A RHETORICAL STUDY BASED ON ARISTOTELIAN
PRINCIPLES OF SELECTED TEMPERANCE SERMONS
DELIVERED BY WILLIAM ASHLEY SUNDAY, 1911-1932

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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INTRODUCTION

Biographical Material

William Ashley Sunday was born in a two-room log cabin near the small town of Ames, Iowa, November 19, 1862. His initial inheritance was poverty and the great struggle of civil war, which claimed the life of his father in a Missouri army camp one month after Billy Sunday was born. Billy's boyhood days were spent in first, an orphanage and later, at his grandfather Corey's farm.

During the first sixteen years of his life, Billy Sunday received what formal education he could, while maintaining a subsistence level. He attended grade school at the Soldiers' Orphans' Home and later went on to finish the ninth grade in Nevada, while working for Colonel John Scott, a former Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.

After several years in Nevada, Sunday returned to Marshalltown, Iowa, where he became employed as a fireman, hearse driver, furniture salesman, and part-time baseball player. His outstanding baseball ability soon overshadowed the various other vocational endeavors and by a stroke of luck the manager of the Chicago Nationals, A. C. Anson, was able to view Sunday's ability. Impressed with Billy's fantastic speed in running bases, he persuaded Sunday to try out, and a few weeks later Sunday began a career in baseball.
which was to last from 1883 to 1890. Also it was during this career, in 1886, that Rev. Sunday underwent a direct and immediate conversion to Christianity--at the Pacific Garden Rescue Mission in Chicago.

After Sunday was converted, he met his future wife at a prayer meeting in the Jefferson Presbyterian Church of Chicago. She helped him get started in Y. M. C. A. religious work, and two years after their marriage, in 1890, he quit baseball and accepted a position with the Chicago Y. M. C. A. After three years of youth religious work, Sunday became assistant to Evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman from whom he learned the fundamentals of conducting a revival. However, toward the end of 1895, Dr. Chapman decided to give up evangelism. Six days after Dr. Chapman broke the news to the Sundays, they received a telegram: "A Methodist preacher, a Baptist preacher, and I have united, and we're going to hold a revival in our town of Garner, Iowa....we'd like to know whether you will come to lead us in our revival." That was the beginning of a career of evangelism which was to make Sunday one of the most colorful figures of his day.

After World War I, it became apparent that the days of tabernacle evangelism were over. Mr. Sunday returned to his home at Winona to live in partial retirement, and on occasion he traveled and preached to small gatherings. On

1Ma Sunday, Ma Sunday Still Speaks (Winona Lake: Christian Assembly, Inc., 1957), pp. 9-10.
October 27, 1935, he suffered a fatal heart attack, at the home of relatives, in Chicago. Ironically, he began his career in Chicago and ended it in the same city on November 6, 1935.

Viewed in retrospect a significant, if not major, portion of Reverend Sunday’s ministry was dedicated to the cause of Prohibition. The following excerpt indicated the relation between Sunday’s years of evangelism and the temperance movement.

Sunday has been a stanch Prohibitionist and has fought the liquor traffic throughout his evangelistic career. He has helped in many campaigns to dry up counties, towns, and States; and the liquor interests blame him for creating much of the sentiment that eventually crystallized in the Eighteenth Amendment and closed the saloons of the country. Writing to the Standard Encyclopedia, the noted evangelist states: "I always have been, and always will be an enemy of the saloon."2

Purpose

The central purpose of this study is to critically assess and evaluate the various temperance addresses of William Ashley Sunday.

Significance of the Study

The impact on the United States of the temperance movement and the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment is reflected in the abundant literature dedicated to this segment of American History. Those individuals who chose to align

themselves with the dry movement were of various vocations and their methods varied from the sword to the public platform. But just as there was a tremendous difference in the type and method of these temperance workers, there was an equal difference in the perspective of their stature in this vital period in American History. There may well have been more effective and prominent advocates of prohibition, but few were more active than Billy Sunday in the temperance campaign.

Because Sunday was highly active and his evangelistic campaigns may well have contributed significantly to the eventual success of the prohibitionist forces, it would seem important that a rhetorical study be undertaken so as to determine Reverend Sunday's speaking prowess. It is to this void in the literature of American Public Address that this study is dedicated.

Sources

Because Billy Sunday reached great heights of acclaim and criticism, he was a most newsworthy individual. Reporters were constantly at his heels, and because Mr. Sunday was far from oblivious to the value of publicity, he would rarely deny a reporter an interview. Fortunately for the critic, an abundance of columns was printed about the evangelist year after year, and early in his career papers adopted the policy of printing his sermons in full. Unfortunately there is a very limited amount of objective critical commentary con-
cerning Sunday's speaking; thus the critic's task gained increased importance.

Aside from the newspaper accounts of Sunday's sermons and the limited commentary on the evangelist's sermons, this analysis utilizes three primary sources: (1) A collection of notebooks containing the notes for most of Reverend Sunday's sermons; (2) A tape recorded segment of one temperance sermon; and (3) A sound film of a brief sermon entitled "The Value of Prohibition." These sources, because they are primary in nature, markedly decreased the percentage of error in establishing textual authenticity, but it must be recognized that the most valuable of the three, the sound film, was highly limited in its usage. A combination of poor sound quality and the very rapid rate of Sunday's delivery increased the possibility of textual corruption. Even with the meticulous procedure of having other individuals listen to the recording and compare observations; transcribing the sound onto IBM dictating equipment, and using a variety of quality play-back equipment and methods, there was a necessity to resort to conjectural emendation in certain instances. Also the sermon notebooks are limited in their usage because of their incomplete nature. Thus in the final analysis the critic used the primary sources to supplement and enhance the accuracy of the rhetorical analysis.

One final and invaluable source that was also utilized in this study was interviews with people who knew Mr. Sunday personally, heard him speak, and worked closely with him.
Method

The method for this study is that of Aristotle as set forth in the Rhetoric. Thonssen and Baird point out the importance of Aristotle's method when they state that:

Aristotle (384-422 B.C.) is perhaps the most highly esteemed figure in ancient rhetoric. His Poetic and Rhetoric compose an analytically thorough treatment of the two phases of writing and speaking which deal respectively with the "art of imaginative appeal" and the "art of daily communication, especially of public address." The Rhetoric is generally considered the most important single work in the literature of speechcraft.3

Thus the criteria for analysis are the basic principles set forth by Aristotle as being (1) Logos, (2) Pathos, (3) Ethos, (4) Dispositio, and (5) Elocutio.

Organization

The main text of the analysis is organized according to the cannons of rhetoric set forth by Aristotle as previously mentioned.

Chapter I is concerned with a discovery of the logical proof used by the evangelist in his sermons. Chapters two and three are dedicated to a discussion and examination of the ethical and emotional means of persuasion. Chapter IV explores the method of arrangement Sunday chose in his temperance sermons and Chapter V reveals the style of Sunday's discourses. Chapter VI is concerned with the cannons of memory and delivery and the conclusions that may be drawn from the rhetorical analysis.

CHAPTER I

THE LOGICAL MEANS OF PERSUASION

"The true test of Rhetoric is not whether you succeed, but whether you apply all the various means of persuasion."¹ This statement is the touchstone of an inquiry into and an analysis of the rhetoric of Billy Sunday, for it is founded upon Aristotle's belief that "Rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."²

This chapter is dedicated to the task of applying "the true test of Rhetoric" to the first of the "available means of persuasion"—logos. The two remaining forms of persuasion, ethos or persuasion through the character of the speaker and pathos or persuasion through emotional appeals, will be discussed in the following chapters.

One important distinction must be drawn concerning the analysis of these various means of persuasion if the reader is to understand fully this rhetorical analysis. It must be understood that this chapter deals with two separate kinds


of logical proof. First there are the artistic proofs or those proofs that must be furnished by the speaker through the method of rhetoric and are evinced in the speech situation. Artistic proofs do not exist before the formulation of the speech, and they are supplied through the speaker's conscious efforts. It is apparent that such proofs as contracts, oaths, admissions under torture, testimonies, and written documents, are not within the art of rhetoric, (according to Aristotle) but this second type of proof, the nonartistic, must be considered briefly in an analysis of the temperance messages of Billy Sunday if a true perspective is to be attained. With this distinction in mind it is now possible to examine first the issues and then the means of persuasion that the evangelist used to substantiate his case.

**Billy Sunday's Analysis of the Issues**

Although evangelist Sunday was not a member of any temperance organization, the issues he chose to deliberate would have been agreed to by almost any member of the "Anti-Saloon League." But unlike the issues in most temperance crusades, the issues that Billy Sunday chose, those points inherently vital to the acceptance of his case, were not merely echoes to the clattering wheels of the temperance bandwagon. They were issues that Billy Sunday had lived, not vague abstractions. Essentially what Sunday did was to respond to the immediate situation in terms of issues that
he had been formulating since his conversion in the Pacific Garden Rescue Mission. This fact is especially important since "one of the marks of the distinguished orator is the facility to direct intellectual energy to the manifestly urgent necessities of the moment."3

Thus Billy Sunday responded with all his vigor and wrath to certain basic issues. But what were the central issues into which Reverend Sunday channeled his energy? What were the inherently vital points on which Billy Sunday based his logic? To answer this question it must first be recognized that the forces of temperance were successful and that because of the passage of the Prohibition Amendment in 1919 there is a distinct difference between the central issues embodied in Billy Sunday's speech texts before and after that year.

The Issues Before the Passage of Prohibition

Are the effects of alcohol harmful? The evangelist's answer to this issue would of course have been a resounding yes. Sunday's development of the issue was designed to show first the harm of alcohol to the individual.

You take all of the drunkards out of the world tonight and leave only the moderate drinkers and you won't have to wait long until you'll have another crop of drunkards. Not very long! You can't beat the game!

There have been a good many people who tried to drink breweries dry. They have all had to go up against it and take the consequences.\(^4\)

Second, he wished to show the effects that alcohol had on the family.

A quart. What will a quart do? It will burn up my happiness and my home and fill my home with squalor and want.\(^5\)

Yes, said Billy Sunday, there are harmful effects to drinking, both to the individual and to the family and, in fact, to every area of life. But there is a second and more lasting issue that the evangelist also developed.

**If you drink will you go to Hell?** This issue is closely associated with the first one, but it must be analyzed separately because Sunday made it fundamental in his preaching. In essence this is the way Sunday expressed the issue:

God made a place for a man to be good, and that’s heaven. Hell was never made for man. God made that for the devil and his angels, but if a man serves the devil, he will go to the devil.

God made hell for the devil and his angels, but if you are fool enough to follow the devil, then follow the devil and go to the devil! That’s all fair.\(^6\)

All of the other harmful effects of alcohol were only indications that an individual was to receive his just reward when the time came.


\(^5\)Ibid.

Is There a Need to Eliminate the Saloon? If one were to single out the most important issue, in terms of emphasis, that Billy Sunday developed in his sermons, it would have to be the need for eliminating the saloon. Sunday's challenge to the liquor interests was as follows:

I challenge you to show me where the saloon has ever helped business, education, church, morals or anything we hold dear.7

The challenge takes little space in print but the proof that Reverend Sunday presented in support of his basic contention would fill many a page.

Is There a Need for Unified Support? Sunday was first and always a man of action, and nowhere did this driving spirit more powerfully manifest itself than in the evangelist's attempt to awaken a sleeping church. Sunday would point, for his model of a man of action, to Jesus Christ and then proceed to prick the various denominations with verbal thistles:

The open saloon is the hotbed of political corruption and the nest of anarchy. It is the incubator of poverty and crime and vice. It is the spawning place of degeneracy. I don't know whether you ever had anyone come to old Steubenville to preach to these pus-gutted lobsters, but by the eternal God I will. When we get the preachers to do this and quit talking about the new Jerusalem, get Presbyterians to preach about this instead of preferment, when a lot of them haven't anything to prefer, and Baptists quit yelling, 'Water, water, water,' and two-thirds of their bunch going where you can't get a drop, we'll clean up this saloon—

filled, harlot-ridden, brewery-controlled valley for Christ. I'm going to skin 'em.8

Is There a Need for Legislation? In the wind of evangelist Sunday the saloon was a criminal of the highest order. Like all criminals it had to be punished.

Sunday had no specific program of legislation that he advocated to punish his personification. Rather he simply advocated that any legislation that completely eliminated liquor was to be adopted. His opponents said that he couldn't legislate behavior but Sunday disagreed?

You say you can't prohibit men from drinking. Why, if Jesus Christ was here today some of you would keep on in sin just the same. But law can be enforced against whiskey just the same as it can be enforced against anything else, if you have honest officials to enforce it. There isn't a law on the books of Ohio that prohibits. We have laws against murder. Do they prohibit murder? We have laws against burglary. Do they prohibit? We have laws against arson, rape, but they do not prohibit. Would you introduce a bill to repeal all the laws that do not prohibit? Any law will prohibit to a certain extent if honest officials enforce it. But no law will absolutely prohibit. We can make a law against liquor prohibit as much as any law prohibits.9

These, then, were the issues that characterized Sunday's temperance message before the passage of prohibition: (1) Are the effects of alcohol harmful? (2) If you drink will you go to Hell? (3) Is there a need to eliminate the


9Ibid.
saloons? (4) Is there a need for unified support? and (5) Is there a need for legislation? There was, however, a noticeable change in emphasis after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment; some new issues emerged and a few old ones were dropped. Many believed that the "keen edge of Sunday's messages, or at least a measure of his ability to move great numbers down the sawdust trail, had been dulled by the recent passage of the Prohibition Amendment."10 But Sunday rechanneled what was left of his energy into the task of protecting the newly born legislation. "The title of his evening sermon, 'Crooks, Corkscrews, Bootleggers, and Wet Politicians--They Shall not Pass the White House,' showed Sunday as eager to protect the Eighteenth Amendment as he had been earlier in promoting victorious elections."11

The kindling that kept the evangelist's fire burning during the lull that set in after his early revivals was a belief that "the pendulum is swinging back from the post-war blight on religious interest, to a period of intense interest in things religious."12 But the fact was that Sunday had a

10 Pitzer, Donald E., The Ohio Campaigns of Billy Sunday with Special Emphasis Upon the 1913 Columbus Revival. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1962), pp. 73-74.


long uphill battle ahead. All of the newly emerging issues were of course subsidiary to the central issue of whether Prohibition was bad or good. Obviously, the issues of eliminating the saloon and the need for legislation were dead, but Sunday now reinforced and gave greater emphasis to the issue of the effects of alcohol. Among those new issues that critics began to raise which had to be incorporated into the evangelist's message, was that of personal liberty. **Does Prohibition Curtail Personal Liberty?**

The outspoken critics of Sunday and the cause of prohibition used this issue as a sounding board for their vehement opposition. Being a fighter at heart the evangelist quickly picked it up and developed it as a major portion of his later speeches—those after 1919. How did the evangelist state the issue and his position in relation to it?

I tell you, it is everybody's business what you do. Do you mean to tell me it is nobody's business whether you are honest or whether you steal or whether you are pure in your life?

I have no business to exercise my personal liberty, or license in the name of liberty, if the exercise of that license or liberty curtails the license of liberty of my neighbor.

**Summary**

Through such issues as (1) the harmful effects of alcohol; (2) the need to eliminate the saloon; (3) the necessity of unified support; evangelist Sunday helped to bring about the desired legislation, but in his later years he had the

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130 *op. cit.*, p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."
task of filling the void that was left in his message by the Prohibition Amendment. Although there were important new issues, such as the possible conflict between personal liberty and prohibition, there was one central issue to which the evangelist addressed his remarks; Sunday had the immense task of proving that prohibition was a good thing for the American people. To this issue he addressed himself until his death in 1935.

With the completion of this analysis of the issues it is now possible to examine the various forms of proof which Sunday used in getting his audiences to accept his views.

Nonartistic Proof

As was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, testimony, written contracts, and statistics, among other things, are not within the realm of an artistic rhetoric. Aristotle's exclusion of what contemporary speakers term evidence, and place substantial reliance upon, is largely a product of the Greek society in his day.14 It was generally accepted that the true art of rhetoric was not founded on external proofs which existed beforehand and had only to be adopted by the speaker. Nevertheless the critic must recognize that Billy Sunday used an abundance of this nonartistic proof in the form of testimony and statistics.

Testimony. Evangelist Sunday used two types of testimony in supporting his side of the issues, (1) the testimony

of famous people or authorities and (2) the testimony of
the common man.

An excellent example of Sunday's use of "authoritative"
testimony was his support for the argument that people who
loafed around saloons all the time without any personal am-
bition would never get anywhere. His main form of proof was
the testimony of five famous individuals.

Former President Roosevelt said in an address to
young people, "The young man or woman who succeeds in
life is not the one who waits for something sufficiently
spectacular to present itself, by and through the doing
of which you can show your superiority over your com-
petition, but the one that does the thing that lies
next at hand and does that with the effective intelli-
gence the best you know how to do it."

William Jennings Bryan said, "you can always
afford to be in the minority, but you can never afford
to be in the wrong."

Former President Eliot of Harvard University said
to the freshmen, "Young men, you cannot hope nor ex-
pect to secure an education in four years. You can,
however, hope and expect to secure a beginning and
after a lifetime spent in studying and research, then
you will only have a right to consider yourself just
fairly well educated."

Bulwer Lytton said, "In the lexicon of youth,
which fate has reserved for a higher power, there is
no such word as fail."

Somebody said to a boy, "How did you learn to
skate?" "Well," he said, "by getting up every time I
fell down." Yes, but there is a sermon in that.

Somebody said to Alexander the Great, "How did you
conquer the world?"
He replied, "By not wavering."

Somebody asked Napoleon, "What is the secret of
your success?"
He said, "I am a half hour ahead of my enemy. I
am prepared for any move they may make because I antici-
pate their plans."15

It is interesting to note that even in this series of testi-
monials Reverend Sunday interjected the second type of
testimony—that of the common man. The point to be extract-
ed is that although the evangelist used a great deal of
testimony from famous people and authorities, the prepon-
derance of the testimony exhibited in his temperance messages
is that of everyday personages.

Speaking of the effects of alcohol, Sunday relied on
the testimony of Mr. Average Drunkard to prove his point.

Some just live for booze. Some say: "I need it.
It keeps me warm in winter." Another says: "It keeps
me cool in summer." Well if it keeps you warm in
winter and cool in summer, why is it that out of those
who freeze to death and are sunstruck the greater part
of them are booze hoisters? Everyone takes it for the
alcohol there is in it. Take that out and you would
as soon drink dish water.16

As in the earlier example, Sunday would often combine the
testimony of the famous person with that of the common man,
which gave the proof double impact.

Archbishop Ireland, the famous Roman Catholic
of St. Paul, said of social crime today, "that 75 per
cent is caused by drink and 80 per cent of the pover-
ty." I go to a family and it is broken up, and I
say, "What caused this?" Drink! I step up to a young
man on the scaffold and say, "What brought you here?"

15Sunday, W. A., Thursday night sermon in Louisville,
Kentucky (no title given), "Billy Downs Demon Rum in Night

16op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
Drink! Whence all the misery and sorrow and corruption? Invariably it is drink. 17

Another way in which the evangelist used the testimony of the common man was to take an adverse statement, probably hypothetical, and destroy it. The obvious aim of this excerpt is to defend Prohibition;

A fellow said to me the other day, "Oh, prohibition is responsible for the depression." Oh, the world, it's other nations? What causes the depression in Germany? What causes it here where we've had three million men on the go ever since the war, and America is the only crying nation in the world? ... Why, a fellow said to me, "prohibition makes boot-leggers, and rum-runners, and moon shiners." Oh, we've had bootleggers and moonshiners when we were under the British flag. For one hundred and fifty years, the stars and stripes have waved over America. We've had bootleggers and we have them now. 18

The conclusion that must be drawn concerning this segment of the analysis is that Sunday used testimony of both the famous and the common man both separately and together, as a means of proving his side of the issues. It must be also mentioned that this type of proof was primarily aimed at the issue of the effects of alcohol. But the discussion of nonartistic proofs cannot be complete until some light is cast on Reverend Sunday's use of statistics.

Statistics. For some inexplicable reason Billy Sunday loved to use an abundance of statistics to prove his case.


18Sunday, W. A., "The Value of Prohibition," A "Hillside Sermon" presented in the summer of 1932 at Winona Lake, Indiana, and recorded on sound film which is kept in the files of the Winona Foundation.
For example in calling for legislation to stop the flow of liquor Sunday had to weigh prohibition against the money that the farmers might lose if they couldn't sell grain to the breweries. Notice the flow of undocumented statistics the evangelist advances.

Now, last year the corn crop was 3,125,000,000 bushels, and it was valued at $1,720,000,000. Secretary Wilson says that the breweries used less than two per cent; I will say that they use two per cent. That would make 65,000,000 bushels, and at 50 cents a bushel that would be about $32,000,000. How many people are there in the United States? Ninety million. Very well, then that is 34 cents apiece—the price of a dozen eggs or a pound of butter. We are the cheapest gang this side of hell if we will do that kind of business.

Now listen! Last year the income of the United States Government, and the cities and towns and counties from the whiskey business, was $350,000,000. That is putting it liberally. You say that's a lot of money. Well, last year the workingmen spent $2,200,000,000 for drink and it cost $1,200,000,000 to care for the judicial machinery. In other words the whiskey business cost us last year $3,400,000,000. I will subtract from that the dirty $350,000,000 which we got, and it leaves $3,050,000,000 in favor of knocking the whiskey business into hell. And listen! Last year we spent $6,000,000,000 for our paupers and criminals, insane, orphans, feeble-minded, etc., in the United States, and 82 per cent of our criminals are, whiskey-made, and 75 per cent of the paupers are whiskey-made.

Our National increase in wealth was only $5,000,000,000, so you can figure out how long it will take us to go into bankruptcy with that cussed business on our backs. The average factory hand earns $500 a year, and it costs us $1,200 a year to support each of our whisky criminals.19

In 1922 the evangelist's emphasis had changed with the times. He was now concerned with what useful things could

have been accomplished with the grain wasted in the manufacture of whiskey.

Hear me! In 1918 we spent in this country $2,000,500,000 for drink; we wasted grain enough in America to make the whiskey that sent 600,000 men staggering and reeling and screaming into drunkard's graves and drunkard's hell. If made into loaves of bread it would pave a street 200,000 miles long, 100 feet wide, with every loaf weighing two pounds. We waste grain enough in the breweries and distilleries, my friends, to have fed this country as much grain as we used for bread. We wasted grain enough, my friends, to make whiskey, to have fed England or France in the war.20

Although the issue has changed, the flaunting of undocumented statistics in great abundance as proof of the evangelist's position is still apparent.

But the evangelist did not limit his use of statistics to the monetary virtues of prohibition. Sunday also developed the issue of the effects of alcohol through statistical proof. In this example Reverend Sunday spoke first of the nourishment in drink and then proceeded to set up the workings of the circulatory system:

I can buy a can of good beef extract and dip the point of my knife in the can and get more nourishment on the point of that knife than in 800 gallons of the best beer. If the breweries of this land today were making their beer in Germany, 90 percent of them would be in jail. The extract of the point of the knife represents three and one-fourth pounds of good beef-steak. Just think, you have to make a swill barrel out of your bellies and a swer if you want to get that much nourishment out of beer and run 800 gallons through. Oh, go ahead if you want to, but I'll try to help you just the same.

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Every man has blood corpuscles and their object is to take the impurities out of your system. Perspiration is for the same thing. Every time you work or I preach the impurities come out. Every time you sweat there is a destroying power going on inside. The blood goes through the heart every 17 seconds. Oh, we have a marvelous system. In some spots there are 4,000 pores to the square inch and a grain of sand will cover one hundred and fifty of them. I can strip you and cover you with shellac and you'll be dead in 48 hours. Oh, we are fearfully and wonderfully made.\textsuperscript{21}

Again in his "Booze" sermon Sunday uses statistics to show the effects of alcohol.

Listen! Seventy-five per cent of our idiots come from intemperate parents; eighty per cent of the crime is committed by men under the influence of liquor; ninety per cent of the adult criminals are whiskey made. The Chicago Tribune kept track for ten years and found that 53,556 murders were committed by men under the influence of alcohol.\textsuperscript{22}

Again in this example statistics are the mainstream of proof used by the evangelist, but there is one refreshing new item that must be noticed. Sunday atypically accredits a statistic to a particular source.

\textbf{Summary of Nonartistic Proofs}

Billy Sunday used a substantial quantity of both testimony, from famous and common people, but statistics of all shapes and sizes without adequate documentation to gain assent on the important issues. But as was previously mentioned the true test of rhetoric is in ascertaining whether all of the available means of persuasion were used. Thus

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21}\textit{op. cit.}, "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
\item \textsuperscript{22}\textit{op. cit.}, "A Few Remarks on Booze."
\end{itemize}
this analysis of nonartistic proof must proceed a discovery of the artistic constituents of Billy Sunday's *logos*.

**Artistic Proof**

"Whenever men in speaking effect persuasion through proofs, they do so either with examples or enthymemes; they use nothing else. Accordingly, since all demonstration is effected either by syllogism or by induction, it follows that induction and syllogism (deduction) must be identified respectively with example and enthymeme."\(^{23}\) Thus when the critic examines the artistic logical proofs utilized by Billy Sunday in his temperance speeches, the basis for analysis is a discovery of the two universal forms of argument as revealed in the speech text. This examination will focus first on the enthymeme and second on the example.

**The Enthymeme.** Dr. Earl Wiley cites the enthymeme as the focal point of *Aristotle's Rhetoric*. It is a man's judgment of events in a conflict which involves people, and the enthymeme seeks persuasion as its end. Obviously the enthymeme is controversial and framed in argument.\(^{24}\)

With this general understanding of the enthymeme in mind, it may be established that the form of the enthymeme is that of a syllogism, the premises of which are probable


causes and signs that are drawn from Aristotle's topics or lines of reasoning. To understand fully this relationship between the component parts of the enthymeme and the place from which they are derived it is necessary to know that by probability Aristotle meant

that which usually happens or follows, yet not anything that so happens, for the things must belong to the class of things that may turn out this way or that. The probable, then bears the same relation to that of which it is probable as a universal statement to a particular.25

A sign to Aristotle was

a demonstrative premise which is necessary or generally accepted. That which coexists with something else, or before or after whose happening something else has happened, is a sign of that something's having happened or being.26

It is now possible to examine the temperance speeches of Billy Sunday by going to the place, the universal topics, from which the evangelist drew his premises. The central question for this segment must necessarily be, "What were the lines of reasoning as revealed through Aristotle's universal topics, that Billy Sunday used to persuade through the medium of the enthymeme?"

**Topos 1.** Sunday often used the line of reasoning that Prohibition is good, for the saloon, bootleggers, or those things associated with booze, were harmful. This, according to Aristotle, is an enthymeme based on demonstration

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25 op. cit., p. 13, Aristotle.

26 Ibid., pp. 523-525.
from opposites and was most often used by Sunday to prove that Prohibition was good for the United States. This line of reasoning was more profound in his later speeches after the Dry Act was passed, such as his "Hillside Sermon," which was a shortened form of "Crooks, Corkscrews, Bootleggers, and Whiskey Politicians--They Shall Not Pass."

The arguments against prohibition are as weak as preachers on a Saturday chicken and song fest. When you compare prohibition at its worst with the saloon at its best, prohibition is a million times better, and the evils acquired by repealing the ones you vie from by leaving it, my friends, as it is. Another way in which the evangelist used this line of reasoning to prove his stand on the issue of the benefits of Prohibition was by arguing that temperance is good, for booze is harmful.

Now we all know this: It is better to feed boys and girls books, schools, colleges, churches, than to feed them booze and the things that wreck their lives and blight them and assassinate their characters.

This type of reasoning was rudimentary to the evangelist's message, but few logicians would accept it if Sunday could not prove the assumption that booze or bootlegging were, in actuality, harmful.

Topos 13. The line of reasoning set forth in this topic largely filled the void left by the line of argument

27Ibid., p. 159.
Sunday developed from opposites. Essentially the line of reasoning displayed in this topos was from consequences. For example, Prohibition results in more money being spent for food, clothing, and other consumer goods (a good consequence); therefore it is good to have Prohibition since it is well to have a strong, productive economy. Sunday spoke of just such results in his "Booze" sermon when trying to prove the need for legislation.

Congress has passed a law putting two dollars of tax on whiskey and expect to realize three hundred million dollars. That means that the American people have got to buy and drink one hundred and fifty million gallons a year. It doesn't take a lawyer to figure out that if you do that you take that much money out of the legitimate channels of trade, you spent that much less for food and clothes and boots and shoes and education and automobiles.

After the passage of Prohibition Reverend Sunday relied on this same line of reasoning to develop his side of the issue of personal liberty. The opponents of Prohibition said that it was an infringement on their personal liberty, but this was Sunday's reply:

I tell you, it is everybody's business what you do. Do you mean to tell me it is nobody's business whether you steal or whether you are pure in your life?

I have no business to exercise my personal liberty, or license in the name of liberty, if the exercise of that license, or liberty curtails the license of liberty of my neighbor.

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31 KYW Radio Program "Retrospect" presented Tuesday, December 12, 1961, Part 2, Temperance Movement, produced in cooperation with the Oral History Unit of Columbia University.
I am an American citizen and I am a tax-payer. I have a right to vote and exercise my liberty and right of franchise to vote, if by my vote, I am not going to make it harder for my neighbor to walk home sober and easier for him to walk home drunk.

There is a moral obligation that's above any legal proposition that you can ever flush up before anybody on God's earth. And never in the name of liberty must you exercise your liberty that's going to harm anybody else.32

Sunday was pointing up the consequences of complete personal liberty and concluding that it is not well to have complete personal liberty since it results in the other fellow's being hurt.

Around the topos of logical consequences, Sunday also based a large part of his attack on the saloon. What does the existence of the saloon in the community result in?

There are three things that will rend any city or town, sir, and give it a bad name and make it a stench in the nostrils of decent people all over the land. Three! One of them is open license saloons.33

The logical conclusion of this, and other statements using more specific enumeration of the consequences of the saloon's existence, was that it is not well to let the saloon exist since it is not well to let the evils associated with the saloon exist.

**Topos 20.** Another topos common to deliberative speaking, and from which Billy Sunday derived many of his premises, was that of considering the incentives and deter-

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32*op. cit.*, p. 8, "Demon Rum."

ents as the motives people have for doing or avoiding the acts in question. These are the conditions which, according as they are for or against us, make us act or refrain from action. The fact that Reverend Sunday used this topos as his source of argument to prove many of the important issues is evinced by his speech texts.

Concerning the issue of personal liberty and whether it was hampered by prohibition, Sunday considered the incentives of those who would try to gain an assent to this issue:

Personal liberty is not personal license. Our forefathers did not die on the snowcovered hills of New England sir, and dye the soil of the colonies red with their blood in order to establish personal license—they did die to establish liberty, regulated by law.

Personal liberty—that's the law that all the anarchists want.

Personal liberty—that's the liberty of the tiger.

Personal liberty—that's the liberty of the wolf in your sheep fold to tear the lambs to pieces.

Personal liberty—that's all the yegg wants, a chance to crack a safe.

Personal liberty—that's all the white slaver wants.

Personal liberty—that's all the thief wants, for the police to let him alone. That's all the red-hand ed, black-hearted anarchist wants, who waves the red flag of anarchy—that's the flag of my country!\(^{35}\)

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\(^{35}\) p. cit., p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."
Even when prohibition was steadily growing unpopular in the minds of the majority of the people, Sunday still relied on the logic of incentives to cope with the issue of personal liberty.

A fellow said to me the other day, "But Prohibition interferes with my personal liberty." Virtually every law in the statute book interferes with the liberty of the crook who wants to break it. It don't interfere with my liberty because I keep it. It's just preparin' to keep the wolves away from the flock of sheep for which they keep their sights on, and then the wolf complains against the shepherd for interfering in his personal liberty.36

But this line of reasoning was not isolated to the issue of personal liberty.

When crying out against the saloon and the need to eliminate it, the evangelist often used argument based on the motives of the liquor interests. In a number of instances in his "Booze Sermon" the evangelist follows this line of argument.

Some are just in life for the money they get out of it. They will tell you north is south if they think they can get a dollar by it.37

And again when arguing that the saloon had no real interest in the farmer or the community other than its own pocket:

"But," says the whiskey fellow, "we would lose trade; the farmer would not come to town to trade." You lie. I am a farmer. I was born and raised on a farm and I have the malodors of the barnyard on me today. Yes, sir. And when you say that you insult the best class of men on God's dirt. Say, when you put up the howl that if you don't have the saloons the farmer won't trade--say Mr. Whiskey Man, why do


you dump money into politics and back the legislatures into the corner and fight to the last ditch to prevent the enactment of county local option. You know when the farmers are given a chance they will knock the whiskey business into Hell the first throw out of the box. You are afraid. You have cold feet on the proposition. You are afraid to give the farmer a chance. They are scared to death of you farmers.38

Again in a sermon following repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment the evangelist relied on the same topos when he argued that the motives of the liquor interests hadn't changed one bit.

The prohibition amendment is hypocrisy in the breath of America today. What people would recall the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution? It's an attempt on the part of the old brewers, and the old distilleries, and the old saloon keepers, and the old bartenders, and the whiskey bottlers who use the newspapers to bind and rivet the nation's breweries around the neck of the American people financed by their own pocket.39

One particular issue that was solely developed through the consideration of incentives and deterrents as motives for doing or avoiding the acts in question, was the need for unified support. Sunday argued that many groups ignored their duties to temperance because of selfish motives.

The Democratic party of Florida has put a temperance plank in its platform, and the Republican party of every state would nail that plank in the platform if they thought it would carry the election.40

The same approach was used to awaken the sleeping church.

Sunday told the various denominations that it was time they

390p. cit, "The Value of Prohibition."
quit fooling with their own selfish motives, which were not
doing them any good anyway, and unify against booze.

These then were the issues that the evangelist develop-
oped entirely or in part by the line of argument revealed in
Aristotle's twentieth topic.

**Topos 22.** It is this topic that is particularly use-
ful in refuting an opponent. Essentially it is seeing what
inconsistencies one can find in all the facts--conflicting
dates, acts, and statements.\footnote{op. cit., p. 169, Aristotle.}

Sunday used this topos in one form or another with
every issue previously mentioned. For example in citing
the evils of liquor Sunday spoke as follows:

But you haven't got all the factors in the problem,
Mr. Brewer, and you cannot get a correct solution of
a problem without all the factors in the problem. You
take the farmer's bushel of corn, brewer or distil-
ler, and you brew and distill from it four and one-
half gallons of spirits. I don't know how much he
dilutes them before he puts them on the market. Only
the brewer, the distiller and God knows.\footnote{op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."}

Although personal liberty was more of an issue after
the passage of the Dry Act, Sunday as early as 1913 develop-
oped a logical approach to the issue, in terms of the in-
herent inconsistencies in the application of the concept of
personal liberty.

In these days when the question of saloon or no
saloon is at the fore in almost every community, one
hears a good deal about what is called "personal liber-
ty." These are fine, large mouth-filling words and
they certainly do sound first-rate; but when you get right down and analyze them in the light of common old horse sense, you will discover that in their application to the present controversy they mean just about this. "Personal liberty," is for the man who, if he has the inclination and the price can stand up to the bar and fill his hide so full of red liquor that he is transformed for the time into an irresponsible, dangerous, evil smelling brute. But "personal liberty" is not for his patient, long-suffering wife, who has to endure with what fortitude she may his blows and curses; nor is it for his children who, if they escape his insane rage, are yet robbed of every known joy and privilege of childhood, and too often grow up neglected, uncared for and vicious as the result of their surroundings and the example before them; "personal liberty" is not for the sober industrious citizen who from the proceeds of honest toil and orderly living, has to pay, willingly or not, the results of drunkenness, disorder and poverty, the items of which are written in the records of every police court and poorhouse in the land; nor is "personal liberty" for the good woman who goes abroad in the town only at the risk of being shot down by some drink-crazed creature. This rant about "personal liberty" as an argument, has no leg to stand upon.43

Speaking of the need for legislation Sunday chose to develop the inconsistency between the existing laws and the real actions of the brewers.

The Federal food laws say beer is properly made of barley, malt, hops and yeast. I'll bet not three percent of the beer sold in Columbus or in Ohio is made exclusively from these ingredients I have named. Around every brewery you will notice side tracks at the rear, which are used to bring in car loads of rice, corn, grape, sugar, glucose and other things at the back door, while all the barley and hops used you can haul to the front door in a spring wagon.44

Sunday also utilized a pattern of syllogistic logic on the inconsistencies in the opposing arguments and in defending

43Ibid.
440 p. dit., p. 1, "Booze."
Prohibition. Sunday's point of view was that Prohibition had accomplished exactly what its proponents had said it would, but the critics of the Dry Act weren't about to buy the glowing picture that Sunday painted. One of the obvious sore points that the evangelist had to deal with was the resultant bootlegging and moonshining.

Oh, the booze, to ban the booze, to ban the distilleries are gone; but the bootleggers and the moonshiners, my friends, he's here. Yes, he's here. A fellow said, 'Well, we're drinking more hooch and twice the whiskey.' If so why is the death rate in America less than it's ever been in the history of the United States before?45

Sunday also coped with the accusation that there had been a rise in crime after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment by citing inconsistencies in the facts of the opposition.

I made a list of nearly 500 names of men recently arrested for violating Prohibition. It reads like a page of directories from Italy, Greece-sprinkling of Irish. Senator Reed said Prohibition has created a new class of criminals, but it merely diverted the criminal class . . . For nearly everyone of the 500 was a confessed crook before he became a bootlegger. Not one was in favor of the 16th Amendment.46

Whether it was a defense of Prohibition, a refutation of the notion of personal liberty being destroyed by the Dry Act, or a development of the evils of liquor, Reverend Sunday developed a substantial percentage of his logic on the inconsistencies of his opponents. But there is one final


topos from which Reverend Sunday drew more of his premises than any other place.

**Topos 24.** This topos consists in arguing from the presence or absence of the cause to the existence or non-existence of the effect. The frequency with which Sunday applied this topos as a line of argument makes it his chief means of logical development. Whether it be early in his speaking career or later when prohibition had dulled his message, the evangelist relied heavily on casual relations for logical development. To exemplify this, one need only turn to the issue on the effects of alcohol.

I believe one cause for the unprecedented increase of crime is due to the poison put in the stuff now days to make it go as far as they can.

But crime was just one of the many effects that Billy Sunday attributed to alcohol. Just about every evil that beset the nation was attributed by the evangelist to drink. The economic problems of the nation and the private household were no exception.

A man said, "I will tell you what is the matter with the country; it's over-production." You lie; it is under consumption.

Say, wife, the bread that ought to be in your stomach to satisfy the cravings of hunger, is down yonder in the grocery store, and your husband hasn't money enough to carry it home. The meat that ought to satisfy your hunger hangs in the butcher shop. Your husband hasn't money to buy it. The cloth for a dress is lying on a shelf in the store, but your

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47 *op. cit.*, p. 170, Aristotle.

48 *op. cit.*, p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."
husband hasn't the money to buy it. The whiskey gang has his money. 49

It was Sunday's thesis that all of the vices were intricately related and that to chance one was to chance all.

I have heard shrewd men say that they would about as soon their boy would drink as smoke cigarettes. Oh, if you keep on smoking cigarettes the way you are doing you'll wake up some morning when your brain has run out on the pillow.

It's almost certain to lead to drink, they say ... It's getting to be one of the greatest obstacles and barriers to getting a job nowadays. 50

Aside from the issue of the effects of liquor, Sunday chose casual relation as his logic for the need to eliminate the saloon. It was obvious that if drink were the cause of everything from broken homes to national economic blight then the saloon was the cause of all the problems, for it was the source of drink.

What we want to do is to shut off the supply. Turn the faucet and shut it up, and we'll get somewhere. 51 All of the effects of drink on the individual would be eliminated because the cause would be eliminated.

Drunkards are never made of total abstainers—never! One may drink and never get drunk but it's only those who drink that get drunk—that's sure! So, you will never get drunk if you don't drink! That's a four to one shot, and a lead pipe cinch. 52

49 Ibid.
The evangelist also relied on this form of logic to prove his case against present legislation and the need for an all-encompassing law.

I don't give a hoot for the regulations of the sale of liquor, if we must have booze well let's sell it in the saloon where it belongs. What difference does it make whether a man guzzles beer standing at the bar or whether sitting down at a table? Booze sold to a preacher or a high school girl has the same effect as when it's sold to an automobile thief or a horse thief.53

Again in his "Booze" sermon, Reverend Sunday cites a causal relation as the need for new legislation.

"But," you say, "we will regulate it by high license." Regulate what by high license? You might as well try to regulate a powder mill in Hell. Do you want to pay taxes in boys, or dirty money? A man that will sell out to that dirty business I have no use for. See how absurd their arguments are. If you drink Bourbon in a saloon that pays $1,000 a year license, will it eat your stomach less than if you drink it in a saloon that pays $500 license. Is it going to have any different effect on you, whether the gang pays $500 or $1,000 license? No. It will make no difference whether you drink it over a mahogany counter or a pine counter, it will have the same effect on you, it will damn you. So there is no use talking about it.54

In defense of Prohibition, following its legal repeal, Sunday pointed to the type of person who would advocate repeal and showed the resulting effects of this advocacy.

Ohio is leading the rebellion against the national and state constitutions and the men who are waging this ignominious fight are nothing but a dirty bunch of blackguards, anarchists, and old soaks.

53op. cit., KYW Radio Program.
54op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."
I say to hell with the whole bunch of them, the men backing, same damning gang that always led these dirty fights.

It means that the recreation of such a damnable law will increase the dens of iniquity, the brothels gambling dens and such horrifying places, which always have been the curse of the nation.55

Those who violated the law were sought out by means of causal logic. It was Sunday's purpose to show a causal relation between the law's being broken and a distinctly un-American class.

Ninety percent of the rum-runners, the high-jackers, the boot-leggers, my friends, and the riff-raff, yes they are pouring, pouring, pouring in. And seventy percent of them have never been naturalized. I say deport every unnaturalized law breaker! I say take away the citizenship papers from every man that's been naturalized and shows himself a crook, and on a second offense deport him also.56

The final issue that Sunday developed in part through logic derived from causal relations was the relation between drinking and damnation. It was a relationship that was clearly and consisely drawn.

Say, if the man that drinks the whiskey goes to Hell, the man that votes for the saloon that sold whiskey to him will go to Hell.57

Summary of Billy Sunday's Lines of Reasoning

Although not all twenty-eight of Aristotle's topics have been cited, those which Billy Sunday most often used as


his lines of reasoning have been discussed. The evangelist chose these topics as his sources of logical proof: (1) demonstrative enthymemes from opposites; (2) a topos from consequences, both good and bad; (3) consideration of the incentives and deterrents as the motives people have for doing or avoiding the acts in question; (4) the topos useful in refutation that searches out inconsistencies in the facts, conflicting dates, acts, and statements; and the evangelist's most often used line of reasoning and (5) arguing from the presence or absence of the cause to the existence or non-existence of the effect.

The Example

The second form of universal proof is that of the example, from which there may be derived two kinds of argument. "One consists in the use of a parallel from the facts of history; the other in the use of an invented parallel." 58

It will be the purpose of this part of the inquiry into logical proof to discover the kinds of examples used by Billy Sunday and to establish their relationship to deductive logic or the enthymeme as discussed.

Types of Examples Used by Billy Sunday

"For deliberative speaking the parallels from history are more effective, since in the long run things will turn out in the future as they actually have turned out in the

58op. cit., p. 147, Aristotle.
Such statements as the following indicate that Billy Sunday was aware of the value of the historical parallel:

I will give you no imaginary stories plucked from the brain of an excited orator. I will take instances from the judicial pages of the Supreme Court and the Circuit Court judges' reports in Indiana and in Illinois to make my case.

Such examples as these following are typical of the evangelist's use of historical parallel. Note that the historian in most instances is none other than Reverend Sunday although he sometimes made use of commonly known events or events that could be adequately documented.

Pointing to what could be done when people put words into action Sunday used the example of Five Points, New York.

Five Points, in New York, was a spot as near like Hell as any spot on earth. There are five streets that run to this point, and right in the middle was an old brewery, and the streets of either side were lined with grog-shops. The newspapers turned a search light on the district, and before they could stop it, the first thing they had to do was to buy the old brewery and turn it into a mission, and today it is a decent, respectable place.

Speaking of the money wasted on booze Reverend Sunday chose a parallel derived from his own personal history.

One time I was down in Washington and went to the United States Treasury and said: "I wish you would let me go where you don't let the general public." And they took us around on the inside and we walked

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59 Ibid., p. 149.


61 Ibid.
into a room about twenty feet long and fifteen feet wide and as many feet high, and I said: "What is this?"

"This is the vault that contains all of the national bank stock in the United States."

I said, "How much is here?"

They said, "$578,000,000."

And we dumped nearly four times the value of the national bank stock in the United States into the whiskey hole last year, and we didn't fill the hole up at that.62

Sunday often warned parents that even if they didn't give a hoot for the effects of drink on themselves, they should consider the influence of their drinking on their sons and daughters. He relied on historical parallel from his own life as logical proof:

I lived with my grandfather, Grandfather was good, kind, had a heart in him as big as a woman's. He never went to church, but he always wanted me to go. He'd get up in the morning and hire me off to Sunday school, but he never went.

He made wine out of grapes and dandelions and all that, but he never wanted me to drink. He used to keep it down in the cellar, and I used to go down and get a straw and stick it through the air hole and suck it through there.

My grandfather was kind—as I said, and he used to chew. He had tobacco (I forgot what they used to call it. It looked like gum, mud and tar pressed together). I think they called it 'navy' or something like that.

One time we had some company and grandpa pulled out a plug. He bit the northwest corner off and I said, "Give me a chaw, grandpa."

62 Ibid.
He said, "No sir! Don't ever let me hear you talk about chewing tobacco!"

I said, "I mean when I get big."

He said, "What's that?" He turned me over his knee and his hand came down. I could see stars that big.

He didn't want me to swear, but he did. He didn't want me to drink, but he did. He didn't go to church but he wanted me to go. We all want something better for our children than we had.63

As was previously stated, Reverend Sunday also went to well known historical events and persons for his historical parallels. Stating the need to strive to get ahead, Sunday used the example of Thomas Edison:

Tom Edison invented among the other things the phonograph. He told me this when I was down to Orange to see him. (He invented among other things the phonograph.) He would speak into it and it would reproduce every word perfectly except any word that would combine or end with the letter "s." For instance, he would speak in the word "specia" and it would respond and drop the "s" and say "pecia." He knew it was useless to send it out with that flaw.

He told me he worked from seventeen to twenty-four hours a day for two years to make that machine sound the letter "s." He at last succeeded and the royalty keeps the wolf away from the door. Those are the ones that win out in the world!64

This example is typical of those which the evangelist derived from well known historical parallels.

It may be concluded that Sunday relied heavily on examples derived from historical parallels both from his own experience and popularly known events. But Sunday placed

63p.cit., p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."

64p.cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."
about an equal amount of reliance upon the second type of example, the fable.

The fable is an invented comparison. "Fables are suited to speeches in a popular assembly; and they have an advantage in that it is hard to find parallels in history, but easy to find them in tales. In fact, the speaker must contrive with the fable as he contrives a comparison; all he needs is the power to see the analogy."

It is somewhat difficult to draw the line in some cases as to where historical parallel ended and fable began. The reason for this is that Sunday related many of his tales as if they actually did happen and were lost to history. But even with this factor present it is possible to distinguish a vast variety of examples that may be classified as fables. Sunday’s example proving that personal liberty was not hampered by the concept of prohibition was one:

This thing of personal liberty is misunderstood by many. We are widely prevented by law from having personal license. I have the personal liberty to swing my fists up here on this platform because it don't interfere with anyone else. But if the platform was crowded, my personal liberty to swing my fists would stop short. To swing it upon your nose. If you were the only citizen of this town you would have the liberty of doing anything you please, because there would be no one else around to be affected. You could start a glue factory before your front door and you could drive down the street at fifty miles an hour and there would be no one to care or prevent.

But when there are thousands of other people here your personal liberty is abridged because of their

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65op. cit., p. 149, Aristotle.
presence. And your personal liberty along moral lines is abridged because of their presence. And you can't commit any sin without it affecting others.\textsuperscript{66}

A particularly good example of the fables used by Reverend Sunday is found in his analogy between the story of Gulliver and those who drink or don't drink:

I read of a sailor who was ship-wrecked on an island where everything and everybody was big. Why the men and women were sixty feet high and he was the smallest thing they had ever seen, and he created a commotion and sensation by his contrast. A giant saw him. At the same time he saw the giant and he started to run, but the giant took a couple of steps, caught him, shoved him into his pocket and took him home and dumped him in the lap of his little girl, 9 years old and twenty-two feet high, and he said to her; "Sis, here's a play-thing I caught for you down on the seashore."

And so he made a cage for him and hung him on her belt like girls do chatelaine bags today, and whenever she went out she took it along as a plaything.

Later on I read where he was shipwrecked and he landed upon an island where everybody and everything was small. Men and women were about six inches high and children and nature in proportionate size, and he was the largest thing they had ever seen, and he created a commotion and sensation by his contrast, and they requested that when he wanted to take a stroll he'd notify the Mayor that he might call out the police and a brass band to warn the people lest he might stop a labor parade or step on a funeral procession.

They asked him as he walked the streets not to swing his arms lest he might topple over a church steeple or knock down some of their skyscrapers.

When I imagine myself on the island where everything and everybody was little, oh how chesty I become. I swell up as big as I imagine Alexander the Great felt when his feet were on the earth and his hands could touch the sky. But when I imagine myself on the island where everything and everybody was

\textsuperscript{66}op. cit. p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."
large, how wizened and miserable and mediocre I be-
come. So you are large or you are small, largely
owing to where you are.\textsuperscript{37}

It would of course be impossible to cite even an ade-
quate percentage of the examples Billy Sunday used because
they were his most abundant form of logical proof. But it
is important that the critic recognize the way in which
Sunday used his fables and historical parallels. The essen-
tial question is, "What was the relationship between the
example and the lines of reasoning developed from the topics
of Aristotle?"

\textbf{Billy Sunday's Use of the Example}

Two things may be said concerning Sunday's use of the
example: (1) in many instances Sunday used the example as
confirmation for his enthymeme; and (2) in many instances
the example stood alone as logical proof.

Aristotle explains the value of using this first method
of arrangement, confirming the enthymeme with an example.
"When they follow the Enthymemes, Examples function like
witnesses—and there is always a tendency to believe a wit-
tness."\textsuperscript{68} A typical example of this relationship is Sunday's
use of first an enthymeme derived from cause and effect con-
firmed with examples derived from a fable and two histori-
cal parallels. It is Sunday's thesis that if you drink you
will probably end up a drunkard:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{67}p. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."
\item \textsuperscript{68}p. cit., p. 149, Aristotle.
\end{enumerate}
One may drink and never get drunk but it's only those who drink that get drunk--that's sure! . . . You take all of the drunkards out of the world tonight and leave only the moderate drinkers and you won't have to wait long before you have another crop of drunkards . . . I commend you to the caution of a French minister who was officiating at a wedding of two young people. He said "marriage is a blessing to a great many people and a curse to others, and a risk to everybody who takes the venture. No do you wish to take the step?"

Do you suppose that Edgar Allen Poe dreamed when he took that first drink of liquor in the home of that Virginia gentleman that the time would ever come when it would bring that weird, heartbroken wail from his lips, "take your form from off my door, take your beak out of my heart. Quoth the raven, 'Nevermore.'" Did he dream of it? Not.

Do you suppose that Tom Marshall, that brilliant, gifted Kentucky orator dreamed when he stood at the foot of the ladder of fame and all Kentucky pointed to the golden summit at the top, that his last words would be: "And is this the end? Dying in a borrowed bed, dying under a borrowed sheet, without a decent suit of clothes to bury him in?"

Thus in many instances, of which this excerpt is typical, Billy Sunday used the example as an inductive confirmation for his enthymes. But the evangelist used the example in another way mentioned by Aristotle.

"In the absence of Enthymes, the speaker must make Examples serve the ends of logical proofs . . ." This Reverend Sunday did in a number of his temperance sermons. Such use of the example is especially apparent in some of the more emotional comparisons derived from Sunday's personal experience. The following is typical:

69op. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."

70op. cit., p. 149, Aristotle.
I've seen old Frank Flint sleeping on a table in a stale beer joint and I've turned my pocket inside out and said: "You're welcome to it, old pal." He drank on and on and one day in winter he staggered out of a stale beer joint and stood on a corner, and was seized with a fit of coughing. The blood streamed out of his nose, mouth and eyes. Down the street came a wealthy woman. She took one look and said: "My God, is it you, Frank?" and his wife came up and kissed him.

She called two policemen and a cab started with him to her boarding house. They broke all speed regulations. She called five of the best physicians and they listened to the beating of his heart, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, and the doctors said: "He will be dead in about four hours." She told them to tell him what they had told her. She said: "Frank, the end is near," and he said, "Send for Bill."

They telephoned me and I came. He said: "There's nothing in the life of years ago I care for now. I can hear the bleachers cheer when I make a hit that wins the game. But there is nothing that can help me out now, won't you say a few words for me, Bill." He struggled as he had years ago on the diamond, when he tried to reach home, but the Great Umpire of the universe yelled, "You're out!" and waved him to the club house and the great gladiator of the diamond was no more.71

These, then, were the two main ways in which Billy Sunday applied the example as a means of proof, (1) by using the example as a means of confirmation for the enthymeme; and (2) by using the example separate from the enthymeme.

Summary of Logos

Billy Sunday brought to bear on the issues two forms of logical proof, the artistic and the nonartistic. The latter was evinced in his speech texts through statistics
and testimony. The constituents of the former were the two universal means of proof—the enthymeme and the example.

Although the enthymeme was not used as frequently as the example the evangelist did have certain lines of reasoning that he often used as the basis of his logos. These lines of argument are revealed in the universal topics of Aristotle and include (1) demonstrative enthymemes from opposites; (2) a topos from consequences; (3) consideration of the incentives and deterrents as the motives people have for doing or avoiding the acts in question; (4) a topos based on inconsistencies; and the evangelist's most frequently used line of reasoning, (5) arguing from causal relationship.

Concerning the example it may be said that Reverend Sunday used a relatively even quantity of two types of examples, (1) parallels from the facts of history; and (2) invented parallels or fables. These two types were used in abundant quantity to (1) confirm an enthymeme; or (2) as separate logical proofs. The important point is that the example was Billy Sunday's prominent form of logical proof.
CHAPTER II

THE ETHICAL MEANS OF PERSUASION

"The ethos of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief...we might affirm that his ethos is the most potent of all the means to persuasion."\(^1\) Aristotle goes on to delineate the three constituents of ethical proof or ethos as being character, sagacity, and good will.\(^2\) It is these three dimensions of ethical proof that will constitute the axis of rhetorical analysis for this chapter.

Character

"We are persuaded when we think the speaker to be a man of a certain character—that is when he seems to be good, or well disposed or both....Character is manifested in choice: and choice is related to end or aim."\(^3\)

There are a number of ways by which a speaker may create probity of character. Aristotle and Cicero both cite high moral character as being closely related to the ability of the speaker to associate the virtues to either himself or his message. By virtue is meant "a faculty tending to pro-

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\(^2\)Ibid., p. 92.

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 45-46.
vide and preserve 'goods,' or a faculty tending to confer many great benefits...."4 But it is important to note that Aristotle confined the operational influence of character, as well as the other constituents of ethical proof, to the speech and the speaker's actions during the speech. It follows that the central question that should be asked is "In what way did Billy Sunday establish his character as revealed through his speech texts?" The following discussion will be dedicated to answering this question.

Reverend Sunday, in his "Booze" sermon, associated both himself and his message with the virtuous. The definition quoted above makes it clear that the very fact that the evangelist's message was rooted in the text of the Scriptures associated the content of the speech with the audience's orientation to the virtuous life:

"I will take my text from the 8th chapter of Matthew, the 28th to the 32nd verse, describing the casting out of the devils, which entered into the swine."5

Accompanying the basic reference to the Scriptures, the evangelist utilized constant association of his message with Biblical parallels.

"I don't think Jesus Christ did a nice thing," a fellow says to me.

You don't know what you're talking about.

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4Ibid., p. 47.

Down in Nashville, Tenn., I saw four wagons going down the street and they were loaded with stills, and kettles, and pipes.

"What's this?" I said.

"United States revenue officials, and they have been in the moon-shine district and confiscated the illicit stills and they are taking them down to the Government scrap heap."

Jesus Christ was God's revenue officer.6

Aside from the association of the temperance message with the Bible, evangelist Sunday would also associate himself directly and indirectly to the virtuous life.

I walk up to a young man and I say: "Be careful, my boy, don't keep company with that Godless sneering beer-drinking gang: don't listen to the vile, lewd stories they pour into your ears, those fellows who demonitize virtue, place a premium on vice, and applaud every man that can rob some girl of her honor. Don't go with them. Don't hang those lewd pictures on the walls of your memory. Don't comment on the symmetry of some girl's form. I smell liquor on your breath. I heard you laugh at a story that would have made your mother blush. Don't go with that gang." He says: "Mister Sunday, you are unduly excited for my welfare. I know you smell liquor on my breath, but I never expect to become a drunkard. I never expect to become an outcast." I say: "My boy, hear me. I have walked along the shores of time and have seen them strewn with the wrecks of those who have drifted in from the seas of lust and passion, and they are fit only for danger signals to warn the coming race."7

A more direct association of the evangelist with the virtuous life is derived from the fact that temperance in itself is virtue: "Temperance is the virtue through which men hold themselves as the law enjoins, with regard to bodily plea-

6Ibid.

sures...."8 Thus Sunday revealed his character by making it quite clear that he was to be associated with the virtue of temperance:

Why, writing a big book about the demons of hell are the political leaders. Part of the theory, the theory of those that damn, is the damnable blight. I may be cursed by it, but bow to it, I never will...I absolutely refuse to vote for any man for mayor, for governor, for representative, for senator, or for president who is offered to, and will not openly support, the Eighteenth Amendment and all the other Amendments no matter what political party--no matter what political party you may belong to and will not openly support the Eighteenth Amendment or any other Amendment of the Constitution.9

It follows logically that if Sunday could associate his opponent's cause with that which was not virtuous then it would reveal his own cause to be virtuous. This type of logic also proved Sunday to be a man of character for he was associated with a virtuous cause. One of the most frequently used methods of the evangelist for creating this impression was to link his opponent or the cause of the liquor interests to such admitted vices as crime, prostitution, and anarchy. For example, the evangelist's reproach of booze in 1913:

I defy any man to show me that the saloon has ever lessened the burden of taxation. The licensed liquor business is the cause of three-fourths of all the cost of our criminal system. Booze is the parent of crime and the mother of sin. To license such an incarnate friend of hell is the dirtiest, most damna-

ble business on top of this old earth. The saloon comes as near being a rat hole into which to pour money as anything on this earth. The booze question is the one big question before the American people. If you want to consort with the blackleg and the thief and the drunkard and the prostitute, go to the saloon. 10

Again in a 1922 sermon the evangelist went from an association of the opponents with what was not virtuous, to a specific attack on his opponent:

The time has come when anti-prohibition forces are striving to tear down the forces of good and substitute in place the red flag of revolt. Such forces are composed of bootleggers, bums, no accounts, and rascals that think more of anarchy than law. They're nothing but a dirty gang of black-hearted liars and scoundrels, when they tell you that the licensing of beer and wine will aid the situation which they say has followed in the wake of prohibition. If they were here tonight, I would accuse them of it, and they wouldn't dare deny it. 11

Reverend Sunday even went so far in this sermon as to equate individuals with nonvirtuous entities:

Fatty Arbuckâe and a thousand others who haven't been found out...are no better than he is....I want you people to show these bums just what you think about this amendment and your chance will be November 7th. 12

Although Billy Sunday was not often known to temper his praise of his cause, client, or self with propriety, there were moments when his character was revealed through this ethical attribute. In this instance he is praising his client:

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10 The American Issue, Published weekly by the American Issue Publishing Co., for the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, Westerville, Ohio, February 8, 1913, p. 11.


12 Ibid., p. 2.
The man who walks home sober is a bigger man than the one who will go home drunk: the girl who is virtuous is a million times better than the one who sells or gives away her womanhood. The one who prays is a bigger man than the one who curses. So you are big or you are little, largely owing to where you are in the world.13

Another instance where the evangelist bestowed praise was in his treatment of the lawyer who was helping the cause of temperance:

Don't you know it was Cicero, the lawyer, the fire of whose oratory burned in the forum, and he drove the traitors, Claudius and Catiline out? It was Demosthenes, the lawyer, whose oratory aroused the sleeping Athenians and they threw off the yoke of bondage and Arimathea, the lawyer, who, when the disciples became alarmed and deserted Him, stood firm and begged His body from the Roman governor and took it out and laid it in his tomb where man had never lain before? Don't you know it was the lawyers of England who rose against the tyranny of the Tudors and the Lancasters and put Oliver Cromwell on the throne?...The lawyers are in the fight every minute; take your hat off to them!14

Later in life his praise was turned to those who found energy to attempt the futile task of upholding the Dry Act:

The Canadian border is three thousand miles long; and the Atlantic and Pacific border, five thousand miles long and patrolling it against the most thoroughly organized gang of savage cut throats unhung on this side of hell is no easy job, I'll tell ya.15

Evangelist Sunday also found room in his speeches to refer to his own character through a limited amount of self praise of the unselfish efforts he was making to serve his audience. This was effective, for "...any desirable thing

13op. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."
14Ibid., p. 8.
15op. cit, "The Value of Prohibition."
one does in an unselfish spirit; and absolute good deeds, all that any man did for his country, neglecting his own interest--these are noble."16

In this excerpt Sunday speaks of his success as a messenger of the temperance cause:

Come on; I'm going to line up the drunkards. Everybody fall in. Come on, ready, forward, march, right, left, here I come with all the drunkards. We will line up in front of a butcher shop. The butcher says: "What do you want, a piece of neck?" "No; how much do I owe you?" "$3.00." "Here's your dough. Now give me a porterhouse steak and a sirloin roast."

"Where did you get all that money?"

"Went to hear Bill and climbed on the water wagon."17

Thus Billy Sunday praised both his client and himself and in turn established his character.

But there was another way in which Billy Sunday revealed his character. The clue to this device is that "indifference is the foe of all foes to be feared by an evangelist. Even hostile criticism really serves a religious purpose, for it directs attention to the messenger and the message."18 Billy Sunday had little to fear when it came to possible indifference toward his message, for his foes were ardent if not at times fanatical. Threats on his life, opposition in the tabernacle, and hostility of various pub-

lications were a few of the ways in which criticism became manifested. Typical of this criticism is the following excerpt:

Well it is all over now! Billy Sunday has made one of his spectacular "getaways" from Columbus and he has gone with the "swag."...

Columbus, like other cities which have been visited by Sunday, and hypnotized out of thousands of dollars while the poor, the widow, and the orphan suffer, will have time for sober second thought, and the crazy outbursts of the hypnotized mob that "made history" on Sunday at the "tabernacle," will without doubt have an opportunity for those who took part to reflect upon their own idiocy and indulge in a little introspection.19

But the evangelist's speeches revealed a distinct ability and effort to minimize the unfavorable impressions created by his opposition. In "Hot Cakes off the Griddle," Reverend Sunday defended his cause:

Do I practice what I preach? I will defy and challenge any man or woman on earth, and I'll look any man in the eye, and challenge him to prove that in the 27 years I have been a professing Christian to show anything against me. If I don't live what I preach, gentlemen, I'll leave the pulpit and never walk back here again. I live as I preach and I defy the dirty dogs who have insulted me and my wife and spread black hearted lies and vilifications.20

Another way in which Sunday revealed his character was through his constant reliance upon authority derived from personal experiences. This method of establishing probity of character is evinced in his speeches from the earliest years of evangelism to those later speeches when the temperance


20op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
movement was on the decline. Dominant in the evangelist's
terences to personal experiences was his conversion:

Twenty-seven years ago I walked down a street in
Chicago in company with some ball players who were
famous in this world, some of them are dead now, and
we got tanked up and then went and sat down on a cor-
er. It was a vacant lot at that time. We sat down
on a curbing. Across the street a company of men and
women were playing on instruments--horns, flutes, and
slide trombones--and the others were singing the gospel
hymns that I used to hear my mother sing back in the
log cabin in Iowa, and back in the old church where I
used to go to Sunday School.

And God painted on the canvas of my recollection
and memory a vivid picture of the scenes of other days
and other faces.

Many have long since turned to dust. I sobbed
and sobbed and a young man stepped out and said:

"We are going down to the Pacific Garden Mission;
won't you come down to the mission? I am sure you'll
enjoy it. You can hear drunkards tell how they have
been saved and girls tell how they have been saved
from the red light district."

I arose and said to the boys: "I'm through. I'm
going to Jesus Christ. We've come to the parting of
the ways," and I turned my back on them. Some of them
laughed and some of them mocked me; one of them gave
me encouragement; others never said a word.

Twenty-seven years ago I turned and left that
little group on the corner of State and Madison streets
and walked to the little mission and fell on my knees
and staggered out of sin and into the arms of the
Savior.21

The importance of this experience to his message is revealed
by William Ellis: "If he had not been converted definitely
and consciously and quickly in a rescue mission he could not
now preach his gospel of immediate conversion."22

21 Ibid.
Although the evangelist relied heavily on the story of his conversion, he did not isolate the authority he derived from personal experience to this early event in his life. For example, in "The Moral Leper" Billy Sunday brought attention to his character by referring to "young fellows and booze joints" in a personal context. Refer to page 49, footnote 7. It is interesting to note that in this particular example Reverend Sunday makes double use of authority derived from experience. Not only does the evangelist refer to his experience with the young man but an attempt to save the "young buck" is based on a reference to an earlier experience from which he derives authority.

Another rhetorical technique utilized by the evangelist to establish his character was reference to personal contact with credible individuals. This device was also a derivation of authority from personal experience but with added credibility. A sermon presented in Louisville, Kentucky, exemplifies this technique:

I preached in Lexington not long ago. I was entertained in the home of my friend, Gen. George W. Bain, the silver-tongued orator of Kentucky. Pointing across the street he said to me. "Bill, the last time I saw Tom Marshall he was standing on that street corner across there; his hair hung in a tangled mass about his shoulders. His Eagle eyes were dimmed from debauchery, and his thin, worn coat was buttoned over his soiled linen. He made his way into a nearby barroom, traces of his greatness still lingering upon him and the hangers-on shouted and cheered and laughed at his witticisms and at his idiosyncrasies and his stories. Then they cried, 'Give us another one Tom. That's a good one.' When presently a sense of his better self whirled upon that gang of barroom loafers
and he said, 'You remind me of bantam chickens picking the sore head of an eagle after his wings have been broken!' "

Young men, he stood right where you stand now, with just as bright prospects before him as ever dawned on your path. He stood in front of a blacksmith shop in Louisville one day and watched a blacksmith as the tears trickled down his cheeks, he said, "I would take that piece of iron and hold it in my right hand until it cooled off if I knew it would take away this appetite for drink." 23

The final way in which the evangelist established himself to be of good character was through his personal sincerity. "His strongest appeal was his unquestioned personal sincerity," said Homer Rodeheaver of his colleague. 24 The ability of the evangelist to create this impression is mirrored in all of his temperance speeches and in fact any reference to temperance. The following speech excerpts are indicative of Sunday's ability to reveal his character through being sincere:

After I am through here you can take me out on the bridge that crosses the Ohio and tie me hand and feet, and tie a millstone around my neck, and dump me over, and as I go out of sight you'll have to admit there goes a fellow that wasn't afraid to preach the truth. 25

This speech segment, from "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle," was typical of Sunday's emphasis on personal sacrifice and commitment to the cause of temperance. That same year the evangelist told an audience in Columbus, Ohio, in his concluding remarks:

I'm going to fight the hellish traffic to the last ditch. Twenty-six years ago I drew the sword and I've never had it sheathed and I never will until the undertaker pumps me full of embalming fluid and when I die I'll call Neill to my bedside and say, "Now telephone for the butcher to come down here and skin me. Then have him tan my old hide and make it into drum heads. Then I want you to hire men to go up and down the land beating on 'em and crying, 'Sunday still lives and gives the whiskey gang the best run for the money that he knows how.""26

Sunday also let his audience know that he would go to even the extent of physical violence to defend the cause of temperance. What could have proved him more sincere?

One day in Chicago we heard children in the next flat screaming and crying. My wife made me go in. I found a drunken father who had already knocked two of his children senseless upon the floor and was dragging his wife about by the hair. When I asked what he was doing he had that old answer about it being none of my business. But I made it my business. I knocked seven kinds of pork out of that fellow.27

Not only would he physically defend the cause of temperance and prohibition, Sunday would fight drink until his dying days:

    I'll kick it as long as I have a foot. I'll punch it as long as I have a fist. I'll butt it as long as I have a head. I'll bite it as long as I have a tooth and when I'm old and fistless and footless and toothless I'll shove it till I go home to heaven and it goes home my friend to hell.28

Even though the evangelist lost some of his physical prowess in his later sermons, he still emphasized his undying devotion to the temperance cause:

Oh, I know that great antiprohibition law scandal in the United States, aroused and directed by the enemies of Prohibition on the American image, is battling for the political ladder and corruption to the current less broad and deeper wide of cheaper excitement into our land. And be prepared to read more on the chalkboard testifying any school or college, that is not scared by its damnable blight. Why, writing a big book about the demons of hell are the political leaders. Part of the theory, the theory of those that damn, is the damnable blight. I may be cursed by it, but bow to it, I never will.  

Thus it seems that the texts verify the words of Rodeheaver that Sunday's "strongest appeal was his unquestioned personal sincerity."

It was by these six methods by (1) associating both his message and himself with virtue; by (2) associating his opponents and their cause with that which was lacking in virtue; (3) by occasional tempered praise of himself, his cause, and his client; (4) by minimizing unfavorable impressions of himself; (5) by reliance upon personal authority and association with virtuous individuals; and the most potent form of ethical proof relating to character (6) by Sunday's personal sincerity, that Billy Sunday contributed to his persuasiveness....for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely."  

29op. cit., "The Value of Prohibition."

30op. cit., p. 8, Aristotle.
Sagacity

The second constituent of ethical proof utilized by the evangelist to establish ethical credibility was sagacity or intelligence. For example Billy Sunday sometimes relied upon common sense which is a sign of sagacity.

Now I say the man who is sober is a bigger man than the man who drinks, and drunkards are made from moderate drinkers; drunkards are never made of total abstainers--never!

Speaking of the issue of personal liberty, Sunday used this rhetorical technique to establish his intelligence:

In these days when the question of saloon or no saloon is at the fore in almost every community, one hears a good deal about what is called "personal liberty." These are fine, large mouth-filling words and they certainly do sound first-rate; but when you get right down and analyze them in the light of common old horse sense, you will discover that in their application to the present controversy they mean just about this....

Aside from the use of common sense, Sunday made a point of being well informed about the interests of his day. Every recorded speech that this critic examined gives evidence of this element of sagacity. A typical example of this rhetorical technique is the "Booze" sermon delivered at Stubenville, Ohio, January 24, 1913:

The Federal food laws say beer is properly made of barley, malt, hops, and yeast. I'll bet not three per cent of the beer sold in Columbus or in Ohio is made exclusively from these ingredients I have named. Around every brewery you will notice side tracks at

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310 p. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."

320 p. cit., p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."
the rear, which are used to bring in car loads of rice, corn, grape sugar, glucose, and other things at the back door. While all the barley and hops used you can haul to the front door in a spring wagon.33

Not only was the evangelist familiar with his arch enemies' production methods, but Sunday was also ever ready to cite his familiarity with the distribution of liquor:

We have in this country 250,000 saloons, and allowing 50 feet frontage for each saloon it makes a street from New York to Chicago and 5,000,000 men, women, and children go daily into the saloons for drink. And marching 20 miles a day it would take 30 days to pass this building, and marching five abreast they would reach 590 miles. There they go, look at them!34

And of course Reverend Sunday was more than familiar with the effects that alcohol was producing in contemporary society:

Listen: Seventy-five per cent of the idiots come from intemperate parents, 80 per cent of the paupers, 82 per cent of the crime is committed by men under the influence of liquor, 90 per cent of the adult criminals are whiskey-made.35

These were the ways that Sunday established sagacity through being well informed, but there are two other means that must be examined.

Reverend Sunday had his moments when he would discard his blistering attack on the evils of drink and approach the problem more moderately. It is necessary to point out that most of his sermons dealing with temperance had moments when

34Ibid., p. 1.
the evangelist bordered on moderation, but these were typical of the total flavor of Billy Sunday's message. Nevertheless they did reveal an aspect of intelligence:

I'll try to help you look at it from a monetary standpoint for just a minute, but I think that is the lowest view to take of it. I can take the money men dump into the whiskey hole each year and I can build 1,100,000 homes and pay $2,000 for each house.36

This example is typical of this element of sagacity, for it was usually the monetary arguments that held overtones of moderation in Sunday's temperance sermons.

The final way in which the evangelist was able to advance the credibility of his message through the impression of sagacity lay in his ability to hand speech materials. Sunday recognized that "although you must use argument, you must not use argument alone...by adding motives to arguments, you will supply the machinery of logic with steam for its driving power."37 The following exemplifies Sunday's recognition of this principle:

This happened in Chicago in a police court there. A letter was introduced as evidence for a criminal there for vagrancy. It read, "I hope you won't have to hunt long to find work. Tom is sick and the baby is sick; Lucy has no shoes and we have no money for the doctor or to buy any clothes. I manage to make a little by taking in washing, but we are living in one room in a basement. I hope you won't have to look long for work," and so on, just the kind of a letter a wife would write to her husband. And before it was finished men cried and policemen with hearts of adamant were crying and fled from the room. The judge wiped

36Ibid., p. 1.

the tears from his eyes and said: "You see no man lives to himself alone. If he sins others suffer. I have no alternative. I sympathize with them, as does every one of you, but I have no alternative. I must send this man to Bridewell." Who suffers most, that woman manicuring her nails over a washboard to keep the little brood together or that drunken bum in Bridewell getting his just deserves from his acts? You have only to be the wife of a man like that to know whether or not the innocent suffer with the guilty.38

Thus by establishing an impression of sagacity in his message through the use of (1) common sense; (2) familiarity with the events and interests of his day; (3) occasional moderation; and (4) intelligent handling of speech materials, Billy Sunday enhanced the credibility of his message. The main way in which the evangelist created sagacity was by his familiarity with the events and interests of the day.

Good Will

A great deal of good will or friendly disposition preceded Reverend Sunday to the platform. For example, the influence of his baseball career upon the American public followed him wherever he went.

All the world of base-ball enthusiasts, a generation ago, knew Billy Sunday, the speediest base-runner and the most daring base stealer in the whole fraternity. Wherever he goes today veteran devotees of the national game recall times when they saw him play; and sporting periodicals and sporting pages of newspapers have been filled with reminiscences from base-ball "fans," of the triumphs of the evangelist on the diamond.39

38op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."

39op. cit., p. 33, Ellis.
There was little question that Sunday's success as a preacher gained both luster and good will from his distinction as a baseball player, but as Aristotle states when discussing the analysis of ethos and the trust an audience places in a man of high character, "This trust, however, should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man." In essence the prior dispositions of the audience toward the evangelist cannot be forgotten but the prime way in which Sunday revealed his good will was through his speech materials.

The first method by which the evangelist established good will was to establish a common footing and identification with his audience. For example his concern for the farmer was a constant point of departure:

Let us see what interest the farmer has in this problem. You take the farmer's bushel of corn, brewer or distiller, and you brew and distill from it four and one-half gallons of spirits. If he doesn't dilute it at all, he puts on the market four and a half gallons of intoxicating liquor, 36 pints. I am not going to trace the 36, but I want to trace three of them... Now I have followed three of the 36 pints of the farmer's product of a bushel of corn and the three of them have struck down seven lives, the three boys who committed the murders; three persons who were killed and the little mother who died of a broken heart. Now I want to know Mr. Farmer, if this has been a good commercial transaction for you? You sold a bushel of corn, you got 50 cents and a fraction of its product struck down seven lives. All of these should have been consumers of your products through their life expectancy.

The brewers use less than 2 per cent of the corn raised and if you shut them all off you wouldn't affect the price 2 cents on a bushel and the victims would eat up all that corn in one meal of flapjacks.\footnote{41}

Also Reverend Sunday established a concern for the problems of the total audience:

\begin{quote}
I want to say something that will help every one of you, old or young, to put your life in italics so that when you leave the world you will leave something besides an epitaph on the tombstones or an obituary in the newspapers.\footnote{42}
\end{quote}

And again in "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle":

\begin{quote}
Well, for the first God knows I am kindly disposed toward you. Second, God knows I would do anything in my power to help you be a better man. I want to make it easier for you to be square; and harder for you to go to hell.\footnote{43}
\end{quote}

A second way in which Sunday created good will was through his ability to reveal his personal qualifications as a messenger of the gospel truth:

\begin{quote}
Do you know what you're talking about?...I know what I'm talking about, for I have the Bible to back me up in parts and the statements of eminent physicians in other parts.\footnote{44}
\end{quote}

Sunday also emphasized his physical qualities:

\begin{quote}
Before I was converted I could go five rounds so fast you couldn't see me for dust and I'm still pretty handy with my dukes and I can still deliver the goods with all express charges prepaid. Before I was converted I could run one hundred yards in ten seconds and circle the bases in fourteen seconds and I could
\end{quote}

\footnote{41}{op. cit., p. 1, "Booze."}
\footnote{42}{op. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."}
\footnote{43}{op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."}
\footnote{44}{Ibid.}
run just as fast after I was converted. So you don’t have to be a dish rag proposition at all.45

Combined with the evangelist’s citing of his personal qualities there was an attempt to offset any personal biases relating to the message:

That’s what booze is doing for you. Isn’t it time you went red hot on the enemy? I’m trying to help you. I’m trying to put a carpet on your floor, pull the pillows out of the window, give you and your children and wife good clothes. I’m trying to get you to save your money instead of buying a machine for the saloon keeper while you have to hot foot it.

By the grace of God I have strength enough to pass the open saloon, but some of you can’t, so I owe it to you to help you.

I’ve stood for more sneers and scoffs and insults and had my life threatened from one end of the land to the other by this dirty, stinking, God forsaken gang of thugs and cut throats because I have come out uncompromisingly against them. I’ve had more dirty, vile insults from this low down bunch, than from any one on earth, but there is no one that will reach down lower, or reach up higher or wider to help you out of the pits of drunkenness than I.46

The final way by which Sunday created good will was his straightforward approach. On February 2, 1913 the evangelist flung this straightforward challenge at his audience:

You know why some of you are not coming down and shaking my hand and promising to be a better Christian? You’re not man enough. I throw it into your faces, you’re not man enough.47

Again in 1923 he was witnessed to be using the straightforward approach when he said:

45Ibid.
46Ibid.
Many of you start at third base. The run doesn't count. No, sir. You are off-side; play the game unfairly. If your pockets are empty fill your hearts full of ambitions and go to it! Tell yourself what everybody knows—you're a quitter.48

And again:

When you are asked for a contribution for religion and God, you dig down deep in your pockets and feel the edge of the coin to see if it is smooth or rough. And the rough edged piece stays in your pocket.49

The people liked Billy Sunday because he was straightforward in his approach.

**Summary of Ethical Proof**

Evangelist Sunday established probity of character by (1) associating his message with the virtues of the Bible; (2) direct and indirect association of himself with the virtuous life; (3) equating his opponents or their cause with such nonvirtuous entities as crime and anarchy; (4) occasionally praising his cause, client, or self with propriety; (5) by minimizing hostile criticism; (6) by constantly relying upon authority derived from personal experience such as his conversion; (7) often associating himself with credible individuals; and the final and most prominent means by which Sunday established probity of character (8) personal sincerity.

The second way in which the evangelist established ethical credibility was through intelligence or sagacity. This trait was revealed through such speech techniques as reliance

48op. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."

upon common sense and a complete familiarity with the issues, interests, and events of his day. Also Reverend Sunday would occasionally use a moderate approach to the problem of temperance, but this method of revealing intelligence was not a prominent characteristic of Sunday's speech methods. Finally Billy Sunday revealed his intelligence by the way that he managed his speech materials. For example he realized that argument can not stand alone without any motive to drive the point home to the audience.

The final means by which Sunday established his ethical credibility was by attaining the good will of his audience. Essentially there were three ways in which the evangelist secured good will through his sermons: (1) by establishing a common footing and identification with his audience; (2) through revealing his personal qualifications as a messenger of the gospel; and most important (3) by a straightforward approach.
CHAPTER III

THE EMOTIONAL MEANS OF PERSUASION

"The same thing does not appear the same to men when they are friendly and when they hate, nor when they are angry and when they are in a gentle mood; in these different moods the same thing will appear either wholly different in kind, or different as to magnitude." 1

Directly related to this statement of Aristotle is the hypothesis that Billy Sunday's chief rhetorical concern was to arouse the emotions of his audience so that they might view temperance in a different light. Whatever their predispositions they must be made to see the saloon as a blight upon humanity and the devil's curse to society. In essence, they must be aroused, not through logic or ethics but through emotional proof.

Confirmation of this hypothesis shall be based upon an examination of (1) Sunday's audience; (2) Sunday's desired response; and (3) the emotional proofs Sunday used to gain his desired response.

The Audience

One dominant feature that characterized the audiences that came to hear Billy Sunday preach his temperance sermons

1op. cit., p. 91, Aristotle.
was the proportion of men present. It was not unusual that on Sunday, January 26, 1913, 20,500 men and no women turned out to hear the evangelist preach his famous "Booze" sermon. But it was not just coincidence in this particular case, for Sunday limited the hearers of this message to men only. The reason for this segregationist policy was that "the 'Booze' sermon displayed Sunday's rhetorical technique at its most emotional pitch; it was the most extreme of all his sermons."² Although with this sermon the evangelist chose an audience of men only, this audience composition did not vary a great deal in his other sermons. "His tabernacle audiences resemble baseball crowds in the proportion of men present..."³ 

It was Sunday's claim that he reached all kinds of people. But already it has been established that he reached mainly men, and a further limitation to this claim is constructed from evidence that "50 percent of every audience was made up of church members, and the estimate was, if anything, low."⁴ Furthermore, an analysis of the social make-up of the typical audience revealed that they "were not 'down-and-outers'; they were not booze-soaked men; they were not feeble-minded old men or sobbing little boys. They were fine, bright men, most of them between 25 and 40."⁵

⁵Ibid., p. 212.
The social makeup of the tabernacle audiences can be fairly deduced from the types of delegations which were given reservations...By far the most numerous delegations were those representing a particular store, business firm, insurance company, or office building. There were office workers and manager from publishing houses, newspapers, manufacturing concerns, and all types of stores; they included petty officials, small shop-owners, floorwalkers, salesmen, filing clerks, office boys, junior managers, and administrative assistants. Most of these persons received regular salaries or at least worked on commission. They all wore white shirts to work, and almost all of them commuted from uptown or the suburbs...Among the more frequent and numerous delegations were the many fraternal orders, businessmen's clubs, church fellowship groups, and their corresponding female societies...In spite of this preponderance of middle-class visitors to the tabernacle Sunday made some effort to reach the other elements in the city...There were two concrete reasons why Sunday seldom reached the unskilled workers, the lowest of the lower classes: first, these people at the bottom of the social and economic scale were the most recent immigrants, or the children of recent immigrants, second, the vast majority of them were Catholics and Jews, who were unfamiliar with, and unlikely to be influenced by, Protestant revivalism.6

This predominantly middle-class audience was anything but apathetic toward Reverend Sunday. Many came to hear the evangelist of the baseball diamond out of curiosity. Others came because they were invited, and it made a fine group activity:

Such delegations looked upon their trips to the tabernacle as office parties rather than as religious pilgrimages. They were noisy and hilarious...To promote group spirit and advertise their company, they wore badges provided by the firm and bearing its name; they carried banners or placards also bearing the company label, and they usually brought Sunday or his wife some gift which, when feasible, represented their company's product.7

6Ibid., pp. 212-215.
7Ibid., p. 213.
Thus it was a predominantly male, middle class, and happy audience that heard Billy Sunday present his temperance message. These were the types of people that the evangelist tried to move down the "sawdust trail."

**Sunday's Desired Response**

The newspapers measured the effectiveness of Sunday's message with an emotional yardstick. Everyday they ran a tabulation on how many people had hit the trail, which was really a measure of how many people Sunday had sufficiently aroused through emotional proof.

The trail-hitter did not know why the shouting of certain words like "mother," "home," "children," "America," "God," "Christ," "blood," "cutthroats," and "fight" made him grow tense and fearful. He only knew that, when the sermon ended, he felt an uncontrollable urge to follow Sunday's commands, to get up and go forward to find "peace," "hope," "assurance," "love," and a warm handshake of comradeship in the battle of life; he felt that by going forward he would come close to a man who wanted to help him, a strong, confident, successful man, who would lead him to comfort, security, respect, and friendship. This strong voice said, "Who will join me? Who will join me and say, 'Here is my hand, and I'm with you in this proposition to live for Jesus Christ.' Come on, if you will. Every man and woman in this building! Everybody rise! Come on! Come on! How many of you will?"

Whether this call to hit the sawdust trail came during a temperance sermon such as "Sooze" or during a sermon of different rhetorical emphasis, the same emotional pitch was

8Ibid., p. 188.
maintained so that when the call did come it would be effective.\footnote{The call to hit the trail, when given in the "Booze" sermon, came following the word "I" in the statement: "I've stood for more sneers and scoffs and insults and had my life threatened from one end of the land to the other by this God-forsaken gang of thugs and cut-throats...there is no one that will reach down lower, or reach higher to help you out of the pit of drunkenness than I."}

The important item to remember before delving into an analysis of the specific emotional proofs utilized by the evangelist is that Sunday was primarily concerned with obtaining an emotional response. He wanted his audience to become aroused so that when the time came they would come forward to sign the pledge to live the Christian life which included never taking another drink. It was essential to Sunday's success as an evangelist that he be, as Home Rodeheaver said he was, "a master of pathos...."

\textbf{Emotional Proofs Used By Billy Sunday}

Aristotle defines emotions as "those states which are attended by pain and pleasure, and which as they change, make a difference in our judgements...."\footnote{\textit{Op. cit.}, p. 91, Aristotle.} The specific emotions that evangelist Sunday chose to arouse in his audience were (1) anger, (2) hatred, (3) pity, (4) fear, and (5) shame. It will be to these five emotions, calculated to put Sunday's audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of his ideas, that the remainder of this chapter is dedicated.
Anger

Aristotle defined anger as "an impulse attended by pain, to revenge that shall be evident, and caused by an obvious, unjustified slight (active display of opinion about something one takes to be worthless) with respect to the individual or his friends." \footnote{11} It was the evangelist's purpose, when utilizing the emotion of anger, to "represent the adversary as obnoxious in those things which make men angry, and as the sort of person who arouses anger." \footnote{12} Among those ways that Sunday brought his audience to a state of anger was to reveal the contempt of the liquor interests for mankind.

And they told Jesus to leave the country. They said: "You are hurting our business."

"Have you no interest in manhood?"

"We have no interest in that; just take your disciples and leave, for you are hurting our business."

That is the attitude of the liquor traffic toward the Church and State, and Government and the preacher that has the backbone to fight the most damnable, corrupt institution that ever wriggled out of Hell and fastened itself on the public. \footnote{13}

Many times he would have the saloon keeper appear to deem mankind worthless, thus proving his contempt for all things decent.

Don't you want to see men sober? Brutal, staggering men transferred into respectable citizens? "No," said

\footnote{11}{Ibid., p. 93.}
\footnote{12}{Ibid., p. 99.}
\footnote{13}{Op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."}
a saloon-keeper, "to Hell with men. We are interested in our business; we have no interest in human-
ity."14

But Sunday did not rely just on the general slight of mankind by the liquor people to create the emotion of anger. He recognized that anger is aroused by "people who put a slight upon such objects as men are bound to defend; for example, upon their parents, children, wives, or subjects."15 Notice in this excerpt how Sunday used this method of creating anger.

I stand in front of the jails and count the whiskey criminals. They say, "Yes, Bill, I fired the bullet;" "Yes, I backed my wife into a corner and beat her life out; I am waiting for the scaffold;" "I am waiting," says another, "to slip into hell." On, on it goes. Say, let me summon the wifehood and the motherhood and the childhood of America and see the tears rain down their upturned faces. People, tears are too weak for that hellish business! It is a fact that in an hour twelve men die drunkards, three hundred a day, in the land of the free and the home of the brave, and they left behind 865,000 whiskey orphan children.16

Another good example of Sunday's making his audience angry through this rhetorical device is the evangelist's accusation that the saloon itself has slighted those things the audience holds dear and should defend.

Yes, it sends the husband home with a lie on his lips to his wife; and the boy home with a lie on his lips to his mother; and it causes the employee to lie to his employer. It degrades. It is God's worst enemy and the devil's best friend. Seventy-five per cent of impurity comes from the grogshop. It spares neither youth nor old age. It is waiting with a dirty

14Ibid., p. 6.
blanket for the baby to crawl into this world. It lies in wait for the unborn to crawl into this world. It cocks the highwayman's pistol. It puts the rope in the hands of the mob. It is the anarchist of the world and its dirty red flag is dyed with the blood of women and children. 17

Another way in which Sunday aroused anger in his audience was to recognize that when you "cross" a person—"Whether you act against him, or fail to act with him, or bother him in any other way, when he is in this state of mind, he becomes alike angry." 18

Nobody's business! It is everybody's business. Some fellow will say, "It don't cut any ice with you I can booze if I want to and you don't need to butt in."

One day in Chicago we heard children in the next flat screaming and crying. My wife made me go in. I found a drunken father who had already knocked two of his children senseless upon the floor and was dragging his wife about by the hair. When I asked what he was doing he had that old answer about it being none of my business. 19

A final way in which Billy Sunday aroused his audience to anger was by showing them that they gave a great deal to the saloon but got little in return. This rhetorical technique recognized that people will be moved to anger when "people...do not requite good treatment with good treatment, or who return less good than they have received." 20

method is evinced in Sunday's treatment of what the saloon promises but doesn't fulfill:

The saloon is a liar. It promises good cheer and sends sorrow. It promises health and causes disease. It promises prosperity and sends adversity. It promises happiness and sends misery.21

Again in another part of his "Booze" sermon the evangelist refers to the unequal returns of the saloon for the money and good faith of the patron:

If you want to consort with the blackleg and the thief and the drunkard and the prostitute, go to the saloon. The saloonkeeper takes your decency and your manhood. The murder only kills your body. The saloonkeeper kills your soul. The saloon may pay you an extra dividend and you'll get it in the shape of delirium tremens.22

Hatred

But Sunday did not stop with the emotion of anger:

In order to arouse his audiences to fighting mood Sunday preached hate....And the full weight of his hatred was directed against "the devil's gang" who ran that "sum of all villainies," the saloon. "I hate it with a perfect hatred," he said, and he instilled his hate into the audience.23

Thus the central objects on which the audience could attain their revenge were the saloon, the liquor interests, and in later sermons the bootlegger and rum-runner.

Another of the ways Sunday created hatred in his audience was by the recognition that "whereas anger is excited by offences that concern the individual, enmity may arise

21op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."
23op. cit., p. 180, McLoughlin.
without regard to the individual as such; for if we take a man to be of a certain sort we hate him." In speaking of the saloon Sunday aroused hatred in his audience by creating an image of the saloon as all the evils in the world personified:

It is an infidel. It has no faith in God; has no religion. It would close every church in the land. It would hang its beer signs on the abandoned altars. It would close every public school. It respects the thief and it esteems the blasphemer. It fills the prisons and the penitentiaries. It despises Heaven, hates love, scorns virtue. It tempts the passions. Its music is the song of the siren. Its sermons are a collection of lewd, vile stories. It wraps a mantle about the hope of this world and that to come. Its tables are full of the vilest literature. It is the moral clearing house for rot, and damnation, and poverty and insanity, and it wrecks homes and blights lives today.

The liquor interests were also stereotyped in such a way as to create hatred:

The liquor traffic is law defying, rebellious, anarchistic and in its schoolhouse of infamy, it is educating the people in disrespect of law, and it gathers around it as its allies in crime the gambling dens, the brothels and wherever men meet to plan crime.

Here the yegg comes to divide his swagg after he has cracked the save, and the liquor traffic is a political and it is a commercial machine....

And the drunkard was pictured as neither clean or neat in person or dress which is a cause of hate:

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24op. cit., p. 106, Aristotle.

25op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."

...vile, dirty, filthy, mandering, spewing, tottering, blear-eyed, hog-jowled, bloated-faced, thin-lipped, stinking, rotten, vermin-covered drunkard.27

Attacking the drunkard was another way for Sunday to show the saloon as evil incarnate. In this example, as with the others exhibiting hatred, Sunday openly showed his own hate so that the audience might hate those that he hated:

I am John, a drunken bum, and I will spend my dollar. I have worked a week and got my pay. I go into a grog-shop and throw down my dollar. The saloon keeper gets my dollar and I get a quart of booze. Come home with me. I stagger, and reel, and spew into my wife's presence and she says:

"Hello, John, what did you bring home?"

"A quart."

What will a quart do? It will burn up my happiness and my home and fill my home with squalor and want.28

In his later sermons Sunday presented a new target for the hatred of the audience--the bootleggers and others connected with illegal whiskey.

A leading man in Chicago said the other day that ninety per cent of the rum runners, the high jockeys, the bootleggers, my friends, and the riff-raff, yes, they are pouring, pouring, pouring in. And seventy per cent of them have never been naturalized. I say deport every unnaturalized law breaker! I say take away the citizenship papers from every man that's been naturalized and shows himself a crook, and on a second offense deport him also...29

It was in this manner that the evangelist gave the audience an outlet for anger while at the same time creating hatred


by depicting the saloon and liquor interests to be of a certain type while openly exhibiting his own hate of this type to the audience.

But Billy Sunday did not wish that the liquor business and all those associated with it should merely suffer; rather, the evangelist's aim was to destroy the "Demon Rum."
"The angry man wishes the object of his anger to suffer in return; hatred wishes its object not to exist."30

Concerning the saloon license proposition. We've tried the license plan until we're so near Hell we can smell the sulphur fumes. Down in an insane asylum the warden used to put patients in a water tight room partly filled with water, and with the faucet in the sink still open. If the man tried to mop up the water without turning off the inflow, then the warden knew for sure that he was bughouse. Say Columbus, we must all be bughouse. We've tried to mop up the saloon with the WCTU's, the Anti-Saloon Leagues, and all these organizations. What we want to do is to shut off the supply. Turn the faucet and shut it up, and we'll get somewhere.31

And again in defense of Prohibition Sunday cried out against the existence of the saloon.

In this government of ours, my friends, it received about one third of its revenue from a system that barter's and sells away the well-being and the happiness of American people--the grog shops! In my opinion it's against the constitution of the United States, and they have no right to let it exist and damn and curse this old land in which we live.32

Sunday gave justification for his desire to see the saloon destroyed. It was an-eye-for-an-eye-and-a-tooth-for-a-

tooth rationale presented by showing that the saloons were destroying our young boys so why not destroy the saloons:

"Hey, why kind of mill are you?"

"A gin mill."

"I don't like the looks nor the smell of you, gin mill; what do you make? What kind of a mill are you?"

"A gin mill."

"What is your raw material?"

"The boys of America."

The gin mills of this country must have 2,000,000 boys or shut up shop. Say, walk down your streets, count the homes, and every fifth home has to furnish a boy for a drunkard. Have you furnished yours? No. Then I have to furnish two to make up.

"What is your raw material?"

"American boys."

"Then I will pick the boys up and give them to you."

A man says: "Hold on, not that boy; he is mine."

Then I will say to you what a saloon keeper said to me when I protested: "I am not interested in boys; to hell with your boys!"33

Thus enmity was produced by the evangelist by stereotyping those associated with the saloon as having no concern for the lives of those in the audience; by making an appeal for the destruction of those that would destroy other men; and by openly exhibiting in his behavior that he truely hated the saloon.

33op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."
Pity

"Pity we may define as a sense of pain at what we take to be an evil of a destructive or painful kind, which befalls one who does not deserve it, which we think we ourselves or someone allied to us might like wise suffer, and when this possibility seems near at hand."34 Inducement of pity into the emotional patterns of the audience was a frequently used technique of the evangelist. His speech texts exhibit constant references to those who have suffered through no fault of their own:

Two years ago in the city of Chicago a young man of good parents, good character, one Sunday crossed the street and entered a saloon, open against the law. He found there boon companions. After a while, drunk insanely drunk, his money gone, he was kicked into the street. He found his way across to his mother's home. He importuned her for money to buy more drink. She refused him. He seized from the sideboard a revolver and ran out into the street and with the expressed determination of entering the saloon and getting more drink, money or no money...And then a neighbor, whom he knew and respected, came in and put his hand on him in gentleness and friendly kindness but in an insanity of drunk rage he raised the revolver and shot his friend dead in his blood upon the street...He was sentenced to life imprisonment and when the little mother heard the verdict—a frail little bit of a woman—she threw up her hands and fell in a swoon. In three hours she was dead.

In the streets of Freeport, Ill., a young man of good family became involved in a controversy with a lewd woman of the town. He went in a drunken frenzy to his father's home armed himself with a deadly weapon and set forth in the city in search of the woman with whom he had UARTed. The first person he met upon the public square in the city, in the daylight, in a place where she had a right to be, was one of the most

34op. cit., p. 120, Aristotle.
refined and cultured women of Freeport. She carried in her arms her babe, motherhood and babyhood, upon the streets of Freeport in the day time where they had a right to be, but this young man in his drunken insanity mistook her for the woman he sought and shot her dead upon the streets with her babe in her arms.35

This type of reference was particularly effective because men will pity "who have parents living, or children, or wives; for these are a part of the man himself, and are liable to suffer the evils in question."36 Notice how Reverend Sunday graphically described the terrible fate of the innocent, such as those mentioned by Aristotle, caused by alcohol.

Last spring, in the city of Anderson, you remember the tragedy in the Blake home. A young man came home intoxicated, demanding money of his mother. She refused it. He seized from the wood box a hatchet and killed his mother, and then robbed her. You remember he fled. The officers of the law pursued him, brought him back. An indictment was read to him, charging him with the murder of the mother who had given him his birth, of her who had gone down into the valley of the shadow of death to give him life, of her who had looked down into his blue eyes and thanked God for his life.37

Billy Sunday had pity for the drunkard but not for drunkeness:

"I brand the man who continues to live in sin. I have the sin, but would save the sinner. But the man who will not turn from his evil path is the kind that should be consumed out of the earth."38

Sunday's pity for the drunkard, that he projected to his audience, was evident in his reference to the downfall's of two

360p. cit., p. 120, Aristotle.
famous men, caused by alcoholism. This story was especially effective in arousing pity, for "Whatever brings pain and anguish, and is in its nature, destructive, is pitious—and whatever brings utter ruin."\(^{39}\)

Do you suppose that Edgar Allen Poe dreamed when he took that first drink of liquor in the home of that Virginia gentleman that the time would ever come when it would bring that weird, heartbroken wail from his lips, "take your form from off my door, take your beak out of my heart. quoth the raven. 'Nevermore.'" Did he dream it? No!

And do you suppose that Tom Marshall, that brilliant, gifted Kentucky orator dreamed when he stood at the foot of the ladder of fame and all Kentucky pointed to the golden summit at the top, that his last words would be: "and is this the end? Tom Marshall dying? Dying in a borrowed bed, dying under a borrowed sheet, without a decent suit of clothes to bury him in?"\(^{40}\)

Another reason why this example was particularly effective in arousing pity is cited by Aristotle. "Piteous, too, are the signs of woe, and the acts of the victims, their garments and all similar tokens, their words, or whatever they said or did in the midst of their suffering—for example, at the moment of his death."\(^{41}\) Note in this past example Sunday had Edgar Allen Poe speak in his suffering and Tom Marshall speak at the moment of his death. The fact that Reverend Sunday often used this rhetorical method to create pity may be witnessed in the last and in the following example:

\(^{39}\)op. cit., p. 12, Aristotle.

\(^{40}\)op. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."

\(^{41}\)op. cit., p. 121, Aristotle.
Who was it? Who was it that Daniel Webster left the United States Senate and went over to the House of Representatives to listen to? S. S. Prentiss. Oh, he came from a gifted Southern family and they gave the nation their gifted son and they sent him to the halls of National Congress, and drink wrought his ruin. Horace Greeley was his friend. Meeting him one day on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, he said to him, "Prentiss, why don't you give up what is ruining you?"

He said to him, "Horace, ask me to take a jackknife and cut off my arm. I can do that but I can't stop drinking."

A few days later the guests in the St. Charles Hotel were startled by the report of a revolver; and S. S. Prentiss had pierced his brain with a bullet!

So don't let the devil fool you, because you will lose out in the world. Never! And you bring me all the drunkards with their appetites--they would be father and husbands, and sons and noble citizens, they'd be an asset instead of a liability to the universe in which they live.42

When Sunday used the following example it is reported that

"The audience shook with sobs....Sunday felt the twenty thousand persons throbbing as a single mass before him."43

Listen! In a northwest city a preacher sat at his breakfast table one Sunday morning. The door bell rang, he answered it, and there stood a little boy, 12 years of age. He was on crutches, right leg off at the knee, shivering and he said: "Please, sir, will you come up to the jail and talk and pray with papa? He murdered mama. Papa was good and kind, but whiskey did it, and I have to support my three little sisters. I sell newspapers and black boots. Will you go up and talk and pray with papa? And will you come home and be with us when they bring him back? The Governor says we can have his body, after they hang him."

The preacher was at the little hut when up drove the undertaker's wagon and they carried out the pine coffin. They led the little boy up to the coffin, he

42Ibid., p. 121.

leaned over and kissed his father and sobbed and he said to his sisters: "Come on, sisters, kiss papa's cheeks before they grow cold." And the little hungry, ragged, whiskey orphans hurried to the coffin shrieking in agony. Police, whose hearts were adamant, buried their faces in their hands and rushed from the house, and the preacher fell on his knees and lifted his clenched fist and tear-stained face and took an oath before God and before the whiskey orphans, that he would fight the cussed business until the undertaker carried him out in his coffin.44

These excerpts are typical of the rhetorical methods used by Billy Sunday to arouse a feeling of pity in his audience. But these devices were all especially effective because, as Aristotle states,

Now, as we have observed, it is when suffering seems near to them that men pity; as for disasters that are ten thousand years off in the past or the future, men cannot remember or anticipate them, and either feel no pity at all for them, or at all events feel it in no comparable measure. Accordingly, the speaker will be more successful in arousing pity if he heightens the effect of his description with fitting attitudes, tones, and dress—in a word, with dramatic action; for he thus makes the evil seem close at hand—puts it before our eyes as a thing that is on the point of occurring or has just occurred.45

The fact that Billy Sunday did exactly what Aristotle speaks of has been established from the previous discussion of pity and will become increasingly apparent in the chapter dealing with Billy Sunday's delivery.

Fear

Fear is "pain or disturbance arising from a mental image impending evil of a destructive or painful sort."46

Billy Sunday, in most of his temperance speeches, motivated his audience through fear. It was not the remote abstract fear that members of a Sunday tabernacle audience were subjected to; rather it was imminent. This imminence or sense of being close at hand is exemplified by Sunday's treatment of the physical consequences of drink:

Alcohol knocks the blood corpuscles out of business so that it takes eight to ten to do what one ought to do. There's a man who drinks. Here's a fellow who drives a beer wagon. Look how pussy he is. He's full of rotten tissue. He says he's healthy. Smell his breath. You punch your finger in that healthy flesh he talks about and the dent will be there a half an hour afterwards. You look like you don't believe it. Try it when you go to bed tonight. Pneumonia has a first mortgage on a booze hoister.

Take a fellow with good healthy muscles, and you punch them and they bound out like a rubber band. The first thing about a crushed strawberry stomach is a crushed strawberry nose. Nature lets the public on the outside know what is going on inside. If I could just take the stomach of a moderate drinker and turn it wrong side out for you, it would be all the temperance lecture you would need. You know what alcohol does to the white of an egg. It will cook it in a few minutes. Well, alcohol does the same thing to the nerves as to the white of an egg. That's why some men can't walk. They stagger because their nerves are partly paralyzed. Oh, God, pity the poor devil that gets that way and damn the business that puts them that way.

The liver is the largest organ of the body. It takes all of the blood in the body and purifies it and takes out the poisons and passes them on the gall and from here they go to the intestines and act like oil does on machinery. When a man drinks the liver becomes covered with hob nails, and then refuses to do the work and the poisons stay in the blood. Then the victim begins to turn yellow. He has the jaundice. The kidneys take what is left and purifies that. The booze that a man drinks turns them hard.
That's what booze is doing for you.

Don't listen--go on. When you are racked with disease, when your flesh is rotting with filth, you will remember that Billy warned you to keep away from those whose house door swings into hell.47

Another way in which the evangelist brought fear into the hearts of his hearers was by the pointing to the supreme power of God and the imminent possibility of eternal damnation. The cause of this fear was rooted in "....the fear of us in those who have the power to hurt us...all fearful things are more fearful if any mistake we might make regarding them cannot be remedied...."48 Sunday uses both of these rhetorical elements in this excerpt:

Naked you came into the world, and naked you will crawl out of it. You brought nothing in the world and you'll take nothing out, and if you have put the pack screws on the poor and pile up a pile of gold as big as this Tabernacle, you can't take it with you. It wouldn't do you any good if you could because it would melt.49

But Sunday did not stop with the physical effects of alcohol on the peers of the members of the audience. The evangelist went on to show that better men than those in the audience had fallen prey to drink. The rationale for this approach was as follows:

When it is desirable that the audience should fear, the speaker must bring them into the right frame of mind so that they shall take themselves to be the kind


of people who are likely to suffer. He must argue that others greater than they have suffered; and must point out that others like them in a like situation are suffering, or have suffered, at the hands of people from whom they did not expect it, and things that they did not expect, and at times when they thought themselves safe.\footnote{50}

It is not strange that two good examples of this rhetorical technique have been previously cited under the analysis of pity (refer to page \textit{82}) for as Aristotle points out, "Speaking generally, we may say that those things make us fear which, when they befall, or threaten, others, make us pity."\footnote{51} Another good example of this technique is found in Sunday's reference to the plight of some great Americans:

Thirty years ago the grandson of one of the greatest statesmen that America ever produced was shot in a saloon in Louisville while drunk. And while that young man was dying a few blocks away a grandson of one of the greatest men that ever went to the United States Senate was in jail, waiting to be tried for murder committed while drunk. And in that same city at that same hour in a police station a few blocks away, dead drunk, was lying the grandson of the author of "Give me liberty or give me death."

Ed Williamson, our old short stop, a fellow weighing 225 pounds, and a more active big man you never saw. He went with them, and while they were on the ship crossing the English Channel a storm arose and the captain thought the ship would go down. Williamson tied two life preservers on himself and one on his wife and dropped on his knees and prayed and promised God to be true. God spoke and the waves were stilled. They came back to the United States and Ed came back to Chicago and started a saloon on Dearborn Street. I would go through there giving tickets for Y.M.C.A.

\footnote{50}{p. cit., p. 110, Aristotle.}
\footnote{51}{p. cit., p. 109, Aristotle.}
meetings, and would talk with him and he would cry like a baby.

I would get down and pray for him, and would talk with him.52

Shame

The final emotion that Sunday aroused in his audience was that of shame. "Shame may be defined as a pain or disturbance regarding that class of evils, in the present, past or future, which we think will tend to our discredit..."53

Sunday's usual technique in creating the emotion of shame was to give the crowd an illustration and let the illustration hopefully carry over into their own personal lives. The evangelist recognized that "shame will be aroused by such evils as are thought to bring disgrace to ourselves or those we care for. These evils are, first, all acts that proceed from any of the vices."54 Drink of course was the sum and cause of all vices so it was Sunday's task to show the members of his audience that drink would bring disgrace to themselves as well as their families. For example Sunday would criticize his listener for letting the saloon kill his ambition and be his refuge from reality:

Helen Keller! I preached in Boston one night and they said: "Helen Keller is on the stage, and she'd like to shake hands with you." I looked into her face --Helen Keller, blind, deaf, dumb, since a baby--she's got a clothesbasket full of diplomas with her example


54Ibid., p. 112.
to shame you on, quit knocking and go to climbing the world. Many a young fellow didn't know whether God wanted him to become an auctioneer or a college professor, but he has been fortunate enough to be kept out of the poorhouse because he was lucky enough to marry a girl who has been brave and strong and willing enough to bend over a washtub to earn money enough to pay the house rent while he loafed around a saloon, beer joint, talked politics, argued religion, held forth on the principles of life and settled sociological questions.55

The evangelist also brought shame to his audience by showing them that it would be shameful "not to have any part in the honorable things in which all men, or all or most persons like ourselves participate."56 This was often accomplished not by example but by a direct appeal to his audience:

You men now have a chance to show your manhood. Then in the name of your pure mother, in the name of your manhood, in the name of your wife and the pure, innocent children that climb up in your lap and put their arms around your neck, in the name of all that is good and noble, fight the curse. Shall you men who hold in your hands the ballot, and in that ballot hold the destiny of womanhood and children and manhood, shall you, the sovereign power, refuse to rally in the name of defenseless men and women and native land?57

Aside from the two ways arousing shame already mentioned, there was a rhetorical technique used by Reverend Sunday to heighten this emotion in his audience. Essentially it was the recognition that "we are more ashamed of things done in the presence of those who will always be with us,

or of those who pay attention to us; for in both cases the things are done before (critical) eyes."

"Christianity is the capital on which you build your character. Don't let the devil fool you. You never become a man until you become a Christian. Christianity is the capital on which you do business. It's your character that gets you anything. Your reputation is what people say about you, but your character is what God and your wife and the angels know about you, and know you to be. Many have reputations of being good, but their characters would make a black mark on a piece of coal or tarred paper."

It was in these ways that Billy Sunday incorporated the emotional proof of shame into his discourse: (1) by showing that disgrace will be brought to both the person and those associated with him because of a particular vice; (2) by showing them it is shameful not to be associated with the honorable things in which others like themselves participate; and (3) by heightening the sense of shame with the recognition that others were watching the evil things being done.

Summary of Emotional Proof

Essentially there were five emotions that Sunday used to put his audience in a state of mind suitable for the emotional response desired. The first, anger, Reverend Sunday would create in his audience by referring to his opponents and their cause in terms of things that would make the audi-


ence angry. But Sunday was not content to arouse just anger toward booze and its associated evils. His objective was to see the saloon vanish from the face of the earth, and to accomplish this objective the audience had to be brought into a state of hatred. Thus hatred was the second form of pathetic appeal utilized by Sunday.

A third emotion Sunday used to move his audience toward action was pity. Particularly characteristic of Sunday's use of pity was his ability to convey the fate of those who had suffered from the evils of drink through no fault of their own. But no matter what the object of pity, Sunday was especially effective because he gave the emotion an aura of imminence. This same closeness characterized Sunday's use of fear appeals which is the fourth emotion the evangelist used to motivate his audience. Whether Sunday aroused fear by describing the effects of drink or the possibility of eternal damnation, his success must be attributed to his efforts to make the emotion come alive as real and present in the minds of his audience. The final emotion that Sunday aroused in his audience through his discourses was that of shame which if nothing else made his hearers think twice about their actions as perceived by others.

It must be concluded, after applying all the various criteria for effective persuasion through pathos, that Sunday was a master of emotional persuasion. Emotional proof was the dominant mode of persuasion utilized by Sunday in
his temperance sermons to move a predominantly male, middle class, and enthusiastic audience down the "sawdust trail."
CHAPTER IV

ARRANGEMENT

"A speech has two parts. Necessarily, you state your case, and you prove it."¹ These are the two indispensable constituents of a speech, but Aristotle goes on to explain that there are four parts to a speech as far as arrangement is concerned. It is these four divisions, (1) Proem, (2) Statement, (3) Argument, and (4) Epilogue, that must necessarily be examined by the critic is to assess accurately the arrangement of Billy Sunday's temperance speeches.

However, it is important to recognize, before delving into an analysis of arrangement, that these parts of divisions of a speech are in no way separate entities; rather they are intricately interwoven with the various types of proof, the method of delivery, and the style of the evangelist's speaking. The fact is that the arrangement of Sunday's speeches was primarily a response to his central means of proof and the type of audience he was dealing with as well as to his style of delivery. Nevertheless, even with this inseparable relationship of the various canons, it is possible and important to analyze the way in which Sunday ordered his speech materials.

¹op. cit., p. 220, Aristotle.
The Proem and Statement

Aristotle says that the "superlative function of the proem" is "to make clear the end and object of your work." The achievement of this objective by the evangelist was dependent upon the audience's knowledge of the Bible and upon Sunday's ability to relate his Biblical text to his chosen theme for his audience. The rationale behind this statement is that Sunday in all but one of the speeches examined by the critic used a Biblical text as the basis of his proem. It is also interesting to note that all of these texts, with one possible exception, yield themselves to very broad interpretation. For examine in the sermon "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle," the evangelist used passages from Ecclesiastes and Galations as the beginning of his Proem.

Text: "Rejoice, O young man in thy youth and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement." Ecclesiastes 11:9.

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Galatians 6:7.

After stating his text, Sunday then went on to explain what it meant in terms of his theme.

In other words, do just as you please, lie if you want to, steal if you want; God won't stop you, but He will hold you responsible in the end. Do just as

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2Ibid., p. 223.

you please until the end comes and the undertaker
pumps you full of embalming fluid and then you are
all in.

No one is living in ignorance of what will become
of him if he does not go right and trot square. He
knows there is a Heaven for the saved and a Hell for
the damned, and that's all there is to it.

Many men start out on a life of pleasure. Please
remember two things. First pleasure soon brings you
to the end, and, second, there is a day of judgement
coming and you'll get just what's coming to you. God
gives you a square deal.\(^4\)

Thus Sunday in the poem and statement limited his ser-
mon to the evils that send a man to Hell and the virtuous
life that can lead him to Heaven. Obviously, Sunday in no
way limited his thematic development by adopting such an
objective for his speech, and it must be concluded that the
poem did not serve its "superlative function"; rather Sun-
day's introduction dealt with things extraneous to the
arrangement of the speech. This seems to be typical of Sun-
day's introductions; the poem of "When Chickens Come Home
to Roost" is but another example.

In the one hundred-fourth Psalm the thirty-fifth
verse. "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth,
and let the wicked be no more."

That's a very peculiar text, but I did not se-
lect it because of its peculiarity, but because it is
a verse of scripture oft-time misunderstood. A good
many men have given us their reason for not believing
in the Bible the fact the statement therein contained
did not appertain to their idea of what it ought to be.

It is often used by some men to justify them in
sneering at God and mocking at him, for saying, "Let

\(^4\)Ibid.
the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more." Doesn't God want them to be saved?

Now, that verse contains the germ of the thought that I want to develop this afternoon. I have never found it so expressed in any other verse of scripture. That is why I selected it for my text.\(^5\)

Once again it is obvious that the evangelist has in no way given his audience an adequate analysis of a specific objective, since a good many "thoughts" can develop from such a "germ." There was, of course, a theme present, but it was so general that just about anything the evangelist said could be attached to it.

The one possible exception to the preceding analysis was Sunday's "Booze" sermon. This is, overall, the best arranged sermon that Sunday presented, and, for once, the poem gives a fairly specific indication of what will be developed in the body or argument. Because of the length of the sermon, which appears in its entirety in the appendix, only a portion need be cited here for the reader to see that Sunday was developing a fairly definite theme.

I will take my text from the 8th chapter of Matthew, the 28th to the 32nd verse, describing the casting out of the devils, which entered into the swine... Then the fellows that kept the hogs went back to town and told the peanut-brained, weasel-eyed, hog-jowled, beetle-necked, weasel-necked lobsters that owned the hogs, that "A long-haired fanatic from Nazareth, named Jesus, had driven the devils out of some men and the devils had gone into the hogs, and the hogs into the sea, and the sea into the hogs, and

\(^5\)op. cit., p. 9, "When Chickens Come Home to Roost."
the whole bunch is dead"...Jesus Christ was God's revenue officer...And they told Jesus to leave the country. They said: "You are hurting our business."

"Have you no interest in man-hood?"

"We have no interest in that; just take your disciples and leave, for you are hurting our business."

That is the attitude of the liquor traffic toward the Church and State, and Government, and the preacher that has the backbone to fight the most damnable, corrupt institution that ever wriggled out of Hell and fastened itself on the public. Even in the "Booze" sermon there is much to be desired in terms of a narrowing of the statement of case.

That is the attitude of the liquor traffic toward the Church and State, and Government, and the preacher that has the backbone to fight the most damnable, corrupt institution that ever wriggled out of Hell and fastened itself on the public.

This sermon is unusual in terms of setting forward a specific theme for the audience to dwell on, but it is typical of another aspect of Sunday's arrangement of his sermons.

Sunday almost always combined his statement of case with his introduction or proem. Probably the best example of this trait is his "Hillside Sermon" where the evangelist used his statement of case in place of proem.

This time I'm going to talk to you a little while this afternoon on the Eighteenth Amendment.8

6op. cit., p. 3, "A Few Remarks on Booze."

7Ibid.

8op. cit., "The Value of Prohibition."
Once again it is apparent that Sunday refused to limit or narrow his theme by a specific statement of case. Just about anything said about liquor or sin could somehow be attributed to the theme of the Eighteenth Amendment.

It must be concluded that Sunday did not fulfill the "superlative function of the proem...to make clear the end and object of your work." The central reason for this accusation is that Sunday failed in both the proem and the statement, to narrow his theme and make clear his specific objective. But this is not to say that the proem or statement failed to fulfill any function whatsoever. Essentially Sunday used the proem to establish himself as a man of ethical credibility.

The ways in which Sunday used ethical proof have already been discussed in Chapter III but it will be helpful to re-examine the general rhetorical concept of establishing ethical credibility at this point to better understand the function of Sunday proem. Sunday sometimes used the introduction to discredit any accusations that had been brought against him by his critics to establish his character, and generally as the place to heighten his ethos. In this particular example Sunday tries to create good will and the impression of sagacity before he deals with the elimination of prejudice:

If a man stood up and told me he was going to preach on the things I am this afternoon, I'd want
him to answer me several questions and if he could do that I'd tell him to go ahead.

First. Are you kindly disposed toward me?

Second. Are you doing this to help me?

Third. Do you know what you're talking about?

Fourth. Do you practice what you preach?

That's fair. Well, for the first, God knows I am kindly disposed toward you. Second, God knows I would do anything in my power to help you be a better man. I want to make it easier for you to be square; and harder for you to go to hell. Third, I know what I'm talking about, for I have the Bible to back me up in parts and the statements of eminent physicians in other parts. And fourth, "Do I practice what I preach?" I will defy and challenge any man or woman on earth, and I'll look any man in the eye, and challenge him to prove that in the 27 years I have been a professing Christian to show anything against me. If I don't live what I preach, gentlemen, I'll leave the pulpit and never walk back here again. I live as I preach and I defy the dirty dogs who have insulted me and my wife and spread black hearted lies and villifications. 9

It has also been previously mentioned that one of the ways in which Sunday established himself as a man of character was to associate his message with the Bible which of course stood for the virtuous life. The examples already cited as typical of the evangelist's proems should suffice to establish that this was exactly what Sunday did in his introductions.

Summary of the Proem and Statement

Sunday failed to make clear in his proem and statement the specific objective or objectives he was aiming at in his speech. In essence Sunday did not tell his audience what he

was going to tell them except by citing a Biblical passage
that did no more than state a broad general theme from which
Sunday derived a broad statement of case. The "Booze" ser-
mon exhibits the most adequate proem of any of Sunday's
temperance speeches but even it is too broad in terms of
theme and does not isolate any particular speech divisions.
What Sunday did do in the proem was to heighten his ethos
by establishing himself as a man of character, creating the
impression of sagacity, and creating good will; but these
are things extraneous to the "superlative function of the
proem."

The Argument

Having dealt with the first two constituents of arrange-
ment the next area for analysis is the argument or discus-
sion. It has already been noted that Sunday set himself up
in the proem and statement for the development of a broad
subject area. The results of this inadequacy in his ini-
tial development are seen in the ensuing arguments, and one
can not help but gain the impression that the proem and state-
ment were no more than a point of departure for a long string
of examples. It has already been mentioned that "argument
from examples is best suited to deliberative speaking,"\(^{10}\)
but Sunday's ability to arrange his examples into some or-
derly form was sorely lacking. The critic can only conjec-

\(^{10}\text{Op. cit., p. 233, Aristotle.}\)
ture that where written transitions were lacking the evangelist used his delivery to make the new thought seem related to the rest of the sermon. It would be impossible to illustrate properly this inadequacy of arrangement without citing the whole of one or more of Sunday's sermons but the following series of excerpts is typical of the evangelist's lack of arrangement in the argument.

...If sin weren't so deceitful it wouldn't be so attractive. The effects get stronger and stronger while you get weaker and weaker all the time and there is less chance of breaking away.

Many think a Christian has to be a sort of dish rag proposition, a wishy washy, sissified sort of a galoot that let's everybody make a door mat out of him. Let me tell you the manliest man is the man who will acknowledge Jesus Christ.

Before I was converted I could go five rounds so fast you couldn't see me for dust and I'm still pretty handy with my dukes and I can still deliver the goods with all express charges prepaid. Before I was converted I could run one hundred yards in ten seconds and circle the bases in fourteen seconds and I could run just as fast after I was converted. So you don't have to be a dish rag proposition at all.

I remember when I was secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Chicago, I had the saloon route. I had to go around and give tickets inviting men to come to the Y. M. C. A. services...Christianity is the capital on which you build your character. Don't you let the devil fool you...What are some people going to do about the judgment? Some are just in life for the money they get out of it...According to our standard of money, old Abraham was worth over a billion dollars...Old Commodore Vanderbilt had a fortune of over $200,000,000, and one day when he was ill he sent for Dr. Deemes...Don't listen--go on. When you are racked with disease, when your flesh is rotting with filth, you will remember that Billy warned you to keep away from those whose house door swings into hell.
Some just live for booze...\textsuperscript{11}

The "Booze" sermon exhibits an attempt on Sunday's part to create an orderly progression of ideas based on a central theme, but, as with the other sermons on temperance, it falls far short of adequate arrangement. The following passage is indicative of this failure.

Listen! Here is an extract from the Saturday Evening Post of November 9th, 1907, taken from a paper read by a brewer. You will say that a man didn't say it: "It appears from these facts that the success of our business lies in the creation of appetite among the boys. Men who have formed the habit scarcely ever reform, but they, like others will die, and unless there are recruits made to take their places, our cofers will be empty, and I recommend to you that money spent in the creation of appetite will return in dollars to your tills after the habit is formed."

What is your raw material, saloons? American boys. Say, I would not give one boy for all the distilleries and saloons this side of Hell. And they have to have 2,000,000 boys every generation. And then you tell me you are a man, when you will vote for an institution like that. What do you want to do, pay taxes in money or boys?

The preacher hurried to the jail and talked and prayed with the man...\textsuperscript{12}

One other item that must be emphasized to substantiate the case against Sunday's lack of logical progression in the discussion segment of his speeches is the use of the Biblical passage. It has been previously mentioned that Sunday almost always used a Biblical text as the major portion of his proem, yet in none of his sermons examined by

\textsuperscript{11}Op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."

the critic could there be found a later mention of the passage. In the "Booze" sermon Sunday initially developed the scriptural passage at some length giving it contemporary application, but after he once finished the text was not mentioned throughout the remainder of the sermon. The fact is that in most of his temperance sermons, the evangelist gave the impression that the original point of departure was comparable to the gang plank to a boat—it's something you get into your speech on, but once you're in you never stand on it.

Summary of the Argument

Probably the best overall summary statement that may be given about the structure of Reverend Sunday's argument or discussion is that there wasn't very much. The evangelist took a broad general subject area, failed to establish logical divisions for development, and failed to adequately relate examples to the point being developed or to the total theme.

The critic has purposely omitted any discussion of Sunday's sentence structure and word usage at this point, since they will be discussed under the chapter on style.

The Epilogue

Aristotle states that "what you should do in your introduction is to state the subject, so that the issue to be judged may be perfectly clear; whereas in the Epilogue you should give a summary review of your proofs. In this review,
you begin by noting that you have done what you undertook
to do. 13 Aside from recapitulation Aristotle states that
there are three elements of the epilogue or conclusion:
"(1) You must render the audience well disposed of yourself,
and ill-disposed to your opponent; (2) you must magnify and
depreciate (make whatever favors your case seem more impor-
tant and whatever favors his case seem less); (3) you must
put the audience into the right state of emotion." 14

Sunday's epilogue to his "Booze" sermon includes three
of these elements, and, logically enough, the one that is
omitted is recapitulation or summary of the main ideas as
they relate to the central theme.

You men now have a chance to show your manhood.
Then in the name of your pure mother, in the name of
your manhood, in the name of your wife and the pure,
innocent children that climb up in your lap and put
their arms around your neck, in the name of all that
is good and noble, fight the curse. Shall you men,
the destiny of womanhood and children and manhood,
shall you, the sovereign power, refuse to rally in the
name of defenseless men and women and native land? No.

I want every man to say: "God you can count on
me to protect my wife, my home, my mother, and my
children and the manhood of America."

By the mercy of God, which has given to you the
unshaken and unshable confidence of her you love, I
beseech you make a fight for the women who wait to-
night until the saloons spew out their husbands and
their sons, and send them home maudlin, brutish,
devilish, vomiting, stinking, bleary-eyed, bloated-
faced drunkards. 15

14 Ibid., p. 240.
15 op. cit., "Booze."
Although the "Booze" sermon includes three of the necessary elements of the epilogue, omitting only one, Sunday's other temperance sermons include none of these rhetorical elements except possibly putting the audience in the right emotion. For example, in "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle" Sunday concluded after a series of examples by saying: "Men of Steugenville, did they win the game of life or did Bill?"¹⁶ And in a later temperance sermon Sunday described Abraham Lincoln's towering over other men and concluded with the statement, "We want you all to win."¹⁷ In only one other temperance sermon, of those examined, did Sunday include an epilogue that contained any one of the four necessary rhetorical elements. In "When Chickens Come Home to Roost" the evangelist incorporated the three previously mentioned rhetorical elements but again did not use recāpitulation.

How many of you men will say "Bill, I believe the Christian lives the right and manly life, and by the grace of God from now on I'll do my best for the Lord and His truth."

Do you believe it's right? Do you believe it's manly? Are you ready to take my hand and say: "Here's my hand and here's my heart to live for God and for Christ"? Come on, and let me see you. Come on! Come on!¹⁸

Interestingly enough, this was Sunday's call to "hit the sawdust trail" which was used only at a certain point in his

campaign meaning that this epilogue probably was not the
typical conclusion for this sermon.

Summary of the Epilogue

As with the argument Sunday fell down on the rhetori-
cal principles that govern its arrangement. Never did the
evangelist bother to summarize what he had said in the form
of a clear review of his proofs, and only in one sermon is
there clear evidence that Sunday ever bothered to render
his audience well-disposed to himself and ill-disposed to
his opponent, to magnify the importance of his case, and to
put the audience into the right state of emotion.

Distribution of Emphasis in Persuasion

As a criterion for evaluating Reverend Sunday's dis-
tribution of emphasis on the various types of proofs, it
is necessary to go to Aristotle's belief that ethos and pathos
are important and valuable forms of proof but that the major
reliance of the speaker must be on logical proof.

The space dedicated to logic in this analysis might
seem to indicate that it was logic which Sunday relied upon
most heavily, but this is certainly not the case. Close
examination of the constituents of arrangement reveal that
the proem consisted largely of ethical proof; the argument
used principally pathetic proof as the central source of
persuasion; and the epilogue, when there was one, consisted
mainly of pathetic proof. This is of course an over-simpli-
fication if viewed apart from the complete analysis, but,
when a total perspective is attained, it is obvious that pathos or emotional appeal was Sunday's primary source of proof. This then was Sunday's distribution of emphasis on the various available methods of proof.

It would be well to summarize the various conclusions concerning arrangement before passing to an analysis of arrangement's close neighbor, style.

Summary of Arrangement

In brief summary it may be said, concerning Sunday's arrangement, that the poem and statement were usually broadly interpretable Biblical texts that failed to indicate exactly what objective the evangelist had in mind. The argument of Sunday's sermons was highly inadequate because he failed to establish a pattern of logical development related to a theme. In the epilogue, Sunday failed to review what he had set out to accomplish, probably because of the initial rhetorical oversight in the poem. Finally, it must be mentioned that the poem availed mainly ethical proof; the argument, emotional proof; and the epilogue, when present, used mainly pathetic proof.
CHAPTER V

STYLE

"If the artist is the 'maker' (as Aristotle would have us believe,) what is the form of that which is made, since form is presumably the essence of art?"¹ This question expresses the main point of inquiry in this segment of a rhetorical analysis of Billy Sunday's temperance speeches—a discovery of the way in which Reverend Sunday expressed his thoughts. The underlying logic is that "it does make a difference in the clearness of an exposition whether you put a thing in this way or that."²

An understanding of Billy Sunday's style must necessarily be based upon an insight into (1) his kind of style; (2) how the evangelist used words; and (3) the structural elements that characterized his style.

**Billy Sunday's Kind of Style**

Aristotle stated that "the written or literary style is the more finished; the controversial is far better adapted to dramatic delivery, whether for the kind of speaking that


reflects character, or the emotional kind. It will be discussed in the chapter on Delivery, that a major characteristic of Sunday's delivery was his dramatic means of presenting a temperance message. It is not strange that "what he says does not sound as bad as it seems in cold type. Type is cold; his sermons are hot." This trait is characteristic of the spoken style and as Aristotle pointed out "if you rob them of dramatic delivery, the dramatic devices in them fail to operate aright, and hence appear silly." Thus Billy Sunday strove to perfect a spoken style of writing which would be instantly intelligible to his audience. Sunday's success at this endeavor can only be measured by an appropriate analysis of the evangelist's use of words and the structural elements that characterized his style.

**Word Usage**

An analysis of Reverend Sunday's use of words obviously involves the skill with which they were chosen and then disposed. Such questions as—Did the word choice add to the clarity of meaning?—Was the evangelist's choice of words appropriate?—Were there deviations from ordinary usage that make Sunday's style more impressive?—all relate as basic tests of word usage. Each of these questions has as its

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3Ibid., p. 217.
basis a quest into what constitutes effective word usage
"not that language may be understood but that it cannot be
misunderstood." 6

Concerning the first area of style, that of clarity
of meaning, "it would seem that if the persuader uses short
words to clothe his thoughts his audience will have a clear-
er, more intense recollection of the thing signified." 7
Sunday recognized the value of using the short word instead
of flowery eloquence:

Paul said he would rather speak five words that were
understood than ten thousand words in an unknown
tongue. That's me. I want people to know what I
mean, and that's why I try to get down where they
live. What do I care if some puff-eyed, dainty little
dibbly-dabbly preacher goes tibbly-tibbling around
because I use plain Anglo-Saxon words. 8

Critics of the evangelist said that his was the talk of the
gutter, and it was true that his pulpit phraseology pulver-
ized tradition, but the evangelist had a definite rationale
for his constant use of short Anglo-Saxon terms:

If a man were to take a piece of meat and smell it and
look disgusted, and his little boy were to say, "What's
the matter with it, Pop?" and he were to say, "It is
undergoing a process of decomposition in the formation
of new chemical compounds," the boy would be all in.
But if the father were to say, "It's rotten," then the
boy would understand and hold his nose. "Rotten" is

6Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory, Book VIII, Chapter
II, No. 24.

7Minnick, Wayne C., The Art of Persuasion. (Boston:

a good Anglo-Saxon word and you don't have to go to the dictionary to find out what it means.\textsuperscript{9}

The total scope of Billy Sunday's temperance message is a tribute to his preference of the short Anglo-Saxon word over the Latin derivative, of the specific over the general word, and the concrete over the abstract. For example in his "Booze" sermon delivered in the tabernacle in Columbus, Ohio, 20,500 men heard Sunday speak of the "vile, dirty, filthy, meandering, spewing, tottering, blear-eyed, hog-jawed, bloated-faced, thin-lipped, stinking, rotten, vermin covered drunkard."\textsuperscript{10} Needless to say this was a description that did not sacrifice clarity to abstract or general language. But this excerpt was also typical of Sunday's love of nuance words, or words that carry in their very utterance the meaning to be derived. The evangelist's favorite application of nuance words, as in the above example, was in describing the product of alcohol.

...There's a man who drinks. Here's a fellow who drives a beer wagon. Look how puffy he is. He's full of rotten tissue. He says he's healthy. Smell his breath. You punch your finger in that healthy flesh he talks about and the dent will be there a half an hour afterwards.\textsuperscript{11}

It was in these ways (1) use of short words; (2) a preference for the Anglo-Saxon derivative; (3) use of spe-


\textsuperscript{10}"Sunday's Terrific Blows at Booze, Heard by 20,500 Men, Yield 194 for Water Wagon," The Columbus Citizen, January 27, 1913, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{11}Op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
cific and concrete terms; and (4) use of words that carried meaning in their sound, that Billy Sunday achieved clarity of meaning.

Concerning the question of whether the evangelist's style was appropriate there is a great deal of controversy. But it must be remembered, that Sunday was trying to convey a message, mainly through emotional proof and dramatic delivery, to what was typically a very large crowd. The importance of these factors, as they relate to the appropriateness of the speaker's style is crystalized by Aristotle:

For popular speaking, we see, the style as in every way comparable to the painting of scenery in large. The greater the crowd, the more distant is the point of view; so that, in the speech and sketch alike, minute touches are superfluous, and blur the effect...Thus finish in detail has least scope where there is most room for dramatic delivery; and in this latter there is most play for the voice--above all, for a strong one. 12

Sunday would have been the first to admit that "if the English language gets in my way, I tramp all over it." 13 In relation to this statement it may be recognized that the most common way in which Sunday chose to "tramp" on the English language was by excessive use of slang and misuse of compound words. But it must be noted that these elements are not sufficient justification to classify Sunday's style


as inappropriate for as Aristotle states "compound words,... and strange words best suit an emotional speaker...each class of men, each type of disposition, has a language suited to it." The point to be extracted is that Sunday preferred the use of up-to-date slang because he knew ninety-nine per cent of his hearers understood perfectly what he was talking about. To illustrate the evangelist's use of slang one need only turn to the title of his most famous temperance message. "Booze" is of course the slang term for beer or liquor but Sunday chose "Booze" because it was the term that his audience used and best knew. Furthermore, such phrases as "Seventy-five per cent of the impurity comes from the grog-shop" would be less than meaningful to contemporary audiences but Sunday hit home with them in his day.

It may be concluded that although Billy Sunday was unorthodox in his choice of language he was within the bounds of rhetorical appropriateness because of the emotional nature of his message and because of the special nature of his audience. In essence the evangelist's language met Aristotle's criterion for appropriateness:

Your language will be appropriate, if it expresses
(1) emotion and (2) character, and if it is (3) in proportion with the subject.16

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The final question that must be considered in analyzing Reverend Sunday's use of words is, "Were there deviations from ordinary usage that made Sunday's style more impressive?" To answer this question it is necessary to examine the various rhetorical devices utilized by the evangelist.

**Dramatic Characterization**

Among those devices most often used by Sunday was that of dramatic characterization. "Mr. Sunday was dramatic in the finest sense, for he put into colorful action the truth of any story."17 The *Columbus Citizen* gives a novel example of Sunday's acting out the effect of his message on the local butcher:

Talking into an imaginary telephone transmitter, Sunday cried out, "Hello, this Chicago? Alright. Send down all the meat you got. What? Yes, some fellow by the name of Sunday down here has the whole damn bunch on the water wagon and they're buying me out."18

Very typical of Sunday's use of dramatic characterization was his approach to relating a story from the Bible. Sunday not only dramatized the story, he also updated the language of the various characters so that they spoke in the terms familiar to the evangelist's audience. Sunday's reference to the fifteenth chapter of Luke is typical of his widespread use of this device:


I see this young fellow over in the fifteenth chapter of Luke. He walks up to his daddy and says, "Look here, dad, I am tired of milking cows and hauling out manure. I want you to divy up."

"I don't understand."

"I want you to come across."

"I don't know what you mean."

"I want my share of the swag and simoleans. Come on with the dough. Come one. How many bucks are due me?"

Then the old man tumbled. He said, "Oh, you want your portion?"

"That's right."

So the old man goes and gets his chamois skin bag, dumps it out onto the table and gives the young fellow his portion and he starts out.19

Whether Reverend Sunday took a well known incident, clothed it in his own language—the language of his audience—or simply created an instance, the resulting effect was that of a novel and compelling style.

**Personification**

Equal in usage to Sunday's dramatization of a situation was his endowing inanimate objects or abstract ideas with life-like attributes. The most frequent item of personification was the saloon:

'I tell you that the saloon is a coward. It hides itself behind stained glass doors and opaque windows and sneaks its customers in at a blind door, and it keeps a sentinel to guard the door from the officers of the law, and it marks its wares with false bills of lading.'

It fights under cover of darkness and assassi-
nates the characters that it cannot damn, and it lies
about you. It attacks defenseless womanhood and
childhood. The saloon is a coward. It is a thief, it
is not an ordinary court defender that steals your
money, but it robs you of manhood and leaves you in
rags and takes away your friends, and brings insanity
and suicide. It will take the shirt off your back
and it will steal the coffin from a dead child and
yank the last crust of bread out of the hand of the
starving child; it will take the last bucket of coal
out of your cellar, and the last cent out of your
pocket, and will send you home bleary-eyed and stag-
gering to your wife and children. It will steal the
milk from the breast of the mother and leave her with
nothing with which to feed her infant. It will take
the virtue from your daughter...20

The above excerpt is approximately half of the total speech
segment attacking the saloon through the rhetorical tech-
nique of personification. But Sunday did not dedicate just
one long segment of his text to personifying the liquor in-
terests. Rather his total approach was that of taking on
"John Barleycorn" bodily. For example the illustration
cited previously in the chapter dealing with ethos, where
Sunday proclaims,

I'll kick it as long as I have a foot. I'll
punch it as long as I have a fist. I'll butt it as
long as I have a head. I'll bite it as long as I
have a tooth and when I'm old and fistless and footless
and toothless I'll go it till I go home to heaven
and it goes home, my friend, to hell.21

It must be concluded that personification was a dominant
characteristic of Billy Sunday's style.

Illustration

William T. Ellis stated that Billy Sunday was always quick to incorporate into his sermons events or illustrations wherever found and that he never used an illustration unless it had instant application to the point he was making. The truth of this statement is embodied in the texts of Sunday's speeches. Illustrations were the "salt" of Sunday's speeches, and it was this device that stands out as the predominant element of Sunday's style. In each of Sunday's temperance messages the evangelist presented illustration upon illustration, for his audience was not one that cared for heavy discourse. As Henry Ward Beecher stated, "They will remember the picture and...the picture will bring back the truth to them."22

A vast majority of the illustrations cited by Reverend Sunday were derived from his own experience, and among these many illustrations used by the evangelist, the various references to his immediate conversion at the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago were frequent. In Sunday's sermon, "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle," the evangelist presents a lengthy account of his conversion to set up a contrast between the good life of Billy Sunday and what happened to his friends who failed to recognize the need for immediate conversion:

Twenty-seven years ago I walked down a street in Chicago in company with some ball players who were famous in this world, some of them are dead now, and

we went into a saloon. It was Sunday afternoon and we got tanked up and then went and sat down on a corner. It was a vacant lot at that time. We sat down on a curbing. Across the street a company of men and women were playing on instruments--horns, flutes, and slide trombones--and the others were singing the gospel hymns that I used to hear my mother sing back in the log cabin in Iowa, and back in the old church where I used to go to Sunday School.

And God painted on the canvas of my recollection and memory a vivid picture of the scenes of other days and other faces.

Many have long since turned to dust. I sobbed and sobbed and a young man stepped out and said:

"We are going down to the Pacific Garden mission; won't you come down to the Mission? I am sure you will enjoy it. You can hear drunkards tell how they have been saved and girls tell how they have been saved from the red light district."

I arose and said to the boys:

"I'm through. I'm going to Jesus Christ. We've come to the parting of the ways," and I turned my back on them. Some of them laughed and some of them mocked me; one of them gave me encouragement; others never said a word.

Twenty-seven years ago I turned and left that little mission and fell on my knees and staggered out of it and into the arms of the Savior.23

A second major source of Billy Sunday's illustrations was his baseball career. Most of his audience vividly remembered the evangelist as a baseball player of the first order, so when he illustrated an idea with a story of his baseball feats or of the effects of drink on a fellow player, Sunday was talking the language of his audience. In "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle" Reverend Sunday combined both of these sources of illustration:

23op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
I saw Charley swing hard and heard the bat hit the ball with a terrific boom. Bennett had smashed the ball on the nose. I saw the ball rise in the air and knew that it was going clear over my head.

I could judge within 10 feet of where the ball would light. I turned my back to the ball and ran...I ran and jumped over the bench and stopped.

I thought I was close enough to catch it. I looked back and I saw it going over my head and I jumped and shoved my left hand out and the ball hit it and stuck. At the rate I was going the momentum carried me on and I fell under the feet of a team of horses. I jumped up with the ball in my hand. 24

After completing his illustration of how God had helped him catch the ball, Sunday illustrated what happened to those fellow team mates who refused to accept conversion and stayed with booze:

Listen! Mike Kelley was sold to Boston for $10,000. Mike got half of the purchase price. He came up to me and showed me a check for $5,000. John L. Sullivan, the champion fighter, went around with a subscription paper and the boys raised over $12,000 to buy Mike a house.

They gave Mike a deed to the house and they had $1,500 left and gave him a certificate of deposit for that.

His salary for playing with Boston was $4,700 a year. At the end of that season Mike had spent the $5,000 purchase price and the $4,700 received as salary and the $1,5000 they gave him and had a mortgage on the house. When he died in Pennsylvania they went around with a subscription to get money enough to put him in the ground, and each club, 12 in all, in the two leagues, gave a month a year for his wife. Mike sat on the corner with me 27 years ago, when I said; "Good-bye boys, I'm going to Jesus Christ." 25

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
Thus Billy Sunday relied heavily upon his baseball career as a source of illustrative material, but there was a third source from which the evangelist derived the greatest portion of his illustrations. This source may best be labeled as the evangelist's encounters with booze in his work as an opponent of the liquor interests.

This third source is revealed in Sunday's speech texts in the form of references relating directly to the immediate speech or situation and to past experiences. To exemplify the first segment, references relating to the present speech surroundings, Sunday illustrated the effect of drink on a fellow Kentuckian when the evangelist downed "Demon Rum" in Louisville:

Young men, he stood right where you stand now, with just as bright prospects before him as ever dawned on your path. He stood in front of blacksmith shop in Louisville one day and watched a blacksmith welding a piece of red hot iron and as the tears trickled down his cheeks he said, "I would take that piece of iron and hold it in my right hand until it cooled off if I knew it would take away this appetite for drink."26

Although Sunday would many times modify the main text of the speech to enforce a point with an illustration directly related to the immediate speech environment, the main body of his speeches incorporated illustrations predominately derived from his past encounters with "booze" as an evangelist. These were the illustrations that were designed chiefly for pathetic appeal. They were everyday or home-

oriented and their content, no matter whether presented through dramatic narrative or as an anecdote, was to succeed where reasoned discourse might have failed. Close examination of his speech texts reveals that Sunday would go to great lengths to incorporate illustration after illustration in hopes that he might impress upon his audience the importance of his message. Robert T. Oliver states that "such a powerful evangelist as Billy Sunday used what many critics might consider a ludicrous amount of variety in his speeches." But there was ample justification for Sunday's use of a large variety of illustrations "...appealing as he did to relatively childlike minds, he managed with his variety to hold their closest attention and thereby to win their acceptance of his plea." 27 A typical example of this variety and extensive use of illustrations is revealed in Sunday's Louisville campaign:

Like a girl, when she is about 17 years old, when mother introduces her to a young fellow, she raises her eyebrows and says, "Well mama, who is he?"

When she is about 22, she will say, "Well, mama what is he?" and when she is about 35 she will say, "Mama, for God's sake, where is he?"

You know Squire Jones—he is Squire Jones in a little, jay, rube town because everything there sort of magnifies the Squire and minimizes the Jones, but bring him to this big city and turn him loose on the main street and let him butt into the crowd and look at the skyscrapers, and we know what happens to the

Squire. It is squeezed out of him and he is nothing, my friends, but one in a great big crowd. So you are big or little largely owing to where you are in the world.

Like a grasshopper, sat on a sunflower and said. 'I--am the biggest thing that has ever happened. When I leap and strike the earth, she will tremble as with an earthquake,' so he jumped and landed right in front of a fat young turkey gobbler. Presently up came an old hen, just crawled from a setting nest, with her feathers standing on end, and she said. "Did you see a big fat, juicy grasshopper pass this way?"

And as the turkey gobbler gulped, he said, "He didn't pass, he stopped."

And as the grasshopper tried to adjust himself to a comfortable position in the craw of the turkey, he thought, "How big I was on the sunflower; how wizened and useless I am down here."

Probably the biggest single pitfall that Sunday might have encountered with his extensive use of illustrations was the danger of his audience loosing the main point and merely being entertained with a good story. But Sunday wasn't very concerned with this because he was approaching his audience on a common ground. They might miss individual points but the totality of his plea--"Down with Demon Rum"--would be accepted.

**Imagery**

Billy Sunday's sermons were alive with imagery. He included in his sensory details images--verbal stimuli that would bring about sensations of sight, sound, touch, taste, and feeling. If nothing else were said about Billy Sunday

280p. cit., p. 8, "Demon Rum."
it would be safe to say that he knew how to open the "Doors to the Mind." 29

Among the various rhetorical devices that Sunday used to create images in the minds of his hearers was the metaphor, an explicit comparison between two things of different kind or quality. Usually Sunday used the metaphor both sparingly and in combination with other devices such as personification or dramatic narrative. A particularly good example of Sunday's use of the metaphor is found in a description of the world's discovery of Abraham Lincoln. Notice that the evangelist begins with a narrative; proceeds to a vivid description of the man and his environment incorporating a metaphor about "the ladder of fame" and comparing the "battle" to his struggle to learn; personifies the world; and concludes with a metaphor comparing Lincoln to a giant:

The angels said, "Let us hide Abraham Lincoln where the world will never find him."

They hid that great big, kind, generous, humanitarian, God-fearing, sympathetic soul in that long, lean, lank, homely, gaunt, ungainly, cadaverous body; they bronzed his cheeks until he looked like an Indian; they hardened his hands with toil; for employment they gave him common work like poling in a lifeboat on the Ohio, and working in a country store. For a home they gave him a log cabin in the wilderness; for parents, common people, whose names were unknown five miles away.

But while clerking in the country store he was solving problems that were ever afterwards to help him

29 The "Doors to the Mind" are such senses as sight, taste, hearing, smelling, and touch.
to win. And while poling the flatboat he was solving problems from human experience which became golden rounds in the ladder of fame up which he clambered to the top; and while other young men that had a better chance than he were sleeping off a drunk in a feather bed, Abraham Lincoln spread the ashes thick upon the dirt floor of his little log cabin home, and with a hickory log for light and a hickory stick for a pencil he solved problems from Euclid and read the life of George Washington and other great men.

The battle grew hard. He used to bite his lips and fight away the tears and say, "I guess I'll quit."

Then the angels would flap their wings; all Nature would cheer him and they'd seem to say, "Abe, don't cash in. Don't give up." and he'd buckle up his old yarn galluses and say, "Well, I will be somebody, anyway."

They never knew how it happened, but they could not keep him hid any longer, and one morning this sleepy, dreamy, drowsy old world crawled out of bed, rubbed its eyes and started on a still hunt for a great man. It struck a new scent and a new trail and it led out through the weeds to a long cabin in the trees, and the world walked up and rapped on the door. Abraham Lincoln arose, so big, so high, so manly, so tall, that the roof fell off and the logs rolled down. He stepped forth a giant among men.30

Notice just a few of the images, in this particular example, that Sunday imposes upon the minds of his audience. The particular emphasis is on creating a visual image:

1. A simile used as a visual image—like an Indian
2. An image appealing to the tactile sense—hardened his hands with toil
3. A metaphor used as a visual image—golden rounds in the ladder of fame
4. A literal visual image—Abraham Lincoln spread the ashes thick upon the dirt floor of his little log cabin home, and with a hickory log for light and a hickory stick for a pencil
5. Another tactile image—He used to bite his lips and fight away the tears

(6) A metaphor used as visual and motor imagery—on one morning this sleepy, dreamy drowsy old world crawled out of bed, rubbed its eyes, and started on a still hunt for a great man.

(7) A metaphor used as visual image—He stepped forth a giant among men.

One particular area of endeavor where the evangelist used both similes, implied comparisons, and metaphors was his attempt to create fear in the hearts of those who drank:

Let me assemble before your minds the bodies of the drunken dead, who crawl away "into the jaws of death, into the mouth of Hell," and then out of the valley of the shadow of the drink; let me call the appertaining motherhood, and wifehood and childhood, and let their tears rain down upon their purple faces. Do you think that would stop the curse of the liquor traffic? No!31

Sunday's use of a simile in describing the liver and kidneys of a drunkard, reportedly caused men to faint:

I would get down and pray for him and would talk with him. When he died they put him on the table and cut him open and took out his liver and it was so big it would not go in a candy bucket. Kidneys had shrivelled until they were like two stones.32

In this description of the physical effects of drink, Sunday used the metaphor to create an image and give life to his illustration. But the evangelist did not limit his use of metaphors to illustration. In his sermon, "The Moral Lep-er," Reverend Sunday utilized a metaphor in a dramatic narrative to warn a young man of the evils of alcohol:

I walk up to a young man and I say: "Be careful, my boy, don't keep company with that Godless sneering, beer drinking gang: don't listen to the vile, lawd

31op. cit., p. 6, "A Few Remarks on Booze."

32op. cit., "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle."
stories they pour into your ears, those fellows who
demonitize virtue, place a premium on vice and ap-
plaud every man that can rob some girl of her honor.
Don't go with them. Don't hang those lewd pictures
on the walls of your memory. Don't comment on the
symmetry of some girl's form. I smell liquor on your
breath. I heard you laugh at a story that would have
made your mother blush. Don't go with that gang."
He says: "Mister Sunday, you are unduly excited for
my welfare. I know you smell liquor on my breath, but
I never expect to become a drunkard. I never expect
to become an outcast." I say: "My boy, hear me. I
have walked along the shores of time and have seen
them strewn with the wrecks of those who have drifted
in from the seas of lust and passion, and they are
fit only for danger signals to warn the coming race."

Although Billy Sunday, in his sprinkling of metaphors
throughout his speeches, was usually correct in his usage
there were instances when the evangelist bordered on the
inappropriate. That is to say, Sunday failed to conceal
his art because the metaphor was out of proportion to the
thing to which it applied. This lack of appropriateness is
particularly glaring in Sunday's relating the story of his
great baseball catch:

The field was crowded with people and I yelled:
'Stand back!' and that crowd opened like the Red Sea
opened for Moses.34

Although Reverend Sunday may be accused of occasional inop-
portune use of the metaphor, it must be realized that Sunday
believed in a literal interpretation of the Bible and that
he would form his Biblical oriented metaphors with a literal
image in mind.

Thus the following conclusions may be drawn concerning Billy Sunday's diction: (1) Sunday used primarily short, specific, concrete, Anglo-Saxon derivatives. (2) Although unorthodox in his choice of language, the evangelist was in the bounds of appropriateness because of the nature of his audience. (3) Reverend Sunday used dramatic characterization, personification, illustrations, and imagery devices, such as the metaphor, to give his style distinction.

Structural Elements that Characterized Billy Sunday's Style

Because the constituents of Dispositio closely relate to this area of analysis it is necessary to isolate those areas, not previously mentioned, which are characteristic of the structure of the evangelist's style. Antithesis and comparison, comic relief, and rhythm are those isolated areas that will yield themselves as focal points for an adequate understanding of the structure—or the way in which the words of Billy Sunday were assembled and related.

Antithesis and Comparison

Aristotle states that "when the style is antithetical, in each of the two members an opposite is balanced by an opposite, or two opposites are linked by the same word."35

Billy Sunday's discourses are particularly characterized by this structural element that Aristotle defines, and refers to as pleasing because we know things best by their opposites. Sunday recognized that the vividness of contrast

35op. cit., p. 204, Aristotle.
or antithesis lay in his ability to place the two ideas in close proximity and the evangelist used this knowledge in two ways. First to contrast a series of ideas:

Oh America didn't need repeal--she needed repentance. She didn't need rum--she needed righteousness. We don't need jags--we need Jesus! We don't need more glogg--we need more of God.

And again:

The young man who will sit in school and fill his brain with useful thoughts or the one that will go to church to learn something about God--he is a bigger boy, she's a bigger girl, than the one that loaf around on the street corner with a crowd, my friends, and spend their lives in frivolity and tomfoolery of the world.

The man who walks home sober is a bigger man than the one who will go home drunk; the girl who is virtuous is a million times better than the one who sells or gives away her womanhood. The one who prays is a bigger man than the one who curses. So you are big or you are little, largely owing to where you are in the world.

The second way in which Sunday used antithesis was to contrast one single idea or thing with its opposite or opposites:

Be a live wire! Have good, rich blood in your veins; not ice water or pink tea.

It was in these ways that Reverend Sunday used antithesis, but the evangelist also structured many comparisons into his speeches. As with contrast Sunday used things for comparison


38Ibid., p. 8.
that his audience knew well and almost always he kept them in close proximity. An excellent example of this structural element is the evangelist's treatment of knowledge and ignorance:

Ignorance is stagnation; knowledge is a river. Ignorance is a desert; knowledge is a fruit. Ignorance is poverty; knowledge is plenty. Ignorance is weakness; knowledge is strength.39

In the same speech Sunday uses a comparison to exhibit the plight of the youth of his day if they continued to follow their evil ways:

It is as impossible for some young men and women to succeed the way they are going as it would be for a tomcat to teach or play the organ at the Audubon Society. It's as impossible to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear today as it was in the days of Solomon.40

Thus the first predominant characteristic of the structure of Billy Sunday's temperance speeches was antithesis and comparison. But it is interesting to note that the representative speech segments used in analysis of antithesis and comparison, as well as most of the others cited throughout this paper, have been of a serious nature. These speech excerpts are of course representative of the main stream of the river of thoughts that Sunday communicated to his audience, but an important aspect of Sunday's success as an evangelist has been omitted up till this time. As Homer Rodeheaver stated, "Sunday seemed to know exactly how long the average hearer

39 Ibid., p. 8.
40 Ibid., p. 8.
could sustain serious thought and at regular intervals a lighter strain would relieve the tension."41 This lighter strain, comic relief, is the second area that must be considered when analyzing the structure of Sunday's messages.

Comic Relief

That Sunday actually did fulfill the need for comic relief is evidenced by the texts of his temperance speeches. In each of the following excerpts it must be recognized that the humorous references followed a long period of sustained serious thought and that their use served to heighten the total emotional impact of the sermon:

So, stick in your education; crowd in your physical development, and all that, but if you leave Jesus Christ out of your proposition, you are gone. Don't build a character like a woman fixes a sewing machine. She'll grab a monkey wrench and a screw driver and she'll take everything off that was intended to be stationary, then she'll squirt oil all over the belt and darned if that pesky thing won't up and go like a fellow rushing for an undertaker when his mother-in-law dies.42

After citing a number of serious illustrations Reverend Sunday relieved the tension with this humorous reference:

So many people are good at beginning but they are like the fellow who was killed by falling off the roof--they stop too quick. That's the trouble. Their aim is high, but they haven't got enough powder to make the bullets pierce the armor of opposition. Aim high! It's no harder on your gun to knock the feathers out of an eagle than it is to shoot a skunk.43


43Ibid., p. 8.
Unlike many of those who preached the serious and emotion-packed cause of temperance, Sunday wisely foresaw the need for humor built into the structure of his speech. His gave a Biblical justification for the interjection of humor—"God wants people to be happy. Why I am almost afraid to make some folks laugh for fear that I will be arrested for breaking a costly piece of antique bric-a-brac."44 The evangelist was not arrested but he did make people happy. The fact is that by making them happy at the right moments, he was able to relieve tension and heighten the impact of his message.

Rhythm

The final constituent of the structure of Billy Sunday's temperance speeches is rhythm. Aristotle recognized the importance of this area of analysis when he stated in the Rhetoric that "if the style has no rhythm, it is unconfined; and it should have some limit, or the effect will be vague and unpleasing, as the indefinite always is."45

Sunday's style is characterized by rhythm of an ever varied nature. The main source of this variance in rhythm was the evangelist's delivery, but his speech texts also give substantial evidence of being a source of varied rhythm. For example the sentence structure and arrangement within the paragraph exhibit a source of tremendous vari-

ance. To cite the examples of this unmeasurable rhythm
would be to cite the whole of every temperance message, but
it would not be unfair to say that the following excerpt is
typical:

Oh, hold on, old Bull-neck! Wait a minute!
Someday you'll meet your customers there and there
will be no counter between you, when your damnable
diabolic, dirty work on earth is done, and you enter
into the just reward of your business which is eter-
nal damnation, and then all the souls of the men and
the women and the children that you have damned will
crowd around you and they will pour their bilier gall
into your ears and they will show you their wounds
and say:

"You made them."

And they will point to their unquenchable thirst
and say:

"You! Damn you! You kindled it."

They will show you their clanking chains and say:

"Damn you. You forged them, sir."

And then with their fiendish groans smiting your
ears, and with the hands out of which you picked the
nickels and dimes and the hard-earned money, they will
push you to the verge of the yawning abyss of hell
while rolling up from the inferno of eternal damn-
ation. Their shrieks and screams will break among the
crags and the peaks of death and they will cry, "Woe
unto him that putteth the bottle to his neighbors'
lips."46

It is apparent in this example that Reverend Sunday used
varied rhythmical patterns. These patterns, apparent in the
structure of his sermons, created a more effective message
and more fully conveyed his emotional fervor.

Summary of Style

Billy Sunday wrote in an oral or spoken style characterized by (1) short words, (2) Anglo-Saxon derivatives, (3) specific and concrete terms, and (4) nuance words which gave his style clarity. Although unorthodox, Sunday's style was appropriate because of the large size of the crowd and the emotional nature of his message. Also the evangelist's style was not relegated to the commonplace for Sunday used many rhetorical devices such as personification, dramatic characterization, illustrations, and imagery to give an ornate quality to his style. And finally the structure, or the way in which he put words together, of Sunday's style is characterized by antithesis, comic relief, and a sense of unmeasurable rhythm, all of which added to the impact of the evangelist's message.
CHAPTER VI

MEMORY AND DELIVERY

"It is not enough to know what to say--one must know how to say it. The right way of doing this contributes much to the right impression of a speech."¹ Before Aristotle such discourse as this would not have been found in any systematic treatise on rhetoric, but from Aristotle to the present time delivery is a canon of rhetoric not to be ignored.

At the same time that delivery became important as a constituent of rhetorical analysis, memoria or memory became less important:

With the passing of the years...the notion that the memory of orators can be trained by systematic devices has almost disappeared. Memory itself remains and is highly esteemed, yet it has lost its ancient importance. Long ago Plato foresaw this when he remarked that the invention of writing by the Egyptian God, Thoth, caused learners to trust external written characters rather than themselves. That he was right may be judged from the number of speakers who read their addresses.²

Thus the importance of memory as dictated by the Greeks and Romans has given way to the dictates and conventions of the written rather than the oral word.


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It will be the purpose of this chapter to apply these two canons, memory and delivery, to the rhetoric of Billy Sunday, with the appropriate emphasis as suggested above.

Memory

Contrary to the usual case there is adequate information available on this area in relation to the temperance speeches of Reverend Sunday. Homer Rodeheaver, the evangelist's music master, pointed out that his sermons were in skeletonized form in loose-leaf books. Some of these notes were voluminous. Others were so sketchy and abbreviated that nobody else could have interpreted them. He always took these notes into the pulpit with him. They did not hamper nor detract from his delivery. When his eyesight became less keen he had the outlines copied in larger type. He had over one hundred sermons which he preached in the tabernacles, together with many shorter talks and addresses used on other occasions.3

It is apparent from this comment, and the knowledge that Sunday made texts of his speeches available to the newspapers ahead of the actual delivery of the message, that Reverend Sunday relied a great deal on his memory to provide the filler for the sketchy outlines. This fact becomes even more apparent when the close examination by the critic of the various sermon notebooks in Reverend Sunday's home at Winona Lake, Indiana, is taken into account. It is impossible for the observer who has not previously acquainted himself with the notes to delineate the essence let alone

30p. cit., p. 27, Rodeheaver.
the total scope of the message. The following sketchy segments are from one of the evangelist's sermons after the passage of Prohibition:

Prohibition is making capitalists out of workingmen. There are fewer strikes—than any other time. A sober nation consumes everything its workers produce.6

Furthermore, it must be noted that the evangelist was in no way hampered by the use of notes. In fact it is doubtful that the untrained eye would have been aware that the notes were even present. It is safe to generalize that the notes were utilized by Sunday as no more than stimuli or springs of response to aid his recall of the memorized sermon. This generalization is based not just on the sketchy nature of the notes and the inability of the audience to detect their usage, but also on two other apparent factors.

The first of these factors that evinces a belief in the evangelist's strong reliance upon memory is the frequency with which he preached his temperance sermons. "His sermons were all effective, but I believe the ones he loved most to preach were the sermons on 'Booze'."6 Because Sunday did have a preference in his choice of messages there was never

4Reverend Sunday's personal notebooks are kept today by the Winona Foundation in the evangelist's home at Winona Lake, Indiana.


60p. cit., p. 32, Rodeheaver.
a campaign that went by that did not hear the evangelist
preach his "Booze" sermon or "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle." 7
Frequency bred familiarity with the text and the result was
almost complete freedom from the use of notes.

A second factor that testifies to the evangelist's
reliance upon his memory was his manner of presentation.
Sunday was constantly moving from one end of the platform to
the other which meant that he could not be tied down by a
memory that was incapable of maintaining stride with his
delivery. This factor will become increasingly apparent in
the discussion of his delivery.

In summary it may be said that Billy Sunday placed a
great deal of reliance upon his memory. It would seem that
the words of praise with which Home Rodeheaver lauds his
colleague, when referring to memoria, hold a measure of
justification in empirical data:

...his astounding retentive memory...his ability to
remember was superlative. He knew train schedules on
all the great trunk line railways. His memory of
names and faces, even after the passage of many years,
was remarkable...dates and events were always at his
tongue's end. Passages of Scripture were instantly at
his call when he needed them...a new sermon had to be
used only once or twice before he knew it by heart. 8

Delivery

This section of the rhetorical analysis includes as
its constituents (1) bodily action and (2) voice. The

7Both sermons are found in the Appendix.

8op. cit., p. 11, Rodeheaver.
accuracy of the conclusions drawn in this segment is enhanced by the use of a sound film of Billy Sunday presenting a "Hillside Sermon" at Winona Lake, Indiana.

Bodily Action

Reverend Sunday always gave a great deal of attention to his personal appearance. "His suits were immaculate and were worn out more by the cleaner and presser than by use." Most of the time he would dress in a white suit, white hat and shoes to match. Sunday's excellence of attire was, as one critic said, "worthy of analysis and description." But it was not his attire nor his strong straight physique that was of prime importance; it was what he did with his person that is of central concern.

First it is necessary to recognize that Reverend Sunday had a fortune which few speakers of today may claim. He was able to control completely his speech environment. Sunday could seat people in the arrangement most suitable for the type of bodily action he incorporated in the delivery of a sermon. The evangelist had begun his great revival campaigns before 1900 in tents, but as his fame grew it became a prerequisite for a Sunday evangelistic campaign to build a tabernacle according to the designs set forward by the evangelist. For example the tabernacle in Columbus, Ohio,

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\(^9\text{Ibid.}, \text{p.} \, 14.\)

\(^10\text{Ibid.}, \text{p.} \, 18.\)

\(^11\text{Personal letter to the critic from Mr. Peterson who acted as Mr. Sunday's bodyguard.}\)
erected of wood, tar paper, sheet metal siding, and designed to seat 12,000 persons, had a "platform that was especially reinforced to withstand Sunday's physical gyrations. 'I've seen him do everything but stand on his head,' his building superintendent warned."  

Thus with a reinforced platform beneath his feet the evangelist began what William T. Ellis described as a "physical sermon."  

The physical vigor with which Sunday delivered his temperance sermons, as with all of his texts, is somehow beyond the denotative meaning of the term "gestures." It is not difficult to understand this statement when one is familiar with the efforts of a corps of newsmen who sought to count the various movements made by the evangelist in a one hour and ten minute sermon. They reported that Sunday, in that time, pounded the pulpit 326 times, waved his handkerchief 68 times, sat in his chair 6 times, stamped his foot 24 times, and made 2,000 gestures with his hands, among other noted movements.  

It is understandable why Ellis described Sunday as "the most vigorous speaker on the public platform today." One editor also estimated that aside

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12Columbus Dispatch Magazine, "When Billy Sunday Came to Columbus," July 5, 1964, p. 29.

130p. cit., p. 139, Ellis.


150p. cit., p. 139, Ellis.
from pounding on the floor of the platform or the lectern, Sunday traveled a mile over his platform in every sermon he delivered which meant that his weekly platform mileage averaged about thirteen miles not counting the mileage he covered while working himself up:

I knew a life insurance agent who tried to sell a policy to Billy Sunday just before that impetuous preacher was about to begin one of his evangelistic campaigns. The agent found his prospect striding madly up and down his back yard and was compelled, if he would do business, to race with him. The evangelist was working himself into the proper physical and emotional state for his dynamic sermon.\(^{16}\)

Sunday was known to go to lengthy extremes in his bodily movement—extremes far beyond the wildest nightmares of the elocutionist—to get his point across. In all of his sermons the evangelist resorted to extreme muscular action of one sort or another. The *Louisville Times* records the evangelist as delivering his message "clearly and emphatically, with deep feeling and with a display of muscular energy which wilted his collar and accomplished the destruction of the kitchen chair which heretofore has graced his platform at Kosair Auditorium."\(^{17}\) This action was not infrequently used by the evangelist for a captain of the Salvation Army makes further reference to this same technique used in an


\(^{17}\)The *Times Louisville*, "Noted Evangelist Wrecks Chair, Displays Muscular Energy, Driving Ideas," May 2, 1923, p. 1.
earlier temperance speech. But the ultimate in these not atypical physical actions of Billy Sunday is related by the late Dr. Paul Carmack. According to Dr. Carmack the evangelist threw three potted flowers against a wall to emphasize three main points. When Sunday got to the third point he grabbed the pot, jumped up on a table, which collapsed, and flung the pot while riding the table to the ground.

But there was purpose in the constant physical action of the evangelist. "Because he was in motion so much of the time he could control the attention of vast crowds." Just watching the evangelist's movements was exciting to the spectator and the intensity of his physical exertions enhanced his earnestness.

Dispite the many possibly distractions from attention in a crowd of fifteen or twenty thousand people, not a single instant did he fail to hold their eyes fixed upon him.

The fact was that Sunday consciously controlled most of his movement:

Since Sunday repeated the same set of sermons in every revival (with occasional new additions) and since he held an average of six revivals a year from 1906 to 1918, it was obvious that his actions were not entirely spontaneous. Each sermon had been given at

19Personal interview with the late Dr. Paul Carmack, December 6, 1963.
least thirty times, and some of them a hundred times, by 1912. Persons who watched him give the same sermon more than once noted with astonishment that despite his undoubted sincerity and passionate fervor, every phrase, every gesture, every pirouette was the same.23

Thus when reading such an account of the evangelist's physical activity, as presented in the Dayton Journal, it must be realized that Sunday was not just giving himself an outlet for the energy baseball used to consume; nor was he solely an exhibitionist (although there is conjecture on both of these points)—Reverend Sunday had a controlled purpose in mind when he

--darted to front and announced his text "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?"
--never stopped moving—shouted forth his exhortations and backed them up with a swing of the arm, wave of his leg and then to emphasize them more sincerely would get down on his knees and crawl along the floor.24

It is possible to extract from this vast variety of physical movement that Sunday used certain gestures over and over to the extent that they became characteristic of his delivery:

"A characteristic movement of extreme emphasis," said one observer, "involves the entire body and suggests a pitcher in the act of throwing the ball." ...Frequently he picked up the chair and swung it around his head...Another characteristic gesture was to stand at the very edge of the platform on one leg, his body bent forward, his other leg extended behind him, and his right arm thrust out pointing directly in the audience.25

23Ibid., p. 161.


These were the gestures that were not startling or jerky, rather they were nimbly executed and did not call attention to themselves.

It must also be mentioned that a great deal of this physical movement conveyed Sunday's attitude of the fighter he was. His "Booze" sermons were his favorites because they gave him a chance to fight and "on the platform he was of a particularly belligerent disposition. Apparently he was ready to fight all opposition at the drop of the hat."26

Sometimes, during a vigorous castigation of the backslidden churches and "hireling ministry," Sunday would brandish his fist under the noses of the co-operating clergymen seated at the rear of the platform; to the audience he seemed angry enough to punch them in the nose.27

Other than his attitude of a fighter there was another element that influenced the evangelist's bodily movement. Sunday was highly sensitive to negative influences that might upset the total mood he wished to prevail. "A trivial circumstance sometimes upset him. A sudden movement or a nervous, hesitant gesture, or an unexpected pause would find a reaction in him."28 Sunday even went so far as to announce that coughing would be prohibited during the service:

an announcer told the audiences at the sermons Sunday that none would cough except silently. He demonstrated the proper method. Someone coughed later. Billy started his disapproval. Another coughed after

26op. cit., p. 12, Rodeheaver.
28op. cit., pp. 18-19, Rodeheaver.
Mr. Sunday had continued. The evangelist stopped and told the cougher either to stop coughing or to "get out." 29

Thus Reverend Sunday's sensitive nature dictated to a degree his bodily movement.

**Summary of Bodily Action**

Reverend Sunday used a tremendous amount of physical movement, much of which was extreme in terms of what most would call gesture. But this constant physical action was consciously controlled and to a great extent preplanned by the evangelist in order to give his message maximum impact and to be able to control the attention of vast crowds. His primary attitude on the platform was that of a fighter, and Sunday would respond bodily to the existence of any negative influences such as an uncontrolled cough.

**Voice**

"The art of delivery has to do with the voice: with the right management of it to express each emotion...." 30

Thus to answer the question of how the evangelist managed his voice it is necessary to attend to such elements that characterize the voice as (1) rate, (2) rhythm, (3) quality, (4) volume and (5) pitch.

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30 *op. cit.*, p. 183, Aristotle.
As was the case with the analysis of bodily action, this segment is accentuated in its reliability by reference to two primary sources. The first primary source is a sound film of Reverend Sunday delivering his "Hillside Sermon" at Winona Lake, Indiana, and the second is a sound recording used by KYW Radio in Cleveland, Ohio, and supplied by the Oral History Library of Columbia University. Because of the nature of this part of the criticism these sources add an element of reliability to the usual process of conjectural emendation.

Rate

After close audio examination of the prementioned sources it must be concluded that the speed that Billy Sunday was famous for on the baseball diamond carried over into his preaching. It is reported by his music master that "folks hearing him for the first time experienced some difficulty in understanding all his rapid fire talk. But it may be that even this fact helped in securing closer attention."31 Mr. Rodeheaver derives the second half of his statement from the concept that people in such vast numbers had to pay close attention or they would have missed just about everything that Sunday uttered.

Another observation that can be made concerning the rate with which the evangelist spoke is derived from cause and effect. It has been established that Sunday's delivery

of his temperance sermons, as with all of his speaking, exhibited a tremendous amount of bodily activity. This meant that his rate of delivery had to keep up with his bodily movement or vice-versa. No matter what the relationship, the fact is that Sunday spoke at a tremendously rapid rate. But this poses an obvious question: Did the audience understand what was being said by the evangelist or did his rate destroy clarity of meaning?

The answer to this question can not be found in listening to old sound tapes of the evangelist speaking, that is unless they are listened to in the company of approximately 20,000 other people and under the exact conditions that existed when they were originally uttered. However, reports of the actual speaking situation indicate the answer to the question of whether Sunday's rate hampered his being understood:

Experienced stenographers who tried to take down Sunday's words verbatim stated that he often spoke at the rate of three hundred words per minute. If his words were ever lost, it was not from the speed at which he uttered them, however, but from the interruptions for applause and laughter. When interrupted prematurely, wrote one newspaperman, "he waits for the handclapping to cease and sometimes repeats a sentence that the people may be certain that they got it all."32

A second reason why Sunday's rate of speaking did not hamper the understanding of his message was that he combined rate with rhythm.

Rhythm

Concerning the movement or rhythm of Sunday's temperance speeches, it is important to recognize that there was present an unmeasured sense of movement that was not lost to the printed page. This rhythm was an important factor in maintaining clarity while the evangelist was speaking at a rapid rate:

Sunday wanted every word to have its full effect, yet often it was not the words themselves but the rapid, rhythmic beat of his curt, alliterative phrases which carried the audience along with him. The acceleration and deceleration of his speaking, like the rising and falling inflection of his voice, helped to create a tenseness in the audience of which they were scarcely aware. With consummate skill Sunday built up this tenseness until, at the psychological moment, he pronounced the word or phrase which broke the spell—the tension snapped, and simultaneously twenty thousand people let out a gasp of pain or broke into thunderous applause or near hysterical laughter.\(^\text{33}\)

Thus Reverend Sunday, through the movement of his speech in terms of sound, accent, tempo, and pauses—rhythm—conveyed the cause of temperance to his audience.

Volume

Because Sunday was a pre-sound-system evangelist he had to cope with the problem of being loud enough for the most distant member of his audience. This was not an easy task to accomplish, and the prior preparation that Sunday's sound engineer, Joe Speice, undertook mirrored this problem of being heard.

\(^{33}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 156.}\)
First, in the line of accoustical preparations, was the covering of the floor with saw dust to deaden the noise. Then the augo-phone was constructed. This was Sunday’s answer to the sound systems of today and looked like a large umbrella when it was suspended over the stage. Its purpose was to keep the sound waves going out toward the audience rather than diffusing upward. The success of the augo-phone in the evangelist’s ministry was discussed by Mr. Pete Peterson, body guard and masseur to Sunday, in a letter to this critic:

As near as I can remember, it was after 1910 that Mr. Joe Speice, from Pennsylvania, designed the first augo-phone and this was made from galvanized tin—heavy material. It was made in the shape of a fan, in six sections. This was a permanent arrangement as it could be disassembled and re-assembled at the next city. This proved very successful, as in those days there were no amplifiers for the voice, from an electrical standpoint.34

But the case for the augo-phone must not be overstated for even with its use Sunday had to shout.

Pitch

Where Sunday’s diaphragm left off, the pitch of his voice picked up. Sunday had to and did maintain a constant high pitch:

As he shouted, his clipped and rapid phrases were perfectly distinct throughout the whole immense building. "Seldom does he lower his voice for effect," wrote one reporter, "but often he lingers on a word or a syllable, his tone rising in pitch almost to a falsetto

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and resulting in a wail that penetrates to the air outside the building. It is weird, but effective."

The result of this constant high pitch was exhibited in the quality of Sunday's voice.

Quality

"Early in his ministry he may have strained his vocal cords, and there was always evident a sort of huskiness." This huskiness as revealed by the sound tapes, markedly increased in proportion to the campaigns accomplished. Constant shouting is no way to cure a strained voice:

The observer was struck by the hoarse and rasping quality of Sunday's voice, which, though it never gave out, had, during the years of overstraining, lost all its expressive timbre.

Summary of Voice

In summary it may be said that (1) Sunday spoke at a tremendously rapid rate which helped rather than hampered the impact of his message; (2) the rhythm of his speech was an aid to maintaining clarity while speaking at a rapid rate; (3) the evangelist had to shout while keeping his voice at a high pitch if he was to be heard; (4) the result of years of shouting was a hoarse and rasping quality to the evangelist's voice.

Summary of Memory and Delivery

Although before the time of Aristotle not much scholarly attention was paid to the canon of delivery, the importance of this element to the temperance speeches of Billy Sunday is unmeasurable. A great part of the criticism that was leveled at the evangelist was a response to what his critics termed "circus antics." But just as most of the criticism leveled at Sunday helped his cause so did this critical comment. A large part of Sunday's crowd reached the tabernacle because they had heard of the way in which Billy Sunday delivered his message.

It must be concluded that Sunday's delivery acted as a drawing card as well as being effective and appropriate in expressing the evangelist's emotions. In essence Reverend Sunday's delivery in no way hampered his use of all the available means of persuasion and was particularly suitable to pathetic proof.
CONCLUSIONS

At the outset of this study it was stated that the central purpose of an inquiry into the temperance sermons of Billy Sunday must necessarily be to discover whether the evangelist brought to bear all of the available means of persuasion. With the completion of the final chapter in the study it is necessary to discern some conclusions pertinent to this central purpose.

1. Billy Sunday chose to deliberate issues that, although they were timely and similar to the tenor of the issues of other temperance workers, he had lived and had been formulating since his conversion experience. It is probably this criterion for choice that kept his use of the various forms of persuasion within the realm of the vivid, specific, and concrete.

2. After the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, Sunday had to rechannel his fervor of the need to eliminate booze and the saloon. This rechanneling took the form of a defense of the new legislation, and it meant that Sunday shouldered the immense task of proving that prohibition was a good thing for the American people and that behavior could be legislated.

3. Although outside the realm of true rhetoric, evangelist Sunday used an abundance of two nonartistic forms of
proof to prove his side of the vital issues—testimony of famous and common people and statistics that were matched in abundance only by their lack of documentation.

4. Arguing from the presence or absence of a cause to the existence or nonexistence of an effect (Aristotle's Topos 24) was the form of enthymeme most relied upon by Reverend Sunday.

5. Sunday relied more heavily upon the example than the enthymeme for his logical proof. Sometimes the evangelist would utilize the example as a conformation of his enthymemes but more frequently the example, standing alone, would serve the ends of logical proofs. Concerning the type of example used by Sunday it must be concluded that a relatively even quantity of parallels from the facts of history and invented parallels or fables were used, but the line between them is not always clear.

6. Sunday's personal sincerity as revealed through his speech texts was his strongest form of ethical appeal relating to the character of the man. The evangelist made it quite clear that he would go to any extreme, including his own death to fight for the cause of temperance.

7. Familiarity with the events and interests of his day greatly enhanced Sunday's ethical credibility as revealed through sagacity. The impression that the sermons created was that Billy was really up to date and no one was a step ahead of him.
8. A great deal of good will preceded Sunday to the platform for he had already established himself as an excellent baseball player especially when it came to running the bases. This luster could not help but influence the audience's attitude toward him. However, Sunday's speech texts also revealed a distinct effort at creating an atmosphere of good will. Probably the evangelist's straightforward approach was the most important factor in Sunday's audience feeling well disposed toward him.

9. Billy Sunday's chief rhetorical concern was to arouse the emotions of his predominantly male middle class audience. It was established early in his evangelistic career, by the news media, that success depended upon how many people could be aroused to come forward, to give themselves to Christ, and to sign the pledge. These were not actions motivated by correct use of logical proof, rather to achieve the desired response Sunday had to be a master of pathos and that he was.

10. Whether it be anger, hatred, pity, fear, or shame that the evangelist chose as the emotion to move his audience toward action, his effectiveness must be attributed to the aura of imminence he was capable of creating. The emotion was made to come alive as real and present in the minds of his audience.

11. Concerning the arrangement of Sunday's temperance sermons it must be concluded that the evangelist failed in
the poem to narrow his subject and make clear the purpose or specific objective of his sermon. Lack of logical progression and general failure to weave a silver thread of unity of a specific theme characterized the evangelist's argument. And as with the poem and argument Sunday failed in the epilogue to fulfill the necessary rhetorical principals such as recapitulation. Finally, it must be mentioned that the poem availed mainly ethical proof; the argument, emotional proof; and the epilogue, when present, used mainly pathetic proof.

12. Sunday used primarily short, specific, and concrete Anglo-Saxon derivitives. In general his choice of words many times was considered unorthodox but because of the nature of his audience it must be considered appropriate.

13. Among the literary devices that Sunday chose to perfect a spoken style of writing were dramatic characterization, personification, abundant illustrations, and the metaphor. Particularly prominent among these elements that characterized Sunday's style was that of the illustration which was largely derived from the evangelist's personal experience.

14. The structure of Sunday's style was characterized by antithesis, comic relief, and a sense of unmeasurable rhythm, all of which added to the impact of the evangelist's message.
15. Reverend Sunday because he was completely free from his notes used a tremendous amount of physical movement, much of which was extreme in terms of what is normally thought of as gesture. But this constant physical action was consciously controlled and to a significant extent pre-planned so as to give maximum impact to the message and to be able to control the attention of vast crowds.

16. Sunday spoke at a tremendously rapid rate which helped rather than hindered the impact of his message because it held the attention of the crowd. Also this rapid rate was possible because the evangelist maintained clarity through a sense of rhythm. Sunday had to shout while keeping his voice at a high pitch if he was to be heard, and the result of years of shouting was a hoarse and rasping quality to his voice.

17. Reverend Sunday's delivery acted as a drawing card as well as being effective and appropriate in expressing the evangelist's most potent means of persuasion, pathos.
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APPENDIX A

"A FEW REMARKS ON BOOZE"

I will take my text from the 8th chapter of Matthew, the 28th to the 32nd verse, describing the casting out of the devils, which entered into the swine.

Here we have one of the strangest scenes in all the gospels. Two men, possessed of devils, confront Jesus, and while the devils are crying out for Jesus to leave them, He commands the devils to come out, and the devils obey the command of Jesus. The devils ask permission to enter into a herd of swine feeding on the hillside. This is the only record we have of Jesus ever granting the petition of devils, and He did it for the salvation of men.

Then the fellows that kept the hogs went back to town and told the peanut-brained, weasel-eyed, hog-jowled, beetle-necked, weasel-necked lobsters that owned the hogs, that "A long-haired fanatic from Nazareth, named Jesus, has driven the devils out of some men and the devils had gone into the hogs, and the hogs into the sea, and the sea into the hogs, and the whole bunch "is dead."

And then the fat, pussy old fellows came out to see Jesus and said that He was hurting their business. A fellow says to me: "I don't think Jesus Christ did a nice thing."
You don't know what you are talking about.

Down in Nashville, Tenn., I saw four wagons going down the street, and they were loaded with stills, and kettles, and pipes.

"What's thig?" I said.

"United States revenue officials, and they have been in the moonshine district and confiscated the illicit stills and they are taking them down to the Government scrap heap."

Jesus Christ was God's revenue officer. Now, the Jews were forbidden to eat pork, but Jesus Christ came and found that crowd buying and selling and dealing in pork, and confiscated the whole business, and He kept within the limits of the law when He did it. Then the fellows ran back to those who owned the hogs to tell what had befallen them, and those hog-owners said to Jesus: "Take your helpers and hike. You are hurting our business." And they looked into the sea and the hogs were bottom side up, but the men were right side up. Jesus said: "What is the matter?"

And they answered. "Leave our hogs and go." A fellow says it is rather a strange request for the devils to make, to ask permission to enter into hogs. I don't know—if I was a devil I would rather live in a good, decent hog than in lots of men, and if you will drive the hog out you won't have to carry slop to him, so I will try to help you get rid of the hog.
And they told Jesus to leave the country. They said: "You are hurting our business."

"Have you no interest in manhood?"

"We have no interest in that; just take your disciples and leave, for you are hurting our business."

That is the attitude of the liquor traffic toward the Church and State, and Government, and the preacher that has the backbone to fight the most damnable, corrupt institution that ever wriggled out of Hell and fastened itself on the public.

I am a temperance Republican down to my toes. Who is the man that fights the whiskey business in the South? It is the Democrat! They have driven the business from Alabama; they have driven it from Georgia, and from Mississippi, and Tennessee, all but three cities; and out of 147 counties in Kentucky. And they have driven it out of 147 counties in Texas, and out of North Carolina. And it is the rock-ribbed Democratic South that is fighting the saloon. They started this fight that is sweeping like fire over the United States. You might as well try and dam Niagara Falls with toothpicks as to stop the reform wave sweeping our land. The Democratic party of Florida has put a temperance plank in its platform, and the Republican party of every State would nail that plank in the platform if they thought it would carry the election. It is simply a matter of decency and manhood, irrespective of politics. It is prosperity
against poverty, sobriety against drunkenness, honesty against thieving, Heaven against Hell. Don't you want to see men sober? Brutal, staggering men transferred into respectable citizens? "No," said a saloonkeeper, "to Hell with men. We are interested in our business; we have no interest in humanity."

I challenge you to show me where the saloon has ever helped business, education, church, morals, or anything we hold dear.

You listen today, and if I can't peel the bark off that damnable fallacy, I will pack my trunk and leave. I say that is the biggest lie ever belched out. The wholesale and retail trade in Iowa pays every year at least $500,000 in licenses. Then if there were no drawback, it ought to reduce the taxation twenty-five cents per capita. If the saloon is necessary to pay the taxes, and if they pay $500,000 in taxes, it ought to reduce them twenty-five cents a head. But no, the whiskey business has increased taxes $1,900,000 instead of reducing them, and I defy any whiskey man on God's dirt to show one town that has the saloon, where the taxes are lower than where they do not have the saloon. I defy you to show me an instance.

Listen! Seventy-five per cent of our idiots come from intemperate parents; eighty per cent of the paupers; eighty-two per cent of the crime is committed by men under the influence of liquor; ninety per cent of the adult criminals
are whiskey made. The Chicago tribune kept track for ten years and found that 53,556 murders were committed by men under the influence of liquor.

Archbishop Ireland, the famous Roman Catholic of St. Paul, said of social crime today, "That seventy-five per cent is caused by drink and eighty per cent of the poverty. I go to a family and it is broken up, and I say, "What caused this?" Drink! I step up to a young man on the scaffold and say, "What brought you here?" Drink! Whence all the misery, and sorrow, and corruption? Invariably it is drink!

Five Points, in New York, was a spot as near like Hell as any spot on earth. There are five streets that run to this point, and right in the middle was an old brewery, and the streets on either side were lined with grog-shops. The newspapers turned a search light on the district, and before they could stop it, the first thing they had to do was to buy the old brewery and turn it into a mission, and today it is a decent, respectable place.

"The saloon is the sum of all villainies. It is worse than war or pestilence. It is the crime of crimes. It is the parent of crimes and the mother of sins. It is the appalling source of misery and crime in the land, and the principal cause of crime. It is the source of three-fourths of the crime, and, of course, it is the source of three-fourths of the taxes to support that crime." And to license such an incarnate field of Hell is the dirtiest, low-down,
damnable business on top of this old earth. There is nothing to be compared to it.

You say "that people will drink it anyway." Not by my vote. You say "men will murder their wives anyway." Not by my vote. "They will steal anyway." Not by my vote. You are the sovereign people, and what are you going to do about it?

Let me assemble before your minds the bodies of the drunken dead, who crawl away "into the jaws of death, into the mouth of Hell," and then out of the valley of the shadow of the drink; let me call the appertaining motherhood, and wifehood and childhood, and let their tears rain down upon their purple faces. Do you think that would stop the curse of the liquor traffic? No! No!

In these days when the question of saloon or no saloon is at the fore in almost every community, one hears a good deal about what is called "personal liberty." These are fine, large, mouth-filling words and they certainly do sound first-rate; but when you get right down and analyze them in the light of common old horse sense, you will discover that in their application to the present controversy they mean just about this: "Personal liberty," is for the man who, if he has the inclination and the price, can stand up to a bar and fill his hide so full of red liquor that he is transformed for the time into an irresponsible, dangerous evil smelling brute. But "personal liberty" is not for his
patient, long-suffering wife, who has to endure with what fortitude she may his blows and curses; nor is it for his children who, if they escape his insane rage, are yet robbed of every known joy and privilege of childhood, and too often grow up neglected, uncared for and vicious as the result of their surrounds and the example before them; "personal liberty" is not for the sober, industrious citizen who from the proceeds of honest toil and orderly living, has to pay, willingly or not, the tax bills which pile up as the direct result of drunkenness, disorder and poverty, the items of which are written in the records of every police court and poorhouse in the land; nor is "personal liberty" for the good woman who goes abroad in the town only at the risk of being shot down by some drink-crazed creature. This rant about "personal liberty" as an argument, has no leg to stand upon.

Now, last year the corn crop was 2,553,732,000 bushels, and it was valued at $1,350,000,000. Secretary Wilson said that the breweries use less than two per cent; I will say that they use two per cent. That would make 51,000,000 bushels, and at fifty cents a bushel that would be about $25,000,000. How many people are there in the United States? 80,000,000. Very well, then, that is twenty-seven cents per capita. Then we sold out to the whiskey business for twenty-cents apiece--the price of a dozen eggs or a pound of
butter. We are the cheapest gang this side of Hell if we will do that kind of business.

Now, listen! Last year the income of the United States government, and the cities and towns and counties from the whiskey business, was $350,000,000. That is putting it liberally. You say that's a lot of money. Well, last year the workingmen spent $2,200,000 for drink, and it cost $1,200,000,000 to care for the judicial machinery. In other words, the whiskey business cost us last year, $3,400,000,000. I will subtract from that the dirty $350,000,000 which we got, and it leaves $3,050,000,000 in favor of knocking the whiskey business out on purely a money basis. And listen! Last year we spent $6,000,000,000 for our paupers and criminals, insane, orphans, feeble-minded, etc., in the United States, and eighty-two per cent of our criminals are whiskey made, and seventy-five per cent of the paupers are whiskey made. Our national increase in wealth was only $5,000,000,000, so you can figure out how long it will take us to go into bankruptcy with that cussed business on our backs. The average factory hand earns $450 a year, and it will cost us $1,200 a year to support each of our whiskey criminals. There are 326,000 enrolled criminals in the United States, and 80,000 in jails and penitentiaries. Three-fourths were sent there because of drink, and then they have the audacity to say the saloon is needed for money
revenue. Never was there a baser lie, or a heart so vile or lips black enough to utter such a lie.

"But," says the whiskey fellow, "we would lose trade; the farmer would not come to town to trade." You lie. I am a farmer. I was born and raised on a farm and I have the malodors of the barnyard on me today. Yes, sir. And when you say that you insult the best class of men on God's dirt. Say, when you put up the howl that if you don't have the saloons the farmer won't trade--say Mr. Whiskey Man, why do you dump money into politics and back the legislatures into the corner and fight to the last ditch to prevent the enactment of county local option. You know when the farmers are given a chance they knock the whiskey business into Hell the first throw out of the box. You are afraid. You have cold feet on the proposition. You are afraid to give the farmer a chance. They are scared to death of you farmers.

I heard my friend, Governor Hanly, of Indiana, use the following illustrations:

"'Oh,' but they say, 'Governor, there is another danger to the local option, because it means a loss of market to the farmer. We are consumers of large quantities of grain in the manufacture of our products. If you drive us out of business you strike down that market and it will create a money panic in this country, such as you have never seen, if you do that.' I might answer it by saying that less than two per cent of the grain produced in this country is
used for that purpose, but I pass that by. I want to debate the merit of the statement itself, and I think I can demonstrate in ten minutes to any thoughtful man, to any farmer, that the brewer who furnishes him a market for a bushel of corn is not his benefactor, or the benefactor of any man, from an economic standpoint. Let us see. A farmer brings to the brewer a bushel of corn. He finds a market for it. He gets fifty cents and goes his way, with the statement of the brewer ringing in his ears that the brewer is the benefactor. But you haven't got all the factors in the problem, Mr. Brewer, and you cannot get a correct solution of a problem without all the factors in the problem. You take the farmer's bushel of corn, brewer or distiller, and you brew and distill from it four and one-half gallons of spirits. I don't know how much he dilutes them before he puts them on the market. Only the brewer, the distiller and God knows. The man who drinks it doesn't, but, if he doesn't dilute it at all, he puts on the market four and a half gallons of intoxicating liquor, thirty-six pints. I am not going to trace the thirty-six. It will take too long. But I want to trace three of them, and I will give you no imaginary stories plucked from the brain of an excited orator. I will take instances from the judicial pages of the Supreme Court and the Circuit Court judges' reports in Indiana and in Illinois to make my make.
"Two years ago in the city of Chicago a young man of good parents, good character, one Sunday crossed the street and entered a saloon, open against the law. He found there boon companions. After a while, drunk, insanely drunk, his money gone, he was kicked into the street. He found his way across to his mother's home. He importuned her for money to buy more drink. She refused him. He seized from the sideboard a revolver and ran out into the street and with the expressed determination of entering the saloon and getting more drink, money or no money. His little mother followed him into the street. His fond mother follows him into the street. She put her hand upon him in loving restraint. He struck it from him in anger and then his sister came and added her entreaty in vain. And then a neighbor, whom he knew, trusted and respected, came in and put his hand on him in gentleness and friendly kindness but in an insanity of drunk rage he raised the revolver and shot his friend dead in his blood upon the street. There was a trial; he was found guilty of murder. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and when the little mother heard the verdict—a frail little bit of a woman—she threw up her hands and fell in a swoon. In three hours she was dead.

"In the streets of Freeport, Ill., a young man of good family became involved in a controversy with a lewd woman of the town. He went in a drunken frenzy to his father's home, armed himself with a deadly weapon and set forth in the city
in search of the woman with whom he had quarreled. The first person he met upon the public square in the city, in the daylight, in a place where she had a right to be, was one of the most refined and cultured woman of Freeport. She carried in her arms her babe, motherhood and babyhood, upon the streets of Freeport in the day time where they had a right to be, but this young man in this drunken insanity mistook her for the woman he sought and shot her dead upon the streets with her babe in her arms. He was tried and Judge Ferand, in sentencing him to life imprisonment, said: "You are the seventh man in two years to be sentenced for murder while intoxicated.

"Last spring, in the city of Anderson, you remember the tragedy in the Blake home. A young man came home intoxicated, demanding money of his mother. She refused it. He seized from the wood box a hatchet and killed his mother, and then robbed her. You remember he fled. The officers of the law pursued him, brought him back. An indictment was read to him, charging him with the murder of the mother who had given him his birth, of her who had gone down into the valley of the shadow of death to give him life, of her who had looked down into his blue eyes and thanked God for his life. And he said, 'I am guilty, I tell it all.' And Judge McClure sentenced him to life imprisonment."

Now I have followed probably three of the thirty-six pints of the farmer's product of a bushel of corn and the
three of them have struck down seven lives, the three boys who committed the murders, the three persons who were killed and the little mother who dies of a broken heart. And now, I want to know, my farmer friend, if this has been a good commercial transaction for you. You sold a bushel of corn; you found a market; you got fifty cents; but a fraction of this product struck down seven lives, all of whom would have been consumers of your products for their life expectancy. And do you mean to say that is a good economic transaction to you? That disposes of the market question until it is answered; let no man argue further.

This gang is circulating a circular about Kansas City, Kansas. I defy you to prove a statement in it. Listen! Kansas City is a town of 100,000 population, and temperance went into effect July 1, 1906. They then had 250 saloons, 200 gambling hells and sixty houses of ill-fame. The population was largely foreign and inquiries have come from Germany, Sweden and Norway, asking the influence of the enforcement of the prohibitory law.

At the end of one year, the president of one of the largest banks in that city, a man who had protested against the enforcement of the prohibitory law on the ground that it would hurt business, found that at the end of one year his bank deposits had increased $1,700,000, and seventy-two per cent of the deposits were from men who had never saved a cent before, and forty-two per cent came from men who had
never had a dollar in the ban, but because the saloons were
given out they had a chance to save, and the people who ob-
jected on the grounds that it would injure business, found
an increase of 209 per cent in building operations; and,
furthermore, there were three times as many people building
homes as before, and there were more people seeking invest-
ment, and court expenses decreased $25,000 in one year.

Who pays to feed and keep the gang you have in jail? Why, you go down in your sock and pay what the saloon has
dumped in there. They don't do it. Mr. Whiskey Man, why
don't you go down and take a picture of wrecked and blighted
homes, and of insane asylums, with gibbering idiots, that it
costs $6,000,000,000 to support? Why don't you take a pic-
ture of that?

I tell you, gentlemen, the American home is the dearest
heritage of the people, for the people, and by the people,
and when a man can go from home in the morning with the
kisses of wife and children on his lips, and come back at
night with an empty dinner bucket to a happy home, that man
is a better man, whether white or black. Whatever takes away
the comforts of home--whatever degrades that man or woman--
whatever invades the sanctity of the home, is the deadliest
foe to the home, to church, to state and school, and the sa-
loon is the deadliest foe to the home, the church and the
state, on top of God Almighty's dirt. And if all the com-
bined forces of Hell should assemble in conclave, and with them all the men on earth that hate and despise God, and purity, and virtue—if all the scum of the earth could mingle with the denizens of Hell to try to think of the deadliest institution to home, to church and state, I tell you, sir, the combined hellish intelligence could not conceive of or bring forth an institution that could touch the hem of the garment of the open licensed saloon to damn the home and manhood, and womanhood and business and every other good thing on God's earth.

The American mongoose is the open licensed saloon. It eats the carpets off the floor, and the clothes from off your back, your money out of the bank, and it eats up character, and it goes on until at last it leaves a stranded wreck in the home, a skeleton of what was once brightness and happiness.

Like a drummer on a railroad train. There were some men playing cards, and one fellow pulled out a whiskey flask and passed it about, and when it came to the drummer he said, "No." "What," they said, "have you got on the water wagon?" And they all laughed at him. He said, "You can laugh if you want to, but I was born with an appetite for drink, and for years I have taken from five to ten glasses per day, but I was at home in Chicago not long ago, and I have a friend who has a pawn shop there. I was in there when in came a young
fellow with ashen cheeks and a wild look on his face. He came up trembling, threw down a little package and said, "Give me ten cents." And what do you think was in that package? It was a pair of baby shoes!

My friend said, "No, I cannot take them."

But he said, "Give me a dime, I must have a drink."

"No, take them back home, your baby will need them."

And the poor fellow said, "My baby is dead, and I want a drink."

Boys, I don't blame you for the lump that comes up in your throat. There is no law, divine or human that the saloon respects. Lincoln said, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. If the fight is to be won we need men—men that will fight—the church, Catholic and Protestant, must fight it or run away, and thank God she will not run away, but fight to the last ditch.

Who works the hardest for his money, the saloon man or you?

Who has the most money Sunday morning, the saloon man or you?

The saloon comes as near being a rat hole for a wage-earner to dump his wages in anything you can find. The only interest it pays is red eyes and foul breath, and the loss of your health. You go in with money and you come out with empty pockets. You go in with character and you come out ruined. You go in with a good position and you lose it.
You lose your position in the bank, or in the cab of the locomotive. And it pays nothing back but disease and damnation and gives an extra dividend in delirium tremens and a free pass to Hell. And then it will let your wife by buried in the potter's field, and your children go to an asylum, and yet you walk out and say that the saloon is a good institution, when it is the dirtiest thing on earth. It hasn't one leg to stand on and has nothing to commend it to a decent man, not one thing.

"But," you say. "We will regulate it by high license." Regulate what by high license? You might as well try to regulate a powder mill in Hell. Do you want to pay taxes in boys, or dirty money? A man that will sell out to that dirty business I have no use for. See how absurd their arguments are. If you drink Bourbon in a saloon that pays $1,000 a year license, will it eat your stomach less than if you drink it in a saloon that pays $500 license. Is it going to have any different effect on you, whether the gang pays $500 or $1,000 license? No. It will make no difference whether you drink it over a mahogany counter or a pine counter, it will have the same effect on you, it will damn you. So there is no use talking about it.

In some insane asylums, do you know what they do? When they want to test some patient to see whether he has recovered his reason, they have a room with faucet in it, and a cement floor, and they give the patient a mop and tell
him to mop up the floor. And if he has sense enough to turn off the faucet and mop up the floor, they will parole him, but should he let the faucet run, they know that he is crazy.

Well, that is what you are trying to do. You are trying to mop it up with taxes, and insane asylums, and jails, and Keeley cures, and reformatories. The only thing to do is to shut off the source of supply.

A man was delivering a temperance address at a fair grounds and a fellow came up to him and said, "Are you the fellow that gave a talk on temperance?"

"Yes."

"Well, I think that the managers did a dirty piece of business to let you give a lecture on temperance. You have hurt my business, and my business is a legal one."

"You are right there," said the lecturer, "they did do a mean trick. I would complain to the officers." And he took up a premium list and said: "By the way, I see there is a premium of so much offered for the best horse, and cow, and butter. What business are you in?"

"I'm in the liquor business."

"Well, I don't see that they offer any premium for your business, and they ought to offer on the list $25 for the best wrecked home, $15 for the best bloated bum that you can show, and $10 for the finest specimen of a broken-hearted wife, and they ought to give $5 for the finest specimen of thieves and gamblers you can trot out. You can bring out
the finest looking criminals. If you have something that is good trot it out. You ought to come in competition with the farmer, with his stock, and the fancy work, and the canned fruit."

It is an infidel. It has no faith in God; has no religion. It would close every church in the land. It would hang its beer signs on the abandoned altars. It would close every public school. It respects the thief and it esteems the blasphemer. It fills the prisons and the penitentiaries. It despises Heaven, hates love, scorns virtue. It tempts the passions. Its music is the song of a siren. Its sermons are a collection of lewd, vile stories. It wraps a mantle about the hope of this world and that to come. Its tables are full of the vilest literature. It is the moral clearing house for rot, and damnation, and poverty, and insanity, and it wrecks homes and blights lives today.

The saloon is a liar. It promises good cheer and sends sorrow. It promises health and causes disease. It promises prosperity and sends adversity. It promises happiness and sends misery. Yes, it sends the husband home with a lie on his lips to his wife; and the boy home with a lie on his lips to his mother; and it causes the employer to lie to his employer. It degrades. It is God's worst enemy and the devil's best friend. Seventy-five per cent of impurity comes from the grogshop. It spares neither youth nor old
It is waiting with a dirty blanket for the baby to
crawl into this world. It lies in wait for the unborn.

It cocks the highwayman's pistol. It puts the rope
in the hands of the mob. It is the anarchist of the world
and its dirty red flag is dyed with the blood of women and
children, and it sent the bullet through the body of Lin-
coln; it nerved the arm that sent the bullet through Gar-
field and William McKinley. Yes, it is a murderer. Every
plot that was ever hatched against our flag and every anar-
chist plot against the Government and law, was born and bred,
and crawled out of the grogshop to damn this country.

I tell you that the curse of God Almighty is on the
saloon. Legislatures are legislating against it. Decent
society is barring it out. The fraternal brotherhoods are
knocking it out. The Masons and the Odd Fellows, and the
Knights of Pythias and the A. O. U. W., are closing their
doors to the whiskey sellers. They don't want you wiggling
your carcass in their lodges. Yes, sir, I tell you, the
curse of God is on it. It is on the down grade. It is
headed for Hell, and by the grace of God, I am going to give
it a push, with a whoop, for all I know how. Listen to me!
I am going to show you how we burn up our money. It costs
twenty cents to make a gallon of whiskey; sold over the
counter at ten cents a glass, it will bring $4.

"But," said a saloonkeeper, "Bill, you must figure in
the strychnine and the cochineal, and other stuff they put
in it, and it will bring nearer $8.00."
Yes; it increases the heart beat thirty times more in a minute, when you consider the licorice and potash and logwood and other poisons that are put in it. I believe one cause for the unprecedented increase of crime is due to the poison put in the stuff nowadays to make it go as far as they can. I am indebted to my friend, George R. Stuart, for some of the following points:

I will show you how your money is burned up. It costs 20 cents to make a gallon of whiskey, sold over the counter at ten cents a glass, which brings $4.00. Listen, where does it go? Who gets the twenty cents? The farmer for his corn and rye. Who gets the rest? The United States Government for collecting revenues, and the big corporations, and part is used to pave our streets and pay our police. I'll show you. I'm going to show you how it is burned up, and you don't need half sense to catch on, and if you don't understand just keep still and nobody will ever know the difference.

I say, "Hey, Colonel Politics, what is the matter with the country?"

He swells up like a poisoned pup and says to me, "Bill, why the silver bugbear. That's what is the matter with the country."

Say! The total value of the silver coined in this country in 1907 was $37,598,800. Hear me! In 1907 the
total value of the gold produced in this country was
$94,722,000, and we dumped ten times that much in the whiskey hole and didn't fill it. What is the matter? In 1904
the total value of all the gold and silver was $524,558,000,
and we dumped three times that amount in the whiskey hole
and didn't fill it.

What is the matter with the country, Colonel Politics?
He swells up and says, "Mr. Sunday, standpaterism, sir."

I say, "You are an old windbag."

"Oh," says another, "revision of the tariff." Another
man said, "Free Trade; open the doors at the ports and let
them pour the products in and we will put the trusts on the
sidetrack."

Say, you come with me to every port of entry. Listen!
Last year the total value of all the imports was $1,438,000,
000, and we dumped that much in the whiskey hole in twelve
months, and did not fill it.

"Oh," says a man, "let us court South America and
Europe to sell our products. That's what is the matter; we
are not exporting enough."

Say, last year the total value of all the exports was
$1,900,000,000 and we dumped that amount in the whiskey hole
in one year, and did not fill it.

One time I was down in Washington and went to the
United States Treasury and said: "I wish you would let me
go where you don't let the general public." And they took us around on the inside and we walked into a room about twenty feet long and fifteen feet wide and as many feet high, and I say: "What is this?"

"This is the vault that contains all of the national bank stock in the United States."

I said, "How much is here?"

They said, $578,000,000.

And we dumped nearly four times the value of the national bank stock in the United States into the whiskey hole last year, and we didn't fill the hole up at that. What is the matter? Say, whenever the day comes that all the Catholic and Protestant churches--just when the day comes when you will say to that whiskey business: "You go to Hell," that day the whiskey business will go to Hell, and you sit there, you old whiskey-voting elder and deacon and vestryman, and you wouldn't strike your hands together on the proposition. It would stamp you an old hypocrite and you know it.

I hold a silver dollar in my hand. Come on, we are going to a saloon. We will go into a saloon and spend that dollar for a quart. It takes twenty cents to make a gallon of whiskey and a dollar to buy a quart. You say to the saloonkeeper, "Give me a quart." I will show you, if you wait a minute, how she is burned up. Here I am, John, an old
drunken bum with a wife and six kids. (Thank God, it's all a lie.) Come on, I will go down to a saloon and throw down my dollar. It costs twenty cents to make a gallon of whiskey. A nickel will make a quart. My dollar will buy a quart of bocze. Who gets the nickel? The farmer, for corn or apples? Who gets the ninety-five cents? The United States Government, the big distillers, the big corporations. I am John, a drunken bum, and I will spend my dollar. I have worked a week and got my pay. I go into a grog-shop and throw down my dollar. The saloonkeeper gets my dollar and I get a quart of booze. Come home with me. I stagger, and reel, and spew into my wife's presence and she says:

"Hello, John, what did you bring home?"

"A quart."

What will a quart do? It will burn up my happiness and my home and fill my home with squalor and want. So there is the dollar. The saloon keeper has it. Here is my quart. I have that. There you get the whiskey end of it. Here you get the workingman's home end of the saloon.

But come on; I will go to a store and spend the dollar for a pair of shoes. I want them for my son, and he puts them on his feet, and with the shoes to protect his feet he goes out and earns another dollar, and my dollar becomes a silver thread in the woof and warp of happiness and joy, and the man that owns the building gets some, and the clerk that sold the shoes gets some, and the merchant, and the travel-
ing man and the wholesale house gets some, and the factory, and the man that made the shoes, and the man that tanned the hide, and the butcher that bought the calf, and the farmer that raised the calf, and little coroded fellow that shined the shoes, and my dollar spread itself and nobody is made worse for spreading the money.

I join the Booster Club for business and prosperity. A man said: "I will tell you what is the matter with the country; it's over-production." You lie; it is under-consump-

Say, wife, the bread that ought to be in your stomach to satisfy the cravings of hunger, is down yonder in the grocery store, and your husband hasn't money enough to carry it home. The meat that ought to satisfy your hunger hangs in the butcher shop. Your husband hasn't money to buy it. The cloth for a dress is lying on a shelf in the store, but your husband hasn't the money to buy it. The whiskey gang has his money.

"What is the matter with our country? I would like to do like this. I would like to see every booze-fighter get on the water wagon. I would like to summon all the drun-
kards in America and say: "Boys, let's cut her out and spent the money for flour, meat and calico; what do you say?"
Say! $500,000,000 will buy all the cotton at $50 a bale. But we dumped more money than that in the whiskey hole last year, and didn't fill it. Come on; I'm going to line up the
drunkards. Everybody fall in. Come on, ready, forward, march, right, left, here I come with all the drunkards. We will line up in front of a butcher shop. The butcher says:

"What do you want, a piece of neck?"

"No; how much do I owe you?" 

"$3.00."

"Here's your dough."

"Now give me a porterhouse steak and a sirloin roast."

"Where did you get all that money?"

"Went to hear Bill and climbed on the water wagon."

"Hello! What do you want?"

"Beefsteak."

"What do you want?"

"Beefsteak."

We empty the shop and the butcher runs to the telephone. "Hey, central, give me the slaughter house. Have you got any beef, any pork and mutton?"

They strip the slaughter house and then telephone to Swift, and Armour, and Nelson Morris, and Cudahy, to send down train loads of beefsteaks.

"What's the matter?"

"The whole bunch has gotten on the water wagon."

And Swift and the other big packers in Chicago say to their salesmen: "Buy beef, pork and mutton."

The farmers see the price of cattle and sheep jump up to three times their value. Let me take the money you dump
into the whiskey hole and buy beefsteaks with it. I will show you what is the matter with America. I think the liquor business is the dirtiest, rottenest business this side of Hell.

Come on, are you ready? Fall in! We line up in front of a grocery store.

"What do you want?"
"Why, I want flour."
"What do you want?"
"Flour."
"What do you want?"
"Flour."
"Pillsbury, Minneapolis, 'Sleepy Eye'?"
"Yes; ship in train loads of flour; send on the fast mail schedule, with an engine in front, one behind and a mogul in the middle.

"What's the matter?
"Why, the workingmen have stopped spending their money for booze and have begun to buy flour."

The big mills tell their men to buy wheat and the farmers see the price jump to over $2.00 per bushel. What's the matter with the country? Why, the whiskey gang has your money and you have an empty stomach, and yet you will walk up and vote for the dirty business.

Come on, cut out the booze, boys. Get on the water wagon; get on for the sake of your wife and babies, and hit the booze a blow.
Come on, ready, forward, march! Right, left, halt!

We are in front of a dry goods store.

"What do you want?"

"Calico."

"What do you want?"

"Calico."

"What do you want?"

"Calico."

"Calico; all right, come on. The stores are stripped."


V. Farwell, send down calico. The whole bunch has voted out the saloons and we have such a demand for calico we don't know what to do. And the big stores telegraph to Fall River to ship calico, and the factories telegraph to buy cotton, and the cotton plantation man sees cotton jump up to $150 a bale.

What is the matter? Your children are going naked and the whiskey gang has your money. That's what's the matter with you. Don't listen to those old whiskey-soaked politicians who say "standpat on the saloon."

Come with me. Now, remember, we have the whole bunch of booze fighters on the water wagon, and I'm going home now. Over here I was John, the drunken bum. The whiskey gang got my dollar and I got a quart. Over there I am John on the water wagon. The merchant got my dollar and I have
his meat, flour and calico, and I'm going home now: "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home without booze."

Wife comes out and says, "Hello, John, what have you got?"

"Two porterhouse steaks, Sally."

"What's that bundle, Pa?"

"Cloth to make you a new dress, sis. Your mother has fixed your old one so often, it looks like a crazy quilt."

"And what have you there?"

"That's a pair of shoes for you, Tom; and here is some cloth to make you a pair of pants. Your mother has patched the old ones so often they look like a map of the United States."

What's the matter with the country? We have been dumping the money into the whiskey hole that ought to have been spent for flour, beef and calico, and we haven't that hole filled up yet.

A man comes along and says: "Are you a drunkard?"

"Yes, I'm a drunkard."

"Where are you going?"

"I am going to Hell."

"Why?"

"Because the Good Book says; 'No drunkard shall inherit the Kingdom of God,' so I am going to Hell."

Another man comes along and I say: "Are you a church member?"
"Yes, I am a church member."
"Where are you going?"
"I am going to Heaven."
"Did you vote for the saloon?"
"Yes."
"Then you should go to Hell."

Say, if the man that drinks the whiskey goes to Hell, the man that votes for the saloon that sold the whiskey to him will go to Hell. If the man that drinks the whiskey goes to Hell, and the man that sold whiskey to the men that drank it, goes to Heaven, then the poor drunkard will have the right to stand on the brink of eternal damnation and put his arms around the pillar of justice, shake his fist in the face of the Almighty and say, "Unjust! Unjust!" If you vote for the dirty business you ought to go to Hell as sure as you live, and I would like to fire the furnace while you are there.

Some fellow says: "Drive the saloon out and the buildings will be empty." Which would you rather have, empty buildings, or empty jails, penitentiaries and insane asylums? You drink the stuff and what have you to say? You that vote for it, and you that sell it? Look at them painted on the canvas of your recollection.

What is the matter with this grand old country of ours? I heard my friend, George Stuart, tell how he imagined that he walked up to a mill and said:
"Hello, there, what kind of a mill are you?"

"A saw mill."

"And what do you make?"

"We make boards out of logs."

"Is the finished product worth more than the raw material?"

"Yes."

"We will make laws for you. We must have lumber for houses."

"He goes up to another mill and says:

"Hey, what kind of a mill are you?"

"A grist mill."

"What do you make?"

"Flour and meal out of wheat and corn."

"Is the finished product worth more than the raw material?"

"Yes."

"Then come on. We will make laws for you. We will protect you."

He goes up to another mill and says:

"What kind of a mill are you?"

"A paper mill."

"What do you make paper out of?"

"Straw and rags."

"Well, we will make laws for you. We must have paper on which to write notes and mortgages."
He goes up to another mill and says:
"Hey, what kind of a mill are you?"
"A gin mill."
"What is your raw material?"
"The boys of America."

The gin mills of this country must have 2,000,000 boys or shut up shop. Say, walk down your streets, count the homes, and every fifth home has to furnish a boy for a drunkard. Have you furnished yours? No. Then I have to furnish two to make up.

"What is your raw material?"
"American boys."
"Then I will pick the boys up and give them to you."
A man says: "Hold on, not that boy; he is mine."
Then I will say to you what a saloonkeeper said to me when I protested: "I am not interested in boys; to hell with your boys."

"Say, saloon gin mill, what is your finished product?"
"Bleary-eyed, low-down, staggering men and the scum of God's dirt, that have gone to the mat and taken the count."

Go to the jails, go to the insane asylums and the peni-tentiaries, and the homes for feeble-minded. There you will find the finished product for their dirty business. I tell you it is the worst business this side of Hell, and you know it.
Listen! Here is an extract from the Saturday Evening Post of November 9th, 1907, taken from a paper read by a brewer. You will say that a man didn't say it: "It appears from these facts that the success of our business lies in the creation of appetite among the boys. Men who have formed the habit scarcely ever reform, but they, like others, will die, and unless there are recruits made to take their places, our coffers will be empty, and I recommend to you that money spent in the creation of appetite will return in dollars to your tills after the habit is formed."

What is your raw material, saloons? American boys. Say, I would not give one boy for all the distilleries and saloons this side of Hell. And they have to have 2,000,000 boys every generation. And then you tell me you are a man, when you will vote for an institution like that. What do you want to do, pay taxes in money or boys?

The preacher hurried to the jail and talked and prayed with the man. He had no knowledge of what he had done. He said: "I don't blame the law, but it grieves my heart to think that my children must be left in a cold and heartless world. Oh, sir, whiskey did it."

Listen! In a northwest city a preacher sat at his breakfast table one Sunday morning. The door bell rang, he answered it, and there stood a little boy, 12 years of age. He was on crutches, right leg off at the knee, shivering and
he said: "Please sir, will you come up to the jail and talk and pray with papa? He murdered mamma. Papa was good and kind, but whiskey did it, and I have to support my three little sisters. I sell newspapers and black boots. Will you go up and talk and pray with papa? And will you come home and be with us when they bring him back? The Governor says we can have his body, after they hang him."

The preacher was at the little hut when up drove the undertaker's wagon and they carried out the pine coffin. They led the little boy up to the coffin, he leaned over and kissed his father and sobbed, and he said to his sisters: "Come on, sisters, kiss papa's cheeks before they grow cold."

And the little hungry, ragged, whiskey orphan hurried to the coffin shrieking in agony. Police, whose hearts were adamant, burried their faces in their hands and rushed from the house, and the preacher fell on his knees and lifted his clenched fist and tear-stained face and took an oath before God, and before the whiskey orphans, that he would fight the cussed business until the undertaker carried him out in his coffin.

You men now have a chance to show your manhood. Then in the name of your pure mother, in the name of your manhood, in the name of your wife and the pure, innocent children that climb up in your lap and put their arms around your neck, in the name of all that is good and noble, fight the
curse. Shall you men, who hold in your hands the ballot, and in that ballot hold the destiny of womanhood and children and manhood, shall you, the sovereign power, refuse to rally in the name of defenseless men and women and native land? No.

I want every man to say: "God, you can count on me to protect my wife, my home, my mother and my children and the manhood of America.

By the mercy of God, which has given to you the un-shaken and unshakable confidence of her you love, I beseech you make a fight for the women who wait tonight until the saloons spew out their husbands and their sons, and send them home maudlin, brutish, devilish, vomiting, stinking, blear-eyed, bloated-faced drunkards.
APPENDIX B

HOT CAKES OFF THE GRIDDLE

Text: "Rejoice, 0 young man in thy youth and let thy heart
cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways
of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know
thou that for all these things God will bring thee into
judgment."--Ecclesiastes 11:9.

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a
man soweth that shall he also reap."--Galations 6:7.

In other words, do just as you please, lie if you want
to, steal if you want to; God won't stop you, but He will
hold you responsible in the end. Do just as you please un-
til the end comes and the undertaker pumps you full of em-
balming fluid and then you are all in.

No one is living in ignorance of what will become of
him if he does not go right and trot square. He knows there
is a Heaven for the saved and a Hell for the damned, and
that's all there is to it.

Many men start out on a life of pleasure. Please re-
member two things; first, pleasure soon brings you to the
end, and second, there is a day of judgment coming and you'll
get just what's coming to you. God gives you a square deal.
Would Ask Questions

If a man stood up and told me he was going to preach on the things I am this afternoon, I'd want him to answer me several questions and if he could do that I'd tell him to go ahead.

First. Are you kindly disposed toward me?
Second. Are you doing this to help me?
Third. Do you know what you're talking about?
Fourth. Do you practice what you preach?

That's fair. Well, for the first. God knows I am kindly disposed toward you. Second, God knows I would do anything in my power to help you be a better man. I want to make it easier for you to be square; and harder for you to go to hell. Third, I know what I'm talking about, for I have the Bible to back me up in parts and the statements of eminent physicians in other parts. And fourth, "Do I practice what I preach?" I will defy and challenge any man or woman on earth, and I'll look any man in the eye, and challenge him to prove that in the 27 years I have been a professing Christian to show anything against me. If I don't live what I preach, gentlemen, I'll leave the pulpit and never walk back here again. I live as I preach and I defy the dirty dogs who have insulted me and my wife and spread black hearted lies and villifications.
Crawled Out of Sewer

I was born and bred on a farm and at the age of 11, I held my place with men in the harvest field. When I was only nine years old I milked ten cows every morning. I know what hard knocks are. I have seen the seamy side of life. I have crawled out of the sewers of squalor and want. I have struggled since I was six years old, an orphan son of a dead soldier, up to this pulpit this afternoon. I know what it is to go to bed with an honest dollar in my overalls pocket when the Goddess of Liberty became a Jenny Lind and the eagle on the other side became a nightingale and they'd sing a poor, homeless orphan boy to sleep. I'm not here to explode hot air theories to you.

Some men here in town, if their wife asked them if they were coming down here would say, "Oh, no, I don't want to go anywhere I can't take you, dear." The dirty old dogs, they've been many a place they would not take their wife and they wouldn't even let her know they were there.

If sin weren't so deceitful it wouldn't be so attractive. The effects get stronger and stronger while you get weaker and weaker all the time and there is less chance of breaking away.

Many think a Christian has to be a sort of dish rag proposition, a wishy washy, sissified sort of a galoot that let's everybody make a door mat out of him. Let me tell you the manliest man is the man who will acknowledge Jesus Christ.
Before I was converted I could go five rounds so fast you couldn't see me for dust and I'm still pretty handy with my dukes and I can still deliver the goods with all express charges prepaid. Before I was converted I could run one hundred yards in ten seconds and circle the bases in fourteen seconds and I could run just as fast after I was converted. So you don't have to be a dish rag proposition at all.

Friend Becomes Drunkard

I remember when I was secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Chicago, I had the saloon route. I had to go around and give tickets inviting men to come to the Y. M. C. A. services. And one day I was told to count the men going into a certain saloon. Not the ones already in, but just those going in. In 62 minutes I could count just 1,004 men going in there. I went in then and met a fellow who used to be my side kick out in Iowa and he threw down a mint julep while I stood there and I asked him what he was doing. "Oh, just came down to the theater," he said, "and came over for a drink between acts." "Why, you are three sheets to the wind now." I said, and then an old drunken bum, with a little thread-bare coat, a straw hat, no vest, pants torn, toes sticking out through his torn shoes, and several weeks' growth of beard on his face, came in and said to the bartender: "For God's sake, can't you give an old bum a drink of whiskey to warm up on?" and the bartender poured him out
a big glass and he gulped it down. He pulled his hat down, and slouched out. I said to my friend: "George, do you see that old drunken bum, down and out? There was a time when he was just like you." No drunkard ever intended to be a drunkard. Every drunkard intended to be a moderate drinker. "Oh, you are unduly excited over my welfare," he said. "I never expect to get that far." "Neither did that bum," I answered. And I was standing on another corner less than eight months afterwards and I saw a bum coming along with head down, his eyes bloodshot, his face bloated, and he pan-handled me for a flapjack before I recognized him. It was George. He had lost his job and was on the toboggan slide and hitting it for Hell. I say if sin weren't so deceitful it wouldn't be so attractice. Every added drink makes it harder.

Christianity is Capital

Christianity is the capital on which you build your character. Don't you let the devil fool you. You never become a man until you become a Christian. Christianity is the capital on which you do business. It's your character that gets you anything. Your reputation is what people say about you, but your character is what God and your wife and the angels know about you, and know you to be. Many have reputations of being good, but their characters would make a black mark on a piece of coal or tarred paper.
I was over in Terre Haute, Ind., not long ago and I was in a bank there admiring the beauty of it when the vice president, Mr. McCormick, a friend of mine, said: "Bill, you haven't seen the vaults yet," and he opened up the vaults there, carefully contrived against the burglars and let me in. There were three and I wandered from one to another. No one watched me. I could have filled my pockets with gold or silver, but no one watched me. Why did they trust me? Because they knew I was preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, and living up to it. That's why they trusted me. There was a time in my life when a man wouldn't trust me with a yellow dog on a corner 15 minutes. A man who believes in Jesus Christ and lives up to it can be trusted anywhere. You can trust him with your mother, your sweetheart, your sister.

**Think Only of Money**

What are some people going to do about the judgment? Some are just in life for the money they get out of it. They will tell you north is south if they think they can get a dollar by it. They float get-rich-quick schemes and anything for money. I haven't a word to say about a man who has earned his money honestly and is using it to provide for his family and spending the surplus for good. You know there is a bunch of mutts that sit around on stools and whittle and spit and cuss and damn and say that every man who has an honest dollar ought to divide it with them, while others
get out and get busy and work with sweat and toil and prepare to leave something for their wives and families when they die, and spend the rest for good.

According to our standard of money, old Abraham was worth over a billion dollars. David had three billion and Solomon had four billion. He could have hired old John D. Rockefeller for his chauffeur. Solomon could have hired Andrew Carnegie to black his shoes and J. Pierpont Morgan to cut his lawn and dust. I haven't a word to say if you get money and spend the surplus for good. Then I hope you die with a million, but if you live, get all you can and can all you get, I hope to God you die in the poor house. You can't take it with you anyway. Don't worry your dead brother. There are no pockets in shrouds and your arm will be so stiff anyway you couldn't get at them.

Old Commodore Vanderbilt had a fortune of over $200,000,000, and one day when he was ill he sent for Dr. Deanes. He asked him to sing for him that old song, "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy, come ye wounded, sick and sore." The old commodore tossed from side to side, looked around at the evidence of his wealth and he said that's what I am, poor and needy. Who? Commodore Vanderbilt poor and needy with his $200,000,000? The foundation of that fabulous fortune was laid by him when he poled a yawl from New York to Staten Island and picked up pennies for doing it. The foundation of the immense Astor fortune was laid by John Jacob Astor when
he went out and bought fur and hides from trappers and put the money in New York real estate. The next day in the street one man said to another: "Have you heard the news? Commodore Vanderbilt is dead." "How much did he leave?" He left it all.

Naked you came into the world, and naked you will crawl out of it. You brought nothing in the world and you'll take nothing out, and if you have put the pack screws on the poor and pile up a pile of gold as big as this Tabernacle, you can't take it with you. It wouldn't do you any good if you could, because it would melt.

Don't listen--go on. When you are racked with disease, when your flesh is rotting with filth, you will remember that Bill warned you to keep away from those whose house door swings into hell.

Some Live for Booze

Some just live for booze. Some say: "I need it. It keeps me warm in winter." Another says: "It keeps me cool in summer." Well, if it keeps you warm in winter and cool in summer, why is it that out of those who freeze to death and are sunstruck the greater part of them are booze hoisters? Everyone takes it for the alcohol there is in it. Take that out and you would as soon drink dish water.

I can buy a can of good beef extract and dip the point of my knife in the can and get more nourishment on the point
than in 800 gallons of the best beer. If the brewers of this land today were making their beer in Germany, 90 percent of them would be in jail. The extract on the point of the knife represents three and one-fourth pounds of good beefsteak. Just think, you have to make a swill barrel out of your bellies and a sewer if you want to get that much nourishment out of beer and run 800 gallons through. Oh, go ahead if you want to, but I'll try to help you just the same.

Every man has blood corpuscles and their object is to take the impurities out of your system. Perspiration is for the same thing. Every time you work or I preach the impurities come out. Every time you sweat there is a destroying power going inside. The blood goes through the heart every 17 seconds. Oh, we have a marvelous system. In some spots there are 4,000 pores to the square inch and a grain of sand will cover one hundred and fifty of them. I can strip you and cover you with shellac and you'll be dead in 48 hours. Oh, we are fearfully and wonderfully made.

**Effects of Alcohol**

Alcohol knocks the blood corpuscles out of business so that it takes eight to ten to do what one ought to do. There's a man who drinks. Here's a fellow who drives a beer wagon. Look how pussy he is. He's full of rotten tissue. He says he's healthy. Smell his breath. You punch your
finger in that healthy flesh he talks about and the dent will be there a half an hour afterwards. You look like you don't believe it. Try it when you go to bed tonight. Pneumonia has a first mortgage on a booze hoister.

Take a fellow with good, healthy muscles, and you punch them and they bound out like a rubber band. The first thing about a crushed strawberry stomach is a crushed strawberry nose. Nature lets the public on the outside know what is going on inside. If I could just take the stomach of a moderate drinker and turn it wrong side out for you, it would be all the temperance lecture you would need. You know what alcohol does to the white of an egg. It will cook it in a few minutes. Well, alcohol does the same thing to the nerves as to the white of an egg. That's why some men can't walk. They stagger because their nerves are partly paralyzed. Oh, God, pity the poor devil that gets that way and damn the business that puts them that way.

The liver is the largest organ of the body. It takes all of the blood in the body and purifies it and takes out the poisons and passes them on to the gall and from here they go to the intestines and act like oil does on machinery. When a man drinks the liver becomes covered with cob nails and then refuses to do the work and the poisons stay in the blood. Then the victim begins to turn yellow. He has the jaundice. The kidneys take what is left and purifies that. The booze that a man drinks turns them hard.
Should Fight Saloons

That's what booze is doing for you. Isn't it time you went red hot on the enemy? I'm trying to help you. I'm trying to put a carpet on your floor, pull the pillows out of the window, give you and your children and wife good clothes. I'm trying to get you to save your money instead of buying a machine for the saloonkeeper while you have to hot foot it.

By the grace of God I have strength enough to pass the open saloon, but some of you can't, so I owe it to you to help you.

I've stood for more sneers and scoffs and insults and had my life threatened from one of the land to the other by this dirty, stinking, God-forsaken gang of thugs and cut throats because I have come out uncompromisingly against them. I've had more dirty, vile insults from this low down bunch, than from any one on earth, but there is no one that will reach down lower, or reach up higher or wider to help you out of the pits of drunkenness than I.

What Saloon Is

The open saloon is the hotbed of political corruption and the nest of anarchy. It is the incubator of poverty and crime and vice. It is the spawning place of degeneracy. I don't know whether you ever had anyone come to old Steubenville to preach to these pus-gutted lobsters, but by the eternal God I will. When we get the preachers to do this
and quit talking about the new Jerusalem, get the Presbyterians to preach about this instead of preferment, when a lot of them haven't anything to prefer, and the Baptists quit yelling, "Water, water, water," and two-thirds of their bunch going where you can't get a drop, we'll clean up this saloon-filled, harlot-ridden, brewery controlled valley for Christ. I'm going to skin 'em.

After I am through here you can take me out on the bridge that crosses the Ohio and tie me hand and feet, and tie a millstone around my neck, and dump me over, and as I go out of sight you'll have to admit there goes a fellow that wasn't afraid to preach the truth.

You say you can't prohibit men from drinking. Why, if Jesus Christ was here today some of you would keep on in sin just the same. But law can be enforced against whiskey just the same as it can be enforced against anything else, if you have honest officials to enforce it. Of course it doesn't prohibit. There isn't a law on the books of Ohio that prohibits. We have laws against murder. Do they prohibit murder? We have laws against burglary. Do they prohibit? We have laws against arson, rape, but they do not prohibit. Would you introduce a bill to repeal all the laws that do not prohibit? Any law will prohibit to a certain extent if honest officials enforce it. But no law will absolutely prohibit. We can make a law against liquor prohibit as much as any law prohibits.
Or would you introduce a bill saying if you pay $1,000 a year you can kill anyone you don't like; or by paying $500 a year you can rape any girl you want to; or by paying $100 a year you can steal anything that suits you?--that's what you do with the dirtiest, rotten gang this side of hell. You say for so much a year you can have a license to make staggering, reeling, drunken sots, murderers and thieves and vagabonds. You say: "Bill, you're too hard on the whiskey." I don't agree. Not on your life. There was a fellow going along the pike and a farmer's dog ran snapping at him. He tried to drive it back with a pitchfork he carried, and failing to do so, he pinned it to the ground with the prongs. Out came the farmer--"Hey, why didn't you use the other end of the fork?" He answered: "Why didn't the dog come at me with the other end?

So if these dirty dogs come at me I'll come back. I've given them a small dose today. Next Sunday afternoon they will go the whole thing.

Was Converted

Twenty-seven years ago I walked down a street in Chicago in company with some ball players who were famous in this world, some of them are dead now, and we went into a saloon. It was Sunday afternoon and we got tanked up and then went and sat down on a corner. It was a vacant lot at that time. We sat down on a curbing. Across the street a
company of men and women were playing on instruments—horns, flutes and slide trombones—and the others were singing the gospel hymns that I used to hear my mother sing back in the log cabin in Iowa, and back in the old church where I used to go to Sunday School.

And God painted on the canvas of my recollection and memory a vivid picture of the scenes of other days and other faces.

Many have long since turned to dust. I sobbed and sobbed and a young man stepped out and said:

"We are going down to the Pacific Garden mission; won't you come down to the mission? I am sure you will enjoy it. You can hear drunkards tell how they have been saved from the red light district."

I arose and said to the boys:

"I'm through. I'm going to Jesus Christ. We've come to the parting of the ways," and I turned my back on them. Some of them laughed and some of them mocked me; one of them gave me encouragement; others never said a word.

Twenty-seven years ago I turned and left that little group on the corner of State and Madison streets and walked to the little mission and fell on my knees and staggered out of sin and into the arms of the Saviour.

I went over to the west side of Chicago where I was keeping company with a girl, now my wife, Nell. I married
Nell. She was a Presbyterian, so I am a Presbyterian. If she had been a Catholic I would have been a Catholic because I was hot on the trail of Nell.

The next day I had to go out to the ball park and practice. Every morning at 10 o'clock we had to be out there and practice. I never slept that night. I was afraid of the horselaugh that gang would give me because I had taken my stand for Jesus Christ.

I walked down to the old ball grounds. I will never forget it. I slipped my key into the wicket gate and the first man to meet me after I got inside was Mike Kelley.

Up came Mike Kelley; he said: "Bill, I'm proud of you. Religion is not my long suit, but I'll help you all I can. Up came Anson, the best ball player that ever played the game; Pfeffer, Clarkson, Flint, Jimmy McCormick, Burns, Williamson and Dalrymple. There wasn't a fellow in that gang who knocked; every fellow had a word of encouragement for me.

That afternoon we played the old Detroit club. We were neck and neck for the championship. That club had Thompson, Richardson, Rowe, Dunlap, Hanlon and Bennett, and they could play ball.

I was playing right field. Mike Kelley was catching and John G. Clarkson was pitching. He was as fine a pitcher that ever crawled into a uniform. There are some pitchers
today, O'Toole, Bender, Wood, Mathewson, Johnson, Marquard, but I do not believe any one of them stood in the class with Clarkson.

Cigaretts put him on the bum. When he'd take a bath the water would be stained with nicotine.

We had two men out and they a man on second and one on third with Bennett, their old catcher was at bat. Charley had three balls and two strikes on him. Charley couldn't hit a high ball; I don't mean a Scotch high ball; but he could kill them when they about his knee.

I hollered to Clarkson and said:

"One more and we got 'em."

You know every pitcher digs a hole in the grounds where he puts his foot when he is pitching. John stuck his foot in the hole and he went clear to the ground. Oh, he could make them dance. He could throw overhanded, and the ball would go down and up like that. He is the only man on earth I have seen do that. That ball would go by so fast that the batter could feel the thermometer drop two degrees as she whizzed by. John went clear down, and as he went to throw the ball his right foot slipped, and the ball went low instead of high.

I saw Charley swing hard and heard the bat hit the ball with a terrific boom. Bennett had smashed the ball on the nose. I saw the ball rise in the air and knew that it was going clear over my head.
I could judge within 10 feet of where the ball would light. I turned my back to the ball and ran.

The field was crowded with people and I yelled: "Stand back!" and that crowd opened like the Red Sea opened for the rod of Moses. I ran on, and as I ran I made a prayer; it wasn't theological either. I tell you that. I said, God if you ever helped mortal man, help me to get that ball and you haven't got much time to make up your mind either. I ran and jumped over the bench and stopped.

**Catch Wins Hat and Suit**

I thought I was close enough to catch it. I looked back and I saw it going over my head and I jumped and shoved my left hand out and the ball hit it and stuck. At the rate I was going the momentum carried me on and I fell under the feet of a team of horses. I jumped up with the ball in my hand. Up came Tom Johnson; Tom used to be Mayor of Cleveland. He's dead now.

"Here is $10, Bill. Buy yourself the best hat in Chicago. That catch won me $1,500. Tomorrow go and buy yourself the best suit of clothes you can find in Chicago!"

An old Methodist minister said to me a few years ago: "Why, William, you didn't take the $10, did you?" I said: "You bet your life I did."

**What Became of Kelley**

Listen! Mike Kelley was sold to Boston for $10,000. Mike got half of the purchase price. He came up to me and
showed me a check for $5,000. John L. Sullivan, the champion fighter, went around with a subscription paper and the boys raised over $12,000 to buy Mike a house.

They gave Mike a deed to the house and they had $1,500 left and gave him a certificate of deposit for that.

His salary for playing with Boston was $4,700 a year. At the end of that season Mike had spent the $5,000 purchase price and the $4,700 he received as salary and the $1,500 they gave him and had a mortgage on the house. And when he died in Pennsylvania they went around with a subscription to get money enough to put him in the ground, and each club, 12 in all, in the two leagues, gave a month a year for his wife. Mike sat on the corner with me 27 years ago, when I said: "Good-bye, boys, I'm going to Jesus Christ.

A. G. Spaulding signed up a team to go around the world. I was the second man he asked to sign a contract and Capt. Anson was the first. I was sliding to second base one day. I always slid head first, and hit a stone and cut a ligament loose in my knee. (Sunday slid over the platform as though sliding to base.)

I got a doctor and had my leg fixed up and he said to me:

"William, if you don't go on that trip I will give you a good leg." I obeyed and have as good a leg today as I ever had. They offered to wait for me at Honolulu and Aus-
tralia. Spalding said meet us in England and play with us through England, Scotland and Wales. I didn't go.

Williamson Goes Too

Ed Williamson, our old short stop, a fellow weighing 225 pounds, and a more active big man you never saw. He went with them, and while they were on the ship crossing the English channel a storm arose and the captain thought the ship would go down. Williamson tied two life preservers on himself and one on his wife and dropped on his knees and prayed and promised God to be true. God spoke and the waves were stilled. They came back to the United States and Ed came back to Chicago and started a saloon on Dearborn street. I would go through there giving tickets for the Y. M. C. A. meetings, and would talk with him and he would cry like a baby.

I would get down and pray for him, and would talk with him. When he died they put him on the table and cut him open and took out his liver and it was so big it would not go in a candy bucket. Kidneys had shrivelled until they were like two stones.

Ed Williamson sat there on the street corner with me, drunk, 27 years ago when I said: "Good-bye, boys, I'm going to Jesus Christ."

Frank Flint a Drunk

Frank Flint, our old catcher, who caught for 19 years, drew $3,200 a year on an average. He caught before they had
chest protectors, masts and gloves. He caught bare-handed. Every bone in the ball of his hand was broken. You never saw such a hand like Frank had. Every bone in his face was broken, and his nose and cheek bones, and the shoulder and ribs had all been broken. He got to drinking, his home was broken up and he went to the dogs.

I've seen old Frank Flint sleeping on a table in a stale beer joint and I've turned my pockets inside out and said: "You're welcome to it, old pal." He drank on and on and one day in winter he staggered out of a stale beer joint and stood on a corner, and was seized with a fit of coughing. The blood streamed out of his nose, mouth and eyes. Down the street came a wealthy woman. She took one look and said: "My God, is it you, Frank?" and his wife came up and kissed him.

She called two policemen and a cab and started with him to her boarding house. They broke all speed regulations. She called five of the best physicians and they listened to the beating of his heart, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, and the doctors said: "He will be dead in about four hours." She told them to tell him what they had told her. She said: "Frank, the end is near," and he said, "Send for Bill."

They telephoned me and I came. He said: "There's nothing in the life of years ago I care for now. I can hear
the bleachers cheer when I make a hit that wins the game. But there is nothing that can help me out now; and if the umpires call me out now, won't you say a few words for me, Bill." He struggled as he had years ago on the diamond, when he tried to reach home, but the Great Umpire of the universe yelled, "You're out!" and waved him to the club house and the great gladiator of the diamond was no more.

He sat on the street corner with me, drunk, 27 years ago in Chicago, when I said: "Good-bye, boys, I'm through." Men of Steubenville, did they win the game of life or did Bill?