of Archives and History.

Sermons selected for analysis are taken from books of sermons published not later than 1886, from newspapers which sometimes printed an entire sermon text, and from Jones' personal manuscripts and documents.
Chapter II

THE SPEAKER'S LIFE AND CAREER

I photograph your ugliness, and you sit there and laugh at it. You ought to be ashamed.

The Lord doesn't shoot cannon-balls at snow-birds, and if he were to let loose such a bolt of lightning at you as he did at Saul of Tarsus, he would not leave a greasy spot of you.

When I started out preaching I was so much afraid I would hurt somebody's feelings I did not know what to do; and now I am so much afraid that I won't hurt somebody's feelings I don't know what to do. God pity the poor fellow who has his feelings stuck out like porcupine quills! I don't know how one of your sort will take care of his feelings when he gets into hell-fire.¹

If any man doesn't like what I say, let him come to me after the meeting and say so, and I will—forgive him.²

With an inimitable style out of the rural south, peppered with caustic, biting criticism and practical illustrations, Samuel Porter Jones successfully combined two revivalistic traditions. "He brought the rustic and earthy qualities of religion in the southern hill country to the other revival world, the urban one, with its filled auditoriums, careful schedules and squadrons of trained assistants."³ Auditors exposed to his brashness could depend on being entertained while being criticized. Sometimes the auditor would go away from Jones' services


inspired, sometimes offended, sometimes converted, but always entertained. To achieve an entertaining deliberate change from the prevailing pulpit style, Jones read widely, deliberately avoided many rules of grammar, and consciously aimed at the familiar vernacular. Ministers' pleasure with his results and listeners' pleasure with his form of inspirational entertainment combined to prompt invitations which took him throughout the United States and into Canada between the early 1880's and 1906. Wherever he spoke meeting places were usually inadequate to accommodate the people. What was the secret of his charisma, his ability to attract, entertain, inspire, and move people? Perhaps a look at his early life, education, speaking experience, and career will provide some insight into the end product, highly popular and effective revivalistic sermons.

Early Life

Samuel Porter Jones was born at Oak Bowery, Chambers County, Alabama on October 16, 1847, the second son of four children of John J. Jones and Queenie Porter Jones. His paternal grandfather was a Methodist minister and his paternal grandmother was the daughter of Rev. Robert L. Edwards, one of the pioneer preachers of Georgia. Four brothers of Sam Jones' father were also ministers, so religion, the ministry, and Methodism were deeply ingrained in the ancestry of Sam Jones.  

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4Ibid.

5Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts (Nashville: Jones and Haynes, 1895), p. 17.
One of the strongest religious influences on Sam Jones was his grandfather, Samuel G. Jones, who had been born in 1805 in South Carolina. His parents died when he was four years old, and he lived with an uncle until the age of seventeen. He was converted at the age of sixteen, licensed to preach at thirty-three, ordained a deacon in 1843 and an elder in 1848. Shortly after his marriage to Anne Edwards, daughter of Robert L. Edwards, Samuel G. Jones moved first to Heard County, Georgia, then to Chambers County, Alabama. He was an old-time Scotch-Irish preacher, noted for his directness, clearness, simplicity, and quaint humor. Later in life he followed two of his sons who had settled in Bartow County, Georgia. A few years later another son, the father of Sam Jones, joined him in Cartersville, Georgia.

Sam Jones' father, J. J. Jones, served Chambers County, Alabama as a lawyer, merchant, and real estate agent in making a comfortable living for himself and his family. After his wife's death he moved to Cartersville, Georgia. With the advent of the Civil War he joined the Army of Virginia and attained the rank of Captain. When the war was

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6Walt Holcomb, Sam Jones (Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1947), p. 35. This volume, "Commemmorating the Centennial Year of the Birth of Sam Jones," is a complimentary biography of Sam Jones by a fellow evangelist. Holcomb married Sam Jones' youngest daughter, Julia Baxter Jones, after her father's death in 1906. Although the book is lacking in chronology and analysis, it preserves lengthy newspaper accounts concerning Sam Jones' career that are now inaccessible. This book grew out of the Sam Jones Lectures at Emory University which were largely endowed by Walt Holcomb and his wife.

7Ibid., pp. 35-36.
over he returned to Cartersville and resumed his work as a merchant and as a lawyer with a sizable practice.  

Sam Jones' mother was the former Queenie Porter from Virginia. Her intelligence, refinement, and religious interests made their mark on Jones at an early age. She died in 1856 when Sam was only nine years old, and he never forgot the experience of his father taking him and the other children into the parlor where he saw his mother in the casket. In his later preaching he did a dramatic monologue with the central idea, "I must see my mother again."  

The death of his wife was the occasion for J. J. Jones to join his father in Bartow County, Georgia where the family lived in the home of Sam's grandparents for approximately four years. During those four years his grandmother had a strong religious influence on young Sam. She reserved certain parts of the day for prayer, clapped hands joyously in church, and during her lifetime she read the Bible through thirty-seven times while on her knees.  

In 1859 J. J. Jones took as his second wife Jane Skinner of Cartersville, Georgia, and the family moved to Cartersville where Sam's father purchased some land and livestock and opened a law office. Cartersville remained the home of Sam Jones from that day in 1859 until his death in 1906.

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9Holcomb, p. 37.
10Ibid.
11Ibid., pp. 37-38.
When the war broke out in 1861, Sam's father rushed to Virginia to join the ranks of the Southern Confederacy, leaving Sam and the younger children in Cartersville with their stepmother. Near the end of the war as Sherman made his way through Cartersville to Atlanta, Sam's stepmother decided to move farther south in Georgia. In the resulting confusion of flight Sam became separated from the rest of the family and was still in Cartersville when Sherman took possession of the town and surrounding country. Unable to communicate with his stepmother for several months, Sam decided to go north. In Nashville he met some boys from Henry County, Kentucky, members of the Sixth Kentucky en route to Louisville to be mustered out of service. Two young men, Captain Webb Owens and Lieutenant Dupuy, were attracted to Sam who told the story of his separation from his family. He was invited to accompany them to their home and to remain there until he could hear from his family and return to Cartersville. At the end of the war he was able to communicate with his father and returned to Cartersville.\(^{12}\)

During Sam's eight month stay in the Kentucky home of Austin Dupuy he was the source of considerable interest, being the son of a Confederate captain in a part of the country with Northern sympathies.

\(^{12}\)Laura M. Jones, The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones (Atlanta: The Franklin Turner Company, 1907), pp. 45-46. This work by Laura M. Jones, Sam's wife, and Walt Holcomb, his son-in-law, was hastily composed after Sam Jones' death in 1906 and is eulogistic. It does contain lengthy and reasonably accurate newspaper accounts concerning Sam Jones' evangelistic career, but these are not identified regarding source.
Sam became friends with the McElwain boys on the neighboring farm and frequently visited in their home during his entire stay in Kentucky. It was there in January of 1864 that he met Laura McElwain, the young lady who was later to become his wife. After his return to Georgia in late 1864, Sam Jones began to correspond regularly with Laura. Struggling poverty in the South made it impossible for Sam to return to Kentucky until 1868. 

On November 24, 1868, just one month after his admission to the bar, Samuel Porter Jones and Laura McElwain were married in Henry County, Kentucky, culminating a four year courtship-by-mail. Laura's father refused to attend the ceremony when he learned that during the intervening four years Sam had begun to drink heavily. Her brothers were also reluctant to approve of the marriage, but her mother gave the most influential piece of advice when she said, "Now Laura, you've promised to marry Sam Jones, he has come for you, and you are going to redeem your promise." After the wedding Sam and Laura made the three day journey from Kentucky to Cartersville where Sam intended to practice law. During the years that followed five children were born into the family of Sam and Laura Jones.

Shortly after the Civil War Jones began to suffer from what he described as "the worst form of nervous dyspepsia," an illness which caused sleepless nights and restless days. In 1868 he wrote his future

\[13\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 20-21.}\]
\[14\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 20.}\]
\[15\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 25-26.}\]
wife, Laura McElwain, that he had been sick for eighteen months and weighed only one hundred twenty-eight pounds. 16 To relieve the physical condition and to cure his own despondency he began to turn to alcohol. His physical problems, despondency, and ample encouragement from other young men his age spurred him toward heavier drinking. During the five or six years of his frequent intoxication he studied law, was admitted to the bar, practiced law, and married Laura McElwain. The suppers, banquets, and other social gatherings which accompanied his law practice plunged him deeper into a dependence upon alcohol until he lost control of his practice and abandoned it completely. 17 Jones later recalled his own plight:

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of my good wife, notwithstanding her tears and pleadings, I continued my social drinking, often returning home intoxicated. The habit of drink was gradually established, and all the ambitions and vital forces of my life were being undermined by the fearful appetite, which was stronger than the tears of my wife, the advice of my friends and the dictates of my own better judgment. 18

His drinking continued until his father's death in 1872. Personal experience with alcohol later made him a staunch advocate of prohibition, an attitude which he repeatedly expressed in both his sermons and lectures.

Prior to the launching of his pastoral and revivalistic career, Sam Jones worked in several different jobs in Georgia, Texas, and

16 Sam P. Jones to Laura McElwain, 1868, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
17 L. M. Jones, p. 47.
18 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
Alabama. In rural Cartersville he was faced with the problems of establishing a law practice during Reconstruction when employment was scarce and pay for service poor. In search of better income he took his wife to Dallas, Texas, for a few months, then returned to Alabama and remained until notified of his father's illness. Because of the aforementioned problems and the increase in his drinking, Sam Jones abandoned his law practice and sought employment in the ochre mines in the mountains surrounding Cartersville.\(^{19}\) His poverty forced him to live in the Negro section of town and fire a steam boiler at the ochre mine, working a twelve hour shift which ended at midnight. Jones became fascinated with the steam engine, which later became a source of numerous sermon illustrations. After working in the ochre mines, he worked as a drayman, a job which gave him more freedom to visit saloons where he drank, exercised his wit, and developed the art of storytelling.\(^{20}\) At this time Sam Jones appeared to be a pleasant fellow with some ability but no particular promise of ever rising from his poverty or becoming a national figure in revivalism.

**Education and Speech Training**

**Education**

Sam Jones did not have an outstanding educational career but it was probably equal to that of most young southern men in the

\(^{19}\) *Atlanta Journal*, February 2, 1886, p. 6.

\(^{20}\) *Rensi*, pp. 32-33.
mid-nineteenth century. The strong moral and religious overtones of that early education complemented the strong religious family influence. At the early age of five Sam Jones received his first formal education. At the town of Oak Bowery, Alabama, W. F. Slaton, later superintendent of Atlanta's public schools, instructed him in the basics, the "three R's." Sam was not overly diligent but did do his work creditably.²¹ No record exists of any other formal educational exposure during those early years. Perhaps his training was limited to occasional days at various schools and the tutoring he received from his family.

After the Civil War Sam Jones entered the school of Congressman W. H. Felton. Sam was either eighteen or nineteen years of age at the time. Dr. Felton and his wife, Rebecca Latimer Felton, opened the school in a local Methodist Church in an attempt to earn needed funds. It was the first coeducational institution in North Georgia after the war and soon boasted eighty students ranging from six year olds to "youthful Confederate veterans who kept down fire hazards with their tobacco juice."²² Mrs. Felton remembered Sam as a tease. On one occasion he annoyed another boy, Tommy Powell, by repeatedly spitting tobacco juice on his bare feet. Reprimands from Tommy and the teacher had no effect so Mrs. Felton whispered a course of action for Tommy to follow. The next time Sam spit on Tommy's feet, according to Mrs. Felton's instructions, Tommy spit square in Sam's face. Although


Sam took it good naturedly, it certainly cured him. Mrs. Felton later described her impressions of Sam Jones:

I first knew Sam when a boy. I recall his fine physique. He had never had an ounce of surplus flesh in his life, and always had a springy step; and those beautiful, bright eyes, with a merry twinkle—that were so fascinating in those early days. He was the life of any gathering and had an independence of spirit and disregard for conventionality that was apparent the first time I saw him. Later on, when he entered our school, he was full of life and spirit, and his original way of illustrating things or talking about events, even then was a force in our town.

Among the many duties of Mrs. Felton was the task of revising the student's compositions and speeches.

After leaving the Felton school Jones went to Euharlee Academy in a farming community near Cartersville. The well trained faculty gave the school a stronger academic quality than any of the other schools Jones had attended. The subject matter and instructors were also religiously oriented at Euharlee Academy. The director, Ronald Johnson, occasionally spoke in local churches.

While Jones' academic performance was acceptable, he readily acknowledged that he was never particularly enamored with school. At a Methodist Conference in Gainesville, Georgia, in 1893, he told a reporter:

I never saw a Jones that would take an education. I could have been an educated man, but I was like the little boy who told


24L. M. Jones, p. 46.

his pa he couldn't get enough sugar. The old man got a barrel of sugar and put the boy in it. The boy ate a while and the old man asked him, "Son, have you got enough?" "No sir, pa, but I've got down to where it don't taste good."26

This anecdote probably involved overstatement in order to make a point because Jones was not completely averse to higher education. His father had intended to provide the opportunity for him to receive a college education, and he had planned to go when he was afflicted with "the worst form of nervous dyspepsia."27

It was in that nervous condition that Sam Jones began the study of law. His father had encouraged this pursuit, but did not anticipate Sam would pursue it with the intensity he did. After only twelve months study in his father's small legal library, Sam Jones passed the bar examination. Judge Milner, who served on the board of inquiry, remarked to Captain Jones about his son: "You have raised the brightest boy ever admitted to the Georgia Bar."28

One other period of organized study in Jones' life came in 1872 after he decided to seek admission to the North Georgia Conference. During the weeks preceding November 27, 1872 he prepared for the examination of applicants for membership in the conference by following a course of study prescribed by the bishops of the church. His pastor and spiritual instructor at that time, Rev. George R. Cramer, assisted him in preparing for the examination.29

26Atlanta Journal, December 9, 1893.
27L. M. Jones, p. 47.
28Ibid.
29Ibid., pp. 58-59.
Although Jones gleaned material more from his observation of men, animals, and machines, he did utilize literary materials. When he began his circuit work he had only three books, the Bible, the fifth volume of Spurgeon's Sermons, and an old volume of Skeletons of Sermons. Outside the Bible, his favorite book, which he read repeatedly, was Spurgeon's Sermons. His two favorite fields of reading other than the Bible were natural history and poetry. He read and observed animals and their habits, especially what they feed upon. In his preaching he compared men and their habits to those of various animals. He saw poetry as a portrayer of human nature, his favorite poets being Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, Burns, and Shakespeare. His favorite poet was Robert Burns.

Speech Training

Sam Jones was heavily influenced by his family which was heavily steeped in the tradition of professional oral communicators, as preachers and lawyers. His grandfather had a considerable reputation as a preacher. As a speaker his father had considerable talent, often exercising power over juries. Sam Jones' co-worker, Walt Holcomb, remarked about Captain Jones' oratory: "At one moment he would have an audience angry because of his invectives and sarcasm; and the next moment roaring with laughter."

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30 Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts, p. 25.
31 Holcomb, pp. 176-177.
32 Ibid., pp. 36-37.
Sam Jones' first speech occurred when he was five years old and a student at W. F. Slaton's school in Oak Bowery, Alabama. As the older boys made plans for their approaching commencement, they begged Mr. Slaton to let Sam Jones have some part in the exercises. Mr. Slaton finally agreed and wrote a simple but prophetic parody which young Sam committed to memory. Bored by the exercises, Sam was asleep when the time came for him to deliver his "speech." His mother awoke him, and Professor Slaton carried him in his arms and stood him on a table where he delivered his speech. Four of the lines in the speech were:

You would scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage.
In coming years and thundering tones
The world shall hear of Sam P. Jones.

Young Sam received considerable applause and delivered the speech several times to satisfy the audience. Sam later remembered that for months after that speech he could keep himself and his friends well stocked in candy by reciting the speech before any available adult.

Another early speaking experience was Jones' participation in the Friday afternoon speeches conducted by his class. The teacher customarily selected the speeches for the boys to commit to memory, but Sam preferred to make his own selections. The other boys would study and practice their pieces for a week but Sam would select his speech on Friday, commit it to memory, and be ready for that afternoon.

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33 L. M. Jones, pp. 43-44.
34 Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts, p. 20.
35 L. M. Jones, p. 43.
When Sam Jones graduated from Euharlee Academy in June, 1867 he delivered the valedictory address. He lamented the sad condition of the post-Civil War South but also offered inspiration to have hope, courage, and confidence. After quoting Longfellow's "Psalm of Life," he said, "Fathers, just say you will give us a Collegiate Education and we will prove to you that there is [sic] Washingtons, Websters, and Clays who will spring as it were from the very dust of humiliation."  

During the short time he practiced law, Sam Jones no doubt learned something about speaking. His wife later remembered that those early speeches as a lawyer were "the talk of the town, bright, spicy, thoughtful, and powerful."  

As important as his prior education and speaking experiences were, it was probably on those early Methodist Circuits that Sam Jones learned how to construct and deliver a persuasive argument. On the De Soto Circuit, his second, he came under the influence of Rev. Simon Peter Richardson, his presiding elder, and at that time the most powerful preacher and the most entertaining man Jones had ever met. Jones admired and learned from him. He later stated his attitude toward Richardson and what he had learned from him about preaching:

The great nuggets of truth thrown out by him in pulpit and parlor, were food to me. He saw some great truths more clearly than any man I ever heard talk; he was a father and brother and teacher to me. I learned more from him than all other

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36 Copy of valedictory in Jones' handwriting, Sam Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

37 L. M. Jones, p. 47.
preachers I have ever come in contact with. I first learned from him that the pulpit was not a prison, but a throne; that instead of bars and walls and boundary lines, I might have wings and space as my heritage.38

His two years on the De Soto Circuit under the influence of Rev. Richardson made him aware of the possibilities offered by the platform and strengthened his conviction about preaching, a conviction he held firm and practiced the rest of his life.

When Sam Jones began to preach he believed that to be a successful preacher, he must be either a great thinker or a great worker. With doubts about his own intellectual capacity compared to the level of the masses of the people, he decided to pursue preaching as "a constant, persistent, and indefatigable laborer." That decision directed him to become a prolific speaker both inside and outside the pulpit. By his own account, during his eight years as a circuit pastor, "I preached not less than four hundred sermons a year; and I have preached four times a day for weeks and weeks."39 He later acknowledged that had he preached fewer sermons, they would probably have been better. However, in defense of his position he said, "a square or an oblong bullet will do as much execution as a polished, round one."40 In answering criticism of his frenetic preaching he often turned to his favorite source of analogies, the railroad. "The faster you run, the more dust you raise, the more noise you will make, and the more stock you will kill; and yet it is wonderfully true, the more passengers you will haul."41

38Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book (St. Louis: Cranston and Stowe, 1886), p. 29.
39Ibid., pp. 32-33. 40Ibid. 41Ibid., p. 38.
The frequency with which he preached helped him to overcome one of his early problems, fear of speaking. Sam Jones stated that he experienced a degree of fear for several years. "I was always, in my younger ministerial life, diffident and very much embarrassed when I tried to preach outside of my own pulpits; and not until the fifth or sixth year of my ministry could I preach in another's pulpit with any ease or liberty."42

Since Sam Jones' methods of speaking were born more in the heat of experience than in the theory of formal instruction, he did not feel it necessary to express his concepts of oratory. However, his wife did preserve one passage which expresses his idea about preaching:

From the first I wanted to get the juice out of a text. How will I get the juice out of my text? was the supreme question. And the juice is all I ever wanted out of the text. Others may deal in bones and hoofs and horns, and that which is dry and tasteless, but I always wanted the juice, and always wanted to give the juice to others. I never studied nor taught oratory or rhetoric. I have always believed that there were three essentials to an effective speaker: First, clearness; second, concentration; thirdly, directness. The average speaker cannot be clear unless he bathes the subject in a flood of light by illustration. Let an audience see what you are talking about. Second, concentration. Put a whole lead mine into one bullet. Then, thirdly, directness; aim where you want to hit and something will by lying dead around in that neck of the woods.

I have made the Word of God the limit and boundary line of truth. I have considered myself free to think within that boundary line. I have never been hampered by rule or schools. God's Word has been the circle and God himself the orbit around which my mind has moved. Men have criticized me everywhere. If I had preached as the schools teach and systematic theology directs, and logic and grammar demand, I would have been criticized as little as other men, preached

42Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts, p. 40.
to as few people as other men, and moved in as small circles as other men. A thousand times I have preferred mental training to mental culture. The preacher who reads and studies all the week and stands on the Sabbath day and vomits intellectually that which he has taken in during the week, may please the fancy, but will never move the conscience of an audience. It is in the mental world as it is in the world of physics. A man who has studied forestry until he knows all the trees, and all about trees and writes fluently on their nature and quality don't amount to much in the practical world. The mineralogist who knows the weights and names and kinds of ores and writes fluently upon that subject, may have his place in the world. But the man who sees an axe handle in a tree, and an axe in an ore bank, has the genius to put the two together and thus furnish an implement that every farmer needs, he it is the world applauds. So in the world, the man who gathers the nuggets of thought here and yonder and puts them together until he has an idea that moves consciences, builds character and fixes destiny, he it is in the mental world that is doing good, and not the mental glutton who feeds and fills his mind simply to vomit it back, because he has not the power of assimilation. The mental training that harnesses every faculty of the mind, perception, conception, memory, judgment, reason and imagination, and drives them like so many horses in a team, tapping the one that drags back is the kind we need. I would no more carry a manuscript in the pulpit to help my memory than I would carry a bundle of fodder to urge along a lazy horse in my team. Do the faculties of the mind like the teamster does a lazy horse, lambast them, and if memory or perception or imagination does not come to time, pound the life out of them and make them come to time.43

Those ideas, expressed by Jones when he was fifty years of age, had governed him throughout his public speaking career.

Speaking Career

Conversion, First Sermon, and Call to Preach

The turning point in Sam Jones' life was marked by a series of three events: his father's death, Jones' resulting conversion, and his

43L. M. Jones, pp. 334-335.
call to preach. These all occurred within a relatively short period of time. As Sam's father, who had been ill for some time, approached death he called all members of his family to his bedside several times to have prayer with him. Sam, who had been drinking steadily for six weeks, attended these prayer meetings and heard his father give verbal expression to the strength of his faith. Near the end Captain Jones turned to each member of his family to speak a parting word. As Sam Jones remembered it, his father looked into his eyes, remained speechless for a moment, and then said, "My poor, wicked, wayward, reckless boy. You have broken the heart of your sweet wife and brought me down in sorrow to my grave; you promise me, my boy, to meet me in heaven." Overcome with emotion Sam Jones moved around to the side of his father's bed, took his hand and said, "Father, I'll make you the promise, I'll quit! I'll quit!" Sam Jones kept that promise and never took another drink the rest of his life.  

Shortly after his father's death Sam Jones visited his grandfather one weekend and heard him preach at Moore's Chapel. At the conclusion of the service, he walked forward, gave his grandfather his hand, and asked for the prayers of the people. A short time later he went with his grandfather to one of his regular circuit appointments, Felton's Chapel. When the invitation was given at the close of the service Sam went forward and said, "Grandfather, I take this step today; I give myself, my heart and life, what is left of it, all to God and to

44Ibid., pp. 50-51.
His cause." His grandfather burst into tears, but Sam remembered it as an intellectual as well as an emotional occasion. He later said, "Whatever else may be said, living or dying, I was a reformed and changed man from that hour."\(^{45}\)

Immediately after his conversion Sam Jones felt a call to preach the Gospel but he did not think he knew how to preach. He consulted several preachers he knew and received the same advice from each: "You are called to preach. You can go willingly into it, or you will be whipped into it, or you will lose your religion if you refuse." The last argument about losing his religion was the most powerful. Sam began immediately to preach the only two facts he knew—God is good, and he was happy in his love.\(^{46}\)

One week after his conversion, Sam Jones preached his first sermon at old New Hope Church, two miles from Cartersville. He had accompanied his grandfather to the Barton Circuit charge where Rev. Sanford was to conduct revival services. Upon arriving at the church they learned that Rev. Sanford could not be present, and his grandfather was so hoarse he could not preach. His grandfather told Sam that he would have to preach and that "If God has called you to preach, you can preach; come on in the pulpit." Sam rose and read his text from the first chapter of Romans: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that

\(^{45}\)Ibid., pp. 51-53.

\(^{46}\)Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book, pp. 15-16.
believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." Nervous and hesitant, he looked at the congregation and realized that they knew him as a wild, reckless boy who knew nothing about preaching. Unable to conduct any exegesis or critical analysis of the text he informed the listeners that he would tell them about his conversion. He did not actually deliver a sermon, but he told a personal story, a style of preaching which characterized his sermons throughout his career. At the end of his exhortation many penitents responded to the invitation, his friends assured him of their prayers, and his grandfather laid his hand on his shoulder and said, "Go ahead, my boy; God has called you to the work." With that experience, Sam Jones was committed to the ministry.  

When Sam announced to his wife that he was called to preach and was going to seek admission to the North Georgia Methodist Conference, her response was negative. She was grateful that he had stopped drinking but to become a preacher was taking it a little too far. The following conversation occurred:

She said, "Look here, husband, when I married you I married a lawyer, and I'll never be an itinerant Methodist preacher's wife in this world, never! So, if you join the North Georgia Conference, you'll go without me." "But wife," I said, "the Lord has called me to preach the gospel, and he'll remove obstacles from my way." "Well," she said, "He'll have to remove me, then." 48

Discussions continued during the weeks that followed until the night before Sam was to take the train to Atlanta. On that night Laura told

47 Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts, p. 22.
48 Holcomb, p. 49.
Sam that if he took the train for Atlanta she would take the northbound train for her father's home in Kentucky. Sam resolved then that he would take the train to Atlanta and join the conference even if it meant he had to "travel all over the country a grass widower." Much to his surprise, Sam was awakened the next morning by his wife who told him to catch the Atlanta train. After recounting her struggles of the night before she told Sam that she cried out to the Lord, "Save my life and I'll make the very best itinerant preacher's wife I can." With the unity and support of the family Sam Jones took his first official step into the preaching ministry.

During the three months between his decision to seek admission to the North Georgia Conference and the Annual Conference Meeting in Atlanta, Sam Jones studied the Bible and read the course of study prescribed by the bishops of the Methodist Church for applicants for admission into the annual conference. His grandfather presented him to the quarterly conference at Moore's Chapel where he was licensed to preach and recommended to the next annual conference. He also preached around the community as opportunities were available.

**Circuit Preacher**

Sam Jones was received as a traveling preacher when the North Georgia Conference convened in Atlanta on November 27, 1872. His first

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49 Ibid., p. 50.  
50 Ibid.  
51 Sam P. Jones, *Sam Jones' Own Book*, p. 18.  
52 L. M. Jones, pp. 55-56.
appointment was to the Van Wert Circuit, the poorest in the conference. Spread over parts of four counties, the Van Wert Circuit contained a membership of two hundred people in five congregations, one of which had only four members. Jones' family heritage provided him with knowledge of the hardships and privations of the itinerant circuit preacher's life, a fact which helped to prevent utter despair and discouragement. After selling many of their possessions and paying on their debts Jones still owed several hundred dollars. The Van Wert Circuit paid its last pastor only sixty-five dollars a year, and refused to provide a house and furnishings for the new preacher. His rent for a house was almost double his anticipated yearly income from the circuit. To help meet expenses he cultivated seven acres of cotton and trusted the sporadic generosity of the people. To his surprise his compensation for the first year amounted to seven hundred dollars, six hundred and thirty-five dollars more than they paid the previous year. During his three years on the Van Wert Circuit, Jones participated in his first revivals as a preacher. His wife, a Baptist, was one of the converts to Methodism.

In 1876 Jones was transferred to the De Soto Circuit in Floyd County where he served nine churches. During his two years there he began to preach in a more straight-forward way which revealed glimpses of his later style of biting criticism of the congregation. After some

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54 Holcomb, pp. 51-54.
initial opposition, the people rallied around him and the sizes of his congregations grew. On this circuit Jones came under the influence of Rev. Simon Peter Richardson, his presiding elder who had a positive effect on his preaching.\textsuperscript{55}

The next year Jones was promoted to the Newberne Circuit in Newton County, Georgia, where he ministered to four congregations. During two years on this circuit he experienced even greater success in building up the churches and increasing the number of members. While on the Newberne Circuit, Jones received invitations to assist pastors of churches in the small towns of adjoining circuits with their revivals. His earliest ones occurred at Thomson and Eatonton, Georgia in 1877 and 1878.\textsuperscript{56}

In late 1879, Jones was appointed to the Monticello Circuit in Jasper County, a new circuit, just created. Jones later viewed the year on that circuit as the most successful year of his life as a pastor.\textsuperscript{57} By this time he was averaging about four hundred sermons a year in his dual role as pastor and evangelist, often preaching three or four times a day.\textsuperscript{58} Preaching in his own circuit received only 50 percent of his time by 1880.\textsuperscript{59} Jones estimated that during his

\textsuperscript{55}Holcomb, pp. 55-56; Sam P. Jones, \textit{Sam Jones' Own Book}, pp. 28-30.

\textsuperscript{56}Holcomb, pp. 56-57.

\textsuperscript{57}L. M. Jones, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 83.

eight years of the pastorate two thousand members were taken into the churches on his circuits and another three thousand conversions occurred in revivals he preached in other circuits.\footnote{Sam P. Jones, \textit{Sam Jones' Own Book}, p. 31.}

Early Revivals in the South

How long have you been an evangelist? was a question often asked of Sam Jones and he always replied, "I am not an evangelist, except in the sense that every Methodist preacher is an evangelist. There is no order of evangelists in the Methodist Church. I have been doing revival work, however, since the second or third year of my ministry—I mean outside of my own charge as pastor."\footnote{Sam P. Jones, \textit{Thunderbolts}, p. 40.} That would make his revival work begin near the end of his appointment to his first circuit at Van Wert. However, it was probably not until 1877 when he was on the Newberne Circuit that Jones began to participate in revival work outside his own circuit. One of those early revivals occurred at Thomson, Georgia where the citizens expressed shock and praise at Jones' preaching. Thomas E. Watson, a young lawyer from Thomson and later United States Senator, described the impact of that early Jones revival:

In the good year 1877, Sam Jones lit down in this veritable town of Thomson, and began to go for the devil and his angels in a manner which was entirely new to said devil; also new to said angels.

Oh, we had a time of it, I assure you. For six weeks the farms and the stores were neglected, and Jones! Jones! Jones! was the whole thing.

And the pleasantest feature of the entire display of human nature was the marked manner in which the "amen-corner brethren" enjoyed his flaying of us sinners.
Well, the meeting wound up, the community settled back into its old ways—but it has never been the same community since. Gambling disappeared, loud profanity on the streets was heard no more, and the barrooms were run out of the county.  

While on the Newberne Circuit, Jones conducted several meetings in Georgia towns with a population from one thousand to twenty-five hundred. One of the greatest efforts came at Eatonton in 1879, where Jones joined the prohibition effort in earnest. The pastor in Eatonton had been crusading against the sale of alcoholic beverages for several months but with little success. When Jones arrived for the revival he took up the fight and encouraged the citizens of Putnam County to petition the county commissioners to raise the price of a saloon license significantly. The commissioners raised the price to five thousand dollars and warned that if anyone applied for a liquor license the price would immediately be raised to ten thousand dollars. The saloons of Eatonton were closed without an election, and Jones became convinced of the usefulness of mixing religion and politics.  

On his last circuit, Monticello, Jones continued revival work at such places in Georgia as Barnesville, LaGrange, Griffin, and West Point. As the crowds grew in size so did the comments about his use of illustration and his language.  

Sam Jones' evangelistic work became so successful that his presiding elder realized he could not be held to a particular circuit. The conference was urged to find some other work which would give Jones more tether line and allow him to be more effective. In December of

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62 L. M. Jones, pp. 78-80.  
63 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
1880 the Annual Conference held in Rome, Georgia, presided over by
Bishop Hollany McTyeire, appointed Sam Jones as agent of the Orphan's
Home. Jones was sympathetic with the work of the home and was also
pleased that the appointment would give him greater opportunity to do
revival work. 64

When Sam Jones was appointed agent for the orphanage he was
given the responsibility of paying off a debt of at least sixteen
thousand dollars. The first year he received pledges for almost half
that sum, and by 1883 the orphanage was out of debt. Some of the money
came from collections and pledges received at regular services where
Jones preached, but most of it came in conjunction with his revival
services. 65 After a Nashville revival in 1890 Jones mailed the
treasurer of the orphanage a check for nearly five thousand dollars,
and in that same year four hundred dollars was pledged in a single
service in Atlanta. 66 His methods of soliciting funds were unorthodox
but successful. One reporter commented, "As a collector, Rev. Sam Jones
is head and shoulders above any other preacher in Georgia." 67

Jones did not limit his interest in the orphanage merely to
paying off the debt. According to Mrs. Alva Maxwell, "He literally
made himself responsible for the actual running expense of the home,

64 Ibid., p. 90. 65 Ibid., pp. 90-96.
66 Atlanta Journal, February 10, 1890; North Georgia Conference
67 Atlanta Journal, March 15, 1890.
and for a time its inmates looked solidly to him for support." He also purchased Christmas presents for the children, contracted for the construction of a school and chapel, purchased and donated livestock for the farm, and helped to place children in Christian homes.

Perhaps the major career benefit of his work for the orphanage was that it gained him entrance into many churches in Georgia and later into many congregations outside the state who were also interested in the work of the orphanage. Initially he spoke to smaller congregations but as reports of his success spread, he was invited to speak to larger congregations. Prior to 1882 he spoke primarily at regularly scheduled Sunday services but afterward concentrated on revivals. Although the money continued to come to the Home, his support of it had become incidental. When the trustees of the Home tried to arrange a more limiting contract, Jones agreed to continue to work for the Home only as long as he would not be restricted. This arrangement allowed him to continue his revival work without severing his ties with the North Georgia Conference. However, in 1893, Bishop Atticus G. Haygood decided that the nominal appointment could no longer be tolerated since

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69 Printed Leaflet dated December 1, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; P. G. Turner to Sam Jones, December 24, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

70 Typed contract between the Trustees of the Methodist Orphanage and Sam Jones (1889), Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Jones did not fill it on a full time basis. Since the Methodist Church had no office of evangelist at that time, Jones submitted his resignation to the Annual Conference of 1893. Jones was not happy with this decision but he felt that his first commitment was to his revival work. He had already covered the state of Georgia and started moving to other sections of the country.

Gains National Recognition

History has recorded many instances of speakers who were successful within one area, one state, or one section of the country, but lacked whatever it takes to become popular on a nationwide basis. Such was not the case with Sam Jones. His exposure from speaking in behalf of the orphanage and from his Georgia revivals created a reputation which transcended the borders of Georgia, and Sam Jones began to receive invitations from out of the state.

Jones delivered his first sermon outside Georgia at the Walnut Street Methodist Church in Louisville, Kentucky, where he conducted a two week series of meetings in January, 1883. The minister's cautious optimism turned to jubilation and the press praised the meeting as the most exciting since the revival conducted in Louisville by two of D. L. Moody's assistants in 1875. The speaker was described as "eccentric" but original, and it was noted that he was frequently interrupted by loud applause, a novelty in the 1880's.

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72 Louisville Commercial, January 31, 1883, p. 4; February 1, 1883, p. 4; February 3, 1883, p. 4; Louisville Courier-Journal, February 5, 1883, p. 6; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 285-287.
Sam Jones' first union city-wide revival occurred as a result of a recommendation by a Baptist minister, Rev. A. J. Lamar who had been pastor of a church in Macon, Georgia in 1881 when Sam Jones conducted a revival there. He later accepted a church in Memphis, Tennessee, and recommended Jones to the general pastor's conference for a union revival. They had had men of reputation such as Absolom B. Earle, Edward P. Hammond, and Dwight L. Moody and were having difficulty finding a suitable preacher. In addition to recommending Jones, Lamar had to explain who he was. He continued, "If you will get him and give him the middle of the road he will stir up things. The only trouble will be to get a place big enough to hold the audiences."73 With much skepticism, Jones was invited and in January, 1883 he conducted his first union city-wide revival which gave him a degree of newspaper notoriety because newsmen began to learn that Jones made good copy.74 Religious journals over the country carried articles of the success in Memphis and Jones received invitations from cities in Tennessee, Texas, California, and New York.

Jones first venture into the North came in January, 1885, in a month's meeting with Dr. T. Dewitt Talmage in the famous Brooklyn Tabernacle in New York. Talmage had lectured in Memphis shortly after Jones' 1884 meeting there and had heard the citizens of Memphis still enthusiastically discussing the Georgia evangelist. He subsequently

73 L. M. Jones, p. 100.
74 Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book, p. 47.
invited him for a meeting in the Brooklyn Tabernacle, the earliest mutually agreeable date being in January of 1885. Not pleased with Jones' appearance, Talmage took him downtown and bought him a new suit of clothes and a silk hat. In his first sermon Sam Jones made the following comments:

I am just plain Sam Jones. I am no great evangelist in the sense of Munhall, Moody and others, but I am a plain Georgia circuit rider. I don't want your endorsement; in fact, I don't think it would be worth much to me, but just cooperate with me, and let's try to run the devil out of Brooklyn. I am afraid there is too much pride in this church for the Lord to do much for us. If you people and Dr. Talmage had as much of the grace of the Lord in your hearts as you have pride you wouldn't need a little sallow-faced Georgia preacher come and preach to you. I am not going to preach like Dr. Talmage; I am going to preach like Sam Jones. There is no use in my preaching just like he does. If his preaching would convert you, there wouldn't be any room for mine.

Press coverage was limited and it was not a particularly outstanding revival, but Talmage and Jones formed a friendship which lasted many years. Jones invited Talmage to preach revivals at his Cartersville Tabernacle, and Talmage often endorsed Jones to other congregations as a respectable evangelist.

Shortly after the Brooklyn meeting, Jones conducted an eight-day meeting in Waco, Texas, where he contracted malaria. Doctors ordered him to return home to recuperate until the spring.

In March and April of 1885 Jones conducted successful revival meetings in Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee. In these cities his prohibition activity was productive.

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75 L. M. Jones, p. 124. 76 Ibid., p. 125.
A turning point came in the career of Sam Jones in May, 1885 as he began a Union Meeting in Nashville, Tennessee. He had been invited over vehement opposition of some ministers and faced open opposition from many of the city's newspapers. While his detractors took issue with his atrocious slang, the revival tent was inadequate to accommodate the crowd on the second day of the revival. For several weeks he preached four times a day, 6:00 A.M., 10:00 A.M., an afternoon service, and an evening service. As the meeting continued, the audiences grew until the 6:00 A.M. services had crowds of six thousand. Gradually the press was won over and reported Jones' sermons extensively. The three-week meeting ended with most of the evangelical congregations supporting Jones, reporters proclaiming ten thousand converts, and the Georgia evangelist was hailed as the "Moody of the South." Jones called it a "memorable meeting" and referred to it as "one of the most remarkable in my life as a preacher." As the success and reputation grew, the newspapers spread the story beyond the South.

After several brief meetings in smaller cities, visits to some camp-meetings and Chautauqua assemblies, Jones went to Missouri for meetings in several cities, the most significant being St. Louis. He arrived there in November, 1885 at the invitation of a single congregation, Centenary Methodist Church. Within a week he had the support of most

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77 Nashville Banner, May 11, 1885, p. 4.
78 Nashville Banner, May 14, 1885, p. 4.
79 Sam P. Jones, Thunderbolts, p. 43.
of the evangelical ministers of the city and the services had to be moved to larger facilities in order to accommodate the growing crowds. The St. Louis Exhibition Music Hall was rented during the third week of the revival. The St. Louis press rallied to his cause, and he received the widest publicity he had ever known. At least two St. Louis papers printed verbatim or detailed reports of his sermons as well as favorable editorials. The St. Louis papers were read throughout the nation, especially in the North and Northeast. Jones preached about one hundred sermons in St. Louis. 80

One month after the St. Louis meeting, Jones began a meeting in Cincinnati, again on the basis of a single invitation. The crowds grew until the Music Hall had to be rented. One of Jones' associates, Walt Holcomb, estimated that forty thousand people attended the last service. 81 It was estimated that he preached one hundred fifty sermons in Cincinnati.

Shortly after the Cincinnati meeting, Jones opened a campaign in the great Moody Church in Chicago on a snowy Sunday. The size of the crowds necessitated moving the services to a skating rink which had been converted into an auditorium. As in St. Louis and Cincinnati the press reported the sermons verbatim. In fact, during the campaigns in the three cities, the newspapers in each city leased Western Union lines and received the sermons for printing in their own newspapers.

80 L. M. Jones, pp. 159-173, 202.

81 Holcomb, pp. 67-72.
It was estimated that through the press, Jones reached a million and a half persons a day during those three campaigns. 82

In May of 1886 Jones went to Baltimore in response to the first united invitation from a ministerial alliance in a large city. 83 He conducted other significant meetings in 1886 in Indianapolis, Indiana, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota, Toronto, Canada, and Omaha, Nebraska. In 1887 he preached in Kansas City and Boston. In 1889 he made an extended revival tour of Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco and other California cities.

By 1890 Jones had preached in many major cities of the United States. From 1890 until 1900 he revisited many of those places, conducted meetings in smaller towns, and lectured on the Chautauqua Circuit.

Returns Primarily to the South

Despite the fact that Jones had become a national figure who could attract capacity crowds by merely announcing he would preach or lecture, he never completely deserted the South. Throughout his career he devoted some time to southern meetings, but about 1900 he returned almost exclusively to the South. From 1900 until his death in 1906 he continued to receive numerous invitations from throughout the country but chose to devote the final part of his life to the area where he had been born and reared. 84

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82 L. M. Jones, pp. 202-203.  
83 Holcomb, p. 84.  
84 L. M. Jones, p. 284.
In Mississippi he conducted fifteen revivals in cities including Jackson, Greenville, Columbus, Vicksburg, West Point, Aberdeen, and Meridian. Meetings were held in large tents, large warehouses, cotton-sheds, and wooden tabernacles. Crowds usually numbered between five and ten thousand with large numbers arriving on special trains from across the state. Of course all these meetings were accompanied by a strong emphasis on prohibition. His wife later claimed that those meetings were the leading factors in almost freeing the state from open saloons. 85

More than fifty meetings were conducted in Jones' native state including such places as Macon, Rome, Augusta, Marietta, Columbus, Waycross, Brunswick, Covington, Savannah, and Atlanta. He always conducted special services for men, women, children, railroad men, etc. The Atlanta meetings prompted temperance and municipal reforms. 86 He also conducted an annual meeting at the tabernacle in Cartersville.

In Texas, he held meetings in Palestine, Tyler, Waco, Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, Galveston, San Antonio, and other towns. In response to Jones' preaching against open wickedness and loose municipal affairs, the mayor of Palestine, Texas attacked him with a cane at the train station. Jones took the cane away from him and "wore him out." He said he must let people know that he would back up his ministry with physical courage. The message became clear to others who might attempt similar acts that Jones intended "to nip that pasttime in the bud."

Throughout Texas and other states he organized Law and Order Leagues to fight the saloons.  

The story was similar in the meetings; fight for temperance, opposition to sin, large crowds, and strong preaching which met with varying degrees of opposition from segments of the citizenry. During that last six years he visited and revisited large cities and small towns in Arkansas, Florida, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Alabama, and Oklahoma.

It is not the author's intent to cover all aspects of the career of Sam Jones throughout his life. However, Sam Jones did participate in two corollary activities which had an influence on his preaching, especially in the area of reputation and publicity.

**Journalistic Efforts**

Realizing the role the press played in his national recognition, it was natural that Jones should try his hand at writing a syndicated column, the first of which appeared in the *Atlanta Journal*. Although Jones would not be bound to an agreement to contribute weekly articles, he did try to send a letter every week. The sporadic letters were run under the heading, "Sam Jones' Sayings," and contained reports of revivals that he was conducting. The *Journal* also sent these letters to other editors, particularly in towns where Jones had just concluded a revival or where he was to soon begin one. The content of the articles later broadened to include whatever came to Jones' mind such

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87 L. M. Jones, pp. 290-293.
as homespun Cracker humor, political forecasts, travel accounts, advice to farmers, and moral imperatives.\textsuperscript{88}

Another magazine which helped to spread Sam Jones' fame was the \textit{Southern Evangelist}, a weekly published in Nashville from the late 1880's until 1890. It was edited by Jones and one of his co-workers, W. M. Leftwich, and was the official organ of the Jones revivals. Each issue carried a sermon by Jones, news about his evangelistic endeavors, proverbs, poetry, and considerable prohibition propaganda. The paper was published only slightly over two years and was received by only one thousand of his more faithful followers.\textsuperscript{89} During the 1890's Jones was also listed with B. F. Haynes as an associate editor of the \textit{Tennessee Methodist}, a paper published in Nashville, but it is doubtful that he did much actual editorial work on the paper.\textsuperscript{90}

\textbf{Chautauqua Lecturer}

The second corollary to his revival activity was on the lecture platform. Shortly after his 1884 revival in Memphis he was called back to the city to deliver a lecture on the subject of "Character and Characters," a lecture that he repeated often. Occasionally, between meetings, he would lecture for churches or other worthy causes in

\textsuperscript{88}For some typical articles see Atlanta Journal, July 7, 1894, p. 4; April 7, 1894, p. 2; July 6, 1893; March 9, 1895, p. 1; See Thad E. Horton to Sam Jones, May 22, 1893 and January 12, 1895, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

\textsuperscript{89}Emory University has The \textit{Southern Evangelist} for 1887.

\textsuperscript{90}Sam P. Jones, \textit{Thunderbolts}, p. 4.
Georgia and adjoining states. Frequently there was no charge except for his expenses. As his popularity grew so did the lecture invitations, and he began to be besieged by lecture bureaus and committees requesting lecture dates. Many of these were refused because he wished to stress preaching. During the later months of his ill health, he lectured for extended periods of time and spent his summer months on the Chautauqua Circuit. As rigorous as the lecture schedule was it did provide him more frequent periods of rest and freed him from the intensity and frequency of speaking several times a day in revival meetings.

After his meeting in Cincinnati in 1885, Jones was interviewed by Bishop J. H. Vincent regarding a lecture at Lake Chautauqua, New York. From that time on, he appeared on the Chautauqua Circuit each year until his death in 1906. He was listed among the talent on the Southern Lyceum Bureau, Monona Lake Assembly, and the Chautauqua University. The Lyceum and Chautauqua bureaus conducted extensive publicity on Jones, even preparing a brochure of press releases about his lectures and listing the titles of his nine most popular lectures: "Character and Characters," "Manhood and Money," "Ravages of Rum," "The Battle of Life and How to Win It," "Get There and Stay There," "Sawciety," "The World As It Is, and the World As It Ought To Be," "Shams and the Genuine," and "Medley of Philosophy, Facts and Fun." While on the Lyceum and Chautauqua lecture circuits he would usually lecture at least once a day for six days a week, leaving his Sundays

91Holcomb, pp. 147-148.
free either to rest or preach at a local church. Examples of his lecture
schedules reveal that it often was a hectic pace with most of his days
and nights spent on trains between lecture engagements. (Appendix C)
The lectures provided humor, morality, inspiration, and temperance,
combined to hold the interest of the listener. One man reported to
Jones that the New York Sun had printed that he so shocked the audience
at Prohibition Park that the modest women left. Sam Jones quietly
asked, "Did the Sun say that anybody went to sleep?" "No," he replied,
"Well, Bud," Jones said, "you keep on reading the Sun, and when it says
that anybody went to sleep while I was talking, you let me know."92 On
July 22, 1905, Jones shared the platform with William Jennings Bryan at
the Colorado Chautauqua in Boulder, Colorado.93 He also appeared with
Wendell Phillips, Russell Conwell, Henry Ward Beecher, T. DeWitt Talmage,
Bob LaFollette and other dignitaries.

Delivery

When Sam Jones, pale-faced, lean, and dark-skinned, stepped into
the pulpit he was not an impressive figure. On the contrary, he would
not attract a second glance from a casual observer on the street. When
Jones was examined in St. Louis for a life insurance policy, the
physician's report showed that he was five feet nine inches in height,
weighed one hundred thirty-seven pounds, had a sallow complexion and

92 L. M. Jones, p. 327.
93 The Colorado Chautauqua, Boulder, Colorado, Eighth Annual
Session, July 4th to August 7th, 1905, p. 15.
a bilious temperament. The size of his chest was thirty-seven inches in full respiration and thirty-four inches in full expiration. The girth of his waist was thirty inches, and his pulse rate was seventy-four beats to the minute.\footnote{St. Louis Republican, December 19, 1885, p. 5.} The San Francisco Chronicle described him as "a small, wiry-looking man, with a firm jaw, sallow complexion, black mustache, coal-black hair high on a rather narrow forehead, finely lined eyebrows, and hands as small and delicate as a woman's."\footnote{L. M. Jones, pp. 275-276.} His hair was combed straight across his brow, causing the forelock to fall forward. As he spoke he would push the hair back with his fingers. One striking feature was his deepset eyes which in a moment could change from "righteous indignation to twinkling amusement."\footnote{McLoughlin, p. 288.} Jones never wore the clerical collar or black robe, but he preferred a black jump-tail coat, a Prince Albert or a regular business suit. Although in relatively good health, he was subject to gastric problems and spells of exhaustion.

When Sam Jones stepped to the podium he revealed a charisma which set him apart from the crowd. The Chicago Inter-Ocean recorded how he first appeared to a Chicago audience:

\begin{quote}
A man steps quietly in and up to the platform—the man on whom so many Chicagoans are looking at present—the Rev. Sam Jones. For a while he sits in silence, occasionally exchanging a word with some pastor near, and then, after another song, the look of expectancy on the faces of the audience finds satisfaction in the presence at the desk of the revivalist.\footnote{L. M. Jones, p. 205.}
\end{quote}
Other reports indicate that when he first arrived on the platform Jones would often pause dramatically, then slowly remove his coat, silently surveying the audience. After this pregnant silence he would begin his speech by either making a witty remark or asking the congregation to put themselves in a prayerful attitude. A variation on the opening would be to slowly button his Prince Edward coat, stretch his hands across the lapel and take up his text. Slowly and casually he began his sermon and gradually warmed to his subject.

Jones' posture varied. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch reported in 1885 that "He illustrates the laws of gravitation about three times every five minutes by assuming attitudes that make him look like the figure 4 with the little projective to the right cut off." At times he would speak with his hands thrust into his pockets and at other times he would walk around to the front of the pulpit and speak while leaning back upon it with his elbows resting on its front edge. In summarizing his posture and movements about the platform The Southern Bivouac reported in 1886 that "he stands in easy, nonchalant attitude, pausing between sentences as he leisurely walks the platform, seeming to select a pebble from a mountain of bowlders [sic] at his command, he is the impersonation of reserved force."

98 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 24, 1885, p. 7.
Laura Jones, Sam's wife, wrote the earliest description of his gesturing on the platform in 1877:

"He was not in the pulpit. He was right next to his crowd, standing within the railings, and almost in touch of the victims. His head was down, as if he was holding on to his chain of thought by the teeth, but his right hand was going energetically up and down, with all the grace of a pump-handle." 101

As he gained experience, he apparently polished his gestures because eleven years later the Toledo Blade described him as "beautiful when his features were in motion." 102 His nervous mannerisms included playing with his gold watch chain, pulling at the corners of his drooping mustache, and brushing his hair back from his forehead. Sometimes he would point his finger at the audience in an accusing manner, then rest his hands on his hips, prowl around the stage with a pugnacious look in his eye, and laugh loudly at his own jokes.

The Atlanta Journal recorded the following description in 1897:

"Sometimes he will bring his finger to his temples as if to restrain and hold something in the background which he wants to say later. Then he will rest his hand on his knees and stoop over and talk confidently for a moment and raise himself with a jerk and finish his sentence with a wave of the arm." 103

First on one side of the platform, then on the other, swinging his arms frantically, and swaying to and fro like a ship in a storm, indicating with his long skinny forefinger some particular subject for the effect of the jury, the noted southern evangelist belched forth a thunderous tirade against the subjectiveness of Christian people, which left amazement in its wake. 104

101 L. M. Jones, p. 79.
102 Toledo Blade, February 18, 1888, pp. 1, 7, 9.
103 Atlanta Journal, January 18, 1897.
104 Atlanta Journal, January 8, 1897.
The St. Louis Post-Dispatch described two of the gestures he favored in a meeting there in 1885:

One of his favorite gestures is to get his left hand straight up over his head and bring it straight down to the floor, which his square coat-tails hit about the same moment.

Another favorite gesture of a sweeping character is one in which he works his hands like a man taking hold of a wheelbarrow to race with it.\textsuperscript{105}

A Boston Herald reporter said his most effective gesture was to hold his hand out at half arm, point the index finger toward the audience and say, "Listen! Listen!"\textsuperscript{106} The publishers of Sam Jones' Sermons attempted to give their readers an idea of his gestures by drawing sketches of him in eight characteristic poses. (Appendix D)

Mobility characterized Jones's facial expression. He would occasionally almost completely close his eyes and then open them suddenly. The Atlanta Journal recorded that Jones "takes hold of his thin face at the conclusion of a remark and he slowly sweeps the audience for a moment—this is the signal for something bitter, cutting or witty, and he chuckles to himself for a moment before he lets go of the idea."\textsuperscript{107} A Chicago reporter described an unusual smile which Jones used:

The people near the speaker can see something beside the odd gestures, the peculiar, slow, short step, the apparently absent-minded movement of the hand to the pocket or forehead,

\textsuperscript{105}St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 24, 1885, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{106}Boston Herald, January 24, 1897, p. 33; McLoughlin, p. 288.

\textsuperscript{107}Atlanta Journal, January 18, 1897.
and this something is the smile of the reviver, quaint, kindly, quizzical almost, a smile that starts in no place in particular and spreads over the face until it touches every feature and brings out the whole in a new and pleasing light.\textsuperscript{108}

In the days before electronic amplification and modern acoustics, one requirement of the professional reviver was sufficient volume and range to be heard by large numbers of people. The committee, arranging for the use of the Cincinnati Music Hall, was concerned about Jones' ability to make himself heard in the large auditorium, but their fears were unfounded.\textsuperscript{109} One of his co-workers, Walt Holcomb, stated that "he could stand before ten, fifteen or twenty thousand people, and without the least effort speak so that every word would be understood." It (Jones' voice) had a marvelous range.\textsuperscript{110} Perhaps his voice served him so well because he refrained from shouting, choosing rather to speak in natural, conversational tones.

Despite his slow drolling Georgian accent, Jones could be easily understood. Certainly much of his dialect was natural, but part of it resulted from an emphasis for effect when the occasion called for it. An example of the latter was recorded by the \textit{St. Louis Post-Dispatch}, "Thar now, heow dew you like that, eh?"\textsuperscript{111}

Sam Jones' contemporaries characterized his delivery as natural and sincere. One seminary professor described his conversational manner as, "taking the Sam Jones of everyday life into the pulpit."

\textsuperscript{108}L. M. Jones, pp. 205-206.
\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., p. 180. \textsuperscript{110}Holcomb, p. 153.
\textsuperscript{111}\textit{St. Louis Post-Dispatch}, November 24, 1885, p. 7.
He sounded the same in the pulpit and in conversation. The Chattanooga Daily Times reported, "He does not preach, he merely talks to his hearers, usually in an ordinary conversational tone, but in a way which catches and holds their attention." The seminary professor said that another part of his secret "lies simply in the evangelist's unaffected and complete sincerity. There is evidently no pretense or sham about the man."

The statement, "Every speaker is partially an actor," was certainly true of Sam Jones who often acted out scenes, stories, illustrations, and events in his own life. Two of his favorites were the dramatizations of his own personal defeat of Satan and of his experience at his father's deathbed. One of his co-workers, Walt Holcomb, described one dramatic scene in which Jones was emphasizing his belief in life after death. Jones described his mother's death and the impression it made upon him as a child.

He pictured a long, weary journey back to the graveyard at Oak Bowery, where she was buried. He said: "I must see her again, must look into her eyes and see her sweet form." In his imagination he stood there, with a shovel in his hand, opening the grave and with each shovel of dirt, he would say: "I must see my mother again." He went through all the motions. Finally, he reached down with both hands, and picked up a handful of dust, and standing there in the most dramatic way ... and such a look of disappointment that came over his face, as he stood there speechless for a moment. He said: "Is that all that is left of my precious mother?" Slowly he

112 Holcomb, pp. 151-152.
113 Chattanooga Daily Times, April 14, 1885, n.p.
114 Ibid.
moved his position, and standing under the arc light, he looked away towards heaven, and a smile came upon his face, then he exclaimed: "Yes, I shall see my mother again." Repeating Paul's words, "This corruption must put on incorruption: this mortal shall put on immortality," and with his face radiant, he said: "In the light of this beautiful scripture, my mother is transformed into an angel of light, and she hovers over me on loving pendant wings, and beckons me up to her home on high, where I shall see my mother again."115

115 Holcomb, pp. 33-34.
Chapter III

THE SPEAKER'S APPROACH TO REVIVALISM

An evangelist's approach to his sermons and the conduct of his revivals are determined by the theological, social and political views formulated out of his background, education and experience.

Theological, Social and Political Views

Theological Views

Sam Jones denied any interest in systematic theology and expressed contempt for it but did subscribe to the basic tenets of the fundamentalist theology of the late nineteenth century. He liked to say, "Theology is a good thing to stuff with sawdust, like the skin of a fish, and put in a museum as a relic of antiquity."\(^1\) He also said, "I despise theology and botany, but I love religion and flowers.\(^2\) In keeping with his decision to be a great worker rather than a great thinker, he responded to theological questions with answers such as the following:

I'd want to be a first-class swimmer if I should go out in the depths of divine mysteries and inquire of God what are the divine plans and the divine modes, and the divine when and diving how. These are questions that never bother me at all. I simply want to know what God wants me to do, and if He'll trust me I'll trust Him for the rest.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) The Nashville Tennessee Magazine, December 7, 1947, p. 25.


\(^3\) The Volunteer Gazette, August 27, 1893, p. 5.
Although Jones denounced theology, he revealed that he had formulated certain basic theological principles. Although his career slightly preceded the liberal-fundamentalist controversy, Jones was closer to the fundamentalists and was classified as a "pre-fundamentalist." He avoided creeds and ordinances because they tended to divide more than unite. "Baptism, laying on of hands, or taking the holy sacraments, will not add to your life and character unless you are faithful to your work and are trying to illustrate the life and character of Him who said: 'Follow me.'" He said that the manner or form of the sacraments had no bearing on one's salvation, and were seldom mentioned in his sermons. When they were mentioned they more often took the tone of the following sermon excerpt:

The idea of a Methodist getting up and preaching infant baptism while the babies are all asleep and the old folks a goin' to hell. The idea of a Baptist preachin' baptism when nine-tenths of his church will be in a place in ten years where they couldn't get a drop of water.

He felt that the redemption of souls needed action, not theology.

In the tradition of other evangelists Jones played down denominational differences. He remained a Methodist because he felt more at ease in its Arminian background, but he acknowledged that it did not have a corner on salvation. He generally classified denominations into three categories, Catholic, Protestant and Nonconformers. In the

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4 Scrapbook no. 12, p. 16, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

5 Atlanta Journal, April 7, 1894, p. 2.

6 St. Louis Republican, November 26, 1885, p. 5.
third category he placed such religions as Seven Day Adventists, Mormons and Christian Scientists, all of which he did not like. In speaking of Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science Church he said, "Their trouble is above their eyes. If they ever get in water above their eyes they will float all right. . . . I don't want to hurt their feelings. My father taught me never to hit a cripple or hurt a fool." However, he seldom attacked other denominations and was more favorably disposed toward the Catholic Church than most rural Protestants. He felt that the various denominations had the same objective and each possessed enough of the truth to provide salvation. He once compared the Methodists and Presbyterians in the following statement:

The difference between the Methodist and the Presbyterian is about this. A Methodist knows he has got religion, and he is afraid all the time that he will lose it; a Presbyterian knows he can't lose it, but he is afraid he hasn't got it, and both are working out their own salvation with fear and trembling.

Like his predecessors, Jones saw life as a matter of warfare between Good and Evil and the revival drew the battle lines. The enemies of God were those who participated in a long list of evils and the allies were the "born again" church members who abstained from that same list of evils. In his revivals he attempted to marshal the forces

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8 Writings, Sermons, and Lectures, Folder no. 4, undated handwritten sermon delivered in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
of God in an organized battle against the forces of evil. To join in the battle was the equivalent to conversion.\(^9\)

This change in the concept of conversion had theological and social implications. Former revivalists had preached that it was necessary first to be regenerated before joining in this battle for righteousness, but Jones inferred that to enlist as a civic crusader was tantamount to conversion. This rebellion against theological formulas he expressed in the term "Quit your meanness," as his definition of repentance.\(^10\) In a sermon entitled "Religion, A Reasonable Service," Jones said:

> It's astonishing how we know right from wrong and wrong from right. There's something practical about this. Quit what's wrong and get to doing what's right. That's it! Just as certainly as any railroad leads into or out of this city, just so certainly a man who will quit wrong and take to doing right will find his way to God.\(^11\)

Jones' general omission of discussion about the role of divine grace in repentance led one of his publishers to add an early footnote in a volume of his sermons stating, "Mr. Jones would insist that divine grace is a circumstance not to be left out."\(^12\) A contemporary journal, The

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\(^11\)Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book (St. Louis: Cranston and Stowe, 1886), p. 144.

\(^12\)Ibid., p. 46.
Southern Bivouac, saw in this approach to conversion two reasons that Jones' work would prove to be more lasting than that of other revivalists. First, he does not seek to build in the emotions or imagination, but in the practical duties of everyday life. Second, he does not win his victories by the use of the well-worn panacea of modern evangelism, "Accept Christ," but by the profounder process, "Follow Christ." The repentance he preaches reaches to the practical renunciation of sin, a change of life; the faith he offers is not a passive gulping down of formulas, but daily discharge of duty.13

To support further his concept of conversion Jones used his own experience as an example. His conversion had been no sudden filling of the Spirit but simply a resolution to change his life, primarily to give up drinking. In a sermon entitled "How To Be Saved," he recounted his attitude toward his own conversion.

If a man believe anything after he gets religion that he didn't believe before he got it, I have never had any religion. I never saw the day in my intelligent life since I have been old enough to read my Bible that I didn't believe every thing that I believe tonight. I was as well satisfied up to twenty-four years of age that Jesus Christ died to save sinners, and that I was a sinner, and that he was able to save unto the uttermost, as I am tonight. I believed in Jesus Christ twenty-four years, and lived just as if I didn't believe a word of it. But for thirteen years I have believed it, and I have lived the best I could, God being my helper.14

He preached a religion of action more than a religion of belief. Jones chose to follow Finney in emphasizing law and good works rather than to follow Moody who emphasized repentance and faith. William McLoughlin

14Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book, p. 135; McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism, pp. 292-293.
observed that this decline in heart religion in the post-Civil War South was a major reformation.  

Jones' ideas on eschatology were consistent with his emphasis on deeds rather than creeds. He viewed Hell as a definite place of punishment for those refusing to obey the teachings of Christ. However, he believed that no one would be condemned to Hell who had not had an opportunity to repent. He stated:

I rejoice in the fact that there is not a soul in Hell that did not have a chance to get to Heaven and would not take it. There is not a soul in Heaven that didn't have a chance to go to Hell, and wouldn't go. If there is a fellow in Hell that didn't have a chance to go to Heaven, he could stand up on the highest crest of the wave of damnation and cry, "Unjust."16

People who heard the gospel preached would not necessarily go to Hell but there was no excuse for the people of the United States because they had heard the gospel. 17

In true Methodist tradition Jones liked to remind people that their salvation was tenuous and could be lost. In attacking the Baptist doctrine of grace and eternal security of the believer, Jones said it was as ridiculous as a man getting up from the table after a meal and saying, "Thank God, once full, always full."18 The believer's security depended on continuous work.

15 McLoughlin, p. 293.

16 Typed manuscript of sermon, "God's Love," n.d., p. 233, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

17 San Francisco Examiner, March 24, 1889, p. 2.

18 Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, n.p., n.d., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Jones' concepts of conversion (change your way of life) and security (continue to do good works) naturally led to his emphasis on material reward resulting from personal righteousness. He supported this by numerous examples of people who profitted materially when they decided to give up evils such as dancing, gambling, drinking, etc.

Jones was aware of the need for spiritual assistance through prayer and often made references in his sermons to his own praying. His wife said that he devoted a period of time to prayer each day. It can be safely assumed that Jones attached the same relative significance to prayer as other ministers of the time, but he devoted little time to the subject of prayer in his sermons.

Jones' attitude toward the Bible was slightly ahead of the attitudes of his contemporaries, but still acceptable to them. In order to be successful on earth man must believe the Bible and practice its teachings. He believed that God authored the Bible by guiding the individuals but allowing for their own particular personalities and writing styles.\textsuperscript{19} This allowed for the variety in allegory, epistles, and sermonic literature to still show consistency. He once stated to a reporter of the \textit{San Francisco Examiner} that he did not defend the Bible as entirely literal: "There is much that is allegorical and the Holy Book contains a great deal of beautiful imagery. Christ taught in parables."\textsuperscript{20} This did not create any problems in his mind which was


\textsuperscript{20} \textit{San Francisco Examiner}, March 24, 1889, p. 2.
committed to preaching the Bible, not explaining it. Jones argued, "If a man could prove all the mysteries of the Bible another man might have written it." Whether allegory, parable, or straight commands, Jones believed the Bible was infallible.

During Sam Jones' career another fundamentalist controversy occurred that was far more pervasive than the subject of the inspiration of Scripture, that of evolution. Charles Darwin's book, *The Origin of the Species*, was published only thirteen years before Jones began preaching. By the end of the century most Americans had formed their opinions about the controversial new idea and its key phrase, "survival of the fittest." Darwin had also questioned the age of the earth established by the British scholar, Bishop James Usher. In 1654, Bishop Usher had determined that the date of creation was "the twenty-sixth of October, 4004 B.C. at nine o'clock in the morning. . . ."

Jones never became too involved in the controversy over Darwin, probably because he never really understood the theory or its threat to orthodox Christianity of the late nineteenth century. He neither accepted nor praised Darwin and generally avoided the part of the theory dealing with "survival of the fittest." He did, however, oppose the part of the theory about the age of the earth, choosing rather to believe the date established by Bishop Usher. When a minister proposed that the

[21]Writings, Sermons and Lectures, Folder no. 1, Sermon Book #1, n.p., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

earth was fifty thousand years old, the North Georgia Conference began to discuss what action to take. Sam Jones wrote the following:

The strongest argument against the unorthodox brethren is the fact that the world moves so rapidly that when we go back fifty years and see the advancements made in science, art, inventions, etc., then one is almost disposed to doubt whether the world has ever stood six thousand years.

In light of the advances of the last fifty years, it looks like that in the five thousand five hundred and fifty-nine years preceding us our forefathers must have been very dull or they would have caught on to some of the tricks of the trade now so common among men.23

The issue was skirted by combining a joke and a compliment to the audience. However, in those serious moments he did maintain that the date set by Usher was correct and this helped to maintain his leadership among the fundamentalists.24 Attempts to analyze Jones' comments on this subject lead to inconsistencies. Since he never really understood the theory and felt it was an unnecessary controversy that only diverted attention away from his purpose, the inconsistencies did not bother him or his followers.25

At the height of his career Jones became embroiled in an ecclesiastical if not a theological problem, the question of the position of evangelists within the framework of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Evangelists, those who devoted most of their time to revivals, had traditionally been given "nominal appointments" which gave them

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23 Lecture Book, "Get There," n.p., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

24 Sam P. Jones, Quit Your Meanness (Chicago: Cranston & Stowe, 1889), p. 422; Atlanta Journal, February 10, 1890.

25 Rensi, p. 122.
more freedom in their work. They would accept a nominal position, the obligations of which could be fulfilled on a part-time basis, and devote the remainder of their time to the pursuit of evangelistic meetings. Two growing problems within the Methodist Church caused this arrangement to change in the 1890's. One of the problems, the evangelists' growing independence from the hierarchy of the church, was closely related to the second problem, the growth of the Holiness Doctrine. This overlapping occurred because Methodist evangelists originally led the Holiness Movement.26

The Holiness Doctrine had two basic tenets. The first was the belief in a mystical experience known as "a second definite work of grace," which occurred after a person's conversion. The second basic characteristic was an emphasis on emotionalism in worship services, usually evangelistic in nature. In the early days of the movement the Methodist Church neither endorsed nor squelched it.27 In the early 1890's it became obvious that separate Holiness congregations were beginning to form.28 The primary leadership for these new congregations came from strong Methodist clergymen who were active in conducting revivals. Some Methodist bishops saw the solution to be through

26Ibid., p. 123.

27Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), pp. 119-120; Wesleyan Christian Advocate, September 9, 1885, p. 1; October 14, 1885, p. 1; November 21, 1885, p. 2; May 13, 1885, p. 4.

enrolling evangelists more closely into the framework of the church.\footnote{29} However, petitions to create an official position for evangelists were rejected.

In 1894, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, voted in favor of a new insertion into the Book of Discipline requiring that "no local preacher shall enter the recognized territory of any of our pastoral charges for the purpose of conducting protracted or revival meetings except upon the invitation of the preacher in charge."\footnote{30} Jones' bishop, Atticus G. Haygood, agreed with this insertion and viewed the use of the revival as generally detrimental. He referred to one revival where "the community had suffered for three months after the debauch. . . ."\footnote{31}

Sam Jones did not think that evangelists could conduct the work of the church, but he felt that they had a vital place in the Methodist Church. As he learned of opposition to revivals and evangelists he expressed his own hostility, spoken out of deep conviction. "Those who do not want to go to revivals want to go to Hell without any hindrances."\footnote{32} He saw Methodist ministers who opposed revivals as ministers looking for any church which would give them a larger salary and less work.\footnote{33}

\footnote{29}Ibid., p. 344.

\footnote{30}Scrapbook IV, p. 18, Clipping dated May, 1894, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

\footnote{31}Scrapbook IV, p. 20, clipping dated 1893, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

\footnote{32}Boston Morning Journal, January 21, 1887, p. 1; \underline{Atlanta Journal}, October 26, 1895, p. 7.

\footnote{33}Boston Morning Journal, January 21, 1887, p. 1.
Jones' affinity for revivals and his use of methods and techniques similar to the Holiness Movement caused the Methodist hierarchy to single him out. Jones had emphasized sanctification, which the Methodist hierarchy mistakenly interpreted as the Holiness "second definite work of grace." By sanctification he had only meant to do the best you can as you go along. By 1890 he had become even more suspect by delivering lectures at one of the Holiness camp meetings in Lake Winona, Indiana. Bishop Haygood was given the task of controlling Sam Jones.

Believing it necessary to the unity of the Southern Methodist Church, Bishop Haygood confronted Sam Jones, Southern Methodist's best known evangelist. Perhaps he believed that to deny Jones a nominal appointment would serve as an example to other such independent evangelists but it is more likely that his motives grew out of his own distaste for "loud preaching" and a commitment to "intelligence in the pulpit and trained understanding in the pew." After they met, the two men made their respective decisions. Jones wrote three months later, "Bishop Haygood gave me to understand clearly that I must take an appointment that would confine me within the bounds of

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34Sweet, Methodism In American History, pp. 343-345.


36Mann, p. 166; Rensi, p. 139.
the North Georgia Conference or locate. I was thrown squarely on the alternative, I located."

Each Methodist minister received a set of credentials from his local conference. Whenever he preached outside his district he would have to show those credentials to prove he was a recognized member of the Methodist Church and affiliated with a conference. Location denied the use of these credentials and officially severed Jones from the clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Forced location amounted to a censure by the conference, but it did not deny him membership in the church.

Sam Jones did not feel that the Bishop's decision was fair since many other church officers had nominal appointments which gave them freedom for their particular religious pursuits. While his former expressions concerning the episcopacy had been all favorable, now he began to reveal his growing animosity. "Take the power of making appointments for the preachers out of the Bishop's hands, and he could no more throttle a conference than he could successfully combat the business end of a mule." He spoke in favor of more

37 Memphis Commercial Appeal, March 18, 1894, pp. 5-7.

38 Rensi, p. 142.

39 John T. Tigert (ed.), The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1894), pp. 80-81.

40 Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, clipping dateline December 7, 1892, Columbus, Indiana, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
freedom for the preacher. "I am in favor of the next general conference
giving more liberty to the average preacher and less license to a
bishop."

Sam Jones felt a loyalty to the Methodist Church and had enjoyed the freedom of his nominal appointment as Agent to the
Orphan's Home, but he had no choice but to accept the decision of the conference. He still tried to view the decision with a degree of optimism, as indicated by the following statement:

I can talk as I please now because the bishops will give me no more appointments forever. You have no idea how free a fellow feels when he feels like he owes allegiance to no power greater than himself under the shining stars, God as his King. . . . With wings like these, a man can fly around the world.

When Jones was denied a continued nominal appointment, his fame and reputation had become so widespread that the censure had virtually no effect on his career. He was no longer viewed as strictly a Methodist minister and did not need any credentials beyond his own ability to speak, attract large crowds and gain converts.

It is interesting to note that after Jones' death in 1906 the Methodist Church, recognizing the existence of and need for professional evangelists, created an office of evangelist.

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41 Scrapbook IV, pp. 13-14, Samual Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

42 Ibid.

43 George R. Stuart, Methodist Evangelism (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Church, South, 1923), p. 74. See also Sweet, Methodism in American History, pp. 341-345.
Social Views

Sam Jones formulated social views during and following the Civil War in the rural South. Those views permeated everything he said or wrote during his career, 1872-1906.

Jones subscribed to the Protestant ethic which said that virtue and hard work would lead to success and cited himself as an example. "I used to be a preacher on the poorest circuit in Georgia and had many trials, but I preached the truth and now I am the best paid preacher on the continent." Inversely Jones implied that to be in debt was dishonest and apparently resulted from lack of character. "I want to see the day come when you can sell a man's shirt off his back to pay his debts." He also said:

If the sheriff comes on you and takes your house and your stock and your all, let him take them, and then walk out with your wife and children bareheaded and barefooted so that you can say, "We are homeless and breadless, but my integrity is as unstained as the character of God."  

Jones' advocacy of independence and individualism carried over into his attitude toward education. He favored universal education, but not at the expense of the state. "I am unalterably opposed to having anything free to anybody. God projected this world on a root-hog-or-die-poor principle." "It is no more the business of the state

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45 St. Louis Globe-Democrat, November 24, 1885, p. 10.
47 Clippings Folder no. 1, clipping dated July 7, 1904, from Chicago, Illinois, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
or city to educate my kids than its [sic] the business of the state to feed and clothe them and put them to bed every night." The only way he favored free schools was for "the kids whose daddies will take the pauper's oath and swear that his children were born orphans." As further objection to free schools he agreed that they created an unfair tax burden on the industrious middle-class taxpayer, especially in higher public education. It was an "outrage upon the poor, hard run farmer, when not one in a hundred has ever patronized the University of Georgia, to levy a tax on him to graduate lawyers and doctors and L.L.D.'s and Ph.D.'s and A.S.S.'s." In one of his statements, Jones compared the record of the public schools with that of the private schools.

All the public schools of Georgia have never turned out a Ben Hill, or an Alex Stephens, or a Bob Toombs, or a Herschel V. Johnson, or a John B. Gordon, or a Georgia F. Pierce. It took log schoolhouses to manufacture that sort. I keep saying it, the old log schoolhouse to which our fathers subscribed a scholar and a half or two scholars and paid the bill, they were the schools that turned out men.49

He did not bother to note that there had been virtually no public schools for potential young leaders to attend. Sam Jones believed that if the parents could not send a student to school, he should send himself or not go.

48Atlanta Journal, November 20, 27, August 28, 1897; February 1, 1902.

49Unidentified clipping, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
In typical fashion of earlier evangelists, Jones attacked many of the popular forms of entertainment, not all of which were inherently evil in themselves, but most of which could lure a person into sin.

Jones used explicit language in condemnation of dancing which he felt led to immoral sexual conduct. In referring to dancing he said, "These things are based upon the consciousness of sex." He once described a society girl as one "who lures the virtuous country boy on the dance floor," and in her low-cut dress shows him "a couple of things he hadn't seen since he had been weaned."

Jones also condemned card playing, the stage, and reading novels. He agreed that the only place for cards was to amuse patients at the mental institution, that most theatres were detrimental to morals and were growing worse, and novels tended to produce in the lives of their readers the violence and immorality contained on their pages.

Jones condemned some forms of tobacco use but only those forms in which he did not personally indulge. In the South where tobacco was a money crop he had learned to smoke pipe and cigar and chew tobacco but not to smoke cigarettes. Therefore the use of cigarettes received most of his criticism.

Sports of various nature came under the condemnation of the sharp tongue of Sam Jones. In the 1880's he joined the religious press in criticizing the growing sport of baseball when he said, "There is

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not a more corrupting thing this side of Hell than baseball."51 As baseball became more popular he modified his position slightly and admitted that it might have some benefit for children but not for adults. "When a fellow gets twenty-one years old and will chase a ball like a fice [dog] chasing chickens, then it is time to get hold of him."52 He felt that prizefighting was a destructive activity and attracted crowds of unsavory characters. He condemned bicycle riding because of the bloomers women wore.

The major thrust of Jones' social program was his advocacy of temperance and prohibition. Alcohol, a problem in every community, transcended political, religious, social, and economic lines. His advocacy of prohibition attracted many people to assist in his revival efforts. His support of temperance reform was so strong that he became known as the "Apostle of Prohibition."53 He declared, "I will fight the liquor traffic as long as I have fists, kick it as long as I have a foot, bite it as long as I have a tooth and gum'em till I die."54 Billy Sunday later used this excerpt of Jones almost verbatim in his own prohibition speeches. His arguments were largely moral as

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51 Scrapbook no. 12, n.p., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Atlanta Journal, September 19, 1893, p. 7; Atlanta Journal, February 3, 1894, p. 7.

52 Atlanta Journal, August 25, 1895, p. 8; August 10, 1895, p. 8.

53 Atlanta Journal, February 12, 1887, p. 2.

54 Writings, Sermons and Lectures, Folder no. 2. Sermon, "Get There and Stay There," Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; Atlanta Journal, February 12, 1887, p. 2.
he said that drinking destroyed character, the family, the nation's financial stability, and contributed to problems between the races.

It was not coincidental that many places desired that he hold a revival or deliver a message in their city just before a prohibition election was to be held. Jones attacked the person who drank, those who sold it, and those who manufactured it.

Jones talked about the sins of the world and saving society so much that many people allied him with the Social Gospel Movement. His own admirers saw him as a social reformer. Rather than declaring himself a social reformer, it just seemed that the elements of social reform were more consistent with his concept of conversion and right living. He did promote reform but never identified himself with the Social Gospel Reform Movement. During his 1885 meeting in Nashville he accepted an invitation to address the state legislature and talked about the liquor traffic and prison reform. He advocated lower interest rates, higher wages for workers and directed attention to social issues by organizing Law and Order Leagues composed of leading citizens in the towns where he lectured and preached. He acknowledged and advocated the need for government intervention when the interest of the consumers could not otherwise be protected. In the Cartersville News in 1905 he stated:

Oleomargarine was sold for nice yellow butter till the dairymen kicked. Then the government made a law that every pound not made of milk should be marked and sold for what it

55 McLoughlin, p. 299.
really was. These very dairymen would sell water for milk and the people kicked, and now we have in the cities authorities for testing and marking milk and water separate.56

Similar actions were necessary in factories which manufactured cigars, shoes, and patent medicines.

In his letters to the Atlanta Journal he advocated crop diversity from cotton to grain. In support of the small farmer he urged the development of new implements and farm machinery to help him compete with larger producers.57 He warned farmers to do without rather than go into debt which might result in the loss of their farms and force them into the crop-lien system.

Jones' ambivalence on social issues carried over to his attitude toward business and labor. He was somewhat sympathetic to the working-man but he had serious reservations about the worker's right to organize. In commenting about a strike by Southern Railway workers in 1901 he said:

I believe a dozen men or a thousand or a million men have a perfect right to strike whenever they gentlemanly please—lay down their implements and quit work. Right there and right then they have done everything that they have a right to do by human and divine law, and when they do any more they outlaw themselves and ruin their cause. Capital has a perfect right to discharge labor whenever it gentlemanly pleases.58

Jones approved of the use of strikebreakers. He tended to favor business and capital rather than labor since he was involved in a number of

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58 Atlanta Journal, July 19, 1890, p. 5; August 1, 1890.
business ventures such as sawmills, a bottling factory, and an ice house. Since society was split on labor's right to organize, his ambivalent approach was a safe one to take at the time.

Sam Jones had strong feelings on two social issues dealing with what he termed inferior groups, the issues of race and of women's rights. He assumed the regular paternalistic attitude toward the negro. He saw him as "a moral dwarf" who should not have the right to vote, to enter public schools, and was not a social equal with whites. In a weekly column in the Atlanta Journal he said:

> Separate seats in street cars and separate coaches on trains for white and black teach us that socially they can't mix and wherever there is mixing of the races, at the polls or in the parlor, it's the lowest down whites and the meanest negroes doing the mixing.\(^5^9\)

He declared some of Theodore Roosevelt's actions toward negroes as a "demonstration that he himself is an ass."\(^6^0\) Jones claimed to want to help the negro but what he meant by helping was "to take away the debauching influences connected with the right to vote and to instill in them the proper middle class values of honesty and industry and acquisitiveness."\(^6^1\) Jones agreed with Booker T. Washington and poured lavish praise on him and his work at Tuskegee Institute.

\(^5^9\) Published letter, newsclipping, dated June 1, 1900, Scrapbook no. 12, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

\(^6^0\) Folder no. 1, clipping dated September 16, 1904, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

The controversial subject of women's rights dealt with a second "inferior" segment of the society of Jones' day. In a southern fashion, Jones' sermons elevated and praised the woman as a paragon of virtue and any action which detracted from that image was condemned. During a Nashville revival he said, "I believe in pure virtuous girls and you can't have them when the girls go to the balls in low-necked dresses."

Even an action as insignificant as wearing bangs was said to be more becoming to mules than to women. His criticism of clothing and hair styles was more emphatic than his comments about women's suffrage. In 1895 he wrote, "I have no objection to women's suffrage, but the woman who raises four boys for God multiplies her vote by four."

The woman could multiply her political strength through her influence in the home rather than at the polls or on the political platform.

On social issues, Sam Jones had the characteristic of a good leader, slightly ahead of the people of his time but not so far as to lose touch with them. In his progressive approach to some social issues he carefully accommodated his thought to the middle class mores. Raymond Rensi summarized his approach to social issues:

First he played one theme, not loudly, and listened closely to the people's response. If it was favorably received, he played it again, this time with crescendo and indeed with sincerity. Sometimes he could not tell for certain what response he was getting from the audience, so he played

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62 Nashville Banner, March 9, 1900, p. 3; Lecture Book, Battle for Life, n.p., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

63 Atlanta Journal, August 10, 1895, p. 8.
differing themes as in his position on trusts, labor unions, and race. Eventually he discovered what his supporters wanted to hear, and then he devoted his natural gifts to presenting it in a challenging and entertaining manner. Jones' appeal was not in his leadership but in his appearance in the vanguard of the Lord's army while actually following the Lord's people.64

Political Views

Sam Jones centered his political biases and activity more around people and issues he liked than around any particular party identification. In political philosophy he included a strong belief in the wisdom of the majority. He expressed this sentiment in Savannah: "There is one thing stronger than political bosses and political machines, and that is the people."65 He believed it was essential for the majority to be composed of the middle-crust of society, not the upper or lower levels. Since that middle-class had the most wisdom for making decisions, American problems existed because the political bosses ruled rather than the middle-class majority.

Jones' family members were Democratic, and he had worked for the Democratic Party a short time while a lawyer in Cartersville. He often identified with the Southern Democrats and never really opposed a Georgia governor. He voted for Cleveland in 1892 and strongly supported him during the Pullman Strike of 1894. In opposition to liberal Illinois Governor, John P. Altgeld, Cleveland had used troops against Eugene V. Debs' striking American Railway Union. Jones praised

64 Rensi, pp. 205-206.
Cleveland as a man of action who was not afraid to use loaded weapons. Jones also liked another Democrat, William Jennings Bryan, probably because they shared many religious convictions, were effective speakers, and often spoke on the Chautauqua Circuit.

Jones expressed dislike of the Republican Party but often praised individual Republicans such as William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. He identified with Roosevelt because of his activism and moral integrity. Jones spoke of Roosevelt's administration: "The wave of purity and decency started at the White House and this is the only time in our history when such was ever the fact before." Sam's only major disagreement with Roosevelt was on the question of race. He did not like the President's appointment of a Negro postmistress in Indianola, Mississippi and the invitation to Booker T. Washington to have dinner in the White House.

Jones reserved most of his political activity and oratory for the cause of the Prohibition Party. He described his early affiliation with the Democrats but related that he had been compelled to leave because of the party's lack of support on the rum question. When the Republicans in the audience cheered he smiled and said, "You Republicans needn't take on like that. Thank God, I never did belong to your gang."

Jones supported the Prohibition Party and its cause in writings, lectures, and sermons. When he conducted a meeting in a city, he usually left behind one or more organized religious pressure groups which conducted many political activities. One of these groups was formed in Houston, Texas in 1893 where a thousand men responded to his invitation to organize in order to stop the sale of alcohol in the city. One of his co-workers noted with some exaggeration: "In nearly every city in the state such organizations were formed, and the saloon element and corrupt municipal forces were fought until the saloon business was outlawed. Everywhere in the South such results followed his reformatory preaching."69 Jones also assisted Prohibition candidates on several occasions.

Jones refused to endorse any political party except the Prohibition Party, not even the Populist Party. He had once said that he would support any party with a prohibitionist plank, and he had to make good his promise and give nominal support to the Populist Party when it adopted a prohibitionist plank. During the depression of the closing years of the nineteenth century, Jones gave support for a brief time to the Populist's call for free unlimited coinage of silver. As the depression ran its course he became less sympathetic with free silver proposals. He generally saw third-party movements as splinter groups whose only positive action was like that of a "mule who turns its heels and kicks the fillings out of everything that approaches."70


70 Atlanta Journal, September 22, 1894, p. 7.
As an advocate of the New South, Jones joined Henry W. Grady in calling for the end of sectionalism. Jones expressed his attitude when ex-Confederate President Jefferson Davis died in 1889 and demonstrations in his memory and in honor of the Confederacy occurred throughout the South. In response to a reporter's questions in Keokuk, Iowa, Jones replied:

It was only human that the people of the South should mourn the representative of the lost cause whose memory was as sacred as those of the victorious cause. But the death of Mr. Davis has removed one of the chief causes that has kept in constant irritation what is termed "sectional feeling!"\(^71\)

He acknowledged the efficacy of the nostalgia of the lost cause but it was only an infrequent injunction into his advocacy of the New South.\(^72\)

Sam Jones did not differ radically from the political climate of his listeners except that his political attitudes and comments were generally in the shadow of one subject, his perpetual campaign against alcohol. He openly criticized politicians only if they were "soft" on prohibition and called for reform only where it was needed to maintain inviolate the middle-class respectability.

Organization and Conduct of Revivals

The emphasis on and drawing power of the entertaining style of Sam Jones frequently overshadowed his efficient but loosely structured evangelistic organization. He acknowledged and used business methods


\(^72\)Ibid.
in his work. The demands of several hundred sermons and lectures a year, a newspaper column, and the publication of numerous books required him to enlist a trained informal staff, which was loyal to Jones and his theological conservatism. 73 Although not particularly interested in the technical machinery of professional revivalism, he did generally follow the theory and methods of Charles Finney and Dwight L. Moody whose careers were familiar to him. 74

Invitations to Preach

Jones selected the places where he would preach and conduct meetings on the basis of invitations which he received. As his reputation spread, the invitations increased in number and in diversity of source. He was invited to St. Louis by only one pastor but others did cooperate after his arrival. At the request of the Methodist preachers he went to Boston where the Baptists cooperated but the Congregationalists did not. In Chicago his invitation and support came from the South Side Ministerial Association but lacked the city-wide support Moody had received there. "In the cities of the South he could count upon almost unanimous support from the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Disciples, who made up almost 90 per cent of the church-going population." 75 Jones had his own preferences of where he would preach and usually received enough invitations to be selective. After 1886 he received so many invitations that he could accept only a

73 Rensi, pp. 278-279.
74 McLoughlin, p. 300.
75 Ibid.
small number of them. Even in the pivotal years of 1884 and 1885 he received a large number of invitations, mostly in the South. The following list shows some of the 1884-1885 invitations preserved in his papers in the Georgia State Archives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Message</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 25, 1884</td>
<td>J. A. Bowen</td>
<td>Corinth, Mississippi</td>
<td>Wants meeting in Corinth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15, 1884</td>
<td>J. T. Wilson</td>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>Making arrival plans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 18, 1884</td>
<td>L. R. Bell</td>
<td>Alexander City, Alabama</td>
<td>Invitation to speak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 3, 1884</td>
<td>J. N. Duke</td>
<td>Cuthbert, Georgia</td>
<td>People expect Jones to return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 4, 1884</td>
<td>M. S. Andrews</td>
<td>Eufaula, Alabama</td>
<td>Invitation to spend a week in Eufaula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 5, 1884</td>
<td>A. M. Wynn</td>
<td>Columbus, Georgia</td>
<td>Invitation to speak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 1884</td>
<td>Clement C. Cary</td>
<td>Thomson, Georgia</td>
<td>Needs Jones' assistance in a hotly contested fight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8, 1884</td>
<td>George G. M. MacDonald</td>
<td>Americus, Georgia</td>
<td>Invitation to spend week or two.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 10, 1884</td>
<td>J. Lewis</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expecting Jones on Wednesday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 1884</td>
<td>J. C. Adams</td>
<td>Eatonton, Georgia</td>
<td>Plans for meeting in the next week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 21, 1884</td>
<td>J. P. Flaniken</td>
<td>Jackson, Tennessee</td>
<td>Invitation to speak early in the fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 28, 1884</td>
<td>W. L. Tucker</td>
<td>Waco, Texas</td>
<td>Invitation to speak in September.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 30, 1884</td>
<td>Jno. A. Thompson</td>
<td>Huntsville, Alabama</td>
<td>Anxious to have Jones hold meeting in Huntsville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1884</td>
<td>E. H. Moon</td>
<td>Holly Springs, Mississippi</td>
<td>Invitation to speak.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
September 11, 1884  T. H. Spencer, Baldwyn, Mississippi
Invitation to speak.

September 15, 1884  W. T. J. Sullivan, Oxford, Mississippi
Requests Jones make his visit before November 15.

September 23, 1884  W. W. Dorman, Clarksdale, Mississippi
Invitation to speak in Clarksdale.

September 29, 1884  I. I. Morgan, Monticello, Georgia
Invitation to visit.

October 1, 1884  J. T. Smith, Longview, Texas
Invitation to preach.

October 2, 1884  Iosie A. Thomas, Cochran, Georgia
Invitation by Temperance Lodge to speak.

October 8, 1884  W. T. Andrews, Florence, Alabama
Arranging definite dating.

February 17, 1885  Mrs. Alma L. McLaine, Americus, Georgia
Invitation to speak and inquiry about financial arrangements.

February 20, 1885  J. Fred Cox, Ennis, Texas
Invitation to speak.

February 21, 1885  Wm. B. Mitchell, Oxford, Mississippi
Invitation to speak in May.

February 28, 1885  J. H. Bryson, Huntsville, Alabama
Invitation to speak.

March 4, 1884  A. E. Goodwyn, Austin, Texas
Invitation to speak in Austin.

March 21, 1885  C. G. Rankin, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Invitation to speak.

March 26, 1885  John Anderson, Brunswick, Missouri
Invitation to conduct revival.

March 27, 1885  J. S. Carr, Board of Managers for Trinity College.
Invitation to preach baccalaureate sermon at Trinity College on
Wednesday, June 10.
March 30, 1885        John M. Pike, Summerville, South Carolina
                     Invitation to speak sometime during the
                     year.

March 30, 1885        J. D. Scott, Nashville, Tennessee
                     Plans for Nashville meeting.

March 31, 1885        Joel T. Daves, Tyler, Texas
                     Invitation to speak in Tyler.

April 4, 1885         W. P. Doane, Greenville, Tennessee
                     Invitation to speak.

April 6, 1885         W. M. Leftwich
                     Invitation to speak.

April 7, 1885         W. V. Tudor, St. Louis, Missouri
                     Definite dating for November speaking to
                     be later.

April 8, 1885         B. J. Geress, Seneca, South Carolina
                     Invitation to speak in Seneca.

May 30, 1885          James G. Aydelolt, Mayor, Tullahoma,
                     Tennessee. Invitation to speak.

June 21, 1885         Mrs. W. J. Tompkins, Lumpkin, Georgia
                     Invitation to speak.

November 23, 1885     W. Jones, Sedalia, Missouri
                     Invitation to speak.

December 5, 1885      Mrs. W. C. Sibley, Augusta, Georgia
                     Requesting Jones' aid in Prohibition
                     Movement.76

Jones preferred to preach in the South perhaps because he understood
the people there and felt more at home. He once wrote: .

 I find the people further South more easily moved. They
haven't the intellectual difficulties that curse other
portions of the country. In the West I find more coldness
and indifference. . . . In the East, there is an enthusiasm
born by an intellectual agreement with the speaker.77

76 Invitations To Speak, I, pp. 18-21, Samuel Porter Jones
Papers, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

77 Rensi, p. 290.
Once Jones had received and accepted an invitation to preach he did not allow opposition of the press, the clergy, or other meetings simultaneously scheduled to deter him. When some Selma, Alabama, pastors wrote and asked him to stay out of the city, Jones replied that the people wanted him and "Vox Populi, Vox Die." Sam did not hesitate competing with other revivals in town. In 1887 Dwight L. Moody and Reverend Francis Murphy, a temperance leader, launched campaigns in Boston at the same time Jones was scheduled to conduct an extended meeting. Moody suggested that he would turn his overflow crowds to Jones' services, to which Sam Jones characteristically remarked, "I am not in the habit of preaching to the overflow crowds. The other fellow does that in the town where I am." When the test came, Jones initially drew larger crowds than either of the other two evangelists, and had overflow crowds for the duration of his revival.

Once Jones agreed to conduct a meeting in a city, he generally left the advance preparation to the church, minister, or group of ministers who had invited him. He and his staff would sometimes offer suggestions but he relied largely on local clergy and laymen to plan and prepare. The efforts of Jones and his staff usually did not begin

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78 Russel Curt, A. J. Dickenson, J. W. Schoaff, and S. E. Hanes to Sam Jones, March 21, 1898; I. R. Eschea to Sam Jones, May 26, 1898; J. S. Bridges to Sam Jones, May 4, 1898, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

79 L. M. Jones, p. 323.

80 Newsclipping from the Boston Daily Globe, n.d., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
until the week before the start of the revival, and often they delayed until Jones arrived in town. In some instances, such as in Cincinnati, the local committees had conducted little preparation. After the meeting started Jones often asked the business men to close their places of business during the time of the day services, a request that found a more favorable response in the South. In some places the participating churches discontinued services during the meeting except regular Sunday morning and evening services. An attempt was made to focus religious attention on the revival.

Sam Jones and the person or group of people extending an invitation would agree on a date to begin his regular and special services but a definite date of concluding them was not set. Sam Jones might leave for a few days in the middle of the revival and then return to continue it. Usually a local minister or one of his co-evangelists would preach in his absence. Sometimes a revival would continue several days after Jones departed. When he arrived in St. Louis in November of 1885 he told a reporter that he would be in the city for twenty or thirty days.

Publicity

Advance publicity was an important aspect of revival planning. Prayer meetings were often scheduled one or two weeks in advance of

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81 L. M. Jones, p. 177.  
82 Ibid., p. 287.  
83 McLoughlin, p. 303.  
84 St. Louis Republican, November 22, 1885, p. 15.
opening night in order to create interest in the revival. Special invitations were sent to civic organizations and special places in the meeting place were reserved for them. Handbills, flyers, and pictures of Sam Jones were circulated. People came in from surrounding areas on special trains that offered reduced rates. A song, "Sam Jones Is Coming," was written and mailed to local choir leaders in hopes that they would use it in their regular services prior to the revival.85 Sometimes the city was divided into districts and teams of church members went to their designated areas to conduct personal evangelism.86

Jones realized the importance of announcing interesting sermon titles in advance in order to attract a large audience. Some examples were "For Men Only," "It Pays To Be Righteous," "Prisoners of Hope and Prisoners of Despair," "Laying Up Money," and "Religious Railroading." Although these sermons were advertised in advance, he sometimes changed the topic on the evening of delivery.87

Publicity generally was more prevalent after the revival started than in advance. Consequently some of the early services were not too well attended. On one occasion in West Point, Georgia, only four people attended his first service, a weekday morning service. Those four

85C. E. Coleman to Sam Jones, May 31, 1886, newsclipping from Chicago Tribune, February 22, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Rensi, p. 293.

86J. Smithson to Sam Jones, February 28, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

87Scrapbook no. 3, pp. 1-6, miscellaneous newsclippings, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
people were the pastor, Sam Jones, and two women. After he preached he gave the following instructions:

I want the pastor to go with me to every business house in this town, and we will say to the men as we meet them, just one thing, and that is, "You are going to hell," and then we will move on. I want you good women to go all over this town, ring the door bell, and when the women meet you, just look them squarely in the face and don't say but one thing, and that is, "You are going to hell."88

Some doors were slammed in their faces, and some men became angry, but curiosity was aroused. Sam Jones preached one of his most scathing sermons that evening to a capacity crowd.

Jones followed Moody in acknowledging the value of publicity through the free press and provided special seats on the platform for reporters. The newspapers usually reciprocated by being cordial and cooperative and giving his meetings several columns coverage and sometimes lengthy headlines. One typical headline read:

JONES OF GEORGIA ENTERTAINS:
THE FAMOUS EVANGELIST CAUTHERIZES HIS CONGREGATIONS:

Says He Is Going To Stir Up The Wickedness
Of Memphis If They Tear His Clothes Off
And Run Him Out Of Town—Promises To
Make Things Lively.89

Jones expressed his appreciation to reporters and admitted, "I am indebted to reporters." At the same time he acknowledged that he had

88L. M. Jones, p. 86.
89Memphis Appeal-Avalanche, February 8, 1893, p. 5; McLoughlin, p. 303.
often been misrepresented by reporters but declared, "A man can better afford to be lied on than to be ignored."\textsuperscript{90}

The cooperation and camaraderie between Jones and editors did not exist in all of Jones' campaigns. In his first Nashville meeting in 1885 most of the newspapers opposed and ridiculed him initially, but did change the tone of their articles as the meeting progressed. Perhaps Jones' most open fight with the press occurred in San Francisco. Reporters for William Randolph Hearst's \textit{San Francisco Examiner} reported Jones' sermons in dialect, conveying that Jones was a clown and the revival a farce. After Jones' wife overheard a streetcar conversation in which one woman said she did not attend the meetings because she thought Jones was a "nigger" from the nature of the newspaper articles, Jones attacked the reporters from the platform.

\begin{displayquote}
You little sap-headed reporters, with eyes so close together that you can see through a keyhole with both of them are sent here at night to take down my sermons; now if you can't report them as I deliver them, you stay away from here. You seem to think your mission is to make my sermons funnier and more sensational, and in your ridiculous attempts you are slandering me and the cause. Now, bud, if you are doing the best that you can, your paper had better put you on a job that is small enough for your caliber and let them send a man here that is big enough for the occasion.\textsuperscript{91}
\end{displayquote}

In the next issue the editor replied:

\begin{displayquote}
The \textit{Examiner} never knowingly misrepresented anybody. If Brother Jones will think a little more on the subject, he will see that what he means is that the \textit{Examiner} has annoyed him by representing him as he really is. That is, our reporters have
\end{displayquote}

\textsuperscript{90}Unidentified newsclipping, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

\textsuperscript{91}L. M. Jones, pp. 277-278.
refrained from polishing Brother Jones' sentences and have let them go to type precisely as he uttered them, in all their rude strength and beauty. The very peculiarities of his diction which have given this unique evangelist his fame, he appears to have grown a little ashamed of.  

Jones learned that it did not pay to have the opposition of the press. Perhaps a hint of truth in the editor's reply prompted Jones to "go easy" in the early services of a campaign and avoid the strong caustic language and dialect. When asked about his slow approach at the beginning of a meeting he replied, "You don't scald the hog until you get the water hot."

Location of Services

The one requirement of Sam Jones was that the local minister, church, or committee select an appropriate place for the meetings to be held. He sometimes used church buildings but preferred not to in order to avoid charges of being sectarian and also because they generally were inadequate to handle the crowd. He preferred to use tents, auditoriums, skating rinks, armories, or tabernacles. The Chicago meeting was held in a renovated skating rink which held seven thousand and had a five week total attendance of 260,000. In most cities the meeting places held five thousand or less with a total campaign attendance of 150,000. Southern meetings were often held in tobacco or cotton warehouses, "bush arbors," or specially constructed tabernacles.  

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92San Francisco Examiner, March 22, 1889, p. 4.
93McLoughlin, p. 301.
Staff of Workers

Endless details, too numerous for one person to attend to, forced Jones to enlist a staff of assistants. Ushers and choir singers, totaling up to four hundred for a meeting, had to be trained beforehand. Jones acquired a soloist to sing special music and a choir leader to direct the choir. In addition to these Jones went beyond the practice of Moody and hired a private secretary to help with correspondence, a stenographic reporter to record his sermons for publication, assistant evangelists to preach at some of the services, and an assistant to work especially with young people.94

One of Jones' first assistant evangelists was Sam Small, a college educated special correspondent for the Atlanta Constitution. Small first met Jones while covering an 1886 Tabernacle Revival in Cartersville, Georgia. He was a skilled stenographer and wrote a column entitled "Old Sol," for the Atlanta Constitution. He spent his money freely, mostly for liquor, and was suffering from a hangover when he first heard Jones preach in Cartersville. The sermon, "Conscience, Record, God," contained a denunciation of alcohol. Sam Small hurried down the aisle as a convert. Immediately after the service he returned to Atlanta and announced that he would preach that evening in the city square. He mounted a dry goods box and delivered his first sermon to two thousand people. Sam Jones recognized his potential and invited him to become his co-evangelist. In the year which followed Small

94 Ibid., pp. 302-303.
preached 509 times, often to overflow crowds from the hall where Jones was preaching. During the three years they worked together, Small served as co-evangelist, secretary to Jones, and person in charge of advance campaign arrangements with local ministers. A restless man, Small left Jones in late 1888 and during the years that followed worked in education, government, publishing, and politics.95

From 1890 to 1906 George Stuart was a valuable and popular co-evangelist of Sam Jones. Jones met Stuart through his daughter, Mary, who was a student at Centenary Female Institute, founded by Stuart in Cleveland, Tennessee. Later Stuart left the Institute to become a minister in the Tennessee Methodist Conference. In late 1889 Jones was conducting a revival in Trenton, Tennessee, and became ill. Feeling that he could not cancel the revival, he continued to preach, but was unable to preach three times a day. He sought Stuart's assistance and was impressed with his preaching.96 After the services Jones told Stuart, "I have been looking all over the United States for a man who could do what you did today—take my place and hold my audience."97 Stuart resigned from the conference to enter the field of evangelism full-time, usually preaching at one of the three daily services, and often at the main evening service. Stuart became so popular that he often received equal billing with Jones, and most groups tendering invitations requested both Jones and Stuart.98

95 Rensi, pp. 279-282.  
96 Ibid., pp. 282-284.  
98 Stuart, Methodist Evangelism, pp. 74ff.
As Stuart became more popular and began conducting some revivals independently, Jones employed the services of other evangelists such as J. T. Sexton, J. W. Bigham, and M. J. Maxwell. These men preached at some of the regular services and conducted simultaneous meetings in other parts of town.  

Another co-evangelist was Walt Holcomb who began assisting Jones during his illness in 1886 and continued to assist him until Jones died in 1906. Holcomb preached, handled advertising, trained ushers, secured buildings for services, led singing, and established local prayer meetings. After Jones' death, Holcomb continued his work and later married his youngest daughter, Julia.  

Soon after his success in Nashville in 1885, Jones followed the advice of friends who encouraged him to select someone to be in charge of the music in his meetings as Ira Sankey had accompanied Moody. Jones used a number of different individuals who were recommended to him by friends and by ministerial associations who scheduled revivals.

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99 Frank Taylor, Sam Jones' stenographer, to Sam Jones, October 7, 1886; The Cartersville News, May 17, 1905, p. 1, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. J. D. Sexton was known as the "Blacksmith Preacher." J. W. Bigham was a Methodist minister from Kentucky. M. J. Maxwell was a professor from Cincinnati, Ohio.

100 Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, newsclipping dateline, Meridian, Mississippi, November 30, n.d., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; Atlanta Journal, April 11, 1887, p. 1; C. P. Atmore to Sam Jones, January 20, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

101 McLoughlin, p. 302.
Two individuals, E. O. Excell and Charles Tillman, were employed with more regularity than any others.

E. O. Excell, who traveled with the Jones' staff from 1888 to 1899, served primarily as special soloist but he also organized the large choirs and managed all the special music. His powerful voice could easily be heard by crowds of several thousand. Ill health caused Excell to leave the Jones' staff as a regular member but he continued to assist in scattered revivals with Jones. Excell was one of the members of a quartet which sang at Sam Jones' funeral. 102

When Excell could not assist Jones, he frequently used Charles Tillman as choir leader and soloist in 1896 and 1897 in Georgia. The two men were never close and finally parted company over a disagreement about the use of a hymnbook in an Atlanta revival. Tillman had been given the impression that his edition of a book of gospel songs would be used in the revival, but Jones changed his mind under pressure from the Ministerial Association of Atlanta. When he asked Tillman to work for five dollars a day, he refused. 103

102 L. M. Jones, p. 239; Rensi, pp. 287-288; Cartersville News, September 20, 1906, p. 1; E. O. Excell to Sam Jones, February 11, 1888; Frank F. Whilden to Sam Jones, July 15, 1885; Bishop H. C. Hargrove to Sam Jones, July 15, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

103 Newsclipping attached to letter from M. E. Bush to Sam Jones, September 16, 1897; Charles D. Tillman to Sam Jones, January 27, 1897, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
Schedule of Services

Jones' revival campaigns followed an exhaustive schedule for both the evangelist and those people who tried to attend all the services. Regular afternoon and evening meetings were supplemented by noon prayer meetings, sunrise "Inspiration Meetings" at 6:00 A.M., meetings for men only, women only, businessmen, young people, mothers, and "commercial travelers." In addition to those services in the tabernacles he spoke in factories, shops, office buildings, schools, and temperance rallies.\footnote{Mcloughlin, p. 303.} The women's meetings were usually held in the mornings, the children's meetings on Saturday, and the businessmen's meetings at noon. The most widely used and successful meetings were the ones for "men only," informal, conversational and extremely frank for that time. In addition to these meetings directly connected to the revival he also frequently accepted invitations to speak to Blue and Gray reunions, in jails, high schools, colleges, and to the Young Men's Christian Associations.\footnote{Rensi, pp. 297-298.}

Call for Converts

Jones recognized the value of "priming the audience" to the point they were "ripe" for his sermon and exhortation. This audience preparation was achieved through audience participation. They were encouraged to laugh, applaud, sing, and sometimes to talk back to the speaker in response to his questions or with a hearty "Amen."\footnote{Sam P. Jones, Lightning Flashes and Thunderbolts (Louisville, Kentucky: Pentecostal Publishing Company, 1912), p. 12.}
in the services contained a mixture of special solos and congregational singing. Jones preferred two pianos and an organ and particularly liked to have brass instruments or a band embellish the singing from Excell's evangelical songbook, Triumphant Songs. ¹⁰⁷ All aspects of a campaign, publicity, music, sermon, were directed toward the climax, the call for converts. Jones utilized the first three to five days in preparing the audience and refrained from issuing an "invitation" during that time. When Jones finished his sermon he would announce that now was the time for penitents to "come to God." The sermons frequently climaxed with a moving illustration stressing the need for the penitent to make a decision and make it now. A nod would be given to the choir and singing would start. Sometimes Jones would motion for the choir to pause between stanzas of the "invitation hymn" and he would make another brief exhortation for people to come forward, often emphasizing either the brevity and uncertainty of life or the strong need for reform of the society and people in that particular community. As the penitents came forward they were joined by the personal workers. Occasionally he announced an "after meeting" for those who wished to register some type of spiritual decision. In St. Louis in 1885 he announced, "We are going to have an after-service, and those who do not wish to stop in this heavenly atmosphere can leave." ¹⁰⁸ As Finney and Moody had done, Jones sometimes

¹⁰⁷ Rensi, p. 287.
¹⁰⁸ St. Louis Republican, December 16, 1885, p. 5.
used inquiry rooms for these "after meetings," but more often he simply cleared the front rows of the tabernacle or auditorium and held the after meeting there. Jones made no attempt to personally talk with each of the inquirers but left this to the members of the local clergy. He did speak to them as a group. The penitent was frequently asked to complete a decision card which provided information to be used by clergymen in a follow-up visit.

In 1895 the St. Louis Globe-Democrat gave a detailed account of one of Jones' call for converts. After an hour and one-half sermon entitled "Escape for Thy Life," Jones issued the "invitation" to an audience of men only. He asked all to rise who would say, "By the grace of God I will lead a better life and serve God and do right."

Approximately one-third of the men present stood up as Jones continued, "And now while we sing a hymn every man and boy that says here is my hand to serve God and do right, stay a few minutes and give me your hand and let us settle it here this afternoon. While we stand and sing, come and give me your hand." Excell directed the large choir in "That Old Time Religion" while Jones offered his right hand to those coming forward. A St. Louis reporter wrote:

The vast audience seemed to surge toward the man who had so profoundly moved it. Men almost fell over each other in their determination to grasp the evangelist's hand. . . . They came boldly, with gladness and relief in their eyes, with the air of men who had found something good and were

109 McLoughlin, p. 304.

110 Indianapolis Journal, June 18, 1886, p. 2.
anxious not to lose it. Mr. Jones' hands, right and left, were shaken and squeezed and tugged and his eyes flashed as with a holy fire. He kept up an unremittant "God bless you."

Jones continued to receive the men in this fashion for thirty-five minutes until, according to the reporter, "fully 2000 of the 6000 men who had heard the sermon had come forward to give the pledge to lead a better life." The response to his call for converts was not always so favorably received however. Sometimes only fifty or one hundred would respond and on some occasions no one responded at all.

On rare occasions when response to the invitation was absent, Jones would open the "back doors" of the church rather than the "front doors." He would request that those "who were unwilling to live up to the rules and regulations of the church to come forward, and have their names erased from the roll, and retire through the 'back doors' of the church."

Revival Statistics

To be successful an evangelist must be able to attract large crowds and have significant numbers of conversions recorded at his meetings. By appearances Sam Jones met those criteria. Although an average crowd was about six thousand, he frequently drew crowds of twenty-five to forty thousand per night in some of the larger cities.

111 St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 11, 1895, p. 2; McLoughlin, p. 304.
112 St. Louis Republican, December 15, 1885, p. 6.
113 L. M. Jones, p. 65.
such as Memphis, Cincinnati, and Baltimore. The size was usually limited more by the seating capacity than the number of people who came seeking admission to the services. In one of his meetings in Baltimore it was estimated that between two hundred thirty and two hundred fifty thousand people were in attendance during the one hundred sermons Jones preached there.

Jones also had a good record in the second criteria of success, number of conversions. The press gave favorable coverage not only to the number of conversions but especially to well-known citizens who were converted. One of his more famous conversions was Tom G. Ryman, owner and operator of steamships on the Cumberland River near Nashville. After his conversion at one of Jones' services he renamed his Nashville saloon Sam Jones Hall, and began to have temperance and religious services there. Together Sam Jones and Tom Ryman built the Jones-Ryman auditorium which was completed in 1889.

In 1886 Jones told a reporter that he had converted "not less than 50,000 since he had begun to preach," and in 1887 he wrote that in the past twenty-four months over twenty thousand souls have been brought to Christ. At the time of his death in 1906 the estimate had risen to 500,000 conversions out of an aggregate audience of twenty-five million. The following list of revivals gives estimated numbers of conversions:

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114 Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, newsclipping dateline, Nashville, Tennessee, June 3, 1892; Memphis Appeal, February 23, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; Scrapbook no. 3, p. 25, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

115 L. M. Jones, p. 231.

116 Ibid., pp. 150-151.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattanooga</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1500 to 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1200 to 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is difficult to determine the actual number of converts because of the informal way of indicating conversion. Varying methods of indicating conversion were used such as raising the hand, coming forward, standing, shaking Jones' hand at the end of the service, remaining for the after-meeting, and completing a convert's card. In addition to the problems of calculating the number of conversions in Jones' actual services, it is also impossible to determine the number converted as a result of reading his sermons in newspapers and books and singing songs in his published hymnals. Many conversions also occurred in revival services which continued for several days after Jones left the community.

Financial Arrangements

The problem of managing, collecting, and disbursing funds is a factor in any large scale endeavor. Jones left this entirely up to a locally appointed and constituted finance committee. Expenses were kept low by sometimes using churches and by limiting his stay in a city to three to five weeks. His 1886 meeting in Chicago, which lasted for five weeks, had a total expense of six thousand dollars, including twenty four

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117 McLoughlin, p. 305.
hundred for rent of the meeting-hall, one thousand for publicity and printing, and four hundred dollars for "repairs."\textsuperscript{118}

Unlike Moody, Jones did not require underwriting of the revival before it began. Generally daily collections and one or two special collections for the evangelist were sufficient to cover expenses. Although it was the task of the finance committee to raise the necessary funds, Jones felt some personal responsibility to assist them. At the opening service of a revival in St. Louis in 1895 he told the crowd,

The rent of this hall, with the concession made to religious meetings, is $2000. The audience that comes here night after night and on Sunday afternoons must pay that $2000 or this gentleman talking to you will pay it. You can take your choice. If you don't pay, I will.

A voice from the crowd replied, "We won't let you Brother Jones, not a cent." However, when the collection was small that night Jones made an additional attempt to increase giving the following night.

Now I have read in the Bible all about "tabernacles" but nothing about tabernickels. Again, the Lord says in Revelations that he despises a "Nicolaitan." As for those who contribute pennies, did not Paul say, "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil?"\textsuperscript{119}

Jones would never enter into a contract that specified the amount he was to be paid for his services. The Baltimore finance committee urged him to set a price, but he told them that if the invitation depended on his entering into a contract, he would not accept the

\textsuperscript{118}Chicago Tribune, April 5, 1886, p. 12; McLoughlin, p. 302.

\textsuperscript{119}St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 4, 1895, p. 2; March 5, 1895, p. 2; McLoughlin, p. 302.
invitation. Excerpts from a letter to the chairman of a finance committee reveal further his attitude toward a contract:

Now as you press the matter upon me as to compensation, I can simply say that whatever is done must be voluntary and, therefore, there can be no pecuniary consideration.

I would rather see ten thousand souls brought to Christ and have to borrow money to pay my way home from your city, than to see the cause of Christ not prosper and have you pay me ten thousand dollars.

Whatever is paid me, I only want to know that it is a voluntary free-will offering on the part of those contributing it.\(^{121}\)

If the refusal to sign a contract removed the necessity of having to pay the evangelist a stated minimum amount of money, it also removed any limit on the amount he could receive should the collections be highly successful.

The absence of accurate records makes it difficult to establish Jones' annual income. After his death his wife wrote that his income for the past twenty-five years, 1881-1906, averaged thirty thousand dollars a year from all sources. During the last year of his life Jones stated, "The nearest I can estimate, I have made over seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars with my tongue."\(^{122}\) Better financial records were kept on his Chautauqua engagements than on his revival income.

Jones' revival income came from special collections taken during the last two days of meetings and from outside subscriptions. Before these special collections were taken, the chairman of the local finance

\(^{120}\) L. M. Jones, pp. 217-218.

\(^{121}\) Ibid.

\(^{122}\) Ibid., pp. 331-332.
committee would take the platform and try to get people to pledge, beginning with one hundred dollars and going down to one dollar. In an attempt to increase giving through competition, Jones would let it be known what he received in previous cities. McLoughlin stated that "His average remuneration for a three or four week revival ranged from $1500 to $4000." Sometimes he would have to pay his staff's salaries and expenses from that amount but more often they were paid from the general expense fund of the revival and the amount of the special collections went entirely to Jones.

Chautauqua and lyceum lecturing was consistently a significant part of Sam Jones income from the 1880's throughout the rest of his life. Several weeks out of each year, both winter and summer, he spent on the circuit, with receipts ranging from one hundred to five hundred dollars per lecture. Between December 12, 1892 and December 20, 1892 he delivered eight lectures in eight cities for a total fee of fifteen hundred ninety dollars.

Although the majority of Jones' income came from preaching and lecturing, he also had other sources of income. He received considerable amounts from royalties on his published books of sermons. Annual

123 McLoughlin, pp. 327-328.
124 San Francisco Examiner, March 24, 1889, p. 2; April 1, 1889, p. 2; Baltimore American, May 29, 1886; Chicago Tribune, April 5, 1886, p. 1; McLoughlin, p. 328.
125 J. E. Brockway to Sam P. Jones, October 15, 1892, "Correspondence Concerning Lyceum and Chautauqua Schedules," p. 4, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.
royalties to *Sermons and Sayings* amounted to almost four thousand dollars. Lesser amounts came from royalties on books such as *Quit Your Meanness* and *Thunderbolts*. His largest royalty checks came from *Sam Jones' Own Book* which he edited himself.\(^\text{126}\) Two factors prevented him from making much more on the sale of books: his failure to copyright his sermons, and his lack of interest in editing and writing books. Several publishers released pirated editions of his sermons. In sermon and in print Jones condemned them for stealing from him and his family, but he could do little beyond that with no copyright. Several publishers indicated an interest in publishing more books and attempted to buy some of Jones' sermons, but for various reasons Jones either refused or they could never reach a suitable agreement.\(^\text{127}\) Henry Whitney Cleveland wanted to collaborate with Jones on a book about his life, but Jones just never found time to make arrangements.\(^\text{128}\) He was always too busy preaching and lecturing and placed his faith in the spoken word more than in the written word.

Jones and his choir director, E. O. Excell, produced songbooks which were sold at the services. Proceeds from these books went

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\(^{126}\) Joseph Morton to Sam Jones, January 5, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, unidentified newsclipping, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; See Cranston and Stowe to Sam Jones, Royalty statements dated March 4, 1887; December 3, 1886; March, 1898; September 2, 1896; Rensi, p. 319.

\(^{127}\) People's Publishing Company to Sam Jones, September 5, 1889; C. F. King to Sam Jones, February 13, 1895, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

\(^{128}\) Henry W. Cleveland to Sam Jones, June 29, 1886, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
primarily to Excell who had done most of the work. It was reported that 150,000 copies of one of these songbooks, Triumphant Songs, sold within a short time after its release in the late 1880's. 129

Sam Jones' picture was regularly sold at his revival campaigns but it is doubtful that he ever realized much income from the sales. Although several photographers marketed his pictures Jones would give none of them exclusive rights to distribution. His friend, Tom Durham of Cartersville, Georgia, sold many of his pictures for ten cents each. 130

Sam Jones also received fringe benefits in the form of occasional gifts, a load of coal, a box of cigars, a suit of clothes, or discounts on purchases. 131

The income Jones received from his preaching and lecturing made it possible for him to make numerous investments. He owned considerable stock in several Cartersville businesses such as a bank, the waterworks, ice factory, brick factory, real estate company, bottling plant, two grocery and dry goods stores, two grain mills, and a lime and stone business. He also owned several lots, two homes, and four farms. He was considered a wealthy man in Cartersville, Georgia. 132

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129 Nashville Christian Advocate, March 2, 1889; San Francisco Examiner, March 27, 1889, p. 3.

130 Tom Durham to Sam Jones, n.d., Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

131 Edgar C. Maxell to Sam Jones, August 10, 1884; D. C. O'Howell to Mrs. Sam Jones, July 27, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

132 Rensi, pp. 325-326.
Jones was liberal in giving to charity, both organized and individual. He gave to people in need, particularly alcoholics trying to reform, ministers and their families, churches, people in debt, and to schools. Willingness to give to needy people caused him to be beseiged by requests for assistance. Haphazard record keeping prevented him from knowing what he had done with his income and what amount he had given away. He once stated, "When the secrets of all men shall be known, then, and not until then, will the world know what Sam Jones has done with his large income."

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133 Scrapbook, Letters to Editors, newsclipping of an interview Sam Jones had with a New York reporter, February, 1894, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Chapter IV

CAMPAIGN IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The first revival to gain significant newspaper coverage for Samuel Porter Jones was in Memphis, Tennessee in January, 1884.\footnote{Sam P. Jones, Sam Jones' Own Book (St. Louis: Cranston and Stowe, 1886), p. 47.} However, the reputation which preceded Jones to Memphis was not borne by the masses or the press, but by one individual who had been favorably impressed by Jones in an earlier revival. Consequently Jones was not very well known when he arrived to conduct the union meeting.

An interesting set of circumstances brought Sam Jones and a Baptist minister, Rev. A. J. Lamar, together in Macon, Georgia in 1881. Sam Jones and A. J. Lamar were conducting simultaneous revivals in Macon, one in a Baptist church and the other in a Methodist church. Lamar's meeting began on Sunday and was well attended, but his audience decreased by 50 percent on Monday night, 75 percent on Tuesday night, and on Wednesday night only a few of his deacons were present. When he asked his deacons about the decline in attendance they replied, "Did you not know Sam Jones is conducting a meeting at the Mulberry Street Methodist Church?" Lamar had just come from South Carolina and had never heard of Sam Jones. The deacons told him, "Sam Jones is the greatest sensation Georgia ever produced. When he is in town there is no use to try to run against him." "Well," said Lamar, "let's adjourn this meeting and go over and see what manner of man he is."
When introduced to Jones Rev. Lamar said, "Brother Jones, you have taken my crowd from me, but I don't see that you are getting many converted tonight." Jones replied, "Brother Lamar, a fellow has got to catch his fish before he strings them. I am just drumming up my crowd, and will string them after awhile." Dr. Lamar affirmed, "Well, I am coming to see you string them, and to help, if I can." Jones stated, "That's the talk, we need the help of all good men." During the Macon meeting Lamar and his members enthusiastically supported the revival of Sam Jones and the Methodists. Lamar would not forget the favorable impression which Jones had made on him.

By 1883 Lamar had moved to Memphis, Tennessee, to become the pastor of the Central Baptist Church. As he began to make plans for a revival effort in his church in the fall of 1883, he remembered Sam Jones. On October 1, 1883 he wrote Jones, extending an invitation to conduct a meeting in his church in either October or November of that same year. In that letter he wrote, "I propose to bring you here under my patronage and my plan is to have you begin in my church and go on till you get a crowd, then I'll carry you to the Opera House."

During the month of October a change in plans occurred. The Pastor's Conference of Memphis was looking for a suitable evangelist to conduct a union meeting. In former years they had had notable

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3Rev. A. J. Lamar to Sam P. Jones, October 1, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia.
evangelists such as Earle, Hammond, and Dwight L. Moody and were at a loss as to who to invite. Rev. Lamar suggested they invite Sam Jones, but no one knew him, not even the Methodist clergy. Lamar made the following statement about Jones:

He is the most unique man I ever saw. He is a sensation within himself. He can come nearer turning the city upside down than any other man upon this continent. If you will get him and give him the middle of the road he will stir up things. The only trouble will be to get a place big enough to hold the audience.4

After discussion, the Pastor's Conference agreed to correspond with Dr. Atticus G. Haygood in order to find out more about the Georgia evangelist. Dr. Haygood replied:

Sam Jones is a Methodist preacher
Good and true
Give him a chance and he'll
Carry you.5

This reply satisfied the Pastor's Conference, and they unanimously instructed Dr. A. J. Lamar to extend an invitation to Jones to conduct a union revival in Memphis. In his letter to Jones, Lamar mapped out his plans for the revival as they stood at that time. The churches would hold their regular Sunday morning services during Jones' visit but would conduct no other services either on Sunday or during the week. The pastors were trying to arrange for the use of a public hall which would accommodate 2500 people. If they could not find such an auditorium they would select the largest church for the location of the services. Lamar's church, Central Baptist, would provide for Jones' travelling

4L. M. Jones, p. 101.  5Ibid.
expenses, accommodations, and entertainment and the other congregations would pay him for his services. Lamar wanted Jones to preach at his church on two Sunday mornings.  

On November 6, 1883 Lamar again wrote Jones, requesting another change in plans. He wanted to know if Jones could delay his arrival until January, 1884 because the Methodist ministers would be gone to their Conference during the scheduled December dates. While requesting the change in date, Lamar admitted that three-fourths of the ministers were concerned that the January date might be hazardous due to the winter weather. However, January was agreed on by the ministers. It was also decided that the services would be held at the Cumberland Presbyterian Church on Court Street because it was the largest and most centrally located church. It would seat 1000 people. Lamar also stated that if the crowds should become too large they would move the services to the Exposition Building which would seat several thousand. Lamar also requested that Jones send him some newspaper notices about himself and his meetings, particularly those which appeared in the Macon, Georgia, Telegraph and Messenger.  

On December 8, 1883 Lamar again wrote Jones, giving further plans relative to the January revival meeting. The scheduled starting date was set as Sunday January 6, 1884 and the first week would be a

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6 Rev. A. J. Lamar to Sam P. Jones, November 6, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia.  

7 Rev. A. J. Lamar to Sam P. Jones, November 6, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia.
Week of Prayer with special prayer services conducted by the pastors. Advertising would begin one week in advance. Lamar also informed Jones that they had arranged for a singer, Professor W. E. Hughes, to be "placed at your disposal to lead the music. He has had great experiences in England and this country in revival meetings and is a very tractable and manageable Brother." For the first time mention was made of financial remuneration to Sam Jones:

How do you receive compensation for your services? Do you receive a stipulated amount, or do you depend on voluntary offerings or do you receive the compensation as a contribution to the "Orphan's Home?" I shall be glad for any suggestions as to your wishes in this matter, and I'll try to execute them.

In his final correspondence with Jones prior to the revival, Lamar told Jones that prayer services would be held each day of the first week at 3:00 P.M. He also told him that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church would worship the next Sunday evening with Lamar's Central Baptist Church "as a beginning of cooperation."

On Tuesday January 1, 1884, less than one week before the start of the revival, a meeting was called for pastors and laymen from the various churches. The purpose of the meeting was to "perfect arrangements for the union meeting to be held during the month of January."

The musician was formally elected to take charge of the music under the

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8 Rev. A. J. Lamar to Sam P. Jones, December 8, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia.

9 Ibid.

10 Rev. A. J. Lamar to Sam P. Jones, December 28, 1883, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia.
direction of Jones and the following committees were appointed:
Committee on Finance, Committee on Advertising, Committee on Entertain-
ment, and a Committee on Arrangements.  

Sam Jones arrived in Memphis at 9:40 P.M. on a bitter cold Saturday, January 5, 1884. He was met at the train station by Rev. A. J. Lamar and the Committee on Entertainment and was checked into the Peabody Hotel. On Sunday he came over to the Clarendon Hotel where he remained for the duration of the revival.

On Sunday morning January 6, 1884 Jones preached at Rev. A. J. Lamar's Central Baptist Church. That evening he preached his first sermon of the union meeting in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church on Court Street at 7:30. The 700 people present filled only two-thirds of the auditorium which was uncomfortable due to heating difficulty caused by the bitter cold. In spite of the weather and the reduced attendance, Jones was well received by the people and the press. The Memphis Daily Avalanche reported that "His first day's work in the city has made a deep impression in his favor. His earnest and unique manner has at once established him in the favor of our church going people."  

The pastors' earlier fears about January proved to be justified. Snow started falling early Sunday morning January 6 and the ground was

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11 Daily Memphis Avalanche, January 1, 1884, p. 4.
12 Memphis Daily Appeal, January 6, 1884, p. 2.
13 Daily Memphis Avalanche, January 8, 1884, p. 4.
14 Ibid.
covered when people awoke. The snow continued until Tuesday afternoon, January 8, reaching a depth in excess of ten inches, one of the deepest snows recorded in Memphis up to that time. Bitter cold temperatures close to zero accompanied the snow. Considering the weather, it is surprising that attendance at the services was as good as it was.

During the first week of the meeting local pastors conducted prayer services during the day and Sam Jones preached in the evening services. With the moderation in the weather, favorable articles in the newspapers, and increased interest in the meeting, attendance gradually increased. During the first week of services printed invitations listed all the ministers endorsing the revival effort. An article in the Memphis Daily Avalanche stated, "From the card which has been distributed among the audience, it is seen that nearly all the pastors in the city are cooperating in the meeting, and doubtless their combined efforts will lead to great success."16

Jones had been ill prior to coming to Memphis and made an initial attempt to protect his health during the campaign. In a January 13 letter to his wife he wrote, "I am holding up to my work notably well. I know I have not the vital forces I had two or three years ago and I shall try and regulate my work accordingly."17 Jones preached only

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15 Sam Jones Diary, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 4, Emory University.

16 Memphis Daily Avalanche, January 11, 1884, p. 4.

17 Sam Jones to Laura M. Jones, January 13, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.
eight sermons during the first week of the meeting, far below his normal pace of activity. After the first week he increased his preaching activity to twelve and thirteen sermons a week, often preaching three sermons a day. Between January 6 and February 6 Jones spoke in 57 services and delivered one address at a college. The January weather and the pace of preaching activity combined to cause further health problems for Jones. On January 22 he wrote the following to his wife, "I am sick this morning, could eat no breakfast. I hope it is only a temporary trouble. I preached three times again yesterday and ought not to have done so. I may have taken some cold." The next day he wrote his wife, "I am a little afraid that my cold has settled in my bronchial tubes. I hope not. I shall take the best of care of myself." Any reduction in preaching activity was only slight as Sam Jones sought to fulfill his stated ambition to be "a constant, persistent, and indefatigable laborer."

After a discouraging initial week, the weather improved and attendance increased, but Jones still felt that the meeting was cold and lacked the "growth in power" it should have had. He was also discouraged because of a lack of cooperation on the part of some of the preachers.

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18 Sam Jones to Laura M. Jones, January 22, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.

19 Sam Jones to Laura M. Jones, January 23, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.

The end of the second week and the beginning of the third marked a turning point in the revival. During this time three things occurred which caused this turning point. Jones was encouraged by the first factor which was increased cooperation and effort on the part of the ministers of the city. In a letter written to his wife on January 14 he said, "Everyone is now hopeful and of strong faith. The preachers are getting on fine. The people are getting in earnest and you know they will come when they do get in earnest." 21

The second factor in the turning point was a change in Jones' sagging spirit and attitude. His friend, Dr. Lamar, went to Jones' room on Saturday night, January 19 and found him in mental and spiritual distress and highly discouraged. The two men discussed the situation and prayed together. At this point a change began to occur in his preaching. Jones' wife described his preaching after that discussion and prayer meeting with Lamar.

His manner, style and use of the language of the common people began to make impression upon them. He gave full play to wit, humor, and pathos; sometimes his audience was convulsed with laughter, at other times angry, then by his pathos he moved them all to tears. The people went away talking, wondering and criticising, for they had never heard the like. The preachers were shocked by his plainness of speech and chagrined at his arraignment of them for their lack of power. While they winced under his reference to them they took it as good-naturedly as they could, and they, too, were becoming more and more convinced of his way of thinking. 22

21 Sam Jones to Laura M. Jones, January 14, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.

22 L. M. Jones, p. 102.
As his preaching changed, the crowds grew in size. Jones wrote his wife, "The people seem to be in earnest. I am preaching closely at them and they feel it. I shall from now on preach to sinners at night. I hope to see great results."  

The third and most significant factor in the turning point was the initiation of special meetings. As attendance continued to increase Lamar and Jones began to discuss the advisability of having a meeting for men only. This idea was new in the South and many predicted that it would be a failure in both attendance and results, a prediction which did not come true. It was decided to hold some special meetings, beginning with a men's meeting on Sunday, January 20 at 3:00 P.M.  

On Tuesday, January 22 at 11:00 A.M., Sam Jones held a service especially for women and preached on the topic, "Fruits of the Spirit." The Memphis Daily Appeal reported that the women's meeting was as well received as the men's meeting had been just two days before.  

At 11 o'clock yesterday morning Court Street Church was literally packed with Memphis ladies—even the gallery was full, and there was not a vacant seat. Many were heard to remark that "it was never so seen in Memphis" and there was probably no one present who had ever seen such a vast audience of women. Except the pastors and Mr. Jones there were no men present. Although Mr. Jones was not feeling well, he spoke for three-quarters of an hour, and held the undivided attention of the audience till the last word fell from his lips. He showed the auditors why they were not better wives, mothers and daughters; why they

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23 Sam Jones to Laura M. Jones, January 17, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.

24 Daily Memphis Appeal, January 22, 1884, p. 4.

25 Sam Jones Diary, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 4, Emory University.
were not better Christians, and then showed how in all these things they could grow and expand till they should sweeten their homes, save their husbands and raise up children to call them blessed. Any child of ten summers could understand all he said. His illustrations were fresh, clear-cut, very impressive and long to be remembered. There is no question that hundreds of mothers, wives and daughters went away from the meeting with the resolution deep down in their hearts to be and do better in all the relations of life.\(^{26}\)

The third special meeting during the campaign was a service for children on Sunday afternoon, February 3, 1884. Jones' text for that service came from the first chapter of Romans.\(^{27}\)

Jones was initially scheduled to preach in Memphis through Sunday, January 27 and depart for Cartersville, Georgia on Monday, January 28, 1884, making the revival last twenty-two days. Due to the continued presence of capacity crowds and favorable response to the "invitations" the Pastor's Conference decided to extend the revival and asked Jones if he would remain another week. Jones consented and the committee did additional publicity on the revival by distributing dodgers.\(^{28}\) Jones actually stayed ten more days, preaching in Memphis through Wednesday, February 6, 1884.

The revival did not end when Jones left Memphis. Daily services were conducted through February 14 when the local clergy decided it was time to conclude the revival effort. Local ministers took turns preaching

\(^{26}\) Memphis Daily Appeal, January 23, 1884, p. 4.

\(^{27}\) Sam Jones Diary, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 4, Emory University

\(^{28}\) Memphis Daily Appeal, January 29, 1884, p. 4.
after Jones left. Although the meetings had an anticlimactic note after he left, they did experience a degree of success with sixty people being "converted" in the eight days of services.  

When Sam Jones came to Memphis, he came to a typical major southern city with the usual vices and skepticism toward professional evangelists. The churches were at a low ebb as reported by the Commercial Appeal:

The various churches in Memphis of late years seem too much disposed to act upon the supposition that their respective denominations were close corporations, intended for the worship of those already saved, instead of making new converts and adding new members to the churches.

Recently a Memphis minister, zealous in his work, deplored that the ministers and the churches had not accomplished more in the past, and expressed the startling opinion that one hundred thousand dollars had been spent in Memphis by the various religious denominations, and that notwithstanding this vast expenditure of money all of the churches had not gained more than one hundred converts.

The formal religious condition of the churches and ministers may partially explain some of the initial reservations and lack of whole-hearted support of Jones by the local ministers. The Commercial Appeal continued that in union and through the unusual preaching of Sam Jones, things had changed:

The minister of four weeks ago, who regretted that so little had been accomplished by the expenditure of so much money for church purposes, will find much consolation in the result of the union meetings in progress in this city. It showed that in union there is strength; for so soon as the various denominations forgot their creeds and united their forces they

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29 J. O. Gilland to Sam Jones, February 15, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.

30 L. M. Jones, pp. 103-104.
accomplished what they failed to do when divided. These
meetings were a tribute to Christianity from the different
denominations engaged in the work. Much good has been
accomplished by their harmonious action.31

Sermon: "How Can You Be Saved?"

When Sam Jones arrived in Memphis he was unknown except for a
few clergymen. Memphis newspapers frequently misprinted his name during
the first week of the revival. On January 6, he was called L. P. Jones;
on January 8, S. T. Jones; and on January 11, T. P. Jones.32

The absence of a well known revivalist joined with the miserable
January weather to cause a rather slow start for the union meeting.
By the end of the first week of the revival, however, the weather had
improved and Jones had begun to establish a reputation as a sincere
but entertaining preacher.33

With the start of the second week of the meeting Sam Jones
increased his preaching activity from one service to two or more services
a day. The revival was gaining momentum but had not yet caught on as
completely as the clergy and Sam Jones would like. On Tuesday, January
15, the Memphis Daily Avalanche ran one of the most favorable articles
since the start of the revival services. The article even came close
to endorsing Jones:

In a plain, simple, straightforward, earnest manner he pressed
home these thoughts upon the hearts of his hearers. The

32Memphis Daily Avalanche, January 6, 1884, p. 4; January 8,
1884, p. 4; January 11, 1884, p. 4.

33Memphis Daily Avalanche, January 8, 1884, p. 4.
attention throughout was marked, and he held his hearers to
the last. Whatever may be said of Mr. Jones as to his logic,
learning or culture, certain it is that few men can hear him
without confessing that his preaching somehow does stir the
heart and makes one wish to be better. We take the liberty
of saying to our readers that Mr. Jones is not an ecclesiasti­
cal tramp, or an adventurer, or a professional evangelist. He
is the president of the Orphan Home at Cartersville, Ga., under
the auspices of the North Georgia Methodist Conference, and he
occasionally accepts an invitation to do such work as he is
now doing in our city. He needs no endorsement from us, and
no attempted analysis can do justice to his peculiar powers.
Go and hear him for yourself.34

Following the appearance of the article that morning,
Sam Jones preached to a full house on Tuesday January 15 at 7:30 P.M.
in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The title of his sermon was
"How Can You Be Saved?"

Line of Reasoning

Jones began his sermon by reading his text from Acts 16:30-31:
"What must I do to be saved? And they said: Believe on the Lord Jesus
Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." The first sentence
in those verses provided the implied proposition for the sermon which
was "You can be saved." As a reminder of that implied proposition,
he repeated that question, "What must I do to be saved?," twelve times
during the sermon. The central idea, "salvation involves action and

35Sam Jones Diary, January 15, 1884, Samuel Porter Jones Papers,
Box 4, Emory University.
belief," came from his interpretation of the text and attempted to answer the question posed by the text.

In this sermon Jones' reasoning was based on two premises on which he and his audience were in agreement, therefore they were assumed rather than stated. The first premise implied need as Jones assumed that salvation was desired by his listeners. His second premise was that the listeners would gain salvation if they knew how. All Jones needed to do was to show them how to gain salvation and they would. The first premise was probably a safe assumption but it is questionable to assume that the listeners would automatically gain salvation if they knew how.

The body of the sermon utilized an ascending structure in both direction and time devoted to the various segments. The first claim was that salvation is something you do—action. The second claim was that the necessary action is to believe in Christ. The first point attempted to condition the listener to the necessity of some type of action and the second point told him the exact nature of that action. The first point prepared the way for the second point, the essence of the sermon. The relative amount of time devoted to the two main points also contributed to the ascending structure. The first point, "Action," received approximately 27 percent of the total sermon time while the second point, "Believe on Christ," received approximately 57 percent. This ascending method was consistent with the threefold plan of sermon delivery he evolved during his early preaching career on the
Georgia circuits; "First, clarity, second, continuity, and third, climax."36

The introduction, 12 percent of the sermon, consisted of a brief discussion of seven things that will not save people; (1) prayer, (2) reading good books, (3) keeping good company, (4) joining the church, (5) partaking of the sacraments, (6) being baptized and (7) making a profession of religion. Jones used the method of residues in the introduction to show that the things most people see as important to salvation are actually useless, thus setting the stage for them to accept whatever alternative he presented in the body of the sermon.

The brief conclusion, 4 percent of the sermon, contained an appeal for people to "walk the aisle," give Jones their hand, and say they wanted to follow Christ. However, the emotional stage for this appeal had been set near the end of his discussion of his second point when he used two lengthy illustrations about the sure results of believing in Christ.

Forms of Support

Since the audience agreed that salvation is desirable and that they only needed to know how to obtain it, Jones did not have to defend his premises. Freed from supporting his premises, Jones directed his efforts toward amplification of the idea that salvation depended upon their action. In achieving this goal Jones used the Bible, analogies, 36Walt Holcomb, Sam Jones (Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1947), p. 180.
examples, illustrations, definitions, testimony, comparisons-contrasts, humor, emotional appeals, ethical appeals, and connotative language.

Scriptural references. In supporting his ideas that salvation required action and belief in Christ, Jones repeated Scriptural passages 26 times, often repeating a particular verse several times at different places in the sermon. He used these passages to pose questions, answer questions, and to state a point. The text itself, stated in question form, was repeated at least twelve times in the sermon. He often answered that question with additional Scriptural references such as the following: "Not every one that sayeth, 'Lord, Lord,' but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven." Since people tend to give strong credibility to the Bible, Jones stated points with Scripture references rather than his own words. In introducing the message of God to the righteous he cited the following reference: "If the righteous man forsake his righteousness and commit iniquity, his righteousness shall be forgotten and he shall die in sin." Jones conveyed God's message to the wicked in the following Scriptural manner: "If the wicked man forsake his wickedness and do right, his wickedness shall not be remembered against him and he shall be saved." Jones seldom gave the exact reference where a passage could be located in the Bible, not even when giving his text.

Analogy. The analogy is an essential tool to any speaker who tries to take an idea from one time period and make it applicable to an entirely different time and place. Since that was Jones' task he used
analogies at least eight times in this sermon. One analogy used to try to persuade the listener to commit himself to action was:

You don't live many blocks from here, and the way is just as plain before your eye from here to your house as it is from where you sit to where these burners are lighted, and yet you could not get to your home tonight without starting, much less to heaven without starting.

The analogy of a guest knocking on the door of a house in order to gain entrance was used to convey the idea that Jesus wants entry into the heart of every man. He referred to those who were "saved" as an army to fight the world for Christ. Criticizing people who make petitions but do nothing to prepare for the reception of their requests he said, "God himself can't fill a tub that is bottom side up, unless he reverses gravity." Presenting the idea of surrender and submission to God he painted a picture of a rebel surrendering, perhaps a reference to the end of the Civil War. "Good Lord, I'm a surrendered rebel, right here. I'll die before I'll ever touch that old musket again, and I'll never take up that cartridge box again. I've fired my last shot on the devil's side, and now, Lord, I'm a surrendered rebel."

Examples. To establish that the Bible contains many mysteries which no man can explain, Jones used a series of Biblical examples which he asserted were beyond his ability to understand.

I grant you that I never can see with my finite eye how the God overall could ever be an infant a span long. I can never see how the babe in the manger at Bethlehem can be the king of angels. I never could understand how the great God who upholds all things could be carried about in Mary's arms. I never could understand how he that owned the cattle upon the thousand hills and implanted the bowels of the earth with gold, how he could send his disciples to the fish's mouth to get money to pay his taxes.
In this sermon Jones used himself as an example to show the importance of action in addition to belief. He asserted that for the first twenty-four years of his life he believed every word of the Bible but was still lost. Then he said, "But for the last fourteen years, thank God, I have not only believed it, but I have been trying to do it to the best of my ability."

Illustrations. Jones' illustrations came from his own experience with people and from things he had heard and read. All of the illustrations were intended to clarify thought, make it more impressive or lend additional credibility by citing the experience of a respected person. Following the method Jesus used in the parables, Jones often defined a term or concept through illustration. He defined faith with the following illustration:

Steve Holcomb, with his little wharf-rats before him at Louisville—a poor little beggar children's Sunday School—called four of them out before him and pulled half a dollar out of his pocket and said: "Johnny, you can have that." Johnny sat and looked at it, but never opened his mouth. And he said: "Willie, you may have that," but the little fellow sat and grinned, but never opened his mouth. And he said: "Henry, you may have that," but Henry sat there and never said a word. And he said: "Tommy, you may have that," and Tommy put out his hand, grabbed the money, and ran it down into his pocket. And Brother Holcomb said, "that is faith." Faith is just taking what God offers you.

To support his claim that small children can have salvation Jones related a story from the life of Jonathan Edwards. Edwards had not believed that small children could have salvation until he interviewed a little girl for an hour and then concluded, "Thank God Almighty, a child four years old can have the Lord Jesus Christ." The use of a
highly respected clergyman gained additional credibility for Jones' argument. Jones related few illustrations in the early part of the sermon but as it progressed he used them more frequently and the ones used were lengthier. Approximately 36 percent of the sermon consisted of illustrations. To set the stage for his concluding appeal Jones related two lengthy illustrations which were intended to convey that everyone listening and all their families could be saved.

**Definition.** Early in the sermon Jones warned that he would use definition when he said, "We'll notice some of these small words in this text. There is force in each one of them." He defined salvation as "loving everything that God loves, and hating everything that God hates." When he defined terms or concepts Jones expressed himself in a unique way. He defined a creed as "nothing but the skin of truth set up and stuffed with something." He defined faith as "the attitude of the soul presented toward God, so that he may come and do what he wants to do for us and with us." Although definitions were frequently used, they were brief, usually limited to one sentence.

**Testimony.** Jones used testimony in conjunction with illustrations. The forceful part of many illustrations consisted of some personal statement or confession by one of the characters in the illustration. Sometimes the entire illustration would be a conversation between two or more characters. The following example was used in support of his idea that the Bible contains a great deal of mystery:
Ingersoll said in one of his lectures: "The Bible! the Bible! Why," said he, "I could write a better book myself." Some old woman got up and said: "You better get at it, there's money in it." (Laughter.) And that is what Ingersoll is after. (Renewed laughter.)

In his sermon Jones never cited a quotation or testimony except as a part of a lengthy illustration.

**Contrast.** The introduction of the sermon was structured around contrasts between good things such as prayer, joining the church, etc., and the best thing, belief in God. Jones stated, "These are all grand instrumentalities in the hands of God, and I would not underestimate any one of them—but there is one sufficiency, and that is faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Showing how faith in Christ is more than just religion Jones stated, "You can run Mormonism without John Smith, and you can run Confucianism without Confucius, but you cannot run Christianity without Christ. He is the living embodiment of our souls; of all that he would have us to be externally."

**Humor.** Jones utilized humor in the statements of others and in his own descriptions of things. Reference has already been made to the humor in the conversation between Ingersoll and the woman. Portraying salvation as more than "getting religion," Jones utilized the following humorous description:

Many a fellow getting up at meeting, saying, "I got it! I got it! I got it right in here! (Laughter.) Well—got what? And if he don't mind, it will be buried with him right in there; it will never get out—(laughter) never get out. When they bury him, they can say, "Here lies a solid lump; it never evaporates, effervesces, or anything." (Laughter.)
Jones used Scriptural references, analogies, examples, illustrations, definitions, testimony, contrasts and humor to substantiate the ideas that in order to receive salvation the listener must do something himself and also believe in Christ.

**Emotional appeals.** In the sermon, "How Can You Be Saved," Jones utilized appeals to motives of security and freedom from restraint in order to gain acceptance of his idea that people can gain salvation through action and belief in Christ.

The key word in the sermon, saved, suggests a threat to the security of the listener. Jones tapped the normal fears of people such as loss of health, death, sin, and missing heaven. In support of his idea that the church brings security he said, "And I know I give you good advice when I say to all men, come into the church; it will be healthful to you, it will be like a restraint thrown around you, it may lead you to a nobler, better life." He appealed to man's fear of sin and its consequences, when he said, "I do not want any sentiments or shouting connected with my religion, if I can just feel conscious that I am saved from sin. The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth me from sin." He later showed that the security of salvation rested in the promise of heaven. "When I want to be saved—when a poor sinner wants to be saved to God from sin, and saved in heaven—I have nothing to do but fall down at the feet of Jesus Christ and say: 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' That is it." He became even more explicit about the security of heaven. "I'll go your security with my immortal soul if you'll just
quit meanness and follow along in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. I'll risk my immortality on your safe entrance into the good world up yonder."

That same appeal was broadened to include the entire family.

See the wife taking her husband's arm and walking along side by side, the two oldest children right behind and from them on down to the smallest child, and the whole family marching right along to the kingdom of everlasting peace! Can any one look upon a grander sight than that—a whole family marching into the kingdom of God. Brother, sister, thank God, he will give us our children to go with us.

In his conclusion he returned to the appeal to security. "Let us espouse the cause of the right. Let us die on that side. Brother and sister won't you do it tonight?"

Another motive appeal used by Jones was freedom from restraint. He emphasized that salvation brings freedom from the restraint of sin and makes available to man the power of God. "To be saved from sin? To be saved to righteousness? That is the question. The saved man has power with God. A saved man has influence with his fellows." Jones realized that one of the restraints experienced in the life of most people is a sense of guilt.

What can I do to be saved from the guilt, and the life and the dominion of sin? That is the question. What must I do in order to love everything that God loves, and to hate everything that God hates? That is the question. Well, now thank God we have an answer and that answer comes straight to the conscience of every one of us. "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

**Credibility.** According to Thonssen, Baird, and Braden in *Speech Criticism*, credibility is derived from the audience's judgment
of the speaker's character, sagacity, and good will. Because Jones had no prior reputation at the outset of the Memphis campaign, he worked to establish his credibility in all three categories.

In the introduction and again in the conclusion of the sermon Jones sought to establish himself as a man of virtuous character. The opening statements of the introduction revealed that he had the best interests of the listener in mind and that he was completely sincere in what he was doing.

As a minister of the gospel of Christ I have no right to advise a man to do anything that he cannot die doing that and die saved. When that question is propounded to me as a minister of the gospel, I cannot answer it in any way except the scriptural way. As a minister I have no right to advise a man to do anything in order that he may be saved unless I am conscious the advice given will surely bring about salvation to him.

Throughout the introduction he emphasized that his advice to people must be true. No further ethical appeals of any kind appeared until the latter half of the sermon, mainly in the conclusion. Jones emphasized his sincerity and the elevated purpose of his message twice in the concluding appeal. "Oh, friends, we have prayed. We have prayed. God only knows what I have carried in my heart in the last ten days. God only knows the feelings that I have had. God only knows how much I have prayed for you." He returned to the theme of his concern in the concluding statement of the sermon:

And while we stand and sing, let me say that I would do anything I know of to help you to come to God. I would come

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and kneel down by your side and pray there till the clock struck twelve, if that would do you good. I am willing to do anything you say, and now, brother, friend, how many will come down here tonight in this aisle and give me your hand and say: "Sir, I want to be good. I want to follow Christ."

Only once did Jones attempt to show that he was a man of sagacity, intellectual integrity and wisdom. Introducing a brief discussion of faith, he emphasized simplicity and common sense:

Now, brethren, I bring this down so every man of you can see it, and I aim to be perfectly deliberate, and I aim to be straightforward in this argument. I am trying to put the matter so every one of you can see it, and I want you to see it in the light that God's word teaches it to us.

Twice during the sermon Jones sought to establish himself as a man of good will. To identify himself with his hearers and their problems he related that prior to his conversion he believed but did nothing about it; subsequent to his conversion he believed and acted upon that belief. "I believed it twenty-four years, but went on just like there was nothing meant. But fourteen years, thank God Almighty, I have not only believed in Jesus Christ in the sense that I did before, but I have been following right on him." In one other place he told a story of how he had preached to a man and his wife in a revival and they were converted. The emphasis on Jones' role in that conversion showed him to be a messenger of truth.

Style. Examples of Jones' style prior to Memphis are inconsistent with the style of this particular sermon. Jones' wife recorded one of the earliest examples of her husband's oral style. During his tenure on his first circuit in 1872, Jones was called to come and pray for one of his wealthiest members who was seriously ill and thought he
was going to die. When Jones arrived in the man's bedroom he told
the ill man:

Well I don't see any good reason for asking the Lord to heal
you. If you can tell me any reason why you should live, I'll
pray for you; so far as I know, you have never done anything
for the Lord that I can stand upon, while praying. You have
paid absolutely nothing to the assessments of the church; none
of the missionary money for home or foreign cause has been
paid by you; the stewards can't get anything out of you
towards my salary; wife, children, and myself have needed the
necessaries of life, and my horse has had nothing much to eat,
and you have an abundance of everything here in your home,
and feed in your barn, and could have helped us; therefore,
I don't see anything to stand upon. There is no use in my
asking God to restore you; I can ask Him to forgive and save
you, and take you to heaven; but, there is no reason why I
should ask Him to preserve your life; as you are absolutely
worthless to the cause.38

The bluntness of this conversation became a part of his oral style even
before the Memphis meeting. The following description of his style came
from Thomson, Georgia in 1877:

Sam Jones lit down in this veritable town and began to go for
the devil and his angels in a manner which was entirely new
to said devil; also new to said angels. He turned his guns
upon us sinners. He raked us fore and aft. He gave us grape
and canister and all the rest. He abused us and ridiculed us;
he stormed at us and laughed at us; he called us flop-eared
hounds, beer kegs, and whiskey soaks. He plainly said that we
were all hypocrites and liars, and he intimated somewhat broadly
that most of us would steal.39

His style in this sermon contained traces of those descriptions, but
was much more muted. Perhaps Jones was concerned about making a
favorable impression in a new area outside his native Georgia. On the
day the revival started, the Memphis Daily Appeal carried an article

38 L. M. Jones, pp. 66-67.
39 Ibid., pp. 78-79.
which contained the following description of Jones' style from the La Grange, Georgia Reporter:

His style of preaching is matchless. His illustrations are without number, and are always sharply drawn, clear and cutting. He uses satire the keenest, and brings the audience to involuntary laughter; then startles them with a declaration of astounding truth from God's word; then makes an appeal so touching that tears rush unbidden to the eyes. He is withal a plain, blunt, honest preacher.40

Jones' style consisted of a combination of the language of the clergy and the language of the street with an emphasis on the latter. It is difficult to accurately judge the correctness of his language in this or any other sermon because printed versions must be relied on and it is assumed that most grammatical errors were corrected before printed in either books or newspapers. For a man of Jones' education and background his grammar was surprisingly good, and it appears that many of his grammatical errors were made intentionally to gain attention, make a point more impressive, or to achieve common ground. Two errors noted in this sermon concerned the use of double negatives and failure of subject and verb to agree. In the introduction of the sermon he said, "I cannot answer it in no way except the scriptural way." Later his subject and verb disagreed as he said, "The fact of the business is it don't make much difference what starts you, so you get a good start." It is likely that other errors of this nature were corrected before the sermon was printed.

Perhaps the major attribute of his style was its clarity. He left no doubt as to his exact meaning. Sometimes he made a statement

40Memphis Daily Appeal, January 6, 1884, p. 2.
that was initially confusing, but before he finished with the idea the
listener knew what he was talking about, whether they agreed or not.

This sermon contained the following unclear passage:

I want to say at this point, brethren, that if a man
believes anything after he gets religion that he did not believe
before he got religion, I have never got religion. I believe
nothing since I got religion that I did not believe before.

Realizing that the statement was not clear, Jones followed with the
phrase "that is," then restated the idea so the audience could understand it.

Although Jones spoke the language of the people, including slang, he reminded them that he was a clergyman by occasionally using terms expected from the pulpit. However, it is likely that the ministerial terms were more for effect and that the listener did not really understand them. Two examples were "living embodiment of our souls," and "promulgate a religion." Jones favored the colloquial and parenthetical expression, as testified by the following examples: "I got religion way back yonder," "That is the message. Ah, me!," and "There is a heap of that." Jones realized that he was speaking to a largely illiterate audience who had some difficulty dealing with abstractions, hence his dependence on illustrations. In relating those illustrations he would become the characters in the story, assume their particular dialects, and act out the events. The listeners were actually observing a one man mini-play which could contain several types of language.

His ideas were embellished largely through the use of illustrations and humor but he occasionally used figures of speech.
and unusual words. Referring to God's power he said, "He implanted the bowels of this earth with gold." Describing the death of someone who never does anything he said, "Here lies a solid lump; it never evaporates, effervesces or anything."

The difference between an oral style and a written style was evident in Jones' sermons. He prepared his sermons to be heard primarily, not read. He often used parenthetical expressions which made a sentence awkward to read but easily understood to the hearer. "Now, we ministers—and I expect others here tonight, not preachers—have adopted a phrase that is delusive in itself—'getting religion.'" He also started many statements with the phrase, "And I will say another thing." He relied upon repetition of a key word or phrase. To emphasize that the condition of salvation is "to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," he said, "I am glad that it did not read this way." Then he stated, "Believe the Methodist creed," and "I am glad it did not read that way." He then asserted, "Believe the Baptist creed," and proceeded through several different denominations, always introducing each one with "I am glad it did not read that way." Another term frequently repeated was "brother" or "brethren."

Assessment

This sermon was delivered during the early part of the union meeting, apparently before Jones and his audience had fully identified with each other and established a mutual rapport. The sermon contains little that was strikingly different from sermons delivered by other revivalists of the period. Sensitive to the fact he was before a strange
audience outside his native state, Jones may have restrained himself in content, style and delivery in order to gain acceptance by the people and by the clergy who were half-hearted in their support of him. His sermon was based on two safe premises, that salvation was desirable and that the audience just needed to know how to obtain it. His use of Scriptural references, examples, illustrations, analogies, emotional appeals, ethical appeals, and other forms of support was not vastly different from other revivalists. The dramatization of illustrations and the budding use of humor may have been the beginning of his distinctive style which would be further utilized in future sermons in the Memphis Union Meeting and elsewhere.

Sermon: "Escape for Thy Life"

After a discouraging initial week the weather improved and attendance at the services increased, but something was still lacking during the second week of the union meeting. Discouraged and depressed, Jones discussed the situation with Dr. A. J. Lamar and the two prayed together in Jones' room on Saturday night, January 19, an event that marked a change in Jones' preaching. The next afternoon Jones preached in the first of several special services.

On Sunday, January 20 at 3:30 P.M. the first Men's Meeting was held. Contrary to predictions, when the hour of the Men's Meeting came, the house was full, as reported by the Memphis Daily Appeal:

The common topic of conversation among Memphis men yesterday was the service held at Court Street church on Sunday afternoon for men. Never in the history of Memphis
was such a scene witnessed as that which greeted the eyes of those present on that occasion. Before the hour set for the opening of the service a stream of men, from every direction, could be seen pouring into Court Street and entering the church, and when the preacher entered the pulpit the large audience room was crowded to its utmost capacity and the galleries were full.41

Sam Jones stepped to the pulpit, made some preliminary remarks and began his sermon based on the text in Galatians 19:17, "Escape For Thy Life."

**Line of Reasoning**

Jones' proposition was that the male listener should "escape for his life by avoiding the cardinal sins." At the end of the introduction Jones explicitly stated his central idea. "I am going to take up some of the cardinal sins so commonly practiced by men and talk about them."

The sermon which followed utilized a topical pattern of organization, examining the five sins of profanity, sabbath desecration, gambling, licentiousness, and intemperance in drinking alcoholic beverages. Apparently Jones selected these five sins because he thought they were important for that particular male audience. Nothing in either the occasion or the text suggested those particular main points. Discussion of the first sin received 20 percent of the sermon with each successive sin receiving slightly less time than its predecessor until the last sin received only 12 percent of sermon time.

Jones' sermon was based on the dual premise that these five sins are representative of lawlessness and that "he who escapes from

41Memphis Daily Appeal, January 22, 1884, p. 4.
lawlessness escapes with his life." Jones devoted considerable time to satisfying the listener that these sins constitute lawlessness, but he assumed the listener's acceptance of the idea that to escape from lawlessness is to escape with their lives.

The introduction, 17 percent of the sermon, contained two distinct parts. The first part was an extended attempt to gain speaker credibility as Jones posed three questions a listener should ask of a minister before paying any attention to him. Jones then answered the questions, thereby implying that the listeners should listen to him. The second part of the introduction dealt more with the content of the sermon, centering around the chain of argument: (1) Men love life and dread death, (2) Sin destroys life, (3) Breaking the law and the commandments is sin, and (4) Government is based on the perpetuation of law. These claims did not provide a preview to the sermon, but rather served to set the stage for a discussion of five selected sins.

In the conclusion, 8 percent of the sermon, Jones briefly related his life's story, emphasizing four aspects: (1) His degradation before his conversion, (2) His conversion, (3) His life since the conversion, and (3) His hopes for his death and eventual reunion in heaven with his family. After that personal testimony Jones made a brief direct appeal to the listeners who desired to live a better life to kneel and join him in a closing prayer.

Forms of Support

Since Jones was safe in assuming that the listeners agreed that lawlessness is bad, he could devote his attention to gaining acceptance
of the idea that each of the chosen five sins constituted lawlessness. In addition to connotative language and ethical appeals, acceptance was accomplished by the use of examples, illustrations, the Bible, testimony and humor.

Scriptural references. Due to the topical nature of the sermon, Jones relied on Biblical references much less than in many of his other sermons. Other than the text, Jones referred to the Bible only three times, using verses to substantiate his claim that some particular contemporary action was wrong, therefore constituting sin and lawlessness.

Examples. To support his claim that men will give all they have for life, he cited examples of the amount of attention given to health resorts, physicians, and famous mineral springs. In defense of his claim that law can be used to keep the Sabbath holy Jones cited two examples, the first dealing with the running of freight trains in Georgia on Sunday: "You start a freight train through Georgia on Sunday, and the conductor and fireman and brakeman will all sleep in a jail that night. We have a God and a Sabbath in Georgia, and they are as sacred to us as our wives and our daughters." The second example concerned the decision of the people of the United States to not allow the World's Fair to open on Sunday. These instances are representative of numerous uses of the example in this sermon.
Illustrations. As the union meeting in Memphis continued, Jones increased the use of illustrations. Twice as many illustrations were used in this sermon as in the sermon, "How Can You Be Saved?" While many of them were intended to entertain, they all contained the essence of a significant point. The following illustration supported the idea that people who desecrate the Sabbath are silly and stingy:

I have seven dollars in silver in my pocket. I go down the road, and meet an old beggar, and he says, "please give me something." I give him six of the dollars and that night he comes in where I sleep and steals the other one. Ain't he mean? God says, "I have seven days, take six and leave me the seventh," and you take the six days, then go back and steal the seventh one from Him? Ain't you a dandy?

Jones claimed that any person who would curse would also break other commandments, an argument which was supported with an illustration about drummers or traveling salesmen, a group of men he continually used as representatives of wickedness.

These two drummers came in and took a seat in front of me, and commenced cussing and talking, talking and cussing, cussing and talking, and directly one of them dropped his voice in an undertone and told his companion how he had crushed the virtue of a poor waiter girl at the hotel the night before. Then I said to myself, "Sam Jones, give it to them, if a fellow cusses that ain't all he does."

In discussing the evils of drinking, Jones used several illustrations of men whose drinking habit had caused business failure, domestic chaos, and even caused some of them to break the law and serve time in prison. Some of Jones' personal illustrations served to build his own credibility.
Testimony. Jones tended to use quotations and testimonies of ordinary anonymous people rather than people known to the listeners. Before reading his text Jones discussed the nature of the Bible and why he believed it, citing one woman's comments to an infidel:

I am like the good old woman with whom an infidel was arguing about the truth of the Bible. He said: "Madam, I can prove it to your own eyes that the Bible is false." And she said: "I would believe the Bible before I would my own eyes." He said: "What makes you talk that way?" and she said: "Because these old eyes have fooled me a thousand times, but this blessed old book has never fooled me in a single instance."

Jones supported his condemnation of gambling by quoting a professional gambler who said, "any professional gambler will steal." One man, probably known by some of his listeners, was cited in condemnation of gambling. "Judge Moon, of Tennessee, got a lot of white fellows up for shooting craps and fined them $500 apiece, and in fining them he said: 'That is a low-down negro game and I don't intend for you white fellows to play it.'"

Statistics. Jones used statistics infrequently and when he did their source was either not identified or vaguely identified. To show that desecration of the Sabbath leads to open lawlessness he said, "Some statistician said that ninety-seven percent of the criminals state that they took their first downward step in Sabbath-breaking."

At the climax of an illustration about a man who killed his wife while drunk, Jones said, "Five hundred men have butchered their wives in the United States since last November." No attempt was made to identify the source of the information or to show that those men "butchered"
their wives while intoxicated. Both instances of figures have all the earmarks of "homemade" statistics.

Humor. Jones' increased use of illustrations was accompanied by more humor. In this sermon the humor came from two sources, unusual descriptive phrases and sentences and stories which contained a punch line and served as illustration. In admonishing boys to not curse Jones said, "If you little bucks were boys of mine and you didn't quit cussing I would take you down to the barn and make your shirt tails hunt the moon," evoking laughter from the audience. Jones had a forceful but humorous way of admonishing citizens, judges, preachers and others to do their duty.

In my town I say to the judge and the jury and to all, if you don't put down the lawlessness of my county I will denounce you as "particeps criminis," and there is not one of them that does not do it. God help you preachers to do the same. (Cries of amen.) "Shoot, Luke, or give up the gun." (Laughter.)

In response to those who claimed that Jones was too hard on them, Jones told the following humorous story:

I am like the fellow who was going down the road with a pitchfork on his shoulder, when a great big bull dog jumped over the fence and made at him, and he took his fork off his shoulder and pinned the dog to the ground. The owner of the dog coming said to him, "What did you kill my dog for, why didn't you come at him with the other end of the fork?" "Well," said the fellow, "why didn't the dog come at me with the other end and I would." The whiskey men are coming at us with the devil and destruction end of their business and I am going at them with the pitchfork and every crack.

Jones used Scriptural references, examples, illustrations, testimony, statistics, and humor to amplify his claim that his five selected sins constituted lawlessness and could destroy life.
Emotional appeals. Jones' motive appeals in the sermon, "Escape For Thy Life," are in three categories: (1) self-actualization and self-esteem, (2) death, self-preservation and security, and (3) emotion-laden illustrations and loaded words. His use of illustrations has already been discussed and the use of loaded words will be discussed under style.

Jones appealed to man's desire to be free to discover and develop his potential value and worth to its fullest extent and to enhance that potential through family relationships. He told the men to stop being profane because, "it is dishonorable, it cuts the grip from under your manhood. If you are a profane swearer you lack that much of being a gentleman, for no gentleman is a profane swearer."

He strengthened this appeal for self-actualization by showing how the use of profanity can encourage the wife and children to assume the habit of swearing, much to the opposition of the husband. In each instance he cited examples where this had occurred, actually stating strings of profanity the wife and children might say. The following comments on the sin of licentiousness returned to the theme of family welfare and improvement:

When a poor girl has lost her virtue she has lost all, and any man with a wife and mother or sister ought to extend a helping hand; and I say this to you, no gentleman will do towards another man's wife or daughter or sister that which he would not have done towards his own. Ain't that right? Every poor girl in this country is somebody's daughter, sister or somebody's mother.

In discussing desecration of the Sabbath Jones returned to self-actualization within the family setting. "If God lets us live to see
another Sunday, let us go to church with our wives and children, and if another Sunday's sun goes down on us say, 'I have tried to live right this Sunday, every hour of the day.'" As Jones started his conclusion he appealed to the men to lift themselves above the sins he had discussed, to make themselves an honor to their country, a blessing to their family, and a joy to themselves.

The motive appeals to death, self-preservation, and security always appear in evangelistic sermons, either stated or implied. Although implied primarily in this sermon, they were stated in a few places. The wording of the text, "Escape for thy life," provided one of the earliest stated appeals to the avoidance of death, hence self-preservation. Immediately following his text Jones said, "God has implanted in the bosom of every man an instinctive dread of death. We all love life, we all dread death." Jones' appeal to self-preservation was broadened to include more than just the physical.

There is but one thing in the universe of God that is stronger than a man's love of life and his dread of death, and that is despair; and suicide is the last retreat of that despair. A man is a sort of trinity in unity. I have my moral, my intellectual and my physical life. I know there are certain substances which are health-giving and life-perpetuating to my body; I know there are certain physical substances which are poisonous—that will produce death to this body. I know there are certain lines of elevated thought and culture that develop and expand the mind. I know there is a so-called uncultured life that dwarfs and stupefies the intellectual nature of man. And there are certain lines of morality that are soul-invigorating and life-perpetuating; there are also immoral lines that doom and debauch, and deaden and damn all the noble and good impulses in man. In these propositions one is as true as the other.

Jones applied this appeal to the existence of the nation as a whole.

"The perpetuation of the government of the United States depends upon
the faithful enforcement of law. God's own government and God's own
throne depends upon the faithful enforcement." Jones then cited examples
of people who eroded the foundation of government through their sin
and lawlessness.

The primary emotional appeals in this sermon were based on
Jones' use of effective illustrations and his word selection. Illustra­
tions have already been discussed and word selection will be discussed
under style.

Credibility. In this sermon Sam Jones devoted more attention
to establishing and enhancing his credibility than in the previous
sermon. Attempts were made throughout the sermon to get the audience
to see him as a man of character, sagacity, and good will.

Before announcing either his topic or text, Jones presented
himself as a preacher who had a right to preach and be listened to.
He posed three questions any listener should ask of a preacher before
listening to him. Jones indicated how he would satisfactorily answer
those questions as a minister who should be heard.

On that first question, is the speaker tonight posted on the
subject he is discussing—does he know what he is talking
about? Determine that. Next, do you mean kindly to me? The God that can look through and through every fibre of my
being knows that I haven't taught against any man that walks
the face of the earth; I have nothing but good will towards
my fellow man. Then next and last, do you live what you
preach? Any sensible man in this audience knows that a man
that throws as many rocks as I do cannot afford to live in
a glass house—if you have got good hard sense you know that.
A man that preaches like Sam Jones has got to live right,
there is no doubt about that. Religion or no religion a
man that preaches as close to men as I do has got to live
right to have any influence over men.
Later in the sermon, when relating how he had fought the devils of his town all the way to the penitentiary, he told how they dynamited a building on his premises and threatened to blow up his home. Jones agreed with his wife when she said, "if they put dynamite under our home and blow it up, I would as soon go to heaven by the dynamite route as any route known to man."

When condemning the sin of licentiousness, Jones emphasized how strongly he opposed it. "Purity! Living or dead I will say it. I never saw the day that I would not lay my head on the railroad track and let the engine cut it off before I would be untrue to the vows of the purity of my home."

The entire conclusion, a capsule testimony of Jones' life, served to enhance Jones' character in the minds of the audience. Some of his concluding statements were aimed directly at his reputation. "If there is a man that would lift you above these sins and make you an honor to your country, a blessing to your family, a joy to yourself, I am that man, and have a right to speak." He then related the story of his rebellion, conversion, and attempt to live right. As the conclusion neared its climax, Jones coupled an ethical and an emotional appeal.

The battle of life will soon be over with me. I have been here working with an aching heart every day. I know I cannot last much longer at this rate, and if I had a thousand lives I would wear them all out in honor of God, who has done so much for me. Some of these days, all worn out with labor, I am going to my home. Some sweet, starlight night I will kiss my wife and children good night, and go home to God.

Jones made several attempts to establish himself as a man of judgment, knowledge, intelligence and common sense. In defense of the veracity of the Bible Jones stated:
I never attempted on any occasion to prove the Bible was true. I can look man and devils in the face and say that as far as my ability and my facility for testing the book has gone they give it perfect truth at every point, and I would be a fool to say it is not true where I have no ability or facility for testing it.

Jones later conveyed his common sense when telling why he did not fight but would defend himself. "You can't get a fight out of me unless you jump on me, and then, as I said the other night, I promised my wife I would take care of her husband while I was away from home. That is right, a fellow is obliged to tote his skillet."

Several times in the sermon Jones emphasized both his integrity and common sense in preaching the truth regardless of how harsh or what the consequences might be.

I don't reckon there was ever a preacher in this town that talked to you old devils like you ought to be talked to; but, thank God, you have heard it one time before you died, and here is one preacher that will go away from here not afraid to meet his God and the final judgment on the way he has preached. You Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and all of you, can knuckle and bow to these devils, but, God bless you, I am going to skin' em.

In another place he proclaimed:

I am going to preach the naked truth with love for the last man of you. If I never preach again as long as I live I intend to declare the whole counsel of God unto you tonight; and when I am done you can rush to the river with me and tie a sinker to me and drop me into its murky waves, but in after years you will have the reflection that you took a man who was not afraid to say what he believed and put him to death; but God will punish you when the world is on fire.

Jones' good will and friendship was conveyed through identification with the audience as he related to them that he had been around and knew the temptations and problems they faced. He admitted to the audience that he had "cussed" and he had stolen. "I stole the
peace of my good wife's heart, and the rose from off her beautiful
cheeks, and the happiness of her home—that is as far as I could go
without running up on a sheriff, and like all you cussing fellows,
that was as far as I dared to go."

Jones used the credibility of his experiences to chastise
clergymen who condemned things without knowing anything about them.

Do any of you preachers have any idea about the race course
here? That is the reason you old fellows don't have any better
success doctoring, you can't diagnose the case. Here is a
fellow, boys, who has been there; I know where you go to, how
long you stay there, and how you feel when you come back. I
have been there. You listen to one preacher tonight who has
not been tied to his mother's apron string all his life. I
know all about you, and if you say what I say is not so, you're
a liar, because I have been there, and when a fellow has been
right there and seen with his own eyes open he knows, don't
he? You preachers ought to know more—not of books but of
men. "Brethren, we need Sam Jones here." Why? Because Sam
Jones is a specialist.

In condemning the sin of intemperance Jones said, "Here is one man that
can speak of that sin and knows what he is talking about."

**Style.** In "Escape For Thy Life," Jones used a loose informal
style that would normally be found more on the street than on the plat­
form, much less in the pulpit. The change probably occurred because
Jones was trying to get the revival moving and felt he had more liberty
with a male audience. He apparently removed all stylistic reservations
in order to make this innovative special service succeed.

His language was correct except for an occasional grammatical
mistake which the listeners probably ignored. "He don't get" was one
of the grammatical mistakes. Several times he used the word, "ain't."
Jones apparently assumed that his male audience either used crude language or were familiar with it. If this assumption was correct, as reports about response to the sermon indicate, his blunt, often crude language was appropriate to the male audience. However, it would not have been appropriate for a mixed audience. In a rare action for the pulpit of his day, Jones openly discussed the question of sex and licentiousness. In condemning doctors who encourage premarital sex Jones said, "but a dirty pill roller who will tell a young man he cannot be virtuous and healthy, how long before he will go in our homes and tell our daughters the same thing? Our daughters are made with the same natures as our sons." In several illustrations he condemned men who "stole the purity and virtue" of a young woman and bragged about it. To discuss this topic in the pulpit was a departure from the norms of the day.

Scathing in his condemnation of men he viewed as sinners, Jones verbally abused them throughout the sermon, primarily by name calling. He called them "infernal cussing scoundrels," "old devils," "black-mouthed dirty scoundrels," "you old cussing colonel," "dirty, lousy mangy old scoundrel," "disreputable hounds," "old country fellow," "old bucks," "old tippling scoundrel," "old billy goats," "old bulldog," "old buzzards," "dirty little devils," "dirty little scrubs," "you old fool you," "old bloated distillers," "you old red-nose fellows," and "old jug from the country."

Verbal abuse of the men was not limited to a few adjectives. He frequently used lengthier descriptions and figures of speech. He
told them, "You have been cussing Sam Jones down on the street, haven't you? I would just as soon a buzzard would puke on me." In condemning those who sold whiskey he said, "if I was a bull-neck, low-down scoundrel of a whisky [sic] seller I would cuss too." In his criticism of drummers Jones stated, "If I was to see my dog walking the streets with a cussing drummer I would say to him: 'I will lick you this time; if I ever catch you with him again I'll kill you.'" Jones criticized citizens for letting "bull-necked scoundrels and devils" run the town. He told them they were "like a weasel or ferret, you can go into a hole that will just fit your body, and then turn around and come out—you haven't a bone in you."

In condemning men who would not go to church with their families Jones said, "You get your pipes and gather about the post office with the other fellows, and when I see you there I imagine that if an old buzzard would fly over you and look down on you he would say, 'Too stinking for me,' and would turn and fly the other way." Jones reserved a particularly strong description for those who disagreed with him.

I know some of you swells don't agree with me tonight. "I don't agree with Jones on many things." You great big toad frogs, I can take you and boil you for an hour and then straighten you out and all that will be left of you will be about a half a thimble full of calf-foot jelly.

While he sometimes directed his verbal abuse at particular groups of people, he generally included everyone.

Let me tell you, an honest man ought to take his medicine. When I strike these preachers you will giggle; when I strike these other fellows you giggle, but when I hit you the fat is all in the fire. But I am going to hit you, I told you so before you came here, and I told you if you couldn't stand it not to come. You come up to me when it is over with and say, "Sam Jones, you have hurt my feelings." What do I care
for your feelings, you fool you; I tell you you ought not to have brought them with you.

In discussing the sexual habits of some of the men Jones said:

If there is a deeper, darker hell for one man than there is for another, it is for the dirty, infamous scoundrel of a husband that will come home at night from a house of infamy and pillow his head by the side of his sweet, virtuous wife. You old married rips are at it, too.

Jones' language was embellished through the use of legal terminology and figures of speech, simile, personification, and antithesis. Four times in the sermon he used a legal term followed by an explanation of the term. These terms were apparently used to impress rather than to convey meaning. The terms used were "materia medica," "particeps criminis," and "obita dicta."

Jones used several different figures of speech. Alliteration was used when he said, "There are also immoral lines that doom and debauch, and deaden and damn all the noble and good impulses in man."

Jones' favorite figure of speech was the simile. He noted that swearing is "like putting hot coals of fire on your own head and saying, 'coals of fire, burn somebody else.'" In condemning those who gamble at races he observed, "A most infernal passion, and one that carries a man like a cyclone to hell, is the love for the race courses of this country." As an incentive to get men to listen to what he was saying about intemperance Jones asserted, "I put you on notice now that I am going to make you stand up and indorse [sic] what I say, or else make you hug that bench like a sick kitten." Using another simile he concluded, "When I see whisky [sic] like the wheels of a locomotive,
running over and crushing the hearts of women and children, I call it anything this side of hell."

Through the use of personification Jones assigned human characteristics to a shirt-tail. "If you little bucks were boys of mine and you didn't quit cussing I would take you down to the barn and make your shirt-tails hunt the moon." In contrasting the man who works for his money with the man who wins it in a lottery Jones said, "he comes home, and as he lies in his bed trying to go to sleep the eagle on the dollar turns to a nightingale and sings him to sleep."

Jones used antithesis only once, when he emphasized that religion should affect the way people live, particularly with reference to keeping the Sabbath holy. He pleaded, "my Lord, give us a gospel of ethics—it is reformation or revolution."

Jones' distinctive oral style also contained repetition of slang words or expressions and the use of colloquial expressions. Condemning profanity, Jones repeatedly used the word "cuss" rather than "curse."

Old cussing colonel, old cussing judge, old cussing major, old cussing captain, old cussing citizen! Young men cuss, all sorts cuss. I want to hold you up tonight and show you what an infernal scoundrel you are if you curse. Yes, he will cuss in a minute; he will cuss a preacher, cuss before a woman, cuss anywhere—he is a cusser from Cusserville.

Jones used a colloquial expression to describe the actions of young men if their mothers and sisters knew what they were doing: "They would go in the hole and pull the hole in after them."
Assessment

After two weeks of revival meetings nothing particularly outstanding had been accomplished. The union meeting was not as successful as either Jones or the clergy desired. Jones had, however, gradually become more accepted by the people and the press, removing some of the necessity to restrain himself in content and style. His own discouragement had been temporarily overcome in a prayer meeting with A. J. Lamar and they had launched plans to conduct special meetings, a risky venture. With these thoughts in mind, Sam Jones elected to preach on five sins which destroyed life. Jones relied heavily on examples, emotional illustrations, emotional appeals, speaker credibility, and an innovative, abusive, earthy style. It was becoming apparent to the people of Memphis that Sam Jones was a "different kind of preacher."

The tone of the following excerpt from the Memphis Daily Appeal reveals the favorable response of the men and the more enthusiastic reporting of the press after this meeting:

Mr. Jones spoke but a few words ere he had the undivided and sympathetic attention of all his hearers, and the interest grew deeper and deeper as he proceeded, and at times reached an intense pitch of enthusiasm. We shall, perhaps, not exaggerate when we say that none present ever heard the truth so fearlessly, so earnestly, so tenderly and faithfully presented before. The common sins of men were held up in all their hideousness and deformity, and strong men trembled as they listened to the fearless exposure of their wickedness. At times the audience was convulsed with laughter, at times their approval burst out in loud applause, and when the speaker closed, under the power of his wonderful pathos, nine-tenths of all the men present were in tears. We doubt if anyone present ever saw as many men brought to tears at one time. As he concluded his wonderful sermon Mr. Jones
said: "Everyone here that feels he needs God's mercy, that
feels he desires to live a better life, let him kneel down and
engage with us in this closing prayer." Instantly the vast
audience fell upon their knees, and there were not twenty
men out of the 1200 present who refused to bow down. That
service will never be forgotten, and hundreds who before were
ready to criticise and speak lightly of Mr. Jones are ready
to take it all back and to say, "God bless him in his
glorious work."  

Expressing his pleasure with the service in a letter to his
wife the next day, Jones wrote: "Yesterday, Sunday, was considered
a field day in Memphis. The Men's Meeting was indeed a glorious
meeting, immense crowd, and God turned me loose upon them in great
power." That meeting proved to be the turning point in the revival.
The backbone of the opposition was broken and the increasingly large
crowds listened more attentively. Newspapers began to give more time
and space to the services which became the talk of the town. In the
evening service following the afternoon Men's Meeting, 1400 people
were packed into the church which normally seated a little over a
thousand and several hundred were unable to get into the auditorium.
During the next few days "numbers of gentlemen" outside the churches
requested that Jones hold another special service for men during that
week. Those issuing the request stated that the impressions of the

42 Ibid.
43 Sam P. Jones to L. M. Jones, January 21, 1884, Samuel Porter
Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.
44 L. M. Jones, p. 103.
45 Sam P. Jones to L. M. Jones, January 21, 1884, Samuel Porter
Jones Papers, Box 1, Emory University.
Sunday afternoon Men's Meeting were so deep and widespread that Jones could have "2000 men to hear him at any hour of the day he may name." Many businessmen indicated a willingness to close their places of business and to attend the service, an action which Jones requested in his later campaigns. A second Men's Meeting was scheduled for the following Sunday, January 27 at 3:00 P.M. The audience was now seeking Sam Jones rather than Sam Jones seeking an audience.

Sermon: "Cornelius, A Devout Man"

Sam Jones had originally planned to end his labors in Memphis the last week in January, but due to the increased interest on the part of the people and the clergy he was asked to stay an additional week. The Memphis Daily Appeal announced the extension of the revival services on January 29.

The Rev. Mr. Jones of Georgia, has consented to stay another week. The committee having the matter in hand lent able assistance to the revivalist. Yesterday dodgers were distributed, having the word "Eternity" at the top with the following verses. (2 verses of a poem followed.)

On Friday, February 1, 1884, just three days after the announcement of the extension of the revival, Sam Jones stood at 11:00 A.M., announced his text as Acts 10:1-2, and preached a sermon entitled, "Cornelius, A Devout Man."

46 Memphis Daily Appeal, January 23, 1884, p. 4.
47 Memphis Daily Appeal, January 29, 1884, p. 4.
Line of Reasoning

The proposition of the sermon, "You should be devout as was Cornelius," indicated the goal for the listener to obtain. The central idea of the sermon gave the definition of the term "devout;" "Being devout means being religious in everything."

Jones' reasoning was based on an argumentative chain of four premises, stated in succession in the introduction. After briefly introducing the Biblical character, Cornelius, and establishing that people should be devout, Jones stated his premises with little attempt to support them: (1) Being devout involves character; (2) Character outranks everything; (3) Character is built by living in perfect harmony with God; and (4) Religion is harmony with God. Without the acceptance of these claims as a foundation for the sermon, the conclusions drawn would not be acceptable to the listener. Apparently Jones believed that this chain of premises was accepted by the audience.

The body of the sermon contained two main points which were organized on a logical pattern. To remove either of the points would have destroyed the thrust of the entire sermon. As indicated by his two main points Jones was trying to say that being devout involved the totality of life: (1) Be devout away from home and (2) Be devout at home. Any person who was not devout in every area simply was not basically devout.

The introduction, 26 percent of the sermon, consisted of two parts: (1) A preliminary appeal for people to attend the services and to work together in harmony and (2) the actual introduction to the
sermon, where he related his chain of four premises. In the introduction Cornelius was portrayed as the example to follow. Throughout the sermon transitional devices were utilized by referring periodically back to Cornelius and showing how he was devout away from home and at home.

In the conclusion, 15 percent of the sermon, Jones told the listeners they could have whatever they wanted and should then be willing to give it to others. If they wanted to have character, they should be devout, like Cornelius. He concluded by showing how Cornelius' character influenced others from that day to the present.

Forms of Support

The forms of support used by Jones were essentially the same as in the two Memphis sermons already analyzed. He used examples, illustrations, testimony, definition, the Bible, humor, appeals to enhance credibility, emotion and connotative language. One new form of support, the hypothetical enthymeme, made its first appearance.

Examples. With one exception all examples in this sermon came from some aspect of Sam Jones' own experience. He used himself as an example of the role religion can play in the development of character. To support his claim that if mothers would teach their daughters how to perform the functions of a wife and mother and keep them virtuous, the men would discover them and come for them, Jones told how he found his wife.

I found, through the good providence of God, where there was a sweet, pretty Christian maid living in a city five hundred miles from where I lived—good and true and sensible. She
knew how to make up a bed, knew how to make bread, knew how
to work and how to play—how to play on a stove in the kitchen
and on a piano in the parlor—and I found out through the
mysterious providence of God that she was there, and I went
five hundred miles and got her, and so if you have the right
sort of daughters you need not push them. (Applause.) They
will find out they are there, and come for them.

Jones also used himself as an example of the proper attitude people
should have toward leaving money to their children. "I haven't a child
in the world I would leave a cent of money to. If they are of any
account they don't need it, and if they are of no account it would only
do them harm."

Jones employed a series of examples to support his idea that
the spiritual life of the church and community was being sapped by the
tide of worldliness in the homes rather than by lying, stealing and
drunkenness. "The mother thinks, 'If I don't push my daughters out in
society they will die old maids.' Parents say, 'We are obliged to let
our children go out in society.' People say, 'We are obliged to do this
and do that.'"

Illustrations. After relying heavily upon illustrations in the
special sermon to men, Jones used only three illustrations in the sermon,
"Cornelius, A Devout Man." The framework of the entire sermon was based
on an extended Biblical illustration, the life of Cornelius. In the
introduction and conclusion and periodically throughout the sermon
Jones would return to the Biblical story to relate how Cornelius was
devout in every area of his life.

Jones gave a brief parable to illustrate that people who give
freely will never "be in want." The parable dealt with a living stream
which gave its small amount of water generously to the river, only to receive it back from the clouds. He then contrasted a pond which held all its water, only to cause pestilence and finally lose its water.

**Testimony.** Only once, when discussing character, did Jones quote anyone in this sermon. "Character," said Coulton, "is perfectly educated will, and one which says to the divine 'thou ought'st,' 'I will,' and to the divine 'thou ought'st not,' 'I will not.'"

**Definition.** Twice Jones utilized a simple definition to amplify some term or concept. He believed that the crosses people say they bear are nothing more than rebellion against God. "There is a cross (crossing his fingers), where God's will is one way and yours is another, right across—what a cross. But if your will is on a right line parallel with the will of God, the cross is all gone." The other simple definition he used was that "religion is loyalty to God and the right."

**Scriptural references.** Of the four Biblical references in the sermon two concerned the text and surrounding passages about the life of Cornelius. One of the others supported his idea about giving: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The other Biblical reference occurred in a context designed to enhance his ethos. Telling the audience that he had come to do God's work and wanted them to cooperate, Jones warned them to remember one thing above all else: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive all honour and riches, and power, and dominion forever and forever." Jones inferred that he was like that lamb and would triumph even if they did not cooperate and support him.
Humor. Jones continued his use of humor in this sermon but in a less caustic, more subtle manner. All but two of the attempts at humor were also designed to increase his own ethos and will be discussed under speaker credibility.

Jones made light of men who were stingy with their money because they were saving it for their wife and children.

Now see, how many a father will say he is laying up money for Sally and the children. If you could see Sally with her new teeth, and the children with fine clothes and new buggies, rackin' around, you would be astonished to see how they can get along without you.

Jones' use of humor sometimes allowed him to overstate his position without offending the audience, probably because they didn't think he really meant what he said. This technique was used in the following discussion of prohibition:

People say prohibition does not prohibit. Well, there are murderers, notwithstanding the law against murder; but we have the fun of hanging a murderer every now and then. (Laughter.) And so where there is a prohibitory law we can put the lawbreakers in the penitentiary and fun is the next best thing to religion. (Laughter.)

Hypothetical reasoning. Jones used a form of reasoning that appeared to take the form of syllogisms, particularly hypothetical syllogisms. The syllogisms were never completed for the listener, allowing him to draw the conclusion or to supply some assumed premise. Most of the "syllogistic appearing" statements were hypothetical in nature, beginning with "if."

Early in the sermon, when Jones was building his own character, he used hypothetical reasoning. In proper syllogistic form it would read:
If I come in the name of Jesus, he will help me.

I come in the name of Jesus.

He will help me.

Expressed in his sermon, Jones said: "I come in the name of our Father in Heaven. I believe He will help me. If I didn't I would shut this book and shut my mouth and take the first train that leaves this city for home."

One other attempt at hypothetical reasoning may have confused the audience. Jones emphasized that religious faith should have some practical outlet in the condition of life on earth, not just be reserved for heaven. In proper form the syllogism would read:

If we are not going to heaven, we should make earth like heaven.

We are not going to heaven.

We should make earth like heaven.

Expressed in his sermon, Jones said: "Why, if we are not going to get to heaven at all, the next best thing is to get up as much of a heaven here as it is possible for us to have." Although not intended, the reasoning seems to imply that for at least some of his listeners, heaven will not be gained, therefore they need to make earth like heaven. That reasoning could be misrepresented and misapplied so as to direct the listener toward an epicurean philosophy of life.

His third hypothetical syllogism constituted valid reasoning with only the minor premise implied. In proper form it would read:

If you would have the country religious have religion in your home.
You would have the country religious. (Implied)

Have religion in your home.

Expressed in the sermon, Jones said, "If you would have the country religious have religion in your homes, and you will never have necessity for another revival in this godly city of yours."

Emotional appeals. The minimal motive appeals in the sermon, "Cornelius, A Devout Man," fell into two categories: (1) self-actualization and self-esteem and (2) security.

Appealing to the desire for the best in man Jones said, "I don't believe there is anything else in the universe that will make a true man out of me and out of you but religion." To describe a devout man Jones appealed to man's desire to be looked up to and depended upon.

A devout man has religion through and through him every day in the week and all the time everywhere he goes. You have not got many of that sort of men. When you meet such a member of a church as that you know him. He is worth his weight in gold in any of our churches. You know what to expect of him. If you have a prayer meeting, you know he will be there if he is alive; when you have work to be done in your church you know he will lend a hand.

Although Jones criticized and condemned more frequently than he praised, this sermon did contain a note of praise, but even that note contained overtones of criticism. Complimenting the Methodists for their belief in revivals, he criticized other denominations for not using revivals.

We Methodists are great at revivals. We glory in revivals. The other churches that do not believe in revivals profit by ours. When the river of life flows over with us it runs over and fills up their old ponds. Show me a church that does not believe in revivals, and I will show you a church that looks like an abandoned cemetery.
Jones' three appeals to security focused on the two ideas of heaven-hell and peace. In describing his own early motivations for religion he said, "I used to want religion, when I was a sinner, to keep me out of hell. I used to think I would love to have religion that I might get to heaven." Later in the sermon, when encouraging people to live right, Jones told them, "God will expand your streets and incorporate you with the New Jerusalem, and there will be a heaven for you." His appeal to peace and prosperity came in the following statement: "This world will never proceed on the lines of peace, happiness, and prosperity until every man trades and talks and lives on Gospel principles, who trades on Gospel principles."

_Credibility._ In this third sermon analyzed from the Memphis campaign, Jones balanced his ethical appeals among character, sagacity and good will.

Early in the sermon he emphasized his character by telling the audience that he came to preach to them in the name of Jesus and that if he thought Jesus would not help him, he would shut up and leave Memphis. His honesty and sincerity were enhanced when he said, "I want religion now and forever more to make a true man out of me."

Jones highlighted his common practical sense by showing that religion was meant to be practiced today. "We have been singing today 'Sweet Bye-and-Bye.' We are ringing the changes on this all over the land. I wish that we would hush that for twelve months and sing 'The Sweet Now and Now.'" Jones sagacity was further enhanced when he related the priority in direction for his son.
Home religion, home piety. Brethren, I say it with all the earnestness of my heart. I would rather raise a true, noble, royal boy to Christ and the right, and he just have sense enough to plough a straight furrow, than to be the father of the brightest genius in America and project him upon the world a dissipated godless wretch that will debauch himself and set a bad example to the world. It is not how much sense the boy has got, but how much religion; not how well have you trained him in business, but how close does he live to Jesus Christ.

Jones concerned himself more with establishing himself as a person of good will than with the other two ethical appeals. His opening statements contained the following extended passage intended to demonstrate that good will:

Let us try to get along friendly and kindly with each other. I promise you this much, nothing you say or do shall hurt my feelings. Really, I never carry my feelings around with me. When I leave home I leave my feelings there. I'm afraid somebody will hurt them, and I don't want them hurt. Leave your feelings at home. Come to the house of God to be benefitted, and take what will benefit you and leave the other for somebody else, because I assure you the thing you don't like is the very thing some other fellow does like, and when you have to speak to a crowd like this you have to have a great deal of variety to suit every fellow.

Much of Jones' humor portrayed him as a person with a good nature who enjoyed life. At one point in the sermon he inserted a lengthy statement which evoked repeated laughter from the audience.

I purpose not to preach more than an hour at any service. And the rule always at these services is, whenever you get as much as you want, every door is open to you, and the sidewalks are free, (laughter), and you can go any minute. Really we wouldn't have missed you if you hadn't come at all. (Laughter) You can consider yourself dismissed any moment when you get enough. Don't you go home and say, "that man bored me or worried me." It's mighty hard to talk sense a whole hour and not bore some greenhorn.

Style. After revealing his emancipated style and receiving a favorable response in the men's meeting, Jones no longer felt as
constrained to guard his word selection. Consequently the style in this sermon was much freer than in the sermons delivered early in the union meeting, but, due to the mixed audience, diction was more refined than in the men's meeting.

Grammatical errors, whether intentional or unintentional, were of the same nature as in previous sermons. "Ain't" appeared frequently. He also occasionally had a problem with agreement of subject and verb. His grammar was correct enough to be acceptable yet contained enough "slips" to make the listeners feel that he was one of them.

The clarity of his language left little doubt concerning his ideas. One statement, however, tended to confuse. "I reckon I was the biggest failure the world ever saw up to 24 years of age—except you, if you haven't got any tonight." It is to be assumed that the latter phrase referred to the listener not having any religion, but that was not clear.

Often Jones used figurative language such as the following: "Amid the noon-day blaze of the nineteenth century;" "religion is the setting of the Ten Commandments to music in your soul;" and "it is the tide of worldliness sweeping over our homes." Similes were evident in such statements as, "reputation is like the glove. I may put it on my hand or take it off, or rent it to pieces and throw it away."

Jones usually found several places to employ alliteration in each sermon. "I have always had an eternal consecrated, consolidated hatred for shams." "Stagnation is the last station this side of damnation."
The following is an example of his use of antithesis: "It is not how much sense the boy has got, but how much religion; not how well have you trained him in business, but how close does he live to Jesus Christ?"

A reader of this sermon cannot forget that it was designed primarily to be heard, not read. Jones utilized repetition and other devices to hold the listener's attention. In describing character he said, "Character is the hand itself. Character is immortal. Character shall live on beyond the stars. Character shall live as long as God lives." This repetition of a word or phrase occurred again when Jones described Cornelius. "Cornelius was a thoroughly religious man. He was religious anywhere; he was religious everywhere; he was religious in anything; he was religious in everything; and he was religious every day in the week." Condemning people who are not what they profess to be, he asked a series of questions, all of which had the same answer. Jesus never received a wound or a blow from anyone but a professed friend. Did you ever think of that? Do you know who it was that denied him? A professed friend. Do you know who sold him for 30 pieces of silver? A professed friend. Never from anybody but professed friends were these wrongs received by Jesus Christ.

Jones often inserted signposts for clarity and to maintain attention. "And, brethren, let me say right at this point . . ." "I will tell you another thing." "Brethren, the longer I live, the more I see of life, the more I see this fact . . ." "Say My! My!"

With his mixed audience Jones seldom resorted to name-calling and most of the instances where it was used were in connection with his
humor. The humor in the situation made the name-calling more appropriate and acceptable. Only once did he use name-calling apart from humor and that was directed toward a classification of hypocrites and probably would not offend anyone since each person had to classify himself. "Of all humbugs that ever breathed God's air, the biggest humbug is the religious humbug."

Assessment

The invitation to extend the union meeting brought Jones additional confidence. In the morning service three days into the extension the evangelist selected a topic which would cover all of life. He wanted the listener to be devout and have character both at home and away from home. His ideas were supported in essentially the same manner as the earlier sermons, with minor differences. Examples came predominantly from his own experiences. Illustrations were limited to three but one of them, the biblical story of Cornelius, was considerably extended. His humor became less caustic and more subtle. Efforts to enhance his credibility were balanced between character, sagacity and good will. Emotional appeals were limited to self-actualization, self-esteem and security. One new form of support, the hypothetical syllogism, was introduced.

Summary

Sam Jones arrived in Memphis, Tennessee in January, 1884, with three handicaps: (1) He was relatively unknown since it was his first
significant speaking venture outside his native Georgia; (2) He had only lukewarm support from the clergy and the press; (3) He faced one of the worst January blizzards ever to strike Memphis. Nature removed the weather handicap after the initial week of the revival and Sam Jones brought about the removal of the other two handicaps near the end of the second week.

It is impossible to assess the lasting effect of Jones' preaching on Memphis, but the immediate effect was obvious. Most of the clergymen ultimately gave him their full support; the press began to write glowing articles about his preaching; the crowds grew beyond the capacity of the church where the revival was held; and the revival was extended several days. "Public professions of faith" numbered four hundred and one hundred joined the churches by the end of the meetings. 48

The Memphis meeting proved to be even more important for Sam Jones. His style of preaching proved to be successful outside of Georgia. His Memphis experience prompted invitations to conduct revivals in other cities outside Georgia, notably Brooklyn, New York and Nashville, Tennessee. His reputation was spreading.

In all three sermons analyzed the propositions involved the desire for the audience to be better by being saved, avoiding certain sins, or by being devout. Each of these three sermons was based on one or more premises, either stated or implied. The combined

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48 Memphis Avalanche, January 18, 1884, p. 4; January 22, 1884, p. 4; January 26, 1884, p. 4.
strategy of the three sermons was to encourage the listeners to be better by focusing on various aspects of the religious and moral life where improvement was needed.

Jones amplified his ideas through the use of Scriptural references, analogies, examples, illustrations, definitions, testimonies, contrast, humor, statistics, and hypothetical reasoning. As the campaign progressed Jones increased his reliance on examples, illustrations, and humor and reduced the use of Scriptural references and testimony. It appeared that when Jones felt the most relaxed and confident he resorted more to examples, illustrations, and humor.

Jones' emotional appeals fell into two basic categories: (1) appeals to security, freedom from restraint, avoidance of death, and self-preservation and (2) appeals to self-actualization and self-esteem, the desire to be better and to compliment others.

In the first sermon Jones made the normal attempts to gain acceptance by the listeners. In the second sermon, delivered to men, a significant portion was directed toward establishing his own credibility, perhaps to show the men that he had been like them and had changed; therefore they could too. The last sermon contained a minimum of ethical appeals, probably because by that time he felt the audience had already accepted him as a qualified minister who spoke the truth in an interesting way. Most of his attempts to gain credibility involved relating some of Jones' life experiences before and after his conversion. Some part of the story of his life was told in each of the three sermons.
Early in the Memphis revival Jones allowed only hints of his wit, sarcasm, and unique oral style to be revealed, probably in order that he might not appear crude and have a negative effect on his reputation in Memphis. However, after a discouraging two weeks and the inauguration of a special men's meeting, Jones threw his stylistic reservations to the wind and people began to hear strange language coming from the pulpit. Utilizing figures of speech, name-calling and harsh criticism, that language became even more extreme in the special meetings. After the men's meeting, Jones never returned to the style used in the first two weeks of the revival. As the style changed, the interest and attendance grew. However, it should not be assumed that everyone liked that style. The following anonymous letter was written to Jones during the Memphis meeting:

I have listened to your sermons with great interest and I trust some profit and while I am a thorough Methodist, I admire your simple earnest style which is characteristic of the primitive Methodists. I know you have done a great deal of good here and I pray God you would do much more, but I would suggest you use less slang in the pulpit. It sounds irreverent and grates upon the ears of the more refined and intellectual part of your congregation. I trust a hint to the wise will be sufficient and this note will be taken in the spirit in which it is written and I consequently hope you will act upon my suggestion, believing it will have a good affect. I am a perfect stranger to you but a sister in Christ.49

His use of the language of the people made an impression upon them, causing a few to be offended but most to accept.

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49Anonymous letter to Sam Jones, January 28, 1884, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
Upon his return to Cartersville, Georgia, The Cartersville American ran a reprint of an article which had appeared in the Memphis Daily Appeal near the end of the Memphis campaign. The following excerpts summarize their judgment of Jones' style:

His language is transparent in its simplicity, but all his intellectual powers, so admirably balanced and blended, are brought into regulation in every sermon, and their action is delightfuly harmonious. There is neither too much or too little of any given quantity. The judgment and the imagination hold each other in perfect equipose. The Rev. Mr. Jones has a vivid imagination, a fancy bright and beautiful, but his illustrations and metaphors are simple, pointed and applied with a directness and pungency which the most obtuse can understand. But his eloquence is not of the "ad captandem" style. It is simple and pathetic in its beauty, and reaches every avenue of feeling and sympathy. His eloquence is not of that studied, artificial, elaborate kind which has distinguished so many pulpit orators. It is the unwritten eloquence of the heart. Every sentence seems instinct with the inspiration of feeling.50

Sam Jones came to Memphis and gained the support of a reluctant clergy, won over the members of the press, attracted overflow crowds to the services and attracted sufficient attention to spread a reputation which would gain him invitations from other Tennessee cities and ultimately cities outside the south.

50 The Cartersville American, February 12, 1884, p. 2.
Chapter V

CAMPAIGN IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Reports of the Memphis meeting brought additional invitations for Sam Jones to conduct revival campaigns. Shortly after the Memphis meeting in 1884 one newspaper reported that, "He has loomed into importance as an evangelist and revivalist until he stands now second only to Talmage and Moody."\(^1\) However, due to his obligations as agent for the Orphanage of the North Georgia Conference Jones could not possibly accept most of the invitations in 1884 and 1885. In addition to the invitations he accepted in Georgia, Jones found time to conduct revival meetings in Chattanooga, Jackson, and Knoxville, Tennessee, Charleston, South Carolina, Waco, Texas and at T. DeWitt Talmage’s tabernacle in Brooklyn, New York.\(^2\) During those meetings Jones continued to explore his new direction in revivalism; a combination of popular entertainment, civic reform, and religious conversion. However, as McLoughlin stated, "it remained for the meeting in Nashville to first put Jones at the top of the profession."\(^3\)

On March 14, 1885 the Protestant Minister’s Association of Nashville issued an invitation for Jones to conduct a meeting and he


\(^{2}\)Ibid., pp. 112-114.

accepted. However, considerable apprehension if not open opposition existed in the minds of some of the more staid ministers. They felt it unnecessary to comply with Jones' request to arrange for a building or tent which would seat from three to five thousand people. Failing to persuade the ministers of the need for such a meeting place, Jones compromised by agreeing to come to Nashville for a "trial run." On March 16, 1885, J. D. Barbee, one of the local Memphis ministers, wrote Sam Jones, telling him that Sunday, March 22, 1885 was the date for his preliminary visit.

In order to give the ministers an opportunity to hear him and to see whether he could draw a crowd too large for the churches, Jones preached on Sunday March 22 at the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at 11:00 A.M., at the McKendree Methodist Church at 3:00 P.M., and at the First Presbyterian Church at 7:30 P.M. All three churches were filled to capacity and hundreds of people were turned away. Not only did he demonstrate the necessity for a large tent but he also gave the people of Nashville a preview of what they could expect when he arrived to begin the extended union meeting. Newspapers in Nashville and in other Tennessee cities reported on those sermons.

He said some very hard things about Nashville religion, throwing heavy stones that caused a howl. He charged church

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4 L. M. Jones, pp. 113-134.

5 J. D. Barbee to Sam Jones, March 16, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University.

6 L. M. Jones, p. 134.
people with being whisky [sic] sellers, drunkards, gamblers and theatre goers. He said the church members sold the whisky [sic] to saloons by wholesale and the brethren went to the saloons to do their drinking. If Atlanta should give Nashville an order for a number of christians, all the religion in Nashville could be put in a small package and sent by mail for two cents postage. He told the ladies that he was "going" for their husbands and they must hold while he skinned.7

After the day's activities, Jones left immediately for Knoxville where he was scheduled to begin a revival meeting.

Although friendly to Jones, some of the ministers were shocked, some angry, and some defended his bravery.8 The next morning they held a meeting at the Methodist Publishing House to consider further arrangements for the proposed revival. Some of the ministers who had formerly been friendly to the idea of Jones preaching in Nashville, now openly and bitterly opposed his return. After much discussion on whether Jones should preach in Nashville, Dr. W. M. Leftwich said, "It was not the time to discuss whether Mr. Jones was to come or not. He was already invited. This question was settled and he would, therefore, move that a tent be purchased and a committee be appointed to negotiate for its purpose."9 After further discussion the ministers voted to proceed with arrangements and to purchase a tent to seat from three to five thousand people. The initial invitation would be honored and the tent purchased over the opposition and reservations of several of the local clergy.

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7Knoxville Daily Chronicle, April 14, 1885, p. 1; Reprint of undated article from Clarksville Democrat.
8L. M. Jones, p. 134. 9Ibid., p. 136.
During the intervening month of April, Jones was discussed in letters, newspapers, circulars, and conversations. The following letter was received from a sympathetic but concerned friend:

I have read every line of coverage I could get on your visit to Nashville. Most of what is said is perhaps the howling of bit dogs but an occasional shot hurts. You say some extravagant things that may as well not be said. For example you said something about you would rather your daughter would marry a mulatto than a man that would play cards. You said or intimated that there was not a Christian here before you came. These things hurt you and hurt the cause. Pitch into sin without gloves wherever you find it, but don't discount what little piety there is in the world. A card player, even a gambler, might be reclaimed but a mulatto can never change his skin don't you see.10

The following excerpts appeared in an editorial in the Nashville Daily Union the next day after Jones' three "trial sermons:"

After listening to him attentively, we set him down as a "crank," his expressings in the pulpit surpassing anything we have ever heard. While not rushing to the defense of the pulpit, we have ever held it in reverence, regarding it as an educator in modesty, dignity, gentility, and morality. We must deprecate the lowering of its dignity so that the coarseness, vulgarity, slang, and positive misrepresentations shall not emanate from it. If Mr. Jones' style and language suit the good people of our city, then we can no longer rightfully maintain our boast that Nashville is the "Athens of the South." Our people are past the age of being ridiculed or abused into religion. Moreover, he defends his execrable grammar, his coarseness and his slang with "I am trying to get down on a level with my audience," which is hardly the highest compliment that could be paid our people. We have as much culture, refinement and aesthetic taste in Nashville as any city of its size in the Union, and that this so-called reverend gentleman should be permitted to say such things in our leading pulpits and then be invited to come again, amazes us beyond expression.11

10R. P. McClain to Sam Jones, March 28, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

11L. M. Jones, p. 135.
A printed circular was distributed in Nashville shortly before the start of the revival. Its headline read, "SAM JONES GREAT SHOW AND CIRCUS WILL TAKE PLACE AT NASHVILLE, MAY 15, 1885, AND CONTINUE TWENTY DAYS."

The laughable farce, Christianity, will be expounded by the great clown, Sam Jones. His great fanatical oratory will furnish lunatics for the new lunatic asylum about to be erected at Knoxville at the expense of the taxpayers, where he has already been very successful in confusing the minds of his hearers. Seats will be occupied by religious cranks, hypocrites, unlettered men and women, fanatics, defaulters, snuff dippers, morphine and opium caters, murderers, robbers and thieves. Besides some misguided, though well meaning men and women, most of whom will go only to see the show; it will be the grandest farce that ever took place in Nashville. Murderers always profess on the gallows to believe in a God and devil, supposing that the clergy can send them straight to heaven from the gallows, regardless of the heinous crimes they commit. None will be considered eligible for the throne of grace who have minds of their own, or are strictly honest and moral, or don't believe in possibilities. All persons whose minds are not clouded with superstitions, bigotry and sectarian hatred, will be ruled out as incompetent. The side show will be very attractive for the matrimonial market and sightseers. Tickets free, but don't forget the missionary box, for you know that action of the clergy is no money, no preach. Signed, HUMBUG AND IGNORANCE, Managers.  

Whatever other effects of the adverse publicity Jones received prior to the Nashville meeting, it did provide him with an abundance of free publicity, a fact which probably increased the size of his audiences in the early services. One of the sponsoring clergymen, Jerre Witherspoon, noted in a letter to Sam Jones:

You and your sermons, as you may have seen from the papers, are discussed in the families, in the hotels and in the streets—

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12 The Cartersville American, May 19, 1885, p. 2.
everywhere. Many think you harsh. Some say you are too heavy, some are delighted, some are shocked, but all are interested. Everywhere there is a bombshell in the camp. Don’t mind what the papers say. The agitation will do us good. It is bringing you and your work before the people.13

So widespread were the negative reports that the pastors of the Protestant churches in Knoxville, Tennessee, where Jones was conducting a meeting, decided to write a letter to the pastors in Knoxville. The following excerpts indicate the tone of that letter:

Brethren, for twelve days we have in our midst, and preaching to us and our people, the Rev. Samuel P. Jones and we have had full opportunities to learn the tendency of his teachings and character of his work. By reason of evil reports, some of us at the first were prejudiced against him, but having attended upon his ministry four times a day for eleven consecutive days, hearing his discourses, which he has handled by the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, we have found no fault in him; while, somewhat as a matter of taste, we could have wished some things could have been touched in a different style and some matters illustrated by a less humorous incident, nevertheless, we endorse the soundness of the gospel he inculcated in general. We offer a prayerful testimony to his zeal for the truth, his jealousy for the honor of our holy religion, to his effort to glorify God, and his earnest love for the souls of men; and we testify that his preaching has been evangelical and Scriptural and to the wonderful edification of saints and conviction of sinners.14

Unlike his arrival in Memphis, Jones arrived in Nashville no stranger to the people.

Despite the criticism and reservations the ministers proceeded with arrangements for the union meeting. W. M. Leftwich wrote Jones on April 8 to tell him why the ministers decided to use a tent rather than

13 Jerre Witherspoon to Sam Jones, March 26, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

14 L. M. Jones, p. 138.
build a tabernacle. "We could not find a lot in the city on which we could get permission to erect a tabernacle on account of the fire and insurance regulations."^{15}

The arrival and erection of the large tent on the old exhibition lot at the corner of Broad and Spruce Streets gained additional attention for the approaching meeting. The tent had been ordered from St. Louis at a cost in excess of $2600. Measuring 100 by 180 feet, it would seat almost 5000 people on plain but comfortable wooden benches with backs, each measuring twelve feet in length. A substantial floor was laid and an ample platform constructed in the middle of the 180 feet. The tent was lighted with electric lights. At the time of its erection, all but $300 of the total cost of the tent and seats had been raised. At the conclusion of the union meeting the tent would become the property of the different churches and be held by the trustees for future use of open-air and camp meetings.^{16}

Music was under the direction of Professor McIntosh of Oxford, Georgia and the choir was composed of members of the choirs of several of the city churches.^{17}

Two days before the union meeting was scheduled to start Sam Jones sent a telegram to the ministers, requesting that he be allowed

^{15} W. M. Leftwich to Sam Jones, April 8, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, Emory University.

^{16} Nashville Daily Union, May 3, 1885, p. 7; Nashville Banner, April 28, 1885, p. 4.

^{17} Nashville Daily Union, May 11, 1885, p. 4.
to delay his arrival in Nashville by two days in order to continue a successful revival campaign in Chattanooga. In return he promised to stay in Nashville two days longer at the end of their campaign. The Ministerial Committee replied that they expected him to honor his commitment to begin preaching in Nashville on May 10 and that "should you do otherwise you must do so on your own responsibility."  

Jones arrived in Nashville by train from Chattanooga on Saturday, May 9 and was the guest of Mr. Horton Fall during his stay in the city. In the Watkins Institute Building on Saturday evening at 8:00 P.M. Jones delivered his lecture, "Character and Characters," for the benefit of the Woman's Mission Home. The lecture hall was packed to capacity and a number of local ministers were present on the platform.

The first service in the union meeting was scheduled to begin on Sunday, May 10 at 3:30 P.M. People began arriving by 1:00 P.M. and by 2:30 P.M. there was not even standing room inside the tent. The aisles were filled, many bringing camp stools, and some of the pastors had to sit around the edge of the rostrum. The sides of the tent were removed so people outside could see and hear. Jones told them to raise their hands if they could not hear and he would raise his voice. The crowd extended from the main entrance of the tent over the entire lot and down the street for a half block. A safe estimate by one of the

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18 Nashville Daily American, May 9, 1885, p. 4.
19 Nashville Daily Union, May 10, 1885, p. 7.
newspapers placed the number hearing the sermon at 7500, with 2500 leaving because they could not find sitting or standing room.\(^{21}\)

Jones concluded that first sermon by referring to a Civil War incident in which the Confederate General, Cockrell, acting on orders from General Hood, stormed and captured the fort at Locust Grove against overwhelming odds. After giving a vivid account of the battle Jones said:

Brethren of Nashville, at this hour, as adjutant-general of the Lord Jesus Christ, I point my finger at the citadel of sin in Nashville, and tell you that my Lord and Saviour presents you all his love, and He asks at your hands this fort that is desolating so many hearts. And I want every man and woman here today that wants to join in the warfare against sin, whether you are in the church or not, if you would be on the right side and try to win the city to Christ, I want every one that would see the city presented to God to stand up.\(^{22}\)

Nearly the whole congregation stood. At the end of the service he announced the times for the services the next day and said, "Those who didn't want to come could get a written permit to stay away."\(^{23}\)

Jones had arrived, the large tent was justified, the people had responded, and the stage was set for Sam Jones to battle sin in Nashville.

The crowd at the evening service was also larger than the capacity of the tent. Before beginning his sermon Jones made some remarks about the discussions that had been going on in the papers during the last month.

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\(^{21}\) Nashville Daily Union, May 11, 1885, p. 4; Nashville Daily American, May 11, 1885, p. 2; Nashville Banner, May 11, 1885, p. 3.

\(^{22}\) L. M. Jones, p. 138.

\(^{23}\) Nashville Daily American, May 11, 1885, p. 2.
Now all that I ask of the papers and their contributors is that they give me a fair deal. You have acted cowardly in publishing denunciations of me, without backing them with your name. I never pay any attention to an article with a nom de plume, for a nom de plume is nothing more or less than a turkey-buzzard with his feathers stamped off. Now, if you have anything to say about me, bud, just put your name to it, and I will take care of you. If you can say anything worse about me than I can about you, just "I am in."  

The second day of the meeting began with a 6:00 A.M. service which was attended by approximately one thousand people. Attendance in the morning services grew steadily until Jones was addressing 6000 people at 6:00 A.M. near the end of the three week campaign. In the last service of the meeting 8000 people were present.

In addition to publicity given by the press, the meetings were advertised in other ways. Arrangements were completed for people in neighboring towns to receive reduced railroad rates when coming to Nashville to hear Sam Jones preach. Tacked to most of the Nashville street-cars were signs which read, "Take this car to hear Rev. Sam Jones." So successful was the publicity that the Tent Committee requested through the newspapers that Nashville Christians stay at home for certain afternoon services in order to leave room for visitors and laboring people to attend.

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24 L. M. Jones, p. 142.  
25 Nashville Banner, May 11, 1885, p. 4.  
26 L. M. Jones, p. 143.  
27 Nashville Banner, May 30, 1885, p. 4.  
29 Nashville Daily Union, May 29, 1885, p. 2.  
30 Nashville Daily American, May 17, 1885, p. 7; Nashville Banner, May 22, 1885, p. 4; Nashville Daily American, May 24, 1885, p. 7.
Services were conducted at least three times each day and four times on some days: 6:00 A.M., 10:00 A.M., 3:30 P.M., and 7:30 P.M.\textsuperscript{31} Jones also conducted one or more special services for each of the following groups: men, women, children, negroes, drummers, and convicts. He also addressed the State Legislature.\textsuperscript{32}

Sermon: "Righteousness and Life—Sin and Death"

On Monday evening, May 12, 1885, people started arriving for the second evening service of the revival. By 8:00 P.M. all seats were occupied, hundreds stood in the aisles or crowded around the edge of the tent, and hundreds were turned away. The meeting opened with the usual song service and a prayer led by Rev. Dunlop. Sam Jones then stood, asked his fellow ministers to pray for him, and read his text from Proverbs 11:19, "As righteousness tendeth to life, so he that pursueth evil pursueth it to his own death."\textsuperscript{33}

Line of Reasoning

Jones' proposition was "You should avoid evil in order to avoid death." It could be stated positively, but Jones' emphasis was on the negative of avoiding death rather than on the positive of gaining life. As in many of his sermons, the text provided the central idea, "Righteousness leads to life, evil leads to death." Although the text, central

\textsuperscript{31}L. M. Jones, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Nashville Banner}, May 29, 1885, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Nashville Daily American}, May 12, 1885, p. 7; \textit{Nashville Daily Union}, May 12, 1885, p. 4.
idea, and proposition appeared to condemn evil in general, the sermon focused primarily on the condemnation of one particular evil, the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Jones' reasoning was based on an unstated, assumed premise, that the audience wanted to delay physical death as long as possible and to avoid spiritual death forever. No attempt was made to either state or support this idea.

The body of the sermon was organized around an ascending structure in which each point was based on and enlarged the preceding until the last point provided the climax. The points were developed in the following order: (1) Pursuing evil causes death, (2) Pursuing evil causes the death of the conscience, (3) Pursuing evil removes every restraint from man's moral nature, and (4) Pursuing evil causes the death of the soul. The second and third points constituted 57 percent of the sermon, and centered around a condemnation of the sale and consumption of liquor. The last point, 5 percent of the sermon, was actually an emotional climax which lead into his brief concluding appeal.

The introduction, 21 percent of the sermon, contained two distinct parts: (1) A brief appeal for fellow clergymen to pray for him, including a one sentence prayer by Jones and (2) An amplification of the idea that when they die, bad men go to hell and good men go to heaven.

In the fourth point Jones painted a word picture of a man's physical death, then turned the audience's attention to spiritual death which would be avoided by good men. The brief concluding appeal,
only 1 percent of the sermon, consisted of a request for people to rise and say, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

**Forms of Support**

Since it was safe to assume the audience wanted to avoid both physical and spiritual death, Jones' strategy was to show that pursuing evil, particularly selling and drinking whiskey, causes death, therefore should be avoided. If Jones could demonstrate the cause of death, the listener's basic desire to avoid it would lead him to remove that cause, the pursuance of evil. Jones amplified the idea that evil causes physical and spiritual death by using Scriptural references, illustrations, examples, poetry, hypothetical reasoning, emotional appeals, ethical appeals, and connotative language.

**Scriptural references.** Jones quoted passages from the Bible twelve times but identified the source only when announcing his text. Seven of the twelve references involved the repetition of all or part of the text and the remaining references were grouped together in the introduction to establish that good men go to heaven and bad men go to hell. The following two passages are representative of that usage. "The wicked shall be driven away into everlasting punishment." "The path of the just shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

**Illustrations.** In this sermon Jones continued the trend he started in Memphis, heavily relying on illustrations, especially from his own experience. Illustrations in "Righteousness and Life—Sin and Death" came from three sources: (1) Jones' personal experiences, (2) other people's lives and (3) railroads.
As in every sermon studied thus far, Jones used his conversion to illustrate that people can "have their sins washed away." "If there is one fact in my experience that stands out more prominently than any other fact, it is that I rushed up to the cross and realized how sweetly and grandly God can save the sinner." Jones referred to reporters who wrote anonymous critical articles about him as an illustration of people who follow the popularity rather than the rightness of an action. To show how selling and drinking whiskey destroys health, happiness and ultimately life, Jones told two stories of homes he had visited where there were "tearful wives" and "besotted husbands." In one of those stories the husband "died a drunkard's death and went to a drunkard's hell. One of her boys is now in prison, and the other is gone she knows not where."

Jones illustrated the death of the conscience by relating how mayors and other officials receive money in exchange for a liquor license but feel no personal responsibility or guilt for the crime, domestic chaos and personal tragedy caused by the liquor that is sold. Later in the sermon he returned to the same idea with a similar illustration.

If a bar-keeper were to go to you and say, "I will give you five hundred dollars to make your boy a drunkard," you would spurn him from your presence; and yet for the sum of two hundred dollars you will give him the privilege of making your neighbor's boy a drunkard.

Jones' longest illustration revealed the presence of moral cancer and the necessity of eliminating it from man's moral nature. He told about Senator Hill of Georgia who had cancer of the tongue. Senator Hill died because of the surgeon's inability to remove every particle of the
diseased tissue. He concluded the story with an application which openly stated the causal relationship between sin and death. "Now I say to my congregation, just as certainly as cancer killed Senator Hill's body, just so certainly the virus of sin will kill your soul."

Jones twice drew illustrations from the principal form of mass transportation of his day, the railroad. To illustrate that sin removes restraints from man's moral nature he told the story of a runaway train jumping the track on the way down a mountain. The application of the illustration was made in the following statement, "The natural tendency of sin is to take off the brakes and turn the sinner loose on the downgrade to hell."

Examples. To show the consequences of sin Jones cited examples such as "the pale wreck of a man," and "a poor degraded woman." The responsibility for the problems of drunkenness was placed on his congregation by citing examples of Christians voting to license liquor selling in order to reduce taxes, and church members supporting the debauchery by patronizing the bars. To show that social sins could be curbed he cited the examples of Louisville, Kentucky stopping gambling and the state of Georgia eliminating the sale of liquor over a three year period.

Poetry. A new form of support, poetry, appeared in this sermon. Jones cited stanzas from two poems and one hymn. The precarious position of the person who continues to sin was emphasized by the following poem:

How long may we go on sinning?  
How long will God forbear?
Where does hope end, and where begin
The confines of despair?

In admonishing people to keep the conscience alive and healthy, Jones recited:

What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This teach me more than hell to shun,
That more than heaven pursue.

To show there is a way to prevent moral cancer from "damning them at last" Jones recited a verse of a popular hymn.

There is a fountain filled with blood,
Drawn from Emmanuel's veins;
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains.

Comparison-Contrast. Minimal use was made of comparisons and contrasts. The introduction contained an extended contrast between the good man who naturally gravitates toward heaven and the bad man who gravitates toward hell. Jones encouraged people to let religion affect politics when he used the following comparison: "I don't believe in mixing politics and religion, but I believe in mixing religion in with my politics. It helps it as much as sugar does coffee."

Hypothetical reasoning. Jones introduced many statements with the word "if," an indication of an attempt at hypothetical reasoning. However, it was often only an exercise in verbosity. Instead of saying, "I sympathize with drunkards," he said, "If there is a class of men on the earth that I sympathize with it is the drunkards." This weakened his claim by implying he may not sympathize with any class of men. He often used "if" to introduce several successive sentences, all related
in meaning. The "if" was also used in abbreviated syllogisms. To support his charge that people who sell liquor licenses are as guilty as the seller, Jones used an argument which could be cast in the proper syllogistic form:

If you countenance these things and put your fist to these documents, you will be damned for it.

You do countenance these things and put your fist to these documents.

You will be damned for it.

As stated in the sermon, Jones said, "If you countenance these things and put your fist to these documents, you will be damned for it as certain as God reigns in heaven, unless you repent."

Emotional appeals. The emotions of his listeners were aroused by repeated appeals to self-preservation of physical and spiritual life and minimal appeals to love of fellow man, freedom from restraint and a sense of fair play.

Jones appealed to self-preservation by encouraging people to:
(1) delay physical death and avoid spiritual death, (2) avoid hell and (3) seek to enter heaven. Jones tapped each man's instinctive fear of death in such statements as, "A man who could once have been of some account becomes a seared, parched carcass." He used the same appeal to men who drink. "There are men in this tent tonight who are just as certain to die drunk as that I am preaching here to you." Physical death was emphasized in the statement, "A wicked and deceitful man shall not live out half his days." Man's fear of death was invoked in the graphic description of a man in the agony of death. As an introduction
to that description he appealed to the desire to avoid spiritual
death: "But when you bring me to face the death of the soul you make
me tremble from head to foot. The death of the soul! What does it
mean? Eternal death. Just put these two words before you—eternal
death. Death eternal!"

Repeatedly Jones reminded his audience that bad people go to
hell. "When a bad man dies he not only goes to hell by the approval
of God and angels, but he goes to hell by the common consent of every
intelligent man in the world." To combat man's tendency to rely upon
himself Jones said, "If we followed the bent of our own nature it is
downward and hellward every time." In condemnation of those who sell
liquor licenses Jones posed the following scenario:

If I ever want to sell whisky [sic] I am going to the town
and get a license from those old members of the Church, and
I will tell my wife to put my license in the coffin when I
die. I will pull out my license and tell the Lord, "Here's
my license, signed by Methodist stewards and Baptist deacons;"
and God Almighty will put us all in hell together.

Although Jones primarily emphasized avoiding hell he also
appealed directly to man's desire to gain heaven. In the introduction
he said, "When a good man dies he goes to heaven as naturally as this
book would drop if I should turn it loose." Jones told them the basis
of their hope.

O thank God for the hope of the race that is found at the
fountain that was opened up for sin and uncleanness! That
cross erected on Calvary will save millions of the race.
Your only hope in time and in eternity is to renounce your
traffic and come to God and live. Lock up your doors, and
say, "I am done forever!" I will take you arm in arm, and
we will march to the good world together.
Jones appealed three times to man's sense of love for his fellow man. He stated his concern for drunkards, "Here stands a man that will die by you, and will pray with you until you die." He appealed to man's love for children when condemning those who sold liquor licenses which made it possible for boys to be destroyed by liquor. "If you will arouse the conscience of the people of this town they will not debauch their boys for the pitiful sum paid for license." He repeatedly appealed to love for the family through illustrations where drinking destroyed the harmony, happiness, and structure of the family.

Although Jones did not use the word, restraint, he often ended an illustration with some reference to the removal of the curse or restraint of sin. At the climax of one illustration he said, "My God, sin is ruining this family!" When advocating that the women take a stand against alcohol he said, "I pray God Almighty that He and the good women of Tennessee will put this curse out forever."

Jones introduced a new motive appeal in this sermon, the appeal to justice and fair play. He pointed out the injustice and inconsistency of those who sell liquor licenses.

If a bar-keeper were to go to you and say, "I will give you five hundred dollars to make your boy a drunkard," you would spurn him from your presence; and yet for the sum of two hundred dollars you will give him the privilege of making your neighbor's boy a drunkard. You will not escape.

To illustrate that people should be more concerned about what is right than what is popular, Jones attacked reporters and appealed to the audience's sense of fair play.
When I am in Nashville I talk to Nashville, and let everybody else alone. I will never be as mean to you as you have been to me. You waited till I left town and then shelled me out. I don't know what has become of all of those correspondents that filled the daily papers. Why don't they sail in now? And if any correspondent sails in let him sail in over his own name. If I can get him up here and shake him you will see him hit the ground running. You can't shake a nom de plume much, though. I throw down the gauntlet and tell you to pitch in; and when you say I am a coward you lie from head to heel!

_Credibility._ Apparently Jones wanted to let Nashville know he was not a radical with irrational ideas, but that he was a fundamental southern preacher who presented his religion in a bold and striking manner. In order to show that he was honest and sincere in his motives and actions, he opened the sermon with a request for the Nashville ministers and every Christian present to pray for him and the service. To show that his integrity was not confined to the church and that the church people could not buy him Jones said, "There are whiskey men to whom I would go for a favor rather than to many members of the Church. A fellow can 'Brother' me around till he thinks I belong to him."

Jones emphasized his sagacity and common sense on several occasions. His second point was introduced with, "We will be practical at the expense of everything except truth." Jones revealed his common sense three times by refusing to become involved in theological controversy. He side-stepped the issue of the truth of the Bible and still stated his idea, "Whether the Bible is true or not, we know that sin will ruin men." He used the same technique to avoid the controversial theological topic of human depravity. "Some of us say we believe in total depravity, and some in partial depravity. You know you have
downright damnation in you, and that ought to satisfy the most greedy on that subject." Jones defended his refusal to become involved in theological problems by separating the Bible and "faith in Christ" from theology.

There is many a fellow that has studied theology until he knows theology, but he doesn't know anything else in the universe. He is fit for heaven but not fit for earth. I am no theologian; I cannot be tried by theological rules, but you may try me by this book. It is not necessary to swallow John Calvin's creed to be saved; it is faith in Christ, and not in the creed, that saves the soul.

Jones sought to identify with his audience by sharing the basis of his knowledge of sin. "I think I know something about what sin is. I know practically what sin is, and what it will do for a fellow, too. I have been there."

Jones emphasized his good will by repeatedly expressing his concern for drunkards and reminding them he had been a drunkard. He acknowledged that they possessed some good characteristics, however. "There is not a whiskey man in this town that I would not do good. Some of you have done me favors that I can never forget." Jones never portrayed himself as superior and never took personal credit for the improvements which occurred in his life.

**Style.** Although Sam Jones' speech was honest and blunt, it possessed little of the slang and name-calling which his earlier appearance in Nashville and the tone of the intervening newspaper articles had led the people to expect. Apparently he was trying to disarm some of the previous month's criticism. The nearest he came
to slang and name-calling was in his criticism of city officials who sell liquor licenses.

"I signed that as mayor!" Yes, when you sink down into hell tell them, "Here goes a mayor!" I reckon it will be a good deal of consolation to an old hypocrite to know that he is there as a mayor; to an old pretender that he is there as a member of the council.

Jones embellished his arguments through the use of connotative language. He compressed many arguments into brief catchy sayings which could be easily remembered by the listener and the press. Books of these collected sayings were later published. The following sayings appeared in this sermon:

Hell is the center of gravity for wickedness; heaven is the center of gravity for righteousness. This is the lineage of salvation, and the lineage of damnation.

I despise theology and botany, but I love religion and flowers.

The natural tendency of sin is to take all the brakes off a man's moral nature, and turn him loose on the down-grade to hell.

Similes and metaphors were employed several times. A simile was used to describe the life of a good man. "The pathway of the just is like the pathway of the sun, higher and brighter as it rises until it shall reach the zenith on the shoulders of God." Sin was described as, "naturally destroying the sensibilities of a man, and leaves him as hard as the nether millstone." A metaphor was used to describe the sinful condition of Nashville. "May God come down upon Nashville and tear the grave-clothes off of this body of death!"

To set the stage for his final appeal Jones vividly described the physical death of a man. "I see he is passing away in the agony of
death. I look at the twitching and jerking of the muscles. I turn away in horror from the picture. There is the glare on the eyes, jerking of the muscles, heaving of the bosom." The strategy was for the listener to see the death of that anonymous person as a visage of his own imminent death.

Jones often asked a series of questions, using the same language in each question except for a key word or phrase. He also favored the repetition of key words to emphasize an idea. "Every willful sin of my life is a stab at my conscience, and we stab, and stab, and stab, until conscience expires and is dead forever." Repetition of a key word provided dramatization. "Tramp, tramp, tramp! the boys are marching sixty thousand strong a year into drunkards' graves, and into a drunkard's hell."

Assessment

Jones closed the sermon with an appeal to the listeners to rise and say, "God be merciful to me, a sinner." During the singing of the hymn, "Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound," "nearly everyone in the tent arose, and scarcely an eye but was moist, while many broke down and wept freely." Jones was so overcome with his own emotions that he "went around shaking hands with everybody upon the platform, all the while exclaiming, 'Hallelujah!' 'The Lord be praised!'" The eyes of the ministers surrounding him were also filled with tears.

34 Nashville Daily Union, May 12, 1885, p. 4.
35 Nashville Daily Union, May 12, 1885, p. 7; Nashville Daily American, May 12, 1885, p. 7.
In just two days of the union meeting Jones had removed some of the barbs in the articles written during the past month. The morning after Jones delivered the sermon, "Righteousness and Life—Sin and Death," a favorable article appeared in The Daily Union. The reporter claimed to be objective and just state some facts and traits of Sam Jones' character allowing, the readers to draw their own conclusions.

In the first place, the people of this city never saw a man before that did his own thinking and then had no policy at all in telling just what he thought.

In the second place, he makes the church members worse than the sinners. This pleases the sinners.

In the third place, his pictures of human nature and human action are so forcible and so true as to some mean fellow in the neighborhood, that each man knows they were not intended for him, but the bad neighbor.

In the fourth place, he is an earnest, devout man, possessed of wit, humor and the eloquence of earnestness.

He has, by a combination of memory, tact and strong common sense, been able to store away for use at any moment all the good things that have fallen under his observation in a whole lifetime. In other words, he is a man of talents, with the rarest combination of utility power.36

Sam Jones appeared to be exercising restraint, not in his objectives, but in the manner of achieving them. The skeptical clergymen could certainly find no fault in his condemnation of those who drank, sold, or licensed the sale of liquor. His reliance on Scriptural references, personal illustrations, examples, poetry, comparison-contrast, and hypothetical reasoning was no different from that used by other clergymen. Consistent with other ministers' sermons, Jones' emotional appeals focused primarily on the desire to delay physical death and avoid spiritual death, to gain heaven and avoid hell. He

36 Nashville Daily Union, May 12, 1885, p. 2.
refrained completely from the use of humor and avoided slang and name-calling, perhaps to disarm criticism that he was crude and coarse. The Sam Jones of May 12, 1885 did not appear to be the same preacher who had preached three "trial sermons" in Nashville just six weeks earlier.

Sermon: "Grace and Salvation"

Two thousand people attended the 6:00 A.M. service and the tent was filled to capacity for the 10:00 A.M. service on the third day of the revival campaign. By 5:30 in the afternoon hundreds of people were already gathered under the tent for the evening service. When the service began at 7:30 P.M. "the tent was crowded to its upmost limit, with people standing in the aisles and around the edges, and hundreds were turned away."37 One of the newspapers noted, "Mr. Jones seemed at night to be in an unusually earnest mood."38 After the usual preliminary services Sam Jones stood and announced his text as Titus 2:11-14.

For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.

37Nashville Banner, May 13, 1885, p. 4.
38Nashville Daily American, May 13, 1885, p. 2.
Line of Reasoning

Jones' proposition, "You should stop doing wrong and start doing right," also provided the exact wording for the third and final point. The central idea was "Grace can teach all men truth and make them do right." Jones utilized a topical pattern of organization when he arbitrarily selected three aspects of grace he wished to discuss.

Jones took all three main points from the text. His first point, 10 percent of the sermon, showed that grace is available to all men. The second point, 27 percent of the sermon, pointed out the purpose of grace, to teach men. The last point, 32 percent of the sermon, emphasized the sufficiency of grace and clarified the proposition, "God's grace is sufficient to make you quit doing wrong and go to doing right, in the name of Christ."

The introduction, 17 percent of the sermon, consisted of three distinct parts: (1) Preliminary comments expressing confidence in and gratitude to God for the success of the work in Nashville, (2) the reading of his text from Titus and (3) a discussion of the importance of grace.

The conclusion, 14 percent of the sermon, contained a dramatization of the death of an elderly church bishop who in his final breath shouted, "Bring forth the royal diadem and crown Him Lord of all." The evangelist appealed to his listeners to depend upon God's sufficient grace. The service ended with the singing of a hymn, "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name."
Forms of Support

To convince the listeners that grace, which was available to all men, could teach them truth, make them stop doing wrong and start doing right, Jones amplified his ideas with illustrations, examples, definitions, Scriptural references and hypothetical reasoning. Illustrations and examples provided over half of the amplification.

Illustrations. Approximately half of the illustrations used in the sermon came from Jones' own life and experiences. The remainder came from the lives of other people.

Jones used his conversion experience to show that it is possible for sinners to stop sinning. He also used his own experience to illustrate an idea which had been the basis of the sermon, "How Can You Be Saved?" preached a year earlier in Memphis. He said that before his conversion he believed but did not practice and after it he was a believer and a doer. His own moral and spiritual growth was used to illustrate the approach people should take to their sins. "At first I abandoned the sins I could get along best without; but finally, when I found that I was making no progress, I lumped my sins in one pile, stacked them on the old bridge, and stuck a torch to the bridge." In support of the idea that honesty is essential for the church member's influence, Jones said that after his conversion his debts hindered his influence and he worked until he paid them off completely.

To support his claim that "a man incased in his own opinions is beyond the reach of the power of God," Jones told the following story and gave its practical application:
See the old farmer in the house smoking quietly: a storm gathers, and a cloud loaded with electricity is overhead; the lightning strikes the rod on the chimney and throws itself into the earth, and the farmer sits and smokes as if nothing had happened. The gospel of Christ flashes above the heads of the multitude and descends with sin-killing power, and strikes this outside incasement of every man's own opinions, and runs off into the earth. The man walks out and says, "The preacher has his opinion, and I have mine."

Jones combined an illustration and a testimony to show that a person can have a positive influence on the world. During the reign of Queen Mary in England two men were being burned at the stake. While they were burning one said to the other, "Be of good cheer; we are lighting a fire that will burn round the world."

Jones emphasized the lack of honesty of church members by telling about a store-keeper who would not grant credit to Methodists because so many Methodists would not pay him what they owed. By contrast he complimented a group of people he called "Hardshell." A merchant denied a man credit but when he learned he was a Hardshell he called him back and said, "I will sell you all you want on credit."

Examples. To show that God must not only save men, but also make them worth saving he cited examples of people not worth saving. "There are old money-lenders in this city who if they were to get to heaven would not be there three weeks before they would want to set up a sort of corner-lot business." Jones used examples of man's failure to reform himself as an indication that an individual had not been regenerated. "There is nothing in grace that will make you a sober man with a quart of whiskey in your stomach. There is nothing in the
grace of God that can keep a man clean while he is leading a licentious
life." Job was cited as a Biblical example of the futility of quarreling
with God or with your condition of life.

**Definition.** All three definitions used in "Grace and Salvation,"
were designed to clarify religious terms. Grace was defined as a gospel
term which "covers all the blessings of the past, all the enjoyments of
the present, all the hopes of the future." Religion was defined as
"quitting the wrong and determining on a better life." Conversion was
defined in the following manner: "Conversion means to quit the wrong
and begin the right. Conversion that does not mean that I have quit
all that is wrong, and mean to hold to it, does not mean conversion."

**Scriptural references.** The Bible was used for amplification
only three times, including the initial reading of the text from
Titus 2:11-14. One passage announced the arrival of grace with the
birth of Christ, "Peace on earth, good will toward men." The other
passage amplified the idea that works were an essential part of
Christianity. "Show me your faith without your works, and I will show
you my faith by my works."

**Hypothetical reasoning.** Jones used hypothetical reasoning once
in this sermon. In proper syllogistic form it would read:

If your heads and hearts are emptied of all error you can be
saved tonight.

You can empty your heads and hearts of all error.

You can be saved tonight.
In the sermon Jones said, "If God will empty your heads and hearts of all the error you have packed away in them, I will preach enough truth to save you all tonight." Following the statement of this argument, the discussion focused not on God emptying their heads but on their emptying their own heads.

**Emotional appeals.** In this sermon Jones followed the pattern established in the first, appeal to the emotions through self-preservation and security of the spiritual life, the soul. The only other emotional appeal was to self-actualization.

Early in the sermon Jones appealed to self-preservation and security of the soul. "We are not only redeemed by grace, but we are born by grace, and we live by grace, and we are saved by grace." To show that the redemption of any man must depend on a gospel that includes all men, Jones said, "The world can never be redeemed by a gospel that excludes a single human being." Throughout the sermon he emphasized, "the grace of God that bringeth salvation will be sufficient to save you." The climactic appeal to self-preservation and security came in the conclusion where he told the story of a church bishop on his death bed expressing triumph over the world.

Throughout the sermon Jones appealed to self-actualization by encouraging people to "deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

**Credibility.** Apparently Jones felt that his best opportunity to gain the respect of the people of Nashville was to be less flippant,
more earnest, and preach a basic fundamental sermon on salvation. He refrained from the use of humor and assumed a more serious attitude. Four attempts were made to portray his character and sagacity.

To remove any misconceptions the listeners might have about Jones' conceit, he emphasized his limitations and focused attention on God.

I have no confidence in the permanency of the work of any man; but I believe there is truth in God, and virtue in the blood of Christ, and power in the Holy Ghost. If these divine agencies will work with us, there will be a work done in Nashville that will outlive the stars.

His character was also enhanced through numerous personal illustrations in which Jones portrayed himself as a man who realized the error of his ways and changed for the better.

Jones' sagacity was highlighted through a contrast of himself with R. G. Ingersoll.

Mr. Ingersoll says the reason he does not like this religion is because it is a bloody religion. I like it because it is a bloody religion; for without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. It is the cross that brought me to repentance, that makes me feel that I want to be better, that surrounds me with gospel influences, that brings salvation in all its fullness unto all men.

Jones also portrayed his intelligence and common sense in the following statement:

I say to you all tonight that some of the most cultured men are the most corrupt men. I would rather my boy have hardly sense enough to run a straight furrow in my field than to be as some of the sensible men of Nashville tonight. Keep my boy poor and honest, and let him die a fool.

**Style.** On the third day of the Nashville Union Meeting, Sam Jones began to show faint traces of the blunt language and name-calling
which the audience had expected and which he had used in other cities and in the three "trial sermons" preached in Nashville six weeks earlier. However, he still exercised restraint in language, reserving most of the name-calling and all of the caustic humor for later sermons.

Only five times did he use language that even the most sophisticated could criticize. In various places he called groups of his listeners "you compromising old hypocrite," "that old Colonel," "you babbling fool," and "the devil's dog." When emphasizing that God and the Bible should be the determinants on all moral questions Jones said, "The only way to tell whether a thing is straight or crooked is to apply the straightedge, and not stand like a fool guessing at it."

Jones continued the use of brief sayings which caught the attention of the listeners and also provided good newspaper copy. The following sayings appeared in the sermon, "Grace and Salvation:"

The Bible was not given to teach me the way the heavens go, but to teach me the way to go to heaven.

What is culture worth if it is but the whitewash on a rascal? I would rather be in heaven learning my A, B, C's than sitting in hell reading Greek.

Quit your meanness. You need not be skipping around the Lord with the devil's old musket on your shoulder.

Jones used metaphors to create impressions and convey ideas. A series of metaphors were stated to show what will happen for each individual who fails to get to heaven. "If you should fail to get to heaven, there will be a crown in glory that no head will ever wear—a palm of victory in heaven no hand will ever wave; if you fail to make the port of glory, there will be a harp in heaven untouched by angel
hands." He used a metaphor to show the deterioration of the church. "The old Church has gravitated downward until the world backs water on her."

Assessment

After three days of the union meeting Jones continued to communicate his earnestness, much to the surprise of an audience which was expecting more humor. He was exercising restraint not in the sins he was condemning but in the manner and language with which he condemned them. Two days after the delivery of "Grace and Salvation" an editorial appeared in the Nashville Daily Union containing the following excerpts:

The voice of the community, however, is well nigh universal in his praise for the courage with which he condemns evil practices and the boldness with which he declares the law, regardless of the station in life where the practices are found.

People love a courageous man, and this refined community, first settling that he is a good man, is enthusiastic over his boldness in speaking the truth. He occasionally uses such words as "infernal" and "old devil" about a practice or a man of intense obliquity, and he is the only man we have ever seen who could use such words in the pulpit without giving offense to cultivated taste; but he chooses the place to use them with such admirable skill, and then he so quickly turns from wrath to grace, and so completely hides away the ugly words with a warm and overflowing Christian spirit, that they are forgotten. Courage to tell the truth is his highest virtue. This, coupled with the mind of rare power and thorough training, makes him a great favorite.39

Increasing numbers of listeners were forming favorable impressions and the press was beginning to write more favorable articles.

39 Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1885, p. 2.
Jones was avoiding humor, gradually introducing slang, preaching in a serious mood, and amplifying his ideas through increasing numbers of illustrations and examples. He limited the use of emotional appeals and credibility. It appears that he was "testing the water" with only traces of the style for which he was known. Jones was leading the people and the press in his direction one step at a time. The approach Jones was using in Nashville was expressed in his own words to a fellow clergyman in Macon, Georgia in 1881. "A fellow has got to catch his fish before he strings them. I am just drumming up my crowd, and will string them after awhile."40

Sermon: "For Him or Against Him—The Best Wine at the Last"

As the revival campaign completed its first full week, changes were occurring in the attitudes of the ministers, the community and the press. Excerpts from an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Daily Union on Friday, May 15 reveal the increased support of the local clergy.

One of the most pleasing sights in the work which Mr. Jones is doing, is the outspoken sympathy and friendship of the entire ministry. At first preachers differed about his work and about his methods. Preachers are in some respects like other people. Some of them have in them a good deal of human nature, and rivalry sometimes gets the better of their Christianity. But in this case there was a real question, whether the new preacher might not tell too many anecdotes, and whether his coming was not a confession that the church organization was inadequate for the work.

But the new preacher has removed the last doubt; he has melted up their creeds and moulded them into bullets to fight the devil with, and when he turns round and tells them to say "Amen," they speak like they were all orderly Sergeants. They

40 L. M. Jones, p. 97.
have manifestly left off their several church uniforms and are marching under the banner of Church Union, with Capt. Jones for commander.\textsuperscript{41}

The unity of the clergy was gradually disarming criticism of Jones from the community. An editorial in the \textit{Nashville Daily American} on Saturday, May 16, indicated the increasing support Jones was receiving from the community.

The power of the man is shown in the success with which he has combatted prejudices against himself. Thousands of people in the city a week ago looked upon his coming as a thing of evil. Many of the ministers refused to join in the invitation to him. He was ridiculed as a coarse, uneducated sensationalist with no acquaintance with cultivated society.

And yet, after one week the members who reviled him are seen in early morning trooping to his tabernacle to catch his words. They gather two or three hours before services begin. Prejudice has been converted into popularity and admiration has taken the place of scorn.\textsuperscript{42}

So favorable was the community response that a group of Nashville businessmen offered to build and furnish a large home for Jones and his family if they would move to Nashville. He was seriously considering the offer but would not make a decision until he received a reply from his wife.\textsuperscript{43}

At the end of the first week all three major daily Nashville newspapers ran articles favorable to Sam Jones. The following excerpt is representative of those comments:

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Nashville Daily Union}, May 15, 1885, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Nashville Daily American}, May 16, 1885, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{43}Sam Jones to L. M. Jones, May 19, 1885; May 25, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, Box 1, folder 4, no. 312.
This strange preacher walked into our city and attacked the vices and immoralities of social life and the evil practices of church members like a frontiersman would fight a fire that threatened his fences and barns. He spares nobody; he palliates nothing because respectable people do it. Social amenities and a growing friendship between the church and people with doubtful practices are held up and exposed as the devil's handiwork.

We do not wish to be understood as sitting in judgment on the courage of the pulpit. We mean simply to say that Mr. Jones is displaying sound judgment and great courage, and at the same time a truly Christian spirit, in telling people plainly and bluntly of their shortcomings.

If this brave preacher had come into this city with a faltering step and then preached against the popular vices as he does he would have been run out of town. His courage and his honest purpose gave him the victory, and now the good women of this city are prepared, if not to fight his battles, at least to stand between him and all danger.44

On May 17 the Nashville Daily Union ran an article which attempted to explain how Sam Jones was able to "wake up the nominal Christian and arrest the man who had turned entirely away."

In the first place he don't [sic] undertake to explain what is inexplicable. The mysteries of the doctrine are accepted as mysteries just as the mysteries of life are accepted as mysteries. Instead of devoting his spare time to the study of theology, he has given it to the study of humanity in all its phases, humanity in its strength and in its weakness. He brings religion home to every man and applies it to his life, and the secret of his power is his knowledge of men and how to touch them. He has lost no time in thinking of creeds, his mind is not beclouded by controversy about doctrines, but he has traversed all the lines of a good life, and painted, while other men slept, the vices of his race. Religion with him is traveling the road that leads to heaven, and seeing that his wagon is mended every time it breaks down. He is more concerned about the trip than he is about the questions that will be asked when he gets to the end. But the greatest of all his virtues is his courage to tell the truth and make no apologies for it.45

44 Nashville Daily Union, May 16, 1885, p. 2.
45 Nashville Daily Union, May 17, 1885, p. 4.
As Sam Jones began the second week of the union meeting, most of the criticism had ceased, the ministers had unified in enthusiastic support of his preaching, the community was responding in attendance, and the press was printing favorable complimentary comments about his preaching and the revival effort.

On Tuesday morning, May 19, 1885, Sam Jones was too ill to preach at the 6 o'clock service but it was announced that he would preach at the 10 o'clock service. He apparently recuperated quickly since he had breakfast at the Maxwell House with Governor Bates and his wife. In the 10:00 A.M. service Jones preached to an overflowing crowd and announced a special meeting for 4:00 P.M. All persons interested in their salvation could meet any of the pastors either in their respective church studies or lecture rooms.

Shortly after 4:00 P.M. people began to throng into the gospel tent for the evening service. By 6:00 P.M. all seats were taken and when the service started at 7:30, "The number present was much larger than any night since the meeting began, and was estimated at upwards of 9000 people." After the singing of several hymns and a prayer by Rev. Dr. Joe Myers, a member of the Gospel Tent Committee requested, "The congregation occupying seats in front to vacate them immediately after the sermon, in

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46 Sam Jones to L. M. Jones, May 19, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, Box 1, folder 4, no. 312.
47 Nashville Daily Union, May 20, 1885, p. 2.
48 Ibid.
order to make room for the penitents."  

Before he preached, Sam Jones asked Rev. W. C. Dunlap to sing the same hymn he sang at the morning service, "The Pilgrim Company." During the song, several members of the congregation shouted and clapped their hands. Sam Jones then stood, announced his dual text and began the sermon, "For Him or Against Him—The Best Wine at the Last."

But thou hast kept the good wine until now. (John 2:10)  
He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. (Matthew 12:30)

Line of Reasoning

The basic proposition of this sermon was, "You should serve God."
The central idea clarified why people should serve God; "The servants of God receive better rewards than the servants of the devil." Both the proposition and central idea depended upon the audience's acceptance of an unspoken premise, that everybody is a servant to something or someone. Jones implied that every person's master is ultimately either God or the devil. He discussed several things, other than God, which men serve, but all were synonymous with the devil.

The body of the sermon was organized around a topical pattern. Each main point was introduced and stated in the form of a question for the listener to answer. Jones conveyed two ways each question could be answered, always advocating one of the ways as superior. The three

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49 Nashville Daily Union, May 20, 1885, p. 2; Nashville Daily American, May 20, 1885, p. 3.
50 Nashville Daily American, May 20, 1885, p. 3.
questions asked were: (1) Whose servant am I? (2) What kind of work does your master want you to do? (3) What is the pay? Points one and three received approximately 38 percent of the sermon each with point two receiving only 7 percent. The emphasis was more on the servant and the pay than on the kind of work to be done.

The introduction, 10 percent of the sermon, consisted of a reading of the Scriptural text, a brief explanation of why that particular text was selected and a clear preview of the main sermon ideas.

The conclusion, 8 percent of the sermon, contained three items: (1) Comments about how good the days of revival were in Nashville (past), (2) A statement of how much Jones looked forward to the future, both the immediate future and the ultimate future in heaven (future), and (3) A concluding emotional appeal for the listeners to make a decision (present).

**Forms of Support**

Since Jones was creating a situation where every listener must choose between two alternatives, being a servant of either God or the devil, he used a greater variety in forms of amplification. The listener would have to decide either to serve God or the devil. Jones relied on Scriptural references, illustrations, examples, poetry, contrast, myths, and syllogistic reasoning.

**Scriptural references.** Eleven times Jones quoted or read portions from the Bible to support his ideas. In addition to the
reading of the text, Jones used Scripture to state that a man can serve only one master, a foundation essential to all three of his main points. "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other." Removing any neutral ground, he asserted, "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." He further amplified the necessity of choosing a master by quoting Joshua who drew a line and said, "All of you who are on God's side, come over here." Numerous passages were used to show the goodness of the rewards which God gives to His servants. The following verse is representative of those passages: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard the things that God hath in store for them that love him."

Illustrations. The following excerpts which appeared in Nashville newspapers three days before this sermon also describe the illustrations used on May 19:

Mr. Jones rarely uses argument to convince his hearers, but deals largely in illustrations. He is a profound student of human nature. His illustrations are remarkable for their originality and aptness and are drawn from the most familiar things in life.51

What we would like to impress on the public mind is that his anecdotes and illustrations are parts of his fixed character; that they are neither idle jests nor impulsive action. They are used for a great purpose.52

Six of the ten anecdotes and illustrations used were personal in nature. As an illustration of the devil's deception Jones told how much

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51 Nashville Daily American, May 16, 1885, p. 3.
52 Nashville Daily Union, May 15, 1885 p. 2.
he used to enjoy drinking and cursing, but now he was on the side of God and the Church. He told two events that happened to him while preaching in various revivals, both of which illustrated a point. Late in the sermon Jones told of his mother's death and how it impressed him as a small boy. This personal story did not illustrate any idea discussed in the sermon and was apparently included only because Jones wanted to tell it. Perhaps he realized that any reference to death has a residual emotional impact upon a listener. However, the story was out of place.

**Examples.** Jones used three Biblical examples and two examples from contemporary life. He cited the experience of David as an example that, "The first cup the Lord ever gives a sinner is the cup of conviction." He made no attempt to clarify what part of David's life was the example, assuming the listeners knew all about David and would know to what Jones referred. As an example of the same idea Jones related particular details in St. Paul's life.

To amplify his claim that servants of the devil are interested in your money, not in you as a person, the evangelist cited the example of the language on a New York Club sign: "Here are whiskey and cards and billiards, but if you get drunk we will take you out." As an example of difference a change of masters can make, Jones told about a club member who, after being converted said, "I will give one thousand dollars toward paying for that building for the Young Man's Christian Association, and dissolve the club."
Poetry. Jones portrayed the beguiling nature of the pleasures of sin by quoting a poem from Robert Burns.

Pleasures are like poppies spread—
We seize the flower, the bloom is shed;
Or like the snow-flake on the river,
A moment white, then melts forever;
Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
Evanishing amid the storm.

The only other reference to poetry was a quotation of the well-known child's prayer, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

Contrast. The entire sermon was based on a contrast between God and the devil. He contrasted the type of masters they were, the kind of work they desired of their servants, and the pay they gave. The primary emphasis was placed on the wages they paid.

Myths. For the first time in the sermons analyzed, Sam Jones utilized myth. In revealing inconsistency in an anonymous Union soldier he inferred a superior righteousness on the part of the Confederacy. "I could never understand how a man could be a loyal Union soldier, fighting in the ranks of the Union Army, when he has a powder factory down here in the Confederacy, manufacturing powder for the rebels." To show the sad condition of a former active church member who "joined the hosts of God twenty years ago, deserted the ranks, went over to the devil, and is now working tooth and toe-nail for hell," Jones drew upon the emotional loyalty of the audience to the Confederacy. "What would you think of a Confederate soldier during the late war who, after having fought one month, two years, three years, took off the gray and went over to the enemy and donned the blue?"
Hypothetical reasoning. Jones continued to use hypothetical reasoning occasionally. He used it to gain credibility with his audience. In proper syllogistic form the argument would read:

If you fight you will conquer and be crowned.
You will fight.
You will conquer and be crowned.

In the sermon Jones stated the argument as follows: "Every day God whispers in my ears: 'If you fight, I will help you; and if you conquer, I will crown you.'" Although Jones did not say at that point that he would fight, he did say it later, and the implication is there that he will fight, conquer and be crowned by God despite any criticism or opposition.

In another place Jones argued that every man is a servant of either the devil or God. His argument in proper syllogistic form, would read:

If a man is not a servant of the Lord, he is a servant of the devil.
You are not a servant of the Lord.
You are a servant of the devil.

In the sermon, Jones stated, "If a man is not a servant of the Lord, he is a servant of the devil." At that time Jones did not state that his listeners were either servants of the Lord or the devil. He let each person answer the question for himself and in the light of that answer, apply the following comments.

Jones used the enthymeme of a disjunctive syllogism to convey the same idea as the latter hypothetical argument. "Let me tell you
there is no middle ground here. Every man, woman, and child is either squarely out on God's side, or he is on the other side. I wish we could get people to see that." Again, he let the listener answer which side he was on.

**Emotional appeals.** Underlying the entire sermon was the implied idea that judgment or pay day would come and the servant would receive his wages from his master. The third point focused on this premise and led into the concluding appeal. Beyond this underlying appeal, Jones appealed to security and self-preservation, love of family, self-actualization, and aesthetic enjoyment.

Jones reminded the audience that they should be on the side of right and peace before it was too late. Early in the sermon he said, "I want a fellow clear over from the dead-line, so that when he falls he will fall right." He returned to the appeal to security at the end of the sermon, "I hope every man who expects this side of the judgment-bar of God to make his peace will stand up here tonight."

The emotional aura surrounding the concept of mother and motherhood is especially strong in most people, a fact Jones used to the advantage of the sermon. He appealed to people to live right so that they would not disappoint their mothers and their mothers would not have to sing, "Where is my wandering boy tonight?" Late in the sermon he told of the impression his mother's death had on him as a small boy, concluding the story with the following statement:

My mother has been in heaven twenty-eight years, and more; but she is just as much my precious mother now as when she laid her hand on my little head and taught me to say:
Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray thee, Lord, my soul to keep;
If I should die before I wake,
I pray thee, Lord, my soul to take.

Those are the last words I ever heard my mother say.

No reason or application was given for this story.

Jones appealed to man's desire for self-actualization, to be the best that he can be. "Let us be true, and say: 'I will come out and serve my God. I will take a stand, and do it in the presence of God and men and angels.' Let us be men; and if we take a stand, let us die there."

Rarely did Jones paint gentle attractive word pictures which would appeal to the aesthetic nature of man, but there was one exception in this sermon. At the climax of a personal illustration intended to convey that God had miraculously removed fatigue from his body so he could carry on his labors, Jones made the following statements:

I went home, lay down to go to sleep, and the first thing I knew the breezes of heaven began to play over my soul. "This is glorious!" I sung in silence; and in ten minutes I slept under the breezes of heaven. These breezes are still floating over me. I never got tired any more in three months. That is the truth, sir.

Credibility. This sermon contained few attempts to increase his credibility with his listeners. As response to his preaching became more favorable and criticism waned, perhaps he felt it unnecessary to devote as much attention to establishing himself as a man of character, sagacity and good will. However, he did make some attempts at all three.
To reveal his sincerity Jones twice referred to his complete committal to God, once in the first point and again in the conclusion.

I say to you every passion of my soul, every faculty of my mind, every muscle of my body, has been on God's side from that time to this. If there is a muscle of my body or a passion of my soul that does not belong to God, I am willing to dispose of it this moment. O Lord, help me to be thine forever, and thine wholly!

Jones made reference to his judgment and common sense twice. He told the people that he was not surprised by the success which he knew would occur in Nashville. "Before I kissed my wife good-by, I believed it would be this way as much as if I had seen it." In the introduction Jones told the people he wanted to "preach to you just as if I had sat down on a log out in the woods to talk to one man. Let us reason together about the momentous question that brings this great congregation together night after night and day after day."

While attacking men and their sin, Jones was careful to express that he had no animosity toward the men individually. He sometimes complimented the sinners while encouraging them to stop their sinning.

There are hundreds of men in this town just as kind-hearted as they can be who won't take a stand. There are men who hear my voice this moment whom I would want for my executors if I were to die in Nashville. I believe you are honest, upright, and noble. I wish these men would take a stand for God. Why don't you?

Style. Three days before the delivery of this sermon, the following comments appeared in an article in the Nashville Daily American: "His epigrammatic sentences resemble those of Burke. They go straight to the mark like a bullet. Whole discourses are sometimes
embraced in a single line." Those epigrammatic sentences were usually highlighted by the press and remembered by the people. The following appeared in the sermon, "The Best Wine at the Last:"

You have lots of men in Nashville who are neither good nor bad. They are goody-goody fellows; they are not worth ten cents a dozen in any market in heaven, earth, or hell—neither on the Lord's side nor the devil's side.

You seem to be selling out to the devil for nothing and boarding yourselves. That is cheap.

I saw the Lord was holding the devil out here by the tail, and letting him kick himself to death, and I am mighty happy over it.

It is the devil's economy to give the best wine first. God's plan is to give the worst first, and it gets better and better through all eternity. The devil gives the best first, and entraps us that way.

Jones frequently asked questions which required silent answers from the listeners. One time he asked a series of questions so rapidly that the listeners could not answer them. This technique overwhelmed the listener, preparing him to accept the answer provided by the speaker in order to remove frustration.

What does that mother mean when she sings, "Where is my wandering boy tonight? Where is he who sold out soul and body to the devil, is ruined on earth, has broken his mother's heart, and wrung tears from the eyes of loved ones—all to reap damnation in the end? Is that so?" You ought to know; you have tried it. What does the man get who serves the Lord? What kind of work does the Lord want done? What is the pay?

Although Jones began to use more slang and name-calling, its use was limited. In speaking of those thinking about being converted he said, "I know some more of them are packing up to emigrate. God

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53 Nashville Daily American, May 16, 1885, p. 3.
bless you, 'git!'" In telling of his total commitment to God, Jones said, "None of your little tweedle-dum-tweedle business about me."

Jones' name-calling was mild; he characterized a man who is neither good nor bad as an "old goody-goody" and "the old carcass."

Jones decorated his sermon with occasional periods of effective descriptions and alliteration. "O these earthy pleasures, how soon they fade and die! Like the apples of Sodom, they turn to ashes in your grasp. Do not follow this ignis fatuus that leads you to beguile, and beguiles you but to damn." Using alliteration, he called uncommitted people "moral monstrosities."

Jones continued to employ similes. In describing people who belong to the club, he said they were, "like the old preacher who. . . .", and completed the simile with a story. He said that people who are neither good nor bad are "like those prohibitionists we have down in Georgia. They have a little cotton string, with a rib or two tied to it, and call that a backbone."

Jones used a metaphor when he told how good always follows bad experiences. "By and by God gives the cup of justification after the bitter cup." In discussing his hope of heaven he said, "My money is all in this bank, and, blessed by God, it can never break." Some of Jones' metaphors were lengthy as in the following admonition for people to not desert the church:

To me the saddest picture in life is that man sitting out there, who was once a member of the Church, who joined the hosts of God twenty years ago, deserted the ranks, went over to the devil, and is now working tooth and toe-nail for hell. What would you think of a Confederate soldier during the late war who, after
having fought one month, two years, three years, took off the
gray and went over to the enemy and donned the blue? There is
a man who once stood in the ranks of God, and now he has
deserted the ranks of God, and is in the devil's ranks belching
death into the ranks of God. Come back, brother, and God will
take you like a fresh recruit, and make you into a true soldier
of the cross.

Sometimes those metaphors would be extended as much as five or six
minutes.

Assessment

At the conclusion of the sermon, Jones called on all who would
say, "I'll be thine" to stand, and almost everybody stood. After a
prayer by Rev. J. P. McFerrin and the song, "Judgment Day is Coming,"
the after service started. "There were hundreds of penitents who
acknowledged their conversion to Christ."54

By the middle of the second week of the revival, Jones appeared
to feel more secure in his acceptance by the people of Nashville.
Attendance was continuing to increase and he had gained the support of
the clergy and press. Although he continued to limit name-calling,
humor, and blunt harsh criticism, he did begin to condemn social sins
more. In this sermon he was more general in nature and did not really
focus on particular social sins other than "being a member of the club."

In supporting his ideas, Jones did not depart from the types
of support and appeals used in the first two Nashville sermons.

54 Nashville Daily American, May 20, 1885, p. 3.
Sermon: "The Fruits of the Spirit"

During the second and third weeks of the revival Sam Jones conducted special meetings for men, women, children, commercial travelers and convicts at the Tennessee State Prison. From 9:00 A.M. Friday, May 22 to Saturday night, May 23 Jones visited briefly with his family in Cartersville, Georgia and preached at the Georgia State Penitentiary. Revival services were conducted by local ministers in his absence.

Sam Jones' popularity was continuing to grow. On Friday, May 22 The Daily Union announced that Sam Jones had copyrighted his sermons and sayings in order "to prevent misrepresentation by those who would take advantage of his growing prominence to publish a work containing his sermons and sayings alone for a monetary consideration." As the crowds continued to grow it became necessary for the Executive Committee of the Union Meeting to announce in the services and in the newspapers that Christians should remain away from the Sunday afternoon and evening services in order to allow visitors, those who work during the week and others to attend the services.

Newspaper articles continued to be increasingly favorable as indicated by the following excerpts which appeared in The Daily Union on Sunday morning, May 24, the start of the third week:

55 Nashville Daily Union, May 23, 1885, p. 2.
56 Nashville Daily Union, May 22, 1885, p. 4.
57 Ibid., p. 3.
58 Nashville Daily American, May 24, 1885, p. 7.
Two weeks' study of his sermons and their effect leads us to say of him, that he is preaching on a new line. The pulpit is much given to preaching against sin, but the new preacher preaches against the men that commit sin. He tells them plainly what they are doing, and he makes their offenses hideous; still these men, with their vices often known, cling to him and follow him up and become attached to him. The power of the man is most conclusively shown in making friends and followers of those to whom he speaks most plainly and sometimes severely.

No man, not even Talmage, has entered the pulpit with such versatile talent. The mysteries of the atonement, or of total depravity, do not give him the least trouble—he always talks about something he knows about and understands. His pictures of the good man, the good woman, the happy home, the road to heaven, lead men instinctively along. If an illustration with fun in it is the best, he gives it; but it is accepted as all right, because it was the illustration, and not the fun he was after.

We predict for this great preacher a bigger and broader field in the future. Nashville is a city made up of cultivated people in a great measure, and almost without exception they have, after a full hearing, pronounced in his favor—in his favor upon his work—for no man has made such an impression on this community.  

So intense had his popularity become that several days after the beginning of the revival a group of men started a movement to raise sufficient money to purchase a home for Jones if he would move to Nashville. The movement was successful and a formal offer was made in a letter to Jones on May 27, 1885. Jones had been aware of the movement and had discussed the matter with his wife before the final offer was made. He responded immediately to the offer with a letter which contained, in part, the following comments:

It pains me deeply to say to such generous friends, whom I love so much, that to leave my home and State involves more to me than I feel authorized to assume. My wife feels the same gratitude as myself, and her judgment has always controlled me, as her prayers have sustained me, and she, for reasons which

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59 Nashville Daily Union, May 24, 1885, p. 4.
control a mother's heart, with six children to care for in the continued absence of husband and father, is disinclined to the move.60

One hour before the start of the 10:00 A.M. service on Wednesday, May 27, 1885, two thousand women had already arrived for the second service for women in as many days. After the usual song service, a collection for the benefit of the Orphan's Home of Georgia was taken. After the collection, Jones thanked the women for their liberality and "prayed that the blessings of heaven might rest upon the ladies of Nashville."61 After Jones announced, "we will discuss somewhat the relations of wife to husband, of the wife to home, and of the wife to society," he began a sermon to wives, "The Fruits of the Spirit," based on his text from Galatians 5:22-23.

But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law.

Line of Reasoning

The basic proposition of the sermon was, "You should bear the fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, and temperance." The central idea told why it is good to bear those fruits: "The fruits of the Spirit in your life will make you a blessing to your husband, your home, and the world." Both the proposition and central idea depended upon the acceptance of an assumed premise, that the listeners wanted to be a blessing to their husbands, homes, and the world.

60 Nashville Daily American, May 28, 1885, p. 3.
61 Ibid.
In this textual sermon all main points came from some phrase or word within the Scriptural text. However, it had topical overtones in that the preacher did not discuss all the "fruits" listed in the text, choosing the particular ones he felt to be more important. In the first point, 14 percent of the sermon, Jones amplified the idea that the object of all life is to bear fruit. Points two through seven focused on individual fruits. It appeared that after his discussion of point two, the fruit of love, which received 44 percent of the sermon, Jones realized he had devoted too much time to that point and decided to reduce the coverage of all remaining points. Points three through seven received between 2 and 5 percent each, with the exception of point seven, which received 10 percent. The latter points were simply stated and briefly discussed or illustrated.

The introduction, 18 percent of the sermon, consisted of three items: (1) An announcement and illustration of the intent of the sermon, (2) reading of the Biblical text and (3) a contrast between good and bad fruit.

The sermon contained no conclusion other than one final comment: "God bless you all today, and ultimately save you!" There was no summary, emotional appeal, or call for action.

Forms of Support

Although Jones was speaking to an all female audience he did not alter his usual forms of support, relying primarily on Scriptural references, illustrations, examples, contrasts, humor, and hypothetical reasoning.
Scriptural references. Other than the reading of the text, Jones referred to the Bible only twice. To support the need for bearing the fruit of love Jones quoted the verse, "God is love, and he that loveth is born of God." In support of that same idea Jones said when he gets to heaven and Jesus asks, "On what grounds do you let him in?" he would reply in Jesus' own words, "I was a-hungered, and he fed me; I was naked, and he clothed me; I was sick, and he visited me. Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Illustrations. As the revival campaign progressed, Jones relied increasingly on illustrations. Forty-seven percent of the total content of this sermon consisted of illustrations. He frequently stated an idea in one or two sentences with the balance of the discussion consisting of one or more illustrations. With the increased number of illustrations came more variety and less reliance on his own personal experience as a source of illustrations.

Only two personal illustrations were used in this sermon. To show the reciprocal nature of love, Jones told how he had caused an unfriendly next-door neighbor to become lovable and friendly. "I went in there and turned the lovable side of my character to him, and he did the same to me." The other personal illustration, concerning his visit to an old colored woman, was primarily designed to gain credibility with his audience and will be discussed under that topic.

Three of his illustrations contained contrasts. To show the importance of bearing good fruit, Jones started the sermon with a
contrast of two marriages; a Christian young man with a worldly-minded girl and a Christian girl with a wicked man. Within six months the worldly-minded girl had taken her husband out of the church and the Christian girl had "brought her wicked husband to Christ." Later in the sermon he contrasted the approaches of two women in living their Christianity. The one preferred by Jones was the one who shared physical and spiritual food with the needy. His final contrasting illustration sought to teach that the fruit of love should be shared with all people, especially the needy, and not just the fortunate wealthy people. He told about one community's reaction to the needs and illness of two women; one wealthy and well-known, the other poor and alone. Much help was offered to the wealthy woman, but none to the poor woman who really needed it. He ended the illustration with the statement, "If you can't help but one family in town, let that be the family which needs the help. I have got a profound contempt for folks who are always helping folks that don't need any help."

Jones established the basis of his sermon with an extended illustration to amplify his first point; the basis of all life is to bear fruit. He described in detail how the oak tree and apple tree form, nurture, and mature their respective fruit, their ultimate objective. At the end of the extended multiple illustration, he applied it to the Christian life by saying that the objective of the Christian is the maturation of Christian fruit.

One of Jones' illustrations incorporated a story and a quotation from Henry Ward Beecher. When Beecher inquired whether the horse pulling
his buggy was gentle the reply was, "Yes, sir; he is not afraid of anything in the world, and he will work anywhere." Beecher replied, "I wish I had one member in my church like that—not afraid of anything, and will work anywhere." Beecher's statement served as the springboard for Jones to advocate the fruit of gentleness. The total development of that main point was based on Beecher's statement and Jones' parallel between horses pulling a buggy and people working in the church.

Through illustration Jones countered a charge that he did not believe in the social life. He created and acted out a dialogue to show that the people making the charge are the ones who do not believe in the social life.

Take McKendree Church: there are about a dozen members who have a visiting acquaintance with you. For the rest you care nothing, and they care nothing for you. When all you members of that Church get to heaven the angels will have to introduce you. "This is Mrs. So and So, a member of McKendree Church." "Why, I am a member of that Church!" "Are you a member of that Church? I never knew you." You are going to keep the angels mighty busy introducing you to each other.

At the end of a brief discussion of the fruit of temperance, Jones realized he had been preaching over an hour but added, "before I sit down I want to say just one word about card-playing." He followed with an illustration about a young man who came to his revival in Chattanooga and was converted, after he could find no one in his family to play cards with. The illustration applied more to abstinence than to temperance since Jones condemned all forms and degrees of card-playing. It appeared to be a story he wanted to tell as an after thought but which really did not fit the central idea of the sermon.
Examples. With the increase in illustrations came a decrease in examples. He claimed that husbands do not want to spend their evenings at home because their wives are not joyous and cheerful. He used his wife as an example of a cheerful woman who caused him to want to spend his evenings at home. "Here is a man whose wife never got after him for not spending his evenings at home. I am a sort of fellow that wants to be with his wife. She is the most lovable being in this world to me. A cheerful wife is a blessing to any man."

Contrasts. In addition to contrasts within illustrations Jones utilized contrast in the selection of his Scriptural text and in the description of people's reaction to others. Before reading his text from Galatians 5:22-23, the fruits of the Spirit, he set the stage for a sharp contrast by reading the preceding verses 19 through 21 which listed the works of the flesh as, "lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like." Those who participate in those things "shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Jones stated, "This is one side of the subject clearly presented. The other side is this . . ." The text was then read, listing the fruits of the Spirit. When discussing the fruit of love Jones amplified the reciprocal causal relation through a contrast. "You turn the lovable side of your character on everybody else, and everybody will love you. You turn the unlovable side of your character to everyone, and they will do the same."
Humor. Much of the humor of Sam Jones is apparently lost in print. Editorials and newspaper articles leave little doubt that Jones utilized humor, but analysis of sermons reveals only occasional wit. Two days before the delivery of this particular sermon, the following comments appeared in an article in The Daily Union:

The sermon yesterday was a fine illustration of the most extraordinary feature of his character. The audience enjoyed his wit, appreciated his argument and loved him for his fervid and truly Christian spirit.

Upon leaving the tent yesterday the wonder of the thinking man was that he could enjoy so much fun at church and yet be so thoroughly impressed with the truly pious and Christian character of the preacher.

Humor and wit in the pulpit on a large scale, indeed, as in this instance, to such an extent as to keep the audience laughing much of the time, are not usually concomitants of a Christian spirit. But in this man humor does not detract from his Christian character; in fact, the more one sees of him the more he admires him as a truly pious Christian minister.62

Most of the humor in this sermon was based on exaggeration. Jones gained good will with his audience through the following humorous description: "If you will find me a man on the face of the earth I don't love, and bring him here to me, I will hug him till he howls."

Some of his humor was found in exaggerated metaphors which will be discussed under that subject.

Hypothetical reasoning. Jones continued the use of the form of hypothetical reasoning, introducing numerous statements with "if."

Most of these statements indicated that if one thing is true then another is likewise true. Jones almost always let the listeners provide

the minor premise and the conclusion. The following are examples of hypothetical statements made in this sermon:

If you can't help but one family in town, let that be the family which needs the help.

If the spirit of love can control us, then we are made up for all worlds, for time and eternity.

If you will help everybody else the Lord will help you.

If there is anything in this world a man craves it is a joyous, cheerful home.

If you want to conquer your husband you let him do his own quarreling, and you just sit right still and keep your mouth shut.

If there is a human being on the face of the earth that I hate with an inveterate hatred it is a French dancing-master.

Emotional appeals. An analysis of the content of this sermon to wives reveals few attempts at emotional appeals. The nature, themes, and content of many of the illustrations aroused emotions as people identified with the characters in the stories. In any sermon, references to God, the Bible and religion contain an undercurrent of pathos in the minds of the listener. When Jones ended his discussion of the fruit of temperance with a simple prayer, emotion was automatically evoked. "Lord God of heaven and earth, help us to help our children to heaven by all that is temperate and good." This prayer heightened the appeal to love of children, a strong motive appeal to an audience of predominantly middle-aged mothers.

In the introductory illustration about the influence of the wife in determining the destiny of the family, Jones appealed to the
desire for eternal security. "The gay and giddy girl had taken her husband out of the Church, and he was going arm in arm with her to hell." One sentence later he repeated, "That worldly girl had her husband out of the Church, and they were walking together to death and hell."

The basic central idea of the sermon contained an appeal for self-actualization. "If in your life and character can be found these fruits of the Spirit, you will be a blessing to your husband, and blessing to your home, and a blessing to the world." In the introduction he also said, "I can tell you what we want in this world: wives with pure hearts and pure spirits; and then their lives and characteristics, as they touch all around them, will be salutary for good, and only good."

Credibility. With the ministers, press, and community on his side it was no longer necessary for Jones to place as much importance on enhancing his credibility with the people of Nashville. However, since Jones spoke so much out of his experience, it was probably impossible to completely remove all reference toward credibility. Ethical appeals were always present, whether the preacher intended them as such or not.

Jones enhanced his character and good will by ending an illustration of his visit with an elderly Negro woman with her own words, "God bless Mars Sam! He is always like an angel when he comes here; and if I ever get to heaven I will tell the angels how good he is to me." Condemning people who pay someone to teach their children to dance, Jones emphasized his own character by saying, "I will never
deliberately turn my children over to any man and pay him by the month to train them up for damnation."

Jones showed his good will toward the women by assuming a position on women's rights different from most men. "God hasten the time when a woman will get as much for the same work as a man!" That was a startling position for a public figure to take in 1885, but it certainly gained support from his female audience. He heightened that good will when he told the women they could get their own way with men by crying.

There is not a woman who can't break her husband down if she will only try. You begin to argue with him, and he will argue back; and he can beat you, generally. You go demanding something and he will demand something back. But leave everything else and begin crying, and he will say: "Now you hush crying, and I will do anything in the world for you. I can't stand that crying business."

**Style.** Jones continued to use metaphors and similes. To show that a bad person bears bad fruit and a good person bears good fruit, Jones paraphrased a Scriptural metaphor. "The Scriptures teach me that a bad tree cannot bring forth good fruit; neither can a good tree bring forth bad fruit. It also teaches me that no salt fountain can send forth fresh water; neither can a fresh fountain send forth salt water."

On that same subject he combined a metaphor with a simile. "Just as the ultimatum of all vegetation is the matured fruit, so the ultimatum of Christian life is the maturing of Christian fruitage." Later in the sermon he used a humorous metaphor to condemn "Sunday morning eleven o'clock Christians." The metaphor was based on the image of a horse hooked to a buggy. "If you were to hitch them up to a prayer-meeting
they would run away. If you were to hitch one of them up to family prayers he would kick the buggy all to pieces."

Jones continued to state short sayings which could be easily remembered. In Nashville they were copyrighted and were in the process of being published in book form. The following were spoken in this sermon:

I have known a long time that I must be something in order that I may do something. The Scriptures teach me clearly that my life can never be better than my heart.

Let me tell you that a man is known by the company he keeps, and his books are as much his company as anything else. You will never get over a bad book. Let us go home and make a big bonfire and burn up everything in the house that is not clean.

I would put my children in the coils of the worms of the Nile before I would put them in the hands of a French dancing-master. There is not a bar-room on the face of the earth that is doing as much harm as a dancing-master.

Jones used an occasional ministerial term. He sometimes began a statement with a term like "Bless your life." Also he would repeat a word in isolation to place emphasis upon it. In the middle of his discussion of the fruit of love he said, "Love, love!" There was probably a difference in energy in the delivery of those two words. A series of statements would sometimes begin with the same phrase. "I love a woman who can mix with any society, while her presence purifies all the elements. I love a woman who not only mixes in the best society, but in whose presence the poorest laboring woman feels at home."

Probably aware that women were sensitive and might be offended by his language more than men, Jones tempered the bluntness
of his language and generally avoided name-calling. However, there were a few instances of harsh language. He said that any man who said a woman should receive no more than fifty cents a day for her work, "ought to be in hell, I don't care who he is." In reference to a dancing-master he said, "I would not wipe my feet on the rotten rascal!" He called Sunday morning Christians "striped buggy fellows" because they would not commit themselves to any task unless it was as easy as pulling a "light striped buggy."

Assessment

With growing success and confidence Sam Jones entered the third week of the revival amidst a schedule of special services for particular elements in the audience. When he preached "Fruits of the Spirit" he had already conducted one successful service for women. This sermon appeared to be different from most of the other ones analyzed. Early in the sermon he observed, "We propose to discuss this text this morning in a practical way." Jones was just talking to the women, giving them advice about their own characters, and allowing the flow of the service to dictate what ideas to discuss and how long to discuss each one. Therefore it was not necessary to give each point equal coverage. The absence of a concluding appeal or call for action indicated he stopped because time was exhausted, not because he had finished the sermon.

Jones supported and amplified his ideas through Scriptural references, illustrations, examples, contrasts, humor, hypothetical reasoning, emotional appeals, credibility, and the use of figurative language.
Sermon: "God's Calls and Man's Calamities"

Notwithstanding the rain, the gospel tent was again filled to capacity for the fourth service of the day, May 27, 1885. After the usual song service and a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Bryson, Sam Jones began his sermon, "God's Calls and Man's Calamities," based on the text from Proverbs 1:24-26.

Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh.

**Line of Reasoning**

The proposition of the sermon was, "You should answer God's effectual call to action." The central idea could be stated, "God calls you to action in many ways." Both the proposition and central idea depended on a premise which Jones stated early in the sermon, "God not only wills the salvation of all men, but He has provided salvation for all men."

This highly evangelistic sermon was structured around a topical pattern of organization. From many possibilities the preacher selected four ways in which God calls. The text did not provide the main points, nor were the selected points comprehensive. Jones said that God calls through the Bible, the Spirit, the Ministry, and through Providences. Point one received 3 percent of the sermon, point two 4 percent, point three 13 percent, and point four received 32 percent. Jones moved from the general and abstract to the particular and personal as his last point, providences, focused on the call of God through the spirits of
lost people in hell, sickness and affliction, the presence of the people
in the gospel tent, their occupations, and nature.

The introduction, 28 percent of the sermon, consisted of three
items: (1) Preliminary remarks, (2) reading of the text and (3) the
establishment of the foundation of the sermon, that God calls men to
action.

The conclusion, 20 percent of the sermon, contained a lengthy
emotional appeal to gain eternal security by responding to the call of
God. The initial response desired was to come forward during the
singing of the invitation.

Forms of Support

As Jones approached the end of the union meeting, he continued
to use the same forms of support as in other sermons, but in different
degrees. He relied on Scriptural references, illustrations, examples,
humor, syllogistic reasoning, emotional appeals, credibility, and
figurative language.

Scriptural references. Jones repeated passages of Scripture
seven times, including three references to his text. The necessity of
responding in some way to the calls of God was supported by the following
verses: "Choose whom you will serve. If God, serve him, if Baal, serve
him." To appeal to the desire for security and to support his claim
that lost souls in hell call to men to accept God, he quoted the words
of Dives as he cried out from hell, "If there is no help for me, send
Lazarus back, that my brothers may not come here also." In his
concluding peroration Jones attempted to show the tragedy of refusing the call of God. "O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not!" "I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh."

Illustrations. Sam Jones used twelve illustrations in this sermon, four coming from his own experiences. One of the personal illustrations concerned Jones' role in the conversion of an old man at one of his services. In praise of ministers who serve as the instruments of the call of God, Jones reminisced about his boyhood days when he listened to worthy preachers who sent him away conscience-stricken. As an illustration of God's call through affliction, he cited his experience of the death of one of his children and concluded with, "but I am a better father and a better husband because I have a babe in heaven."

To show the necessity of decision and action Jones stated that buying a boy land and mules will not make him a farmer unless he wants to be a farmer. Buying books for a boy will not make him a lawyer unless he decides to read the books. To describe what it means to be effectually called he used a transportation illustration, concluding with, "Every fellow who gets aboard is effectually called sure enough, and you fellows who do not get aboard are not; that is all, and that settles it." He returned to another transportation illustration to show how God calls us through his providence. A man missed his train because he left his pocket-book at home and the train wrecked, killing many people.
"God's providence shields us that way very often, when we know nothing about it."

Jones used several illustrations to arouse the emotions of the audience in the conclusion. He related the story of two men who walked away from a village one Sabbath morning, while the notes of the pealing church bell gradually faded into silence. "The Gospel is being preached all over this land, but its notes have ceased to reach your ear forever."

His final illustration showed the tragedy of man's calamities when he ceases to heed the calls of God. He told about a father who provided the best of affection, worldly goods and education for his son, only to have the son become an alcoholic. In the depths of the son's dissipation the father gave up on him and said, "Leave here forever; you are no longer my son!" The implication was that for his listeners it was not yet too late to avoid that calamity.

**Examples.** In support of his claim that virtually everything in life can be a part of God's providential call to man, Jones cited the following series of examples:

No poor drunkard ever died in Nashville who was not a call to every other man in Nashville. No poor gambler was ever ruined whose corpse did not look back on all other gamblers as a warning and a call to a better life. No fashionable woman ever died in this fashionable city, enamored of fashion and the world, whose pale face, as she lay in her coffin did not say, "Don't do as I did." No old sinner every died that the very atmosphere of the tomb did not speak out to every other sinner, "Don't die as I have died."

The only other example used was a brief reference to a story which had been developed as a lengthy illustration in previous Nashville sermons. The reference was an example of God calling Sam Jones through affliction.
"God took my father and that broke my heart. I had a broken and contrite heart."

Humor. Jones' serious evangelistic mood negated any tendency to humor, cajole, or entertain people into being good. The only humorous passage in the sermon came in his preliminary remarks.

I received a protest to the programme I suggested concerning the whiskey in Nashville. I said I wished it all could be emptied into the Cumberland. This friend protests. She wants it emptied into the lake of fire and brimstone. She doesn't want the Cumberland contaminated with it.

Syllogistic reasoning. The foundation of this sermon was based on an argument which would read as follows in proper syllogistic form:

God can help you only if you decide to be good.
You decide to be good.

God can help you.

Jones stated the major premise, and tried to persuade the listeners to decide and act upon the minor premise with the conclusion automatically following. In the sermon the argument was stated, "God himself stands powerless in your presence until he can get you to decide some questions. Until you conclude to be good, he is as powerless to save you as I am."

He used a disjunctive syllogism to encourage the audience to act immediately. In proper form it would read:

Either you will decide for God on the basis of your present understanding or you will decide against God.

You will not decide against God.

You will decide for God on the basis of your present understanding.
In the sermon the argument was stated: "God will never put any more pressure on the means of grace; he will never bring any more to bear from heaven. You have to decide with present influence and grace, or leave it undecided, which is to die forever."

**Hypothetical reasoning.** Jones continued to introduce numerous statements with the word, "if."

If you were to read and ponder only one call a day, it would take you one year to get through that Book (Bible). If that were the only call we had, we all ought to be good.

If he (God) ever had a hand in anything in the universe, he put up this tent. I believe he put it up through you.

Jones used the following abbreviated syllogism to show that man could not hide behind ignorance. In proper syllogistic form the argument would read:

If a man were called but could show that he never heard it, he might die with the sympathy of God upon him.

A man cannot show that he never heard the call.

A man cannot die with the sympathy of God upon him.

In the sermon the argument was stated: "You have heard these calls. If a man was called ever so much and could say, 'I never heard them,' he might die with the sympathy of God upon him."

**Emotional appeals.** This highly evangelistic sermon contained more emotional appeals than any Nashville sermon studied. Through repetition of words and brief prayers Jones appealed to the desire for eternal security, self-actualization, love of family and emotion.

The text of the sermon directed attention to security by repeating God's warning to those who refuse Him: "I will laugh at
your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh." Later in the
introduction Jones repeated the same words and added, "You shall seek
me, and shall not find me." "You shall die in your sins."

Jones combined an appeal to security and the promotion of his
good will when he said, "I like a plain, old-fashioned gospel that says,
'You are a sinner, and if you don't repent you will be damned.'" Many
of the appeals to eternal security took the form of rhetorical questions
for the listener to answer.

Now, will you be saved? or will you walk out from under this
consecrated place and go down to hell at last?

You are going down to the grave. Will you set clear and
beautiful and bright as I am setting this evening? or will
you go down in darkness and despair? Will you lie down in
the lake of fire?

Most of the appeals to security offered the choice of salvation or
damnation.

Then if a man dies he dies without excuse, and sinks down to
hell forever.

You need not do another thing wrong all your life; only refuse,
and you will be as effectually and fully damned as if you had
done everything else in the world.

I am going to ask every man here tonight who doesn't want to
die in his sins, but wants to be saved, to stand up and say:
"I want to be saved; God knows it, God knows it."

Realizing the power of man's desire to be better and accomplish
more, Jones appealed to the motive of self-actualization. One theme of
all his sermons was stated in the following words, "These calls mean,
'Come up higher.' That is the plain English of every call in this book.
A call from the wrong, and a call to the right." The role played by
the Holy Spirit in that call to a higher life was emphasized.
Every desire to go higher, every impulse to rise to a better life, every influence that leads from the wrong and toward the right, is put in motion by the Third Person of the Trinity, and is under his direct influence. By his Spirit he calls us to a better life. All the time God's Spirit is calling for all men to come to a higher and better life.

Jones also said, "every gospel sermon is a call to a better life."

Jones used the appeal to self-actualization as a transitional device to move from one main point to another. "God not only calls us by his word and Spirit and gospel, but he calls us by his providences in ten thousand ways—calls us to a better life, a higher life."

In the opening statement Jones tapped the strong instinctive sense of affection which people have for family members. "There are many requests here for prayer for loved ones. God knows their names, and who they are. Let us pray God to bless these loved ones." By appealing to their love for their children Jones encouraged people to be saved. "When God came into your house, and took that babe of yours and carried it to heaven, he said, while looking down on the grave, 'It can't come back to you, but you can go to it.' 'Yes, go to this lovely child.'" He appealed to love of family in two illustrations where the physical or spiritual loss of a child brought sorrow to a father.

Repetition has an effect upon the feelings of people, whether it be the repetition of a word, phrase, or prayer. Asserting that the Spirit calls people, Jones stressed, "He calls, and calls, and calls." Later he maintained, "O these calls, these calls, these calls!" In order to maintain reverence and keep a feeling of the presence of God, Jones often inserted a one sentence prayer into his sermon, "Help us, O God, to rush into thy arms and be saved!"
One of the strongest emotional appeals in the service came unexpectedly and without any effort from the preacher. While Jones discussed the providence of God in providing for the tent and the services, a message was delivered to the pulpit. Sam Jones asked if a Mrs. Chowning would go to the door where "a carriage was waiting out in front of the main entrance of the tent to carry her to the bed-side of a young lady who had just died and for whom she had been sewing." Jones continued, "There's a providence in that very death. That young lady was here last Wednesday night and had died since these services commenced." After the announcement created some excitement, Jones calmed the audience by saying, "Be quiet. God grant that she has gone home to God. On, may they first be saved who will be taken first. I could tell you a thousand ways which God calls to us." Jones had turned an interruption into a powerful emotional appeal.

Credibility. After two and one-half weeks of exposure Jones apparently felt it unnecessary to try to enhance the audience's conception of him as a man and a preacher. "God's Calls and Man's Calamities" contained the smallest number of references to his ethos.

In the introduction Jones made the following statement which implied a close identification of himself with God: "I declare that a man who can sit unmoved under such influence as God has brought to bear on this congregation for the past few weeks may consider himself invulnerable forever and ever." At the conclusion of the sermon he

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made a statement which indicated that he had given his best effort for that audience. "Now, do as you please. I am exhausted. I have done my best."

The discussion of Jones' third main point, God calls through the ministry, served to soothe any wounds which he may have inflicted on the clergy during the past three weeks. Some of his more explicit praises were as follows:

I want to say in behalf of every preacher in the city of Nashville: There is not a sermon uttered by them, there is not a service held in their churches, in which there is not truth enough to save the city. They are consecrated to God. They have called, and you have heard these calls. The greatest blessing a people ever had in the universe is a faithful preacher. You have them in Nashville by the score. The greatest blessing is a game preacher, who ain't afraid of man or the devil. You have that sort here. The ministers have done their duty.

**Style.** According to eyewitness accounts Sam Jones often disregarded grammatical rules, but those accounts also record that most of the infractions of grammar were for the purpose of popularity and to impress the multitude.\(^\text{64}\) Jones inserted a reference into this sermon about one person who criticized his grammar. "We have some very hypercritical persons in this country—born critics. One of these fellows said of me: 'Listen! he uses two negatives in the same sentence.' God deliver me from these spelling-book critics; these little fellows." Unfortunately most of those grammatical errors were edited from the newspaper articles and published sermons. The only

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errors remaining in this sermon were an occasional "ain't" or a sentence fragment.

Jones continued to use sayings for which he was becoming known through newspapers and books. The following occurred in this sermon:

I always said I believe whiskey is a good thing in its place. I believe its place is in hell. If I were there, I would get drunk every day; but I will never do it on top of ground.

God cannot help a man to be a good man until he decides to be good. The omnipotent God stands powerless in your presence until you decide some things.

Put that Bible in every man's house, and if there were no other means of grace in the universe but that book, every man who dies impenitent dies with light and knowledge forced upon him, and dies without excuse.

I don't mind being swallowed by a whale; but ain't it painful to be nibbled to death by minnows?

Jones continued to use metaphors. Instead of referring to the listener's present knowledge and understanding, he used the metaphor, "your present lights." He used the metaphor of war when referring to the function of the ministers in Nashville. "I will tell you what we want: every pulpit in Nashville to be a grand old battery, with every gun full of grape and canister." He used a metaphor to convey the need for the people to support the minister in his work. "No preacher can be an effective preacher whose hands are not held up by the better influences of the Church." Jones described human experience as, "the hill of life." To show that God calls through all occupations, Jones asked a series of questions and answered each one with a metaphor.

Are you a merchant? Do you sell goods by the yard? Every time you measure a piece of cloth for a customer God measures off with his measuring-stick against you, or for you, in the
eternal world. Are you a book-deeper? Whenever you write a line on that book God says, "I am keeping books against you." Are you a lawyer? Have you an advocate up there, even Jesus Christ the righteous? Are you a school-teacher? Jesus says: "Come and learn of me. I will teach you things that Socrates never dreamed of, and Plato never thought of." Are you a groceryman? Every time you throw anything into the scales, God says: "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin (Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting)." Are you a blacksmith? God says: "I have been pounding on your heart for forty years, and your heart has been as unyielding for the power of truth as your anvil to the blows of your hammer.

Jones followed the custom of most ministers who use anthropomorphisms to describe God. In order to help man understand some aspect of God's nature, an anthropomorphic term is used to ascribe to God some human characteristic. Jones used the following anthropomorphic statement: "O friends, if one won't hear the voice of God, can he not see the arms of God stretched out to save him tonight? In one hand is the bread of life, and the other is laden with the water of life."

Assessment

In the conclusion of the sermon Sam Jones asked those who would "give their hearts to God" to stand. Over one hundred stood, including a number of young men. A voice "choked with sobs" and exclaimed, "Oh, my boy!" "God bless your boy," Jones responded fervently. Before the congregation was dismissed Jones announced that he was glad to see that General Harding, an honest and respected man, had "given his heart to God and would serve Him the residue of his days." The crowd applauded. Penitents remained for the after service which followed. 65

65 Nashville Daily Union, May 28, 1885, p. 2.
day Jones wrote his wife that "our meeting is better and better. Last night was the best meeting of all."  

Sam Jones supported his ideas through Scriptural references, illustrations, examples, syllogistic reasoning, emotional appeals, credibility, figurative language, and one instance of humor. Most of the harsh language had disappeared and emotional appeals were stronger.

Summary

On Friday, May 29, 1885, Sam Jones conducted two regular services and two special services. At 11:00 A.M. he spoke to the members of the State Legislature in the hall of the House of Representatives and at 4:00 P.M. he addressed three thousand children under the gospel tent. Eight thousand people crowded in and around the tent to hear him preach in the last regular service of the union meeting. Late in the sermon a woman stood and shouted, triggering the same action by fifteen or twenty others. At once the congregation stood in a scene of wild excitement, but when Jones asked them to return to their seats, order quickly returned. At the conclusion of the service Jones had great difficulty leaving the tent because of the throng of people desiring to shake his hand. Almost completely exhausted, he finally exited by the back way.

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66 Sam Jones to L. M. Jones, May 28, 1885, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, Box 1, folder 4, no. 312.


On Saturday morning the evangelist preached a special sermon to 10,000 "colored people" gathered under the gospel tent. Later in the day he departed Nashville for his home in Cartersville, Georgia.69

Jones came to Nashville in the face of intense opposition and left it only after opposition was removed. The people, the clergy, and the press were on his side when the revival concluded. The press reported the ultimate attitude of those three groups.

Men who year in and year out attend to their private affairs, and talk only business, men who read books, and themselves dispense information, scientific men, professional men, on streets and at their places of business talk Sam Jones, and they go and hear him. Going once they go back, and each succeeding time they go away more and more impressed. Among themselves they discuss his merits and his powers. These discussions embrace any peculiar features of the extraordinary work. One of these is the fact that no police are needed at the immense meetings. At night, the tent being rolled up, they may be called outdoor meetings. Fully ten thousand people surround the stand, and yet there is perfect order. Nobody is watched; nobody is reproved. All prejudice on account of the severity of his language, the bluntness of the way of his illustrations, and the lack of clerical reserve in his anecdotes has given away. A strong prejudice created by some of the first sermons preached by him, has taken refuge in tears and prayers.70

The Pastors and Christian people of the various churches of Nashville have heartily cooperated with the evangelist in his labors, and while this is a season of salvation for sinners it is a lovefeast for the saints. Presbyterians, Baptists, Disciples, Cumberland Presbyterians, and Methodists, are all united in the great revival, their pastors sitting together on the platform in the big tent, and working together in conducting the exercises of singing, praying, and instructing inquirers. This feature of this wonderful occasion is especially gratifying to us 71

69 Nashville Banner, May 30, 1885, p. 5.
70 L. M. Jones, p. 147.
71 Ibid., pp. 154-155; Christian Advocate, May 30, 1885.
The three week union meeting produced numerous benefits for both Nashville and Sam Jones. Shortly before he left Nashville, Jones stated in an interview that there were probably about 2000 conversions in the revival. Others felt his estimate was too conservative. Six months after the union meeting the Presiding Elder of the Nashville Methodist District said that he believed ten thousand accessions were made to the churches in Nashville and within a one hundred mile radius of the city. Jones acknowledged that the audiences were the largest he had ever spoken to and could have been larger if the space had been provided.

In addition to the numbers of conversions, a significant impact was made on the community. Hundreds stopped objectionable habits such as swearing and drinking and the cause of temperance was greatly advanced. People from all levels of society announced their intention to give up their sins and live better lives. The following excerpt from an editorial indicates the scope of that influence on Nashville:

The conversions and additions to the church are not all of it. The work done by Mr. Jones here is in a large measure intellectual. By his wonderful combination of intellectual powers he has thoroughly impressed the thinking men and women of the city and surrounding country who heard him with the conviction that social, as well as religious reforms are needed. He has indeed

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72 Nashville Daily American, May 31, 1885, p. 2.
74 Nashville Daily American, May 31, 1885, p. 2.
75 L. M. Jones, pp. 154-155; Holcomb, p. 60; Nashville Daily Union, May 28, 1885, p. 2.
put our social fabric on a higher plane, and thoroughly impressed almost every good citizen with the belief that it is his or her duty to aid in maintaining this better social state, and herein mainly lies the permanency of this work.76

One of the more remarkable converts in the Nashville union meeting was Tom Ryman, a steamboat captain who owned considerable property including a number of steamboats which plied the Cumberland River. After his conversion he removed the bars from his steamboats and converted his saloon into a hall for religious and temperance meetings. Mission workers conducted nightly services in this mission hall, christened "Sam Jones Hall." Through the inspiration of Sam Jones and the financial aid of Tom Ryman, a large auditorium was built which came to be known as "the Jones-Ryman Auditorium."77

Sam Jones received many personal benefits from the Nashville meeting. He was offered a home in Nashville, but in conjunction with his wife's wishes, declined the offer. The Nashville ministers adopted a resolution of gratitude to Jones for his efforts.78 Newspapers from Boston to San Francisco gave space to "what is regarded as the most remarkable religious awakening which the country has seen for many years."79 Complete columns were devoted to the revival in such papers


77 L. M. Jones, pp. 150-151.

78 Nashville Daily American, May 31, 1885, p. 2.

79 Nashville Daily Union, May 29, 1885, p. 2.
as the New York Herald and the St. Louis Republican. The press coverage of his sermons gave him a fame far beyond that of his former life. With the increased fame came increased numbers of invitations to conduct meetings. In response to a reporter's inquiries about his future plans after Nashville, Jones responded:

Well, my plans are definitely made. They go till March next and carry me into Texas. I take'em in the order I shall go—Mississippi, Alabama, parts of Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, St. Louis, Baltimore, New Orleans and Galveston. I want to go to California in December, but I don't know about that yet. They have made strong petitions for me.80

Popular demand for his sermons and sayings prompted Jones to copyright them during the Nashville meeting to avoid pirating. The authorized edition of his sermons and sayings from the Nashville meeting was published in late summer of 1885 and sold for one dollar in cloth binding and fifty cents in paperback.81

Organization. Sam Jones usually had three or four points in his sermons but seldom exercised balance in the discussion given to the points. One point might receive 40 percent of the sermon and another point receive 5 percent. His own interest, the needs of the congregation, and time available probably influenced the degree of development for each point. Importance was placed on the introductions which received from 18 to 20 percent of the total sermon time. Variety was the key to his approach to the conclusion. Some sermons contained lengthy emotional

80 Nashville Daily American, May 31, 1885, p. 2.
81 Nashville Daily Union, May 22, 1885, p. 3; Cartersville American, July 7, 1885, p. 1; Cartersville American, September 16, 1885, p. 3.
conclusions, some routine summary statements with no emotion, and some contained no conclusion at all.

Forms of support. Jones relied heavily on the use of Scriptural references, sometimes quoting the Bible as much as twelve times in a sermon. Throughout his sermons he would repeat the text or a portion of it to support an idea.

Throughout the revival Jones used illustrations generously. As the campaign progressed the number of illustrations and proportion of sermon devoted to them grew until illustrations provided almost 50 percent of the sermon. He drew illustrations from the type of life he knew about and lived, not from literary sources. Almost half of his illustrations came from some aspect of his own personal experience. Many of his stories were heavy in emotional content.

Examples were used in all sermons but their use decreased as the illustrations increased. As he felt more confident in himself and learned his audience better he began to develop his examples into lengthier illustrations for the sake of additional clarity.

Articles and editorials talked about the humor Jones used in Nashville. The following comment comes from the Nashville Daily American during the revival: "His wit and humor are essential factors to his strength. The dogmas of philosophy and the crudities of theology are impaled by his wit, and his humor is so abounding that it crops out often in his most serious appeals." However, an analysis of his

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82 Nashville Daily American, May 16, 1885, p. 3.
sermons does not reveal that humor. It is probable that the humor rested more in the pronunciation, delivery, and audience rapport than in the content, or perhaps what was humorous to his Nashville audience in 1885 does not appear humorous to the reader of the twentieth century. Humor was found in only two of the five sermons analyzed from the Nashville campaign.

Jones used hypothetical reasoning in all of the sermons studied. He occasionally used contrasts, poetry and definition. In only one sermon did he appeal to myth, utilizing the Old South myth twice.

The press acknowledged that they could not adequately report Jones' sermons.

People who hear the great Georgia evangelist from day to day, and then read the newspaper reports of his sermons, complain that the reports do not do him justice; and this is true. No report of his sermons—even if we had the space to give every word—would do him justice. Besides his words, there is a magnetism about him which becomes a part of the sermon.83

One reporter described his language as, "pithy beyond parallel."84 He did favor epigrammatic sayings which could be easily remembered. He relied heavily on metaphors and similes. As opposition began to fade and he became more confident in the situation he increased the use of slang, harsh language and name-calling.

Jones' emotional appeals apparently rested more in his delivery than in the content of his sermons. The more evangelistic the sermon the more he used emotion, primarily appealing to eternal self-preservation

83 **Nashville Daily Union**, May 14, 1885, p. 2.
84 **Nashville Daily Union**, May 12, 1885, p. 2.
and security. "Be saved in this life and in eternity." He also used appeals to man's desire to improve and man's sense of love for his fellow man, particularly members of his own family. Minor appeals were made to justice, fair play, and freedom from restraint.

Sam Jones knew that his reputation was not particularly good when he arrived in Nashville to begin the union meeting. During the early sermons he gave considerable attention to establishing himself as an honest, intelligent, friendly person who was worthy of the people's attention and support. As his good reputation became more established he reduced the number of ethical appeals, but never removed them completely. In the last sermon analyzed the only ethical appeal was his praise of the ministers of Nashville.

Sam Jones' approach to and assessment of his work in Nashville can best be expressed in his own words as he responded to a Nashville reporter's question, "Do you believe that you are going to leave behind you much prejudice against your methods?"

I cannot object to criticisms of my methods so long as those methods are successful. Personally, I crave the good will of all men. But I have never asked for endorsement; I have asked only for cooperation. I might cover your question by saying that I thank God for all other methods than mine by which men are won to a better life, and for every church and pastor that is doing its work well in its own way. While a Methodist, I see much that's noble and good in all churches. I can say to you that the reason to my mind why the masses take hold of a work like this is because it seems to be a work of the masses. The question of reaching the masses has always been a question of room. Wherever I have preached I have had first to penetrate an intellectual strata in order to get at the masses. Humanity, intellectuality, has its mountain peaks and low vales, but on
questions of conscience humanity is a limitless valley, and is on a level from shore to shore. 85

Jones concluded that interview by saying that neither he nor his wife could explain why multitudes gathered to hear him speak, but that "he trusts that any hard word he has let drop will be forgotten, and that only his love for his fellow man will be treasured up against him." 86

85 Nashville Daily American, May 31, 1885, p. 2.
86 Ibid.
Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

Born in the South in 1847, Sam Jones went through adolescence during the Civil War, which limited his education. His drinking habit caused him to fail in several occupations, including law. A promise to his dying father to stop drinking changed the direction of his life. Shortly after that promise he joined his grandfather's church and was called to preach. Overcoming initial opposition from his wife, Sam Jones was admitted to the North Georgia Methodist Conference as a Circuit Preacher on November 27, 1872. During the next eight years he served on four different North Georgia Circuits and began to conduct revivals in the area. As he began to be more in demand as a revival speaker, he was appointed Agent for the Decatur Orphan's Home, a position which gave him greater freedom to conduct revivals, primarily in Georgia. He first ventured outside Georgia in 1883. With each new success his reputation spread until he gained national recognition and popularity which continued until his death in 1906. That popularity extended to the Chautauqua lecture circuit where Jones was a frequent participant from 1884 to 1906.

Although Sam Jones never formulated a systematic theology or structured social and political views, his sermons did reveal some of his attitudes in those areas. He sought to align the forces of God in an organized battle against the forces of evil. The forces of God were "born again" church members who abstained from a long list of evils and
the forces of evil were people who participated in those same evils. To join the battle against the forces of evil was the equivalent to conversion. His test of salvation was deeds, not words. In one of his sermons he expressed his concept of salvation. "It's a business contract binding on you. You do what God tells you to do, and then if God doesn't do what he said he would do, you have an issue that will bankrupt heaven in a minute."1

Jones monitored prevailing social attitudes in formulating social views he would advocate. He subscribed to and practiced the Protestant work ethic which said that virtue and hard work would lead to success. He condemned many of the popular forms of entertainment such as dancing, card playing, baseball, prizefighting, bicycle riding, etc. He did not think the negro should have the right to vote, attend public schools, or be a social equal to whites. He felt the woman's place was in the home, not on public jobs or in the voting booth. Jones devoted his greatest social efforts to the advocacy of temperance and prohibition, an emphasis in every revival. He felt that drinking destroyed the character of the individual, the family, and the nation as well as causing national financial instability and contributing to problems between the races.

Although Jones employed a staff of revival workers, he maintained control over the organization and conduct of revival campaigns. Numbers of invitations to preach were sufficient for him

to be selective about where he would preach. Prior to 1885 he remained primarily in Georgia, and went nationwide from 1885 to 1900, when, out of personal preference, he returned primarily to the South. All pre-revival arrangements were left to the discretion of the local committees. Revivals varied in length from one to four weeks, with two to four services conducted daily. Co-workers assisted in arrangements, preaching, prayer meetings, and music. Revival services usually ended with a call for converts, followed by a brief "after service" for those who responded to the invitation. The evangelist would not enter into an agreement on an amount to be paid for his services, insisting on a free-will offering instead. Revival offerings, Chautauqua lecture fees and income from various business enterprises made Jones a moderately wealthy man.

When Sam Jones arrived in Memphis, Tennessee on January 5, 1884, he was embarking on his first city-wide union revival attempt outside Georgia. He was faced with the difficulties of a January blizzard, cool reception from the clergy, and opposition from some factions within the city. Jones overcame those obstacles, developed rapport with the press, and inaugurated special services for men and women. So favorable was the response that the clergy and Sam Jones agreed to continue the revival an extra week. The Memphis revival prompted more invitations to conduct revivals outside Georgia.

The invitation to conduct a union meeting in Nashville was accompanied by more obstacles than the Memphis meeting. The clergy were more reluctant, and considered withdrawing the invitation at one time. Jones had to preach three "trial sermons" in Nashville to prove
his drawing power to the clergy. The press strongly opposed his coming, calling him too crude and coarse for the refined people of Nashville. After the first few services, however, the gospel tent was inadequate to hold the five to ten thousand people who regularly attended. The clergy gradually rallied around Jones and the press began to view him in a different light. The people of Nashville wanted Jones to make his residence in their city. Several thousand people made "decisions" in the services. His first book was published, containing select sermons preached in Nashville. Jones' reputation grew until he received invitations to conduct revivals all over the nation and in Canada.

When Sam Jones began a sermon he knew what he wanted to accomplish and how he hoped to accomplish it. Each sermon contained a proposition of policy which clearly stated some desired action from the listener. Jones let them know exactly what they should do after hearing his sermons. His central ideas told the listener why or how he should pursue the recommended course of action.

All except one of the sermons studied were based on at least one premise, usually unstated and assumed. Some of the sermons were based on three or four premises which were generally acceptable to the audience at a religious service.

Jones favored topical preaching and used that pattern of organization in four of the eight sermons analyzed. One sermon followed a textual pattern, one a logical pattern, and two an ascending pattern which led to a climax. The topical pattern allowed him the greatest freedom to pursue a topic according to his own impulse rather than be confined by the demands of other patterns.
Jones' sermons contained from two to seven main points with an average of three to four. Sermons with fewer main points tended to have more balance in the development of ideas. Sermons with a larger number of main points showed considerable imbalance in time devoted to the ideas. It appeared that Jones became aware he was running out of time and only briefly mentioned some ideas originally intended as main points. Jones expressed his views about organization as follows:

> We little preachers think that we are doing first-rate if we take a text and announce about three propositions and discuss them for an hour. But do you know that Christ in His Sermon on the Mount announced and discussed one hundred and twenty-five different propositions in the compass of half an hour.²

Emphasis was placed on the introductions which received an average of more than 17 percent of the total sermons. They usually consisted of some remark about the progress of the services, reference to the special music, request to pray for the services, reading of the Scriptural text, and a statement of either the proposition or central idea. Occasionally the introduction contained a humorous statement.

The conclusions were marked by variety. Some sermons contained essentially no conclusion as Jones closed the sermon with a sentence or prayer. Others contained lengthy emotional appeals for the audience to respond in some way. In length they varied from zero to 20 percent of the total sermon with an average of 8 percent to 9 percent.

Although the evangelist used varied forms of support to amplify his ideas, he generally favored six basic forms: Scripture, illustrations,

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examples, hypothetical reasoning, humor, and comparison-contrast. Every sermon contained numerous Scriptural references, illustrations and examples. Reference to Scripture usually involved a brief phrase or verse rather than lengthy passages. Sermons were based on a Biblical text which Jones always read or repeated for the audience. When Jones became more comfortable in a particular revival and gained acceptance by the listeners, he increased the number of illustrations as the intoxication of audience acceptance and rapport caused sermons to lengthen. Almost 50 percent of the sermons consisted of illustrations and examples, half of which came from Jones' life and experience. He favored wit and humor in the pulpit. "Why not preach the gospel so that it tastes good. I always like sugar in my coffee and salt in my bread."³

Emotional appeals are an integral part of most sermons and that is true of Sam Jones' sermons. However, it appears that his use of emotion rested in delivery and language as much or more than in content. At this point in history it is difficult to analyze the role played in emotion by his language and delivery. Only someone who heard him preach could accurately make that observation conclusively. It is obvious from the sermons that he did not use an abundance of overt, content-oriented emotional proof. The following emotional appeals were found in the eight sermons analyzed: security and self-preservation, self-actualization and self-esteem, love of fellowman, freedom from restraint,

justice and fair play, and aesthetic enjoyment. The primary appeals which occurred throughout virtually all the sermons were appeals to security and self-preservation and to self-actualization and self-esteem. Jones wanted people to avoid hell, gain heaven and be the best person they could. He expressed it as, "belief plus action."

While many ministers rely upon the nature of their occupation to provide credibility, Jones did not feel that sufficient. Since people did not view him as a "typical preacher," he apparently felt it necessary to be concerned about his ethos. When he went to Memphis he was unknown except for Rev. A. J. Lamar who had recommended him to the alliance of clergymen. Jones realized that lack of support from the clergy, press and people made it necessary to establish a favorable reputation as soon as possible. In all of the Memphis sermons analyzed, he repeatedly attempted to enhance his character, sagacity and good will. In Nashville he faced even more opposition than in Memphis. In the early sermons there, numerous attempts were made to increase his credibility. However, after the clergy, press and people began to support him, the references to ethos diminished until very few occurred in the later sermons of the campaign.

Consistent with his dislike of abstract theology and like for practical life, Jones did not want his audience to see him as an intellectual, learned theologian. He wanted to be seen as familiar with the Bible and religious matters in general, acquainted with practical religion as it touched the concerns of the common people in his audience. He wanted to be seen as a man who possessed "common
sense." Naturally, he wanted the audience to believe that he was honest and of high character. Attempts to enhance his good will were necessary to offset his condemnation of people and particular sins in rather blunt language.

People enjoyed listening to Sam Jones because they felt at home with his language. He took the language of the common man into the pulpit. This made his message easier to understand, but also opened him to charges of irreverence and coarseness. Although his grammar and syntax were better than the average person, he did commit numerous errors. Since the errors did not follow a consistent pattern, it is likely that most of them were intentional in order to better identify with his audience. They were the errors of the man in the street in ordinary conversation. The errors never hindered clarity and none of his critics suggested that Jones was vague or unclear in what he said. He defended his grammar by saying, "You may not like my grammar, but I am trying to get my style and grammar down on a level with you."\(^4\)

Some people felt that his use of slang and crude language was inappropriate. If it offended isolated individuals, it never bothered the audiences to the point of decreasing attendance. Although the language and name-calling may have been crude at times, it certainly added to the clarity of his message.

Jones embellished his ideas through figurative language, notably similes, metaphors, repetition, alliteration and epigrammatic

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 192.
sayings. He could paint effective word pictures as well as crude condemnatory descriptions. A St. Louis reporter described the effect of his style in an 1885 article in the St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat.

If you had a three pound package of dynamite in your pocket you would be very careful how you sat down, and who ran against you, and how near you got to a stove; for if you were not, there would be an explosion, and damage would be done. That is just the way those stores of conviction are protected until Jones comes along and explodes them. He discards the smooth words and rounded sentences of the pulpit, the muffled mallets like this one the people who meet in this hall use to call the meeting to order. But with rude-shaped words, hard, uncouth prose, as a steel-faced sledge, he smites those cells a powerful blow, and the man is all torn up by the explosion.5

Sam Jones' delivery was characterized as natural and sincere. Very little difference existed between his manner of speech and delivery in the pulpit and in conversation. Before conversational delivery was practiced by other clergymen, Sam Jones merely talked to his listeners, usually in a conversational tone, but in a way that captured attention. Perhaps that sincerity, which defies analysis, was a major asset in his charisma and success. At least one man believed that to be true. P. L. Negley, Indiana Secretary for Old Soldiers and Sailors, declared, "Frankly it is not your style, your eloquence, or your anything else, but what we believe to be your earnestness and your sincerity in your calling that so much interests us."6 Jones did believe and practice what he preached. He expressed his personal objective; "I want to be

5St. Louis Globe-Democrat, November 30, 1885, p. 6.

6P. L. Negley to Sam Jones, June 6, 1887, Samuel Porter Jones Papers, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
a true man—a man in the pulpit, at home, everywhere and under all circumstances."

Although he was a product of an impoverished and war-torn background, Sam Jones was not content to live in the poverty and anonymity characteristic of the people of North Georgia. He wanted to achieve more and have different experiences than his background and environment had taught him to expect. When success was denied him as a lawyer, he sought to escape failure and find new experiences in the consumption of alcohol. Verifying the idiom, "No man can completely sever his roots," Jones returned to his heritage through the trauma of a promise to his dying father to stop drinking. His subsequent conversion and call to preach joined with that promise to formulate a foundation of personal and spiritual acceptance and security. Rather than removing his desire to be different, to achieve, and be successful, those decisions merely focused the desire in the direction of the pulpit. Failure and alcoholism taught him the necessity of humility, patience and a period of learning in order to succeed in an occupation, but the avoidance of poverty, his inimitable cocky personality, and personal ego made it impossible for him to permanently or completely accept the role people normally expected the clergyman to fulfill. He decided that if he was going to preach, his sermons must be different from other clergymen. Since all preachers had the same Bible and preached to people with similar experiences, the only variable available for

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7 Holcomb, p. 23.
alteration was the preacher and his manner of presenting the message. Jones infused his unique personality and cocky self-assurance with strong religious convictions to create a moving, impressive, entertaining, sometimes irreverent message of the need for personal reform through acceptance of Jesus. For content he turned to the idiosyncracies and foibles of human nature rather than to theology. Paradoxically, the poverty and failure of the background he sought to escape became the source of practical, interesting, and humorous illustrations used in amplification. Jones' life was the primary source of sermon and lecture material. The humility of his faith and his self-confidence combined to make him appear earnest and sincere, yet have an aura of magnetic charisma. In a greater degree than most orators, he was his oratory. Even anti-religious people wanted to hear Sam Jones because of who he was, what he did, and the way he spoke rather than because of the basic message. When both advocate and opponent of the basic message were repeatedly attracted to the personality and style of the orator, his popular success became inevitable. Popular success bred increased demand for him to speak, which bred increased fees for his services. Although Jones had freed himself from the poverty and anonymity of North Georgia, he repeatedly returned to it for sermon content, and embraced the people, the social, political and religious values to the extent of refusing to live anywhere else. In his sermons and conversations, he frequently talked about returning home, and did so at every conceivable opportunity. Apparently that desire-avoidance dicotomy was one of his strengths.
Although his limited education provided little opportunity to learn the principles of effective speaking, Jones was not ignorant in that area. His demonstrated oratorical skills were learned and polished in the trial and error of personal experience and observation of what caused audiences to respond in the way desired by the speaker. Through exposure to varied audiences and situations in North Georgia, he learned to attract, shock, and woo both foe and friend. Adaptation to the needs of particular situations became an important key.

Before the media explosion of the Twentieth Century people found their entertainment in oral settings. Jones knew that if he could cause a successful merger of religion, reform, and entertainment, he could attract audiences. Almost everyone in a community was interested in one or more of the three. Jones' sermons offered personal peace, community reform and a good time, all of which could occur as a result of belief and action, the essence of salvation as preached by Jones. It did not bother the preacher that language and tactics designed to appeal to people primarily interested in one of those objectives sometimes offended those interested in another objective. Truth was often on one side and language on the other, but Sam Jones was always in the middle.

On the surface it appeared that Jones subscribed to the idea, "It doesn't matter what people say about me as long as they are talking about me." The early sermons in his revival campaigns were designed to make people talk about him because that increased the size of subsequent audiences and further spread his reputation. However,
Jones did care what people thought about him and usually succeeded in gaining a favorable attitude and response from the press, clergy, business leaders and local people. That enthusiastic response created demands for him to devote more time to reform lectures and Chautauqua lectures. Although he lectured extensively, every lecture was essentially Sam Jones' version of a sermon, a combination of Biblical truth, salty style, non-ministerial demeanor and practical illustrations.

When he stood to speak, he did not have to prove anything, because he was Sam Jones, "anointed of God to preach the truth," and the people were in for "a rousing good time." When opposed he always had the last word in the next sermon with his biting wit. What was lacking in quality of content was compensated for in wit, delivery, style, entertainment, quantity of preaching and sincerity. Popularity, manifest by large numbers of invitations, and results, manifest by size of audiences, numbers of conversions and civic reforms, were difficult to refute.

Once oratorical skills were gained, Jones became a nationally known revivalist and Chautauqua lecturer, and remained so until death silenced his voice. He took the revivalistic traditions of his predecessors, altered them to meet the flavor of his personality, demands of the situations, nature of the audiences, and speaker's objectives, and passed on a legacy to revivalists who followed.
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Samual Porter Jones Papers. The Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. There are approximately fifteen hundred items in this collection. Most of them are newspaper clippings. Some of the clippings are in folders and notebooks but most of them are loose and unidentified. The collection also contains several date and record books and miscellaneous typed and handwritten sermons and lectures of Sam Jones.

Samuel Porter Jones Papers. University of Georgia Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. There are over nine thousand items in this collection. Included in these papers are bills, receipts, advertisements, cancelled checks, clippings and newspapers, illustrations, pictures, printed material, writings, sermons, lectures, diaries, account books, note books and scrap books.

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Books


APPENDIX A
SOUTHERN LYCEUM BUREAU,
BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING, Cor. Third and Main Sts.
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

STRICTLY • A • SOUTHERN • ENTERPRISE.

PARTIAL LIST OF TALENT.

LECTURERS.
Abbott, Rev. Lyman, D. D.
Allen, James Lane
Ambrose, James Clement
Bakerton, C. E. (Illus.)
Brockbridge, Hon. W. C. P.
Bair, Geo. W.
Blakie, William
Broggs, Rev. J. H.
Burkitt, Dr. and Mrs. J. H.
Cable, Geo. W.
Carleton, Will
Copeland, Col. B. F.
Cutter, Hon. Will
Clark, Rev. T. F.
Davidson, Capt. W. L. (Illustrated)
Dougherty, Hon. Daniel
Eston, Dr. T. T.
Field, Kate (Ed. "Kate Field's Washington")
Graves, John Temple
Hodgson, Dr. James
Jones, Rev. Sam P.
Klein, Hon. Samuel Phelps
Lee, Rev. J. W., D. D.
Mann, Rev. Peter von Finkelstein
Miller, Dr. John DeWitt
O'Reilly, Max (Author)
Powell, Hon. J. H.
Perkins, Eli
Peck, Rev. Geo. H.
Ragan, H. B. (Illustrated)
Sanford, Capt. J. P.
Spencer, S. M. (Chalk Talk)
Stillman, Dr. (Burlesque)
Stokely, Miss. K. (Chalk Talk)
Taylor, E. T., Capt. Robert L.
Tuckson, Henry W.
Vincent, Bishop John H.
Williams, Dr. A. W.
Watts, Hon. Henry

READINGS & ENTERTAINMENTS.
Brooks, Fred Emerson
Carter, Capt. Wm. Page
Birchbeck, P. K.
Belton, T. C.
Hawes, Prof. T. M.
Lowry, Frederick D.
Lowry, Marie Hare
Merrill, Prof. A. H.
Pace, Thos. Solomon (Author)
Biley, James Whitcomb
Robertson, Kansas Combination
The Lowry Recitals
Williams, Nathaniel A.
Wilder, Marshall P.

MUSICAL.
Imperial Quartette
Kellgren, Chas. P. (Ilnd. and Whistler)
Mendelssohn Quartette Club
Metz Sisters Concert Co.
Mozart Symphony Club
Miss Edith Bond's Musical Combination
Mcklenburg, Harp and Saxophone
New York Symphony Club
Orch. Music Concert Co.
Park, Miss Anna, Solo Concertist
Park Sisters Concert Co.
Rutgers College Glee Club
Southern Lyceum Concert Co.
Swedish Concert Co.
The Linden Trio

* Lodges mean hotel bills, transportation to and from line of travel, place for lecture or concert, and license, if one is required. Each lecturer or manager is to be paid the amount before or on the day of the lecture or concert. No arrangement is made for lodgings in case of unavoidable failure in management, but will give a new date during the same season, if possible. Catalogue of Talent furnished upon application. Prepay all telegrams. Committees are invariably requested to furnish a piano for all musical attractions.

CABLE ADDRESS, "SOUTHRON."

Rev. Dan'l A. Jones Carterville, Ga.

Dear Sir, Can you give me a date in April for Birmingham Ala.?

Answer at once please.

Yours truly.

Southern Lyceum Bureau

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 22, 1893.
THE REDPATH LYCEUM BUREAU,

130 Teuton Court, Chicago, Ill., April 1, 1887.

To: Mr. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To: Mrs. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

Dear Sir: The Decatur people will have a Lyceum on Sunday for $3.00, $2.00, $1.00. You can locate them Sunday morning at the Decatur Lyceum building.

Yours very truly,

Chas. N. Van. 


To: Mrs. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To get to Decatur, leave O'Fallon after the lecture, 12:30, go through Bloomington in the Decatur Lyceum building.

To: Mrs. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To: M. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To: Mrs. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To: M. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.

To: Mrs. J. T. Jones, Dec. 1st, The Decatur People.
Dear Mr. Jones,

What are the best possible terms for the Piazza Bluffs Assembly near St. Louis, for one or two or three dates, in early August. Please let us know.

Yours truly,

Slayton Lyceum Bureau

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Nineteenth 1892-93 Season.

Chicago, Ill. Nov. 10th, 1899

Dear Mr. Jones,

What are the best possible terms for the Piazza Bluffs Assembly near St. Louis, for one or two or three dates, in early August. Please let us know.

Yours truly,

Slayton Lyceum Bureau
The Central Lyceum Bureau,

H. H. RICH, Manager,
ROCHESTER, N. Y., AND CLEVELAND, O.

CONTRACT.

Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 28, 1895.

Between the Central Lyceum Bureau, as party of the first part, and
Rev. Ward Platt, of Rochester, N. Y., as party of the second part,

Witnesseth that party of the first part agrees to furnish party of the
second part the following talent upon the conditions hereafter specified in this
agreement.

1. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
2. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
3. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
4. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
5. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
6. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________
7. ___________________________ Date ____________ Terms ____________

Total ____________

1) In all cases party of the second part is to furnish hall or opera house,
heated, lighted, and otherwise in good condition; also,
2) To pay the amount of fee as stated in the contract above, to lecturer
or manager on or before eight o'clock on the evening of entertainment; also,
3) Whenever musicals are engaged second party is invariably expected to
furnish a piano, in good time and placed in proper position on the stage; also,
4) If through sickness or accident the talent is not able to fill the engage-
ment, it is understood that there shall be no claim for damages, but a new date
will be made the same season if possible; also,
5) Whenever dates cannot be inserted in contract at time of signing, they
will be arranged as soon thereafter as possible; also,
6) Party of first part agrees to furnish lithographs or window
cards, and circulars free, but in no case will pay express charges
on such matter sent to second party.

Central Lyceum Bureau

Party of First Part

H. H. RICH

L. M. Platt

Party of Second Part.
This Agreement, made this— day of —— 1887— by and between the Wisconsin State Sunday School Assembly of the first part, and

WITNESSETH, That the party of the second part hereby agrees to promptly render the following services at the session of Monona Lake Assembly next following the date of this agreement, and at the DATE and HOUR herein named, to wit: —

In consideration whereof the Wisconsin State Sunday School Assembly, party of the first part agrees to pay the said party of second part the sum of —— DOLLARS and ——, the same to be in full for said services when rendered, including all expenses of party of second part, in connection with the same.

This agreement to be void unless the service is rendered promptly at the commencement of the hour named.

By ——, President.

The Bearer, having rendered the service named in the annexed Agreement, is entitled to an order on the Treasury for —— DOLLARS.

Monona Lake Assembly, Secretary.

Received Order No. —— for $——

For the Directors.
Dear Sir,

Your name appears on the Chautauqua Programme for the season of 1885 as follows:

**DELIVER THREE ADDRESSES**
- **TUESDAY, JULY 8, 9:00 a.m.**, "ABOUT VICTORY";
- **WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 11:15 a.m.**, "ABOUT UNDERGROUND"; **THURSDAY, JULY 10**, 9:00 a.m., "HOW TO BE HAPPY".

Please do not fail to meet your appointments, and unless for some urgent reason, do not ask us to make any changes in a plan so complicated and so extensive.

We understand that we are to pay you

**$100.00, AD JOURNEY TICKET TO CHAUTAUQUA.**

and that you are to pay all your own expenses of travel and board.

Inclined find a car to the grounds good for the time of your engagement. This car will be extended an additional to the Chancellor of Chautauqua.

Yours truly,

To

**J. H. VINCENT, D.O.,**
**LEWIS MILLER,**
**W. A. DUNCAN,**

**Department of the Assembly.**
EVANGELIST-ORATOR,
SAM P. JONES.

LECTURES:
1. Character and Characters.
3. Ravages of Rum.
4. The Battle of Life and How to Win it.
5. Get There and Stay There.
7. The World as it is, and the World as it ought to be.

UNDER SOLE MANAGEMENT
Southern Lyceum Bureau,
LOUISVILLE.
SAM P. JONES,

Whose fame as an original speaker, evangelist and man has caused such widespread talk and criticism, and whose good deeds are recorded and remembered by so many men and women and charities, will accept a limited number of engagements this season. The demand for his services is very large. We furnish a few comments, and could furnish hundreds of others, from persons and the press in all parts of the universe. Applications should be made at once, especially by managers of Chautauquas, Institutes and the like.

PRESS NOTICES.

The world famous Sam Jones, the noted Georgia evangelist and lecturer, was in the city last evening, to give his lecture on "Get There and Stay There," as the third number of the popular lecture course. There is only one Sam Jones. As a character he is so unique that his extreme oddity gives him a picturesqueness which is peculiarly and exclusively his own. As a humorist and an orator his lecture Thursday night demonstrated that he stands as a peer among the most brilliant attractions upon the American platform, and his striking personality is such as to give him a charm of which none but Sam Jones can ever expect to be master.—Alliance. (Ohio, Critic.)

An immense crowd gathered at Gladstone Park, last night, to hear Rev. Sam Jones lecture, and if anyone there failed to get the worth of his money, in the language of Mr. Jones, it was because he had no place to put it. If anyone there last night expected a brilliant oratorical display with fireworks and fringe, that same disappointment. Sam Jones does not handle that kind of goods. He is a plain Georgia preacher. He understands human nature as it grows in this country, and he is never so happy as when thumping the wind out of bombastic frauds, upsetting the fables of fashion and overturning the little mud gods which men and women have erected round about them. The language he employs is the cream of the natural dialect of the common people of the South, and he uses it most effectively. He did not stick to his subject all the time, preferring, as he said, to stick to his crowd. Now he would break forth in some bit of foolishness, driving home a fact or an illustration; again he would climb to beautiful heights, and about the time his listeners had reached the summit he would let them fall with a ridiculous thud.—The Evening Telegram, Portland, Ore.

Sam Jones gave his lecture in Irwin Opera House, Tuesday night. We heard Jones lecture in Pittsburgh several years ago, and was then struck by his peculiarities. He differs from all lecturers on the rostrum, being different from all in his style. He is bright, versatile andoriginal, has a remarkably easy flow of language, quick in conception of thought, sarcastic to the highest degree and has the best command of slang of any man living. All who attended the lecture were highly pleased with it and were highly entertained.—The Express, (Pitts.) Standard.

Sam Jones lecture in the Opera House Monday evening, under the direction of the lecture association, drew the largest audience that has been seen at any entertainment given by the association in the five years of its existence, and this despite the fact that the weather was
Rev. Sam Jones lectured at Centenary Church last night, and despite the fact that the weather was about as inclement as could be, there was a fine audience, and a very gratifying sum must have been realized from the lecture by the church. Several years ago Rev. Sam Jones conducted a protracted meeting at Pace's Warehouse in Lynchburg, and such crowds as gathered to hear him night after night, and day after day, have seldom ever been equalled by any assemblage in Lynchburg until last night. In the years that have intervened since he last spoke in Lynchburg, he has lost none of his power, and, indeed, to those who listened to him last evening, he seemed that he had grown even more forceful. The faculty that he possesses of attracting and retaining the attention of an audience is remarkable. When he speaks every person within the sound of his voice listens, and no word that he utters fails to make an impression.—The New, Lynchburg, Va.

Rev. Sam Jones lectured at the auditorium of the City Hall last night. He was not eloquent, but entirely original. He did not think as other men did. He does not think as other men can. Solomon said there was nothing new under the sun, but Solomon in all his glory never saw or heard Sam Jones.—The Dallas Morning News.

Rev. Sam P. Jones lectured at the Methodist Church last night to a large crowd. His lecture was up to the standard of Mr. Jones' excellence, and was well received by the audience. He is a man who perhaps has done more good towards bettering the world than any man of this century. Our people are pleased with the man and much of preconceived prejudice has been removed by his personal visit, and every one realizes that he is doing a wonderful amount of good.—Alden County Enterprise, Picayune, Miss.

The famous Rev. Sam Jones, made his first appearance before a Jacksonville audience last night at the Opera House, which was well filled in spite of the inclemency of the weather. The audience was in almost a constant uproar brought about by the peculiar humor and language which, according to Mr. Jones, might be said to have leaked out with every sentence, although at times this was put aside for most eloquent language and serious thoughts. The applause was loud and frequent and without exception every one gave closest attention throughout, and one has to hear him speak to appreciate the effectiveness.—Jacksonville, Ill., Journal.

The only Sam has come and gone, and the large audience who heard his lecture were perfectly delighted with the man, his words and his manner. From start to finish of the lecture Sam had complete control of his audience, and a number of critics when they heard how he said his sayings become his ardent admirers. Sam not only got there but stayed there, and his delighted audience left right with him. He then found him true to his reputation—a speaker intensely original, strong in thought, charming in expression and wonderfully apt in illustration.—The Canton Press, Canton, Ohio.

Most people have heard of Sam Jones, and it was through the V. M. C. A., that he was engaged to give a lecture last night. It is not surprising that Mr. Jones is an evangelist. It would take a big church to hold a man of his broad methods, and the entire country will profit if he is not tied to one community. He has an immovable humor, a quick perception that shows actions to him in an unique light, so that a clever interpretation is given to his audience. He has a lively, frequent, current original, and the most rigid convictions concerning man's duty to man that is well to spread. His voice is strong and he doesn't search for dainty language to tell the truth, and doesn't spare force or emphasis in laying down his creed. Mr. Jones has a delightful voice which was not raised above a conversational tone, yet no line or meaning was lost. He was introduced in a very graceful speech by Dr. Bartlett.—The Brockton, (Mass.) Times.
Jones was a drawing card; should he be induced to
and before long the entire audience were captured and
same at all times and piaccs where Sam Jones is the
visit Evansville again on any other night it would push
to the speaker of the evening did not wonder that Mr,
ning the lecture brief. Every one went away feelingtbat
quaint and fresh sentences full of humor and sharp wit.
be a little stiff and colil, but they soon melted under his
hard knocks.—
unmercifully, yet we say corue again Samuel and we will
strength. No one is like b(m; no one would dare to be.
Although he hit some of usireal hard and cuffed us most
they had their money's worth, and that after listening
and a half that he sooke was all too short, many think­
time appear m th e  papers represent him.—

Sam Jones captured Pueblo. His first appearance
The lecture by Rev. Sam P. Jones at the City Hall,
drew a large audience, which nearly filled the spacious
in speech as the garbled extracts which from time to
while there is great room for adversity of ooioioa as to
was curiosity to learn whether he coaid attain any
ations'of the "Rev. Sara." That be is a man of great

Next to Col. Ingersoll, Sam P. Jones, the Georgia

The Rev. Sam Jones addressed a large audience at the Central
Church, last evening. His remarks were in the interest­
spade a spade, but when one hears him in full and sees
one can be found who will say that he was not highly

Sam Jones captured Evansville last night and

Sam Jones spoke to the Opera House last night. And
to say that Sam Jones spoke is to say that his hearers
were thoroughly entertained from row of chairs to

the pulpit or on the platform, in the porch or around the camp fire, is always
entertaining, always amusing, always instructive. Now
this is so—wherein lies his power to be all these things—
is a great mystery. He does in one lecture more
fun than two comedians; more philosophy than four
universities; more gospel than a half dozen theological
seminaries; and almost as much common sense as the
mother of a big family of country boys.—Daily Counter-Light, Coriscana, Tex.

A great audience hears Sam Jones, Georgia's boss
evangelist. A characteristic talk, embracing religious,
political and social current topics.

The Rev. Sam Jones held the boards at O'Brien's
Opera House last evening very successfully. His audi­
ence was large, filling every part of the house. No paid
lecturer ever appeared in Birmingham to a larger crowd
—Beecfer, Tuiage, and Ingersoll not excepted. All the
steam whistles made a frightful din when Col. Alex
McClure, of Philadelphia, came here to warn us about
the wild, internal racket, advertisingly, to accommodate an
enterprising merchant. The whole audience more
screamed yesterday for Sam Jones. As a drawer he is
not only as artist, but a whole bureau full of drawers,
with lying every-day pictures in them. He added
against shams. There were to hear him all kinds of
people from Birmingham and the suburbs. He highly
entertained them. He had that most familiar to his audi­
tors as a bold and original orator. Never before was
there curiosity to learn whether he could attain any
widcr, characteristic latitude than radiates from his
pulpit performances.—Birmingham, Ala.

The Rev. Sam Jones last evening delivered his oft­
repeated lecture, "Get There and Stay There," in his
characteristic manner to a good audience at the Audito­
torium. Summing up the performance, it must be said
that the Louisvillians who were present were delighted
with Mr. Jones. They applauded freely, laughed loud
and often, and passed very kindly criticisms on the
manner handling men and things. (Here a lengthy
comment follows.)—Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Rev. Sam Jones' lecture last night in the House of
Representatives was attended by all classes of the peo­
ple, and the house was packed; there not being standing
room.

His lecture was under the auspices of the Young
Men's Christian Association. His subject was "Charac­
ter and Characters. He spoke two hours, and it is safe
to say that no one was disappointed in their expecta­
tions of the "Rev. Sam." That be is a man of great
originality and force of character there can be no doubt,
while there is great room for adverse opinion as to
his method or manner of speaking to his audience. No
one can be forced who will say that he was not highly
entertained. He strikes from the sorrender, and calls a
pale a pale, but when one hears him in full and sees
his applications and illustratrons, he does not appear
near so much in the light of a popular and intelligen­
t in speech as the unbridled extracts which from time to
time appear in the papers represent him.—Democrat,
Jackson, Miss.
GREETING!

The following Greeting to the Rev. Sam P. Jones, who Lectures Tonight on "Society" at the Ridge Street Tabernacle, from the pen of the Editor of the Evening Star will appear in this afternoon's paper, and is printed in advance through courtesy of the Star at the request of the Committee:

OUR DISTINGUISHED VISITOR.

The springtime wears more brilliant green,
The sunshine has a brighter sheen,
And things are hustling up and down—Sam Jones has come to Danville town.

"Sam Jones! Sam Jones!" the words repeat—
Exclaimed by hundreds on the street:
He's here to do things very brown
Sam Jones has come to Danville town.

He is a slayer hard of sin
And he is one who rubs it in,
A mighty preacher of renown—
Sam Jones has come to Danville town.

When he hears of "Your Uncle Jones"
The devil trembles on his throne
And is in danger of his crown—
Sam Jones has come to Danville town.

There'll be a rush, there'll be a jam—
Tonight to hear your Uncle Sam,
Within applause his words we'll drown—
Sam Jones, Sam Jones has come to town.
APPENDIX C
Pittsburgh, Pa.

OCT. 15, 1892

Dear Sir,

I have booked you:


Mount Airy

St. Albans, O. Dec. 14th 200. L. M. Herrigton


Williamsport 20th 190. Geo. D. S. Wilson

Take night train from Chambersburg to Butler. Also night train from Peckville to Pitts. to Williamsport. Peckville is 12 miles north Pitts. on Fort Wayne road. 8th, 9th and 10th. I will have a box.

J. E. Brockway
Rev. Sam P. Jones.

January 19th, Carthage, Tex.
20th, Paris, Tex.
21st, Terrell, Tex.
22nd, McKinney, Tex.
23rd, Dallas, Tex.
24th, Marlin, Tex.
25th, Navasota, Tex.
27th, Caldwell, Tex.
28th, Cameron, Tex.
29th, Goliad, Tex.
30th, Columbus, Tex.
31st, Houston, Tex.

February 2nd, Jennings, La.
3rd, Beaumont, Tex.
4th, Morgan City, La.
5th, Alexandria, La.
6th, Lexington, Miss.
7th, Hattiesburg, Miss.
16th, Wilson, La.
17th, Andalusia, Ala.
18th, Brewton, Ala.
19th, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
20th, Ensley, Ala.
21st,
23rd, Washington, N.C.
24th, Wilson, N.C.
25th,
26th, Boston, Mass.
27th,
28th, East Liverpool, O.

March 16th, Miami, Fla.
17th, West Palm Beach, Fla.
18th, Cocoa-Rockledge, Fla.
19th, Daytona, Fla.
20th, St Augustine, Fla.
21st, Walterboro, S.C.
23rd, Fort White, Fla.
24th,
25th, Cordele, Ga.
27th,

April, Hopkinsville, Ky.
Medford, O.T.
Clarendon, Ark.
Mt. Pleasant, Tex.
APPENDIX D
SAM JONES' SERMONS.

SAM JONES' ATTITUDES AND GESTURES.

CHICAGO:
RHOADES & McCLESKEY, PUBLISHERS.
1884.
VITA

Herman D. Champion, Jr., was born on February 24, 1942 in Water Valley, Mississippi. He graduated from Water Valley High School in 1959 and received his B.A. degree in speech from Mississippi College in 1963. He received his M.Div. in theology from New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary in 1966 and his M.A. in speech from Louisiana State University in 1968.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Herman D. Champion, Jr.

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Sermons By Sam Jones During His Emergence as a National Figure, 1872-1885

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

Date of Examination:

November 21, 1980