

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING OF  
CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
Frederick J. Speckeen  
1961

This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled  
A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING  
OF  
CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON

presented by

Frederick J. Speckeen

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in Speech

*Kenneth Hance*  
*David C. Relyea*  
Major professor

Date May 5, 1961

O-169







se parte.

**A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING  
OF CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON**

**By**

**Frederick J. Speckeen**

**AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of Speech**

**1961**

The purpose

Charles Edward Jeff

passed while pass

ated by the Charles

institutes in the n

This study i

the historical sett

features of invent

Mrs. Jefferson's

interpreted, and eva

principles and pra

specific "backdrop

include the class

(Integration), an

The biograp

may serve better

In terms of

Jefferson can be p

tradition. Believ

separated, Jeffers

collaboration and pra

## ABSTRACT

### A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING OF CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON

by Frederick J. Speckeen

#### Body of Abstract

The purpose of this project is to study the preaching of Charles Edward Jefferson as it is revealed in the sermons he preached while pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle--a pastorate described by the Christian Century as "one of the most influential ministries in the history of the American pulpit."

This study includes a consideration of the man himself, the historical setting, his tenets of faith, as well as the rhetorical features of invention, arrangement, style, and delivery of his sermons. Jefferson's preaching habits are then described, analyzed, interpreted, and evaluated within the context of the customary principles and practices of rhetorical criticism and also against the specific "backdrop" of his rhetorical theories. These theories include the classifications of Speaker, Speech (Sermon), Audience (Congregation), and Delivery.

The biographical, theological, and historical considerations only serve better to acquaint the reader with Jefferson as a speaker.

In terms of sermon preparation, delivery, and audience analysis, Jefferson can be placed in the main-stream of the classical rhetorical tradition. Believing as he did that the sermon and the man cannot be separated, Jefferson prepared his sermons by preparing himself through meditation and prayer. He also planned his sermons months in advance;

was direct and  
as individ  
Jefferson's  
ational developmen  
presentation of nat  
ismies. His the  
strate, he freque  
questions to his p

Like Cicero

lived that the ser  
Jefferson's ethical  
mitted to his pro

Jefferson al

again the attent  
and motivate his  
ne of motivations  
historical positi  
of his auditor's

Perhaps th

to his logical pr  
cess. His sermon  
example and by a  
these characteri  
the kind of spir  
logical" and "le

Jefferson

rhetoric when he

he was direct and conversational in delivery, and he analyzed his audience as individuals, not as a mass.

Jefferson's sermons are characterized by a logical or rational development of materials. This is accomplished by an orderly presentation of materials and the use of transitions and internal summaries. His theme and purpose are always evident; and like a good advocate, he frequently defines terms and anticipates and answers objections to his position.

Like Cicero and later classical rhetoricians, Jefferson believed that the sermon is the man. This rhetorical study reveals that Jefferson's ethical proof (integrity, intelligence, good-will) contributed to his preaching success.

Jefferson also successfully employed motivational appeals to gain the attention of his audience, suggest courses of action, and motivate his listeners toward predetermined objectives. His use of motivational appeals is further evidence of the classical rhetorical position that the effective speaker must have a knowledge of his auditor's emotional behavior.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of Jefferson's sermons is his logical proof--appeals aimed primarily at man's reasoning process. His sermons are characterized by extensive reasoning from example and by analogy, causal reasoning, and reasoning from sign. These characteristics of sermon construction and development exemplify the kind of spirit which Jefferson often emphasized--"let us be logical" and "let us use the scientific method."

Jefferson is also in accord with the best in classical rhetoric when he says that the best style is that which is unseen.

It only does be ad

tion it.

As over-all

notes to conclude

producers. He ap

ended to and app

and his preach to

metrical analysis

consistent with the



Not only does he advocate clarity and simplicity of style, he practices it.

An over-all appraisal of Jefferson as a preacher leads the writer to conclude that he was one of the most effective American preachers. He spoke to the needs of his day, and his words were attended to and appreciated. His volumes of sermons and the persons who heard him preach testify to his preaching ability and success. A rhetorical analysis of his sermon texts reveals that his preaching was consistent with the best in classical rhetorical theory and practice.

Copyright by  
**FREDERICK JAMES SPECKEEN**  
1961



A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING  
OF CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON

By

Frederick J. Speckeen

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Speech

1961

C. 15414  
11/22/51

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer expresses sincere thanks to the following members of his graduate committee for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis: Dr. Madison Kuhn, Department of History; Dr. Kenneth G. Hance, Department of Speech; Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, Department of General Communication Arts; Dr. David C. Ralph, Department of Speech; Dr. Gordon L. Thomas, Department of Speech. The writer is highly appreciative of the interest, guidance, and encouragement of Dr. Hance and Dr. Ralph, co-chairmen.

MEMORANDUMS .

MEMORANDUMS . .

REPORT

I. A BIOGRAPHY  
JIMMIESON

II. THE HISTORY  
OF THE

III. JIMMIESON'S

IV. JIMMIESON'S

V. THE AMERICAN  
JIMMIESON

VI. JIMMIESON'S

VII. HISTORICAL

VIII. RESPONSES

IX. SUMMARY AND

BIOGRAPHY . . .

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	ii
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	iv
 Chapter	
I. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON . . . . .	1
II. THE HISTORICAL CLIMATE IN WHICH JEFFERSON SPOKE . . . . .	32
III. JEFFERSON'S BELIEFS OR TENETS OF FAITH . . .	97
IV. JEFFERSON'S SERMON PREPARATION AND DELIVERY	121
V. THE AUDIENCE, OCCASION, AND SETTING FOR JEFFERSON'S SERMONS . . . . .	138
VI. JEFFERSON'S SERMONS . . . . .	156
VII. RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF FIVE SERMONS . . . .	177
VIII. RESPONSES TO JEFFERSON'S PREACHING . . . .	330
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	340
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	355



A Rhetorical

The specific

address of the late  
formed by, his s  
himself, his histor  
the rhetorical inve  
ments. In other  
Jefferson's sermon  
the phrasing or wor  
of delivery. Then  
analyzed, interpre  
summary principle  
and against the sp  
These theories inclu  
(Sermon), Audience

The study is  
preached while past  
New City during the  
of the significance  
Jefferson lived and

## INTRODUCTION

### Title of this Project

A Rhetorical Study of the Preaching of Charles Edward  
Jefferson

### Purpose of this Project

The specific purpose of this project is to study the public address of the late Charles Edward Jefferson as it is found in, or revealed by, his sermons. This will include a study of the man himself, his historical setting, his tenets of faith, as well as the rhetorical invention, arrangement, style, and delivery of his sermons. In other words, the dissertation contains a study of Jefferson's sermon materials, the arrangement of these materials, the phrasing or wording of the materials, and the characteristics of delivery. Then Jefferson's preaching practices are described, analyzed, interpreted, and evaluated within the context of the customary principles and procedures of rhetorical criticism and also against the specific "backdrop" of his rhetorical theories. These theories include the classifications of Speaker, Speech (Sermon), Audience (Congregation), and Delivery.

The study is limited to the sermons which Jefferson preached while pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York City during the years 1898-1930. It includes a consideration of the significance of his sermons for the day in which he lived. (Jefferson lived and preached during two wars--the Spanish-American

of World War I--A  
of the early 1900s  
and in certain  
extended during  
the population  
of natural resources  
human living.  
Jefferson's preach

Before moving  
pastor of the  
Massachusetts, (1887-18  
detailed consider  
this an attempt  
of this period was  
apparently is no  
be studied with  
John V. Barnes

Jefferson's  
Be considered it  
Because of this  
Society in 1906.  
sermons, as well

<sup>1</sup> Charles  
Mr. Study (New

<sup>2</sup> Ronald E  
Jefferson," (New  
Northwestern Uni

and World War I--as well as during the theological Liberalism of the early 1900's.) His reactions to these influences are found in certain of his sermons. Other influences with which he contended during the years of his ministry in New York City were the population increase due to immigration, the development of natural resources, increased industrialization, and the emphasis on urban living. The relationship between these influences and Jefferson's preaching is also considered in this study.

#### Limitations Imposed

Before moving to the Tabernacle in New York City, Jefferson was pastor of the First Congregational Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts, (1887-1898). While the dissertation does not include a detailed consideration of Jefferson's preaching during these years, an attempt is made, however, to discover the influences of this period which affected his later preaching ministry. There apparently is no material by Jefferson of this period which can be studied with the exception of a book published in 1898 (Quiet Talks With Earnest People in My Study).<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson's Tabernacle sermons reveal that he abhorred war. He considered it to be something which disturbed God's program. Because of this concern Jefferson founded the New York Peace Society in 1906. As a result of reading certain of Jefferson's sermons, as well as the Ronald E. Sleeth dissertation,<sup>2</sup> it seems

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, Quiet Talks With Earnest People in My Study (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1898).

<sup>2</sup>Ronald E. Sleeth, "The Preaching Theories of Charles E. Jefferson," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, 1952). Director: Dr. Kenneth G. Hance.

Mr. Jefferson's con-  
stitute a study in  
unforeseen, except v

During the F  
apparently establish  
as pulpit speaker  
present the followi

The George S  
Primary, Bangor, M

The Merrick  
Club, April 23-27.  
Jefferson presented

The Lyman Bee  
The University, Ne  
Building of the Com

The Raymond  
Stanford Junior Uni  
1911. Why We Ma

The George S  
Primary, Bangor, M

The George A  
College, Grinnell.  
National Peace.

The Cole Lec  
1918. Old Truths a

The Brock Po  
Maine, 1929. Chris

Certain of t  
his study of the pr  
dissertation reveal  
opposed to this int

that Jefferson's concerns regarding war and peace might easily constitute a study in themselves. These concerns will be excluded, therefore, except when relevant for this study.

During the years he was pastor of the Tabernacle, Jefferson apparently established himself firmly as a speaker, more particularly as a pulpit speaker. This is probably why he was requested to present the following lectures.

The George Shepard Lectures on Preaching, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1905-06. The Minister as Prophet.

The Merrick Lectures at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, April 23-27, 1906. The New Age and Its Creed. Of this series Jefferson presented one lecture entitled, The New Theology.

The Lyman Beecher Foundation Lectures, Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven Connecticut, April and May, 1910. The Building of the Church.

The Raymond F. West Memorial Lectures on Immortality, Leland Stanford Junior University, Palo Alto, California, February 15 and 16, 1911. Why We May Believe in Life After Death.

The George Shepard Lectures on Preaching, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1912. The Minister as Shepherd.

The George A. Gates Memorial Foundation Lectures, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, February, 1915. Christianity and International Peace.

The Cole Lectures, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1918. Old Truths and New Facts.

The Enoch Pond Lectures, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1929. Christianizing a Nation.

Certain of these lectures were used extensively by Sleeth in his study of the preaching theories of Jefferson. A reading of this dissertation reveals that Sleeth was interested in rhetoric, as opposed to this interest in public address.

As stated previously, the analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of the content of the sermon, and also the methods. Because the primary purpose of this study is to "discuss" the sermon. Also, such as the above mentioned points.

Finally, the relative biography of the preacher which are made will be as a speaker. On the preaching methodology. Theology. Theology. There is to clarify for

Essentially, speaking as revealed considerations will

This study sessions. These relations of what he has not had the uncertainty after having preached serve to suggest and other aspects

As stated previously, the plan of this study is to describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate Jefferson's preaching within the context of the customary principles and procedures of rhetorical criticism, and also against the "backdrop" of his own rhetorical theories. Because of the Sleeth dissertation, however, it was unnecessary to "discover" Jefferson's theories, for that was Sleeth's purpose. Also, such a study would have been outside the scope of the above mentioned purpose.

Finally, the purpose of this thesis is not to write an extensive biography of Jefferson. The biographical considerations which are made will serve better to acquaint the reader with this man as a speaker. These considerations, too, will throw more light upon the preaching of Jefferson. Nor is this a treatise on his theology. Theology will be considered only as such considerations serve to clarify further Jefferson's ideas and preaching habits.

Essentially, then, this is a study of Jefferson's public speaking as revealed in his Broadway Tabernacle sermons. Other considerations will serve only to advance this purpose.

#### Obstacles Encountered

This study is limited to printed records of Jefferson's sermons. These records may or may not be true and exact representations of what he said, although certain persons state that Jefferson had the uncanny ability to dictate his sermons word for word after having preached them. Even if not exact reproductions, they serve to suggest Jefferson's themes, methods of approach, appeals, and other aspects of composition.



Significance

Artistic Merit

A study of the  
specific speaker  
and of messages and  
from the nature of  
the<sup>1</sup> as well as the  
coupled with this is  
right until his re-  
pastorate at the Ta-  
in the history of the  
words of praise and  
important contribution  
of preaching.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson's  
suggests that he was  
the whole process  
important implications

Distinctiveness

Although the  
dissertation was the  
Lower Index and

<sup>1</sup>The Christ

<sup>2</sup>Sleeth, p.

## Significance or Justification of this Study

### Intrinsic Merit

A study of Jefferson's life seems to reveal that he was both a prolific speaker and writer. This would suggest that he had a message or messages and that his words were listened to and read. From the nature of his books it appears that the so-called "rank and file," as well as theological students, respected his writings. Coupled with this is the fact that Jefferson occupied an important pulpit until his retirement. The Christian Century termed his pastorate at the Tabernacle "one of the most influential ministries in the history of the American pulpit."<sup>1</sup> As Sleeth states: "These words of praise serve to emphasize, at least in a general way, the important contribution that Jefferson made to the American tradition of preaching."<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson's advice, both to the clergy and theological students, suggests that he was interested not only in public speaking, but in the whole process of communication. His theories on this process have important implications for this dissertation on his preaching.

### Distinctiveness

Although this study is not unique, it is almost so. The Sleeth dissertation was the first study of Jefferson in any detail. The Knower Index and the Auer Index list only this dissertation, and no

---

<sup>1</sup>The Christian Century, Vol.47, 1930, p. 804.

<sup>2</sup>Sleeth, op. cit. p. 3.

master's theses.

Summary contains

Jefferson the Pres

University School

itled "Charles I.

reveals that their

Furthermore, these

prehensive as this

of the Sleetn study

due in the area of

Material is the

Materials and Sour

Various pub

basis for this stu

to the volumes of

State of New York

March supporter

Edward Jefferson;

Interesting histo

relating to Jeffer

books, American E

<sup>1</sup> Chester C

published B.D. t

<sup>2</sup> Ross Ehl

(unpublished B.D

<sup>3</sup> Because

erson, some of

<sup>4</sup> The Bice

as were the Ann

pro-Jefferson st

master's theses. The Hammond Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary contains a Bachelor of Divinity thesis done on "Charles Jefferson the Preacher" in 1913,<sup>1</sup> and the library of the Butler University School of Religion contains a 1957 divinity thesis entitled "Charles E. Jefferson as Preacher."<sup>2</sup> A reading of these theses reveals that their purpose was not the same as that of this study. Furthermore, these studies are limited in that they are not as comprehensive as this dissertation. It seems that, with the exception of the Sleeth study, nothing of such scope as this study has been done in the area of Speech. As a further indication of the paucity of material is the fact that there are no biographies of Jefferson.

#### Materials and Sources

Various publications by and about Jefferson have served as a basis for this study. Some of the most important works, in addition to the volumes of sermons, have been: History of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City by L. Nelson Nichols, a close friend and staunch supporter of Jefferson;<sup>3</sup> the Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson; Jefferson's Anniversary Sermons, which provide interesting historical, rhetorical, and theological information pertaining to Jefferson's Tabernacle pastorate;<sup>4</sup> Edgar De Witt Jones's books, American Preachers of Today and The Royalty of the Pulpit.

---

<sup>1</sup>Chester C. Bucher, "Charles Jefferson the Preacher," (unpublished B.D. thesis, Chicago Theological Seminary, 1913).

<sup>2</sup>Ross Ellsworth Vandine, "Charles E. Jefferson as Preacher," (unpublished B.D. thesis, School of Religion, Butler University, 1949).

<sup>3</sup>Because of his close relationship to, and respect for, Jefferson, some of Nichols' statements may be biased.

<sup>4</sup>The Biographical Sketch was apparently written by Jefferson, as were the Anniversary Sermons. These too may include subjective, pro-Jefferson statements.

which shed valuable  
on delivery; and  
Frederick Lewis A.  
Jefferson's A Doctrine

Met

## Chapter I A Biography

This chapter  
due to his death  
analysis and und  
ing career.

## Chapter II The Hi

This is a s  
setting and Jeffe  
was cognizant of  
settings of his s

## Chapter III Jeff

The purpose  
tenets of faith w  
Jefferson's belie  
and Social Christ

## Chapter IV Jeff

Jefferson  
his sermons are  
what Jefferson s  
about his practi

which shed valuable light on Jefferson's habits of sermon preparation and delivery; and such historical volumes as Only Yesterday by Frederick Lewis Allen, Commager's The American Mind, and Richard D. Heffner's A Documentary History of the United States.

#### Method or Plan of Organization

##### Chapter I A Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson

This chapter traces the life of Jefferson from his birth in Ohio to his death in New Hampshire. It provides a background for an analysis and understanding of certain influences upon his preaching career.

##### Chapter II The Historical Climate in Which Jefferson Spoke

This is a study of the relationship between the historical setting and Jefferson's sermons. The chapter reveals that Jefferson was cognizant of the social, political, economic, and theological settings of his sermons.

##### Chapter III Jefferson's Beliefs or Tenets of Faith

The purpose of this chapter is to consider four of Jefferson's tenets of faith which receive particular emphasis in his preaching. Jefferson's beliefs regarding the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, and Social Christianity are considered.

##### Chapter IV Jefferson's Sermon Preparation and Delivery

Jefferson's habits or methods of preparing and presenting his sermons are discussed in this chapter. Attention is given to what Jefferson said about his practices, and what persons reported about his practices.

## Chapter V The Audio

This chapter

in general and the

mines a discussi

in beliefs regardi

in the architecture

## Chapter VI Jeffers

This chapter

according to major t

total Christianity.

information, such as

practiced, the type c

in the location of

## Chapter VII Rhetori

This chapter

followed by a rhetor

to the rhetorical ca

Also considered are:

each sermon, as well

text. Each rhetorica

appear to be charact

## Chapter VIII Respon

The purpose o

of response elicit

recorded reactions

## **Chapter V The Audience, Occasion, and Setting for Jefferson's Sermons**

This chapter includes an analysis of the New York City audience in general and the Tabernacle congregation in particular. It also includes a discussion of Jefferson's familiarity with his audiences, his beliefs regarding the objectives of a Sunday church service, and the architectural-rhetorical features of the Broadway Tabernacle.

## **Chapter VI Jefferson's Sermons**

This chapter categorizes two-hundred and sixty-eight sermons according to major themes--the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, and the Church Year. It includes additional information, such as the title of each sermon, the year it was preached, the type of sermon, the audience to which it was preached, and the location of the sermon.

## **Chapter VII Rhetorical Analyses of Five Sermons**

This chapter begins with a rationale for analysis. This is followed by a rhetorical analysis of each of five sermons according to the rhetorical canons of arrangement, invention, and style. Also considered are: the audience, the occasion, and the setting of each sermon, as well as the source of and a synopsis of each sermon text. Each rhetorical analysis is summarized according to what appear to be characteristics of Jefferson's rhetorical practice.

## **Chapter VIII Responses to Jefferson's Preaching**

The purpose of this chapter is to note the type, or types, of response elicited by Jefferson's preaching, as revealed by the recorded reactions of persons who heard him preach.



## Chapter I Summary

This chapter

contains conclusions

and abilities

study.

## Bibliography

## **Chapter IX Summary and Conclusions**

**This chapter summarizes the life and preaching of Jefferson. Certain conclusions are formulated about his preaching characteristics and abilities, and some suggestions are made for further study.**

## **Bibliography**

The purpose of  
 Charles E. Jefferson  
 Magazine, in order  
 development into nat  
 of a historical stud  
 ment, as well as int  
 separately to evaluat

Charles Edwa  
 Cambridge, Ohio, in  
 Jefferson. 1 His fa

1 Charles Fre  
 writer on December  
 statement that Dr.  
 J. Noble. A pamphlet  
 Jefferson, Pastor of  
 also confirms this  
 Nelson Nichols to  
 Jefferson was Sarc  
 American Preachers  
 1900, p. 56. Als  
 Biographical of New  
 York Co., 1900).  
 the writer that H  
 near Pittsburgh)  
 stated that Char  
 and Mrs. both dec

CHAPTER I  
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHARLES  
EDWARD JEFFERSON

The purpose of this chapter is to study the life of Charles E. Jefferson, from his birth in Ohio to his death in New Hampshire, in order to provide an understanding of the speaker's development into maturity. This understanding is an integral part of a rhetorical study, inasmuch as knowledge about a man's development, as well as interests and reputation, are necessary if one is adequately to evaluate the man as a speaker.

Background and Early Life

Charles Edward Jefferson was born on August 29, 1860, at Cambridge, Ohio, the son of Milton and Ella (Sarchett Noble) Jefferson.<sup>1</sup> His father and grandfather were dentists, the former

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson, in a personal interview with the writer on December 4, 1959, at Rochester, New York, confirmed the statement that Dr. Milton Jefferson's wife was the daughter of William D. Noble. A pamphlet entitled Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, 1922, also confirms this. The statements by Edgar DeWitt Jones and L. Nelson Nichols to the effect that the maiden name of Mrs. Milton Jefferson was Sarchett are incorrect. See Edgar DeWitt Jones, American Preachers of To-Day (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1933), p. 56. Also see L. Nelson Nichols, History of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Co., 1940), p. 136. Charles Frederic Jefferson also informed the writer that Ella Sarchett Noble was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, (near Pittsburgh) and that her father was a travelling shoe salesman. He added that Charles E. Jefferson, his father, had two sisters, Mary and Lora, both deceased.

in the village of Cambridge. Charles attended the Cambridge elementary and high schools and was valedictorian in 1877. In the fall of 1878 he entered Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1882 and a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1886. "He was noted in college as a writer and an orator, taking highest honors in his college and also in the Ohio Intercollegiate Oratorical contest in his senior year."<sup>1</sup>

From 1882 to 1884 Jefferson was Superintendent of Schools in Worthington, Ohio, a village a few miles north of Columbus. During this time he taught elocution at Ohio Wesleyan University and Ohio State University. He also studied law with James E. Wright, a noted lawyer of the Columbus bar, and in the autumn of 1884 he entered the middle class of the Law School of Boston University.<sup>2</sup>

However, due to the influence of Phillips Brooks<sup>3</sup> he gave up the study of law to study theology. In 1884 he entered the Boston

<sup>1</sup>Robert I. Fulton and Thomas C. Trueblood, (comp.), Patriotic Eloquence: Relating to the Spanish-American War and Its Issues (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), p. 355.

<sup>2</sup>Frederick Keller Stamm, So You Want to Preach (New York: Abingdon Press, 1948), p. 13, is inaccurate when he writes that "Charles E. Jefferson . . . entered Harvard University with the expectation of becoming a lawyer."

<sup>3</sup>The following words from Glenville Kleiser, (comp.), Vol. X, The World's Great Sermons (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1908), p. 82, will provide certain knowledge about and an estimation of this Episcopalian who so greatly influenced Jefferson. "In 1869 he became rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts in 1891. He died in 1893. He was in every sense a large man, large in simplicity and sympathy, large in spiritual culture. In his lectures to the students at Yale he spoke of the preparation for the ministry as being nothing less than the making of a man."

University School

of Sacred Theology

Department of

which his inter

med in the Best

dition. These

Miss Irene Brown

Although

to enter the mind

was said because

remains the follow

He visited

There was evide

delivery. The

impressing story

Phillips Brook

here was a man

to have some

Trinity church

impression of

other excellen

was the indic

the law school

of the same i

Jefferson

ministry. In an

College, February

I cannot do b

experience.

wanted to be

in high school

should ever s

1. Discrepancy

2. R. H. W.

America, Part Two

1957, D. 582.

University School of Theology; when he received his Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree three years later he was one of the commencement speakers. While a theological student, Jefferson pursued his interest in public speaking by listening to cases being tried in the Boston Courts and by attending three schools of elocution. These schools were conducted by Dr. S. S. Curry, Dr. Moses True Brown, and Dr. Charles W. Emerson.<sup>1</sup>

Although there are several accounts of Jefferson's decision to enter the ministry, they, nevertheless, agree that his decision was made because of the influence of Phillips Brooks. F. R. Webber reports the following with regard to Jefferson's change of plans:

He visited Boston churches, but he found the preaching poor. There was evidence of careless preparation, as well as poor delivery. Then, one Sunday evening, he decided to visit the imposing stone church facing Copley Square. The preaching of Phillips Brooks made a tremendous impression upon him, for here was a man who not only preached well, but who seemed to have something important to say. Young Jefferson attended Trinity church again and again. He found that his first impression of Boston preaching was incorrect, for he found other excellent men, in addition to Dr. Brooks. So great was the influence of these men upon him that he changed from the law school of Boston University to the theological school of the same institution.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson himself describes his decision to enter the ministry. In an address delivered to the students at Wabash College, February 14, 1922, he said:

I cannot do better this morning than to give you a bit of my experience. I never expected to be a preacher. I never wanted to be one. I never dreamed of becoming one. Neither in high school nor in college did it ever occur to me that I should ever stand in the Christian pulpit. Indeed I was

---

<sup>1</sup>Biographical Sketch, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>F. R. Webber, A History of Preaching in Britain and America, Part Three (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1957), p. 552.

positive that  
to me. There  
preacher. It  
not fond of  
missionary re  
sins. Moreov  
work of a pre  
and being man  
and mercilese  
men in the pu  
their position  
like Herbert  
not great dra  
expressed by

And strange  
to one ever s  
stand in the  
that I was f  
director. God

It was not  
to things wh  
to things and  
was to be an  
missionary, an  
in order an  
my speech. A  
to write som  
few older I  
highest anti  
English life  
and queens o  
reached the  
the United S  
throning an  
minister. C  
able lady  
ought to be  
became a pre  
turned up my  
time I would  
the very bot  
work of the

And yet a  
the day arriv  
Permit me  
being gradu  
teacher. And  
study law.  
the law scho  
and around m  
of them were  
with greater



positive that I should never preach. The idea was abhorrent to me. There were many reasons why I could never be a preacher. In the first place, I was not good enough. I was not fond of prayer meetings, nor did I care anything for missionary meetings, nor did I take pleasure in bemoaning my sins. Moreover there was nothing attractive to me in the work of a preacher. Attending funerals and baptizing babies, and being hauled over the coals every day by fault-finding and merciless parishioners did not appeal to me. Moreover the men in the pulpit did not inspire me with enthusiasm over their position. They did not seem to me to be great thinkers like Herbert Spencer, nor great writers like Thomas Carlyle, nor great orators like James A. Garfield. I was not at all impressed by the brains or the genius of the men I heard preach.

And strange to say nobody ever asked me to become a preacher. No one ever suggested to me that I might possibly some day stand in the pulpit. Everyone seemed to take it for granted that I was foreordained to do something else. . . . And moreover, God never said anything to me about it either. . . .

It was not because I was not wideawake and was not eager to do things which were worth while. I was full of ambition to do things and eager to make my life count. My first ambition was to be an astronomer. . . . Later on I wanted to be a musician, and to be an artist. . . . Later on I aspired to be an orator and to charm great audiences by the witchery of my speech. After this I longed to be a poet. Oh to be able to write something which would live a thousand years! As I grew older I became more humble, and the time came when my highest ambition was to be a teacher of elocution and of English literature, interpreting the thoughts of the kings and queens of the world of letters to young men. Finally I reached the point where I desired nothing more than to enter the United States Senate! But in all these years of high and thronging ambitions I had no desire whatever to be a Christian minister. One day when I was a public school teacher, an amiable lady of mature years shocked me by saying that I ought to be a preacher. She went on to say that if I ever became a preacher, I would certainly be a bishop, and I turned up my mental nose high at the suggestion. At that time I would rather have been a bootblack than a bishop. At the very bottom of the list of human occupations, I put the work of the preacher. Anything else but that for me!

And yet after such a beginning as that I became a preacher. The day arrived when I wanted to be one. . . .

Permit me now to tell you how this miracle came about. After being graduated from the University, I became a public school teacher, and at the end of two years I went to Boston to study law. I did not go to Boston because I supposed that the law school there was superior to all others, but it was in and around Boston that many of my heroes had lived, and some of them were still alive. . . . I felt I could study law with greater zeal and success if in the presence of these

immortals. I  
and I became  
law, but in  
or listened  
all the music  
heart remain  
that I might  
that there wa  
others. He  
Every Sunday  
Sunday. As  
heard preach  
proclaimed to  
north I began  
the light on  
the second  
At the end of  
had vanished  
church were w  
become a preach  
gifts in my p  
which a preach  
cultivated the  
of speaking w  
I discovered  
mathematics a  
a lot more I  
building.  
students in  
a zeal for re  
reformer. I  
found I had  
It was not ex  
was a constant  
spiritual tea  
that they sti  
me that I too  
into spiritual

It is dis

time a minister wa  
factor in his earl  
aunts and uncles w

1  
Charles I  
Ministry. Delivered  
fourteenth, 1922,  
Norman C. Lynch Co  
pp. 3-8 (pamphlet)

immortals. But in Boston I was an Ohio boy far from home, and I became desperately lonely. Through the day I studied law, but in the evening I attended a play or heard a concert or listened to a literary lecture. . . . But notwithstanding all the music and dramas and lectures and law books, my heart remained hungry, and I was glad when Sunday arrived that I might hear at least three sermons. I soon discovered that there was one preacher in Boston who surpassed all the others. He was Phillips Brooks, the rector of Trinity. Every Sunday found me in Trinity listening to this Son of Thunder. As I listened to him it seemed I had never heard preaching before. Never before had the Gospel been proclaimed to me after that fashion. At the end of the first month I began to wonder why more men did not preach, and the light on my law books began to fade. At the end of the second month I found myself wishing that I could preach. At the end of the third month the glory of the court room had vanished completely and I made up my mind that if any church were willing to accept a heretic like me I would become a preacher. . . . My call came through certain gifts in my possession. I found myself possessing the gifts which a preacher must have. While in college I had always cultivated the art of speaking. I loved to speak. The joy of speaking was deep and intense. When I became a teacher I discovered I loved to teach. . . . After I had taught mathematics and science, languages and literature, there was a lot more I wanted to do. I was interested in character building. . . . As a teacher of elocution I drilled my students in the orations of Wendell Phillips, and in this way a zeal for reform was kindled in me. I became a potential reformer. I wanted to strike the wrong. . . . And then I found I had still another gift—the gift of spiritual insight. It was not extraordinary, but I was sure I possessed it. I was a constant reader of Carlyle and Emerson, two great spiritual teachers, and the fact that I loved them so, and that they stimulated my mind and fed my heart made it clear to me that I too must have, in a small measure, their insight into spiritual things. . . .<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to determine if Jefferson's decision to become a minister was brought about by friends, relatives, or a factor in his early school life; although his parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles were all church members, they apparently never

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Edward Jefferson, The Appeal of the Christian Ministry, Delivered before the students of Wabash College, February Fourteenth, 1922, on the John Nelson Mills Foundation (New York: Norman C. Lynch Co., Inc., Printers and Stationers, 1922), pp. 3-8 (pamphlet).

suggested he become  
his father's  
heart playing.  
was in C.B. Jef  
Jefferson's initial  
his parents' con  
freedom.

We know v  
up Jefferson.  
particular teacher  
to study first la  
the Jefferson as

I had good tea  
members of the  
m, but I can  
me aside and  
to not imagine  
any one of the

It is li  
vocational oppor  
he decided to be  
profession of la  
life than did hi  
Jefferson once t  
hard work, and t  
or four hours.<sup>4</sup>

1 Ibid.,  
2 Charles  
January 18, 1960  
3 Jeffers  
4 Interview  
1959.

suggested he become a minister.<sup>1</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson writes that his father's parents were "devout Methodists who didn't believe in card playing, theatre going, or dancing, and were much disturbed when he [C.E. Jefferson] joined a college fraternity."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Jefferson's initial disinterest in the ministry can be traced to his parents' conservative beliefs and an accompanying lack of freedom.

We know very little with regard to the influence of education upon Jefferson. No record of his courses of study, textbooks, or particular teachers and incidents which might have influenced him to study first law and then theology are available. Of his education Jefferson said:

I had good teachers, all of them Christians, and all of them members of the Church of Christ, and all of them interested in me, but I cannot now remember that any one of them ever took me aside and asked me to think of becoming a minister. I do not imagine that any such idea ever entered the mind of any one of them.<sup>3</sup>

It is likely that Jefferson's education did disclose vocational opportunities to him. Perhaps through schooling alone he decided to become a lawyer. It is also possible that the profession of law appealed to him because it promised an easier life than did his father's profession, dentistry. Charles E. Jefferson once told his son that dentistry in the late 1800's was hard work, and that a patient would often be in the chair for three or four hours.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated January 18, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, The Appeal of the Christian Ministry, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with Charles Frederic Jefferson, December 4, 1959.

However his rea

thoroughly educa

Jefferson think

fully for sever

was obtained.

Mr Charles Fre

The reason w

clear. He w

standing as

there weren't

law seemed t

with such gi

Charles Clayton

The ear

the passion

a precise an

Further

Ministry can be

Private interv

told Shepherd:

I was

to get

been a

orate

I s

critic

because

I could

sermon

and I

<sup>1</sup>Charles  
January 18, 19

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Charles  
The Macmillan

Whatever his reasons for entering law school, Jefferson was more thoroughly educated than were most people in his day. C. F. Jefferson thinks that his father "was unique in the annals of his family for several generations, in respect to the amount of education obtained."<sup>1</sup> With regard to his father's decision to study law Charles Frederic Jefferson remarked:

The reason why he entered Law School, I think, is fairly clear. He was an exceptionally bright student and was outstanding as an orator and debater in High School and College. There weren't as many choices available in those days and law seemed to offer the greatest opportunities to a young man with such gifts.<sup>2</sup>

Charles Clayton Morrison adds a similar comment:

The early legal ambitions from which he was deflected by the passion to preach the gospel were a natural expression of a precise and orderly mind.<sup>3</sup>

Further insight into Jefferson's decision to enter the ministry can be gained from William G. Shepherd's report of a private interview with the Broadway Tabernacle pastor. Jefferson told Shepherd:

I was unspeakably unhappy in Boston. . . . I could not seem to get into touch with the real things in life. I may have been an orator, but I couldn't find anything in the law to orate about. It seemed unreal. And I wanted real things.

I suppose my gift of oratory had made me especially critical of preaching. I had lost interest in the Church, because I could see how carelessly many clergymen preached. I could see that they had been lax in preparing their sermons. I could trace mental laziness in their preaching and I had lost patience with the pulpit. I was getting

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated January 18, 1960.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Clayton Morrison, The American Pulpit (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 166

entry and preach

With regard

entry was a fine

in his great con

Although

Ministry of the Gov

is known pastor of

Massachusetts, when

he was married to

and three children

<sup>1</sup>William C  
Journalist (New Y

<sup>2</sup>1911, p.

<sup>3</sup>The estate  
suggested by the  
Young Jefferson  
Ramp Brooks and  
however, it was  
Jefferson cared  
Ramp in a few

<sup>4</sup>All but  
1914, that Jef  
graduation from  
Jefferson serve  
in Hampshire.  
that the Fitzw  
he was a serious  
early every s  
to note that J  
and that he is  
p. 262. A let  
Fitzwilliam To  
January 7, 19  
American (New  
that Jefferson  
Charles Frede  
Fitzwilliam.



oratory and preaching confused.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to Brooks, Jefferson added: "Behind his oratory was a fire of belief in Christ. Oratory came second with him; his great conviction came first."<sup>2</sup>

#### Jefferson's Pastorates

Although reared a Methodist, Jefferson was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Church in 1887.<sup>3</sup> Upon graduation he became pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Chelsea, Massachusetts, where he served until 1898.<sup>4</sup> On August 10, 1887, he was married to Miss Belle Patterson of Cambridge, Ohio. They had three children, Charles Frederic, Ralph Waldo, and Miriam, of

<sup>1</sup>William G. Shepherd, Great Preachers as Seen by a Journalist (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1924), pp. 122-124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 124

<sup>3</sup>The esteem in which Phillips Brooks held Jefferson is suggested by the following statement from Nichols, op. cit., p. 136. "Young Jefferson had come from a Methodist home in Ohio, but Bishop Brooks saw no reason why he should not remain a Methodist. However, it was humorously remarked that the Bishop said that if Jefferson cared to come into the Episcopal fold, he would be a Bishop in a few years."

<sup>4</sup>All but one of the sources consulted state clearly, or imply, that Jefferson went directly to the Chelsea Church, upon graduation from Seminary. Webber, op. cit., p. 552, states that Jefferson served a short time the congregation at Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Frederic Jefferson agree that the Fitzwilliam church was Jefferson's pastorate only while he was a seminary student, and that he preached a sermon there nearly every summer while at the Tabernacle. It was interesting to note that Jefferson and his wife purchased a home in Fitzwilliam and that he is buried in the village cemetery. Nichols, op. cit., p. 202. A letter from Mrs. Gladys M. Wilkins, librarian of the Fitzwilliam Town Library, Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, dated February 7, 1958, confirms this place of burial. The Encyclopedia Americana (New York: Americana Corp., 1957), Vol. 7, p. 1, states that Jefferson died in Fitzwilliam Depot, New Hampshire, but Charles Frederic Jefferson states that his father died at Fitzwilliam, and that Fitzwilliam Depot is a separate village.

and the first

During his

and the effect

that he was great

and as one of the

men who were for

clipping in the Pa

Jefferson's pastor

Being grad  
called to the  
Chelsea, Mass.  
a pulpit orator  
and of the ma  
method of his  
congregation  
on public ques  
became a not  
in having had

Robert E. Rame, a

member of Jeffers

1. As has b  
with Charles Riva  
It has also been  
Mr. Charles Fred  
and Mr. Jeffers  
the assistance of  
Jeffers informed  
October 2, 1894.  
September 9, 1921

2. Kleiser.

3. Nichols.  
His statement was  
after told him  
after his decision

4. This new  
of the reporter  
the year 1898.

whom only the first named survives.<sup>1</sup>

During his time at Chelsea, Jefferson "came to public attention by the effectiveness of his preaching."<sup>2</sup> One historian adds that "he was greatly admired by his people in Chelsea, and was known as one of the brilliant young coterie of ministers about Boston who were friends of Bishop Phillips Brooks."<sup>3</sup> A newspaper clipping in the Tabernacle Library records the following about Jefferson's pastorate at Chelsea:

Being graduated [from Seminary] in 1887 he was immediately called to the pastorate of Central Congregational Church at Chelsea, Mass., at a salary of \$2,500. There he developed as a pulpit orator, as a thinker, and as a pastoral worker. The fame of the man grew, and so did the membership and spiritual manhood of his church. He went beyond the confines of his congregation and became the citizen, the reformer. He spoke on public questions, notably the temperance question, and he became a not small factor in the present condition of Chelsea in having had no open saloon since 1890.<sup>4</sup>

Robert E. Hume, a professor at Union Theological Seminary and a member of Jefferson's Broadway Tabernacle, reports on Jefferson's

<sup>1</sup>As has been indicated the writer has had correspondence with Charles Edward Jefferson's son, Charles Frederic Jefferson. It has also been the privilege of the writer to interview Mr. and Mrs. Charles Frederic Jefferson in their home in Rochester, New York. Mr. Jefferson, a lawyer, and his wife, have provided valuable assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. Mr. Jefferson informed the writer that his sister died in Chelsea, November 2, 1894, and that his brother died in Utica, New York, September 9, 1921.

<sup>2</sup>Kleiser, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 135. It is interesting to compare this statement with that of Jefferson's son, who claims that his father told him that he (C. E. Jefferson) had never seen Brooks after his decision to enter the ministry.

<sup>4</sup>This newspaper clipping is undated, nor is there evidence of the reporter or the name of the newspaper. The date is probably the year 1898.

quite active  
American Pro  
political an  
minister con  
organization  
address them  
he would be  
and faced to  
American pro  
whatever he

2 Inverness 8, 1

right of the B

Street, New York

the pastorate o

Robert  
Church, Vol. 5

2 An the  
option clause f  
committee's re  
the joint com  
ordinate a pas  
extended to Re  
Central Congre  
was voted to e  
feature of the  
executive's atten  
recommended by  
Congregational  
much practice

"It is  
any shall be  
should be ter  
of the Church  
letter from the  
referred to a  
appears in the  
Vol. 4, Copy 1

willingness to challenge what he considered to be unchristian activities in Chelsea:

. . . there might be recalled the fact that . . . there was quite active in Chelsea the A.P.A. movement. Nominally the "American Protective Association", yet it was chiefly a political anti-Catholic movement. The young Protestant minister condemned it from his pulpit. The members of that organization were disturbed and challenged him to come to address them in their own head-quarters; they thought that he would be afraid of the challenge. Instead, he accepted, and faced them directly and constructively with the genuinely American principle that all citizens are entitled to freedom whatever be their particular religious affiliations.<sup>1</sup>

On November 8, 1897, Charles E. Jefferson supplied the vacant pulpit of the Broadway Tabernacle at Broadway and Thirty-fourth street, New York City. A few months later he was asked to assume the pastorate of the Tabernacle.<sup>2</sup> Jefferson accepted the call and

---

<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Hume, "Charles Edward Jefferson, "The Presbyterian Tribune, Vol. 53, No. 2, (October 28, 1937), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>An interesting feature of this call was the three month option clause included by the pulpit nominating committee. The committee's report, in part, read as follows: "On February 2nd the joint committee appointed by the church and society to nominate a pastor made a unanimous recommendation that a call be extended to Rev. Charles Edward Jefferson, then pastor of the Central Congregational Church of Chelsea, Massachusetts, and it was voted to extend such a call by a vote of 106-1. There is one feature of the call pursuant to this vote which deserves a moment's attention, being a clause in the following language, recommended by the Congregationalist, [the national journal of the Congregational Church] but believed to have been used by this church practically for the first time:

"It is understood and agreed that if, at any time, either party shall be convinced that the pastoral relation thus established should be terminated, three months' notice shall be given (by vote of the Church transmitted to the pastor by its clerk, or by letter from the Pastor to the church) and the matter shall be referred to a mutual council for approval and advice." This appears in the Year Book of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, Vol. 4, Copy 1 (1898), pp. 15-16.

hinged from the  
the Tabernacle  
he vote cast in  
he voted against  
national and an  
the, 3 Nichols  
he vote as typical  
his pastorate, he  
the first Sunday  
him as the past  
called as pastor

<sup>1</sup>The Chelsea  
the on Sunday, Apr  
Tabernacle Church  
the Seventy-Fifth A  
Lancaster, Penna.  
p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>New York  
ended at last night  
pastor of the church  
with only one was  
evidence that Je

<sup>3</sup>Charles Edw  
mentioned in the Bro  
1911, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Nichols, op.

<sup>5</sup>Same, op. c  
stated that New York  
pastor of Christi  
the could manage t  
considerable stretch  
Apparently Jefferson  
to it on numerous oc  
celebrations at the  
and Dr. Edward Ju  
the Tabernacle pasto  
that the chief probl  
the, p. . He knew

resigned from the Chelsea church on February 2, 1898.<sup>1</sup> The call to the Tabernacle was practically unanimous.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the one vote cast in opposition Jefferson once remarked: "The one man who voted against me soon confessed his sin, and became one of my most loyal and ardent friends. Like Paul, he had acted in ignorance."<sup>3</sup> Nichols reports: "Dr. Jefferson often referred to that one vote as typical of Congregationalism. Most propositions in his pastorate, he said, had at least one vote in opposition."<sup>4</sup> On the first Sunday in March, 1898, Jefferson preached his first sermon as the pastor of the Tabernacle. He was officially installed as pastor on April 10, 1898.<sup>5</sup> The nature of Jefferson's

<sup>1</sup>The Chelsea Church and the parish house were destroyed by fire on Sunday, April 12, 1908. See Lewis S. Judd, The Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1901-1915, a Historical Sketch Commemorative of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Church, October, 1915, (Lancaster, Penna., The Press of the New Era Printing Co., 1917), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, February 3, 1898, p. 7. "The Church was crowded at last night's meeting. The Rev. F. B. Richards, assistant pastor of the church, presided. The total vote cast was 107, of which only one was against the Rev. Dr. Jefferson." Note: There is no evidence that Jefferson was a "doctor" at that time.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, Twentieth Anniversary Discourse, preached in the Broadway Tabernacle, Sunday, March the second, 1918, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>5</sup>Hume, op. cit., pp. 9-10, states: "The new minister was warned that New York City is the most dangerously death-dealing grave-yard of Christian ministers in the Western world; and that if he could manage to keep himself and his church alive for any considerable stretch of years, that would be a miraculous success." Apparently Jefferson never forgot this warning, for he referred to it on numerous occasions, particularly during anniversary celebrations at the Tabernacle. For example, in an editorial he said: "Dr. Edward Judson, who took part in the installation of the new Tabernacle pastor in 1898, told the young man from Massachusetts that the chief problem of a minister in New York City is to keep alive. . . . He knew that life here had been strenuous. . . . He did

First sermon, 1918

New York Times was

A large crowd  
yesterday morning  
Edward Jeffers  
comes from the  
Massachusetts  
congregation and  
in every face  
seal of the  
pulpit made for

But the le  
during the sermon  
nervous twitch  
the New Testament  
deep eyes half  
graved by study  
ascetic. The  
seemed to weigh

When he offe  
faltering and wa  
tone and became  
stage he gave  
phrasing. "We  
said, "when we  
sermon that fo  
make free use

He began h  
at the third c  
He gave His on  
that this text

After the  
around the pul  
congratulate h

we know, however  
going to become."  
Friday (New York

New York Times



first sermon, its success, and his nervousness, as reported in the

New York Times was as follows:

A large congregation gathered in the Broadway Tabernacle yesterday morning to hear the new pastor, the Rev. Charles Edward Jefferson, preach his first sermon. Mr. Jefferson comes from the Central Congregational Church at Chelsea, Massachusetts, where his success in building up a large congregation attracted general attention. Expectancy shone in every face as the audience awaited the result of the ordeal of the first appearance of the young successor to the pulpit made famous by Dr. William A. Taylor.

Not the less interested appeared the minister himself. During the singing he was pale and motionless, save for the nervous twitching of his thin hands, that were closed over the New Testament. As he sat there in his black gown, his deep eyes half concealed by glasses and his beardless face graven by study and thought, he looked somewhat like an ascetic. The importance and significance of the moment seemed to weigh upon him.

When he offered the prayer before the sermon his voice faltered and wavered at first, but soon regained its natural tone and became stronger and vibrant. Even at this early stage he gave evidence of the manner of his thought and phrasing. "We feel ourselves of the earth, earthy," he said, "when we try to throw our wishes into speech." The sermon that followed fully justified the fancy that he would make free use of trope and metaphor . . .

He began his sermon by reading from the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of John. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son," and continued, "It is very rare that this text is preached from . . ."

After the services a large part of the congregation pressed around the pulpit to shake hands with the new pastor and to congratulate him upon the success of his first sermon.

not know, however, how much more feverish and furious it was going to become." See Charles E. Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway (New York: The Libien Press, 1929), pp. 3-4.

<sup>1</sup> New York Times, March 7, 1898, p. 10.

to West of the  
narrative . . .  
and pasture wh

Jefferson

Although the y  
mild account of  
the size of the  
pasture in order  
and more thorough  
of his preaching.  
complete backing

One of Jeffer  
Library, not for  
regeneration. In  
needed to purcha  
to all fifty volu  
of Christ came fr  
examined perform  
more intelligen  
understanding of  
exposed to the in  
and Higher Critic  
of the Broadway

Nichols, 222  
P. 13

In light of the foregoing it seems this "unusually attractive . . . kindly and vigorous young man"<sup>1</sup> began his Tabernacle pastorate with marked success.

#### Jefferson's Main Emphases at the Tabernacle

Although the purpose of this chapter is not to present a detailed account of Jefferson's life, it does seem necessary to consider some of the major events and emphases of his long Tabernacle pastorate in order to gain a more complete knowledge of Jefferson, and a more thorough understanding of the nature and significance of his preaching. These considerations will also provide a more complete backdrop for a rhetorical analysis of his sermons.

One of Jefferson's first acts was the building of a church library, not for his own use, but for the use of members of his congregation. In 1898, under his leadership, the congregation decided to purchase twenty-five volumes of the life of Christ and to add fifty volumes each year. "The major demand for these lives of Christ came from the Sabbath School teaching that had . . . abandoned perfunctory question asking."<sup>2</sup> Jefferson realized that a more intelligent reading of the Bible and a more intelligent understanding of Christianity were necessary for young people exposed to the influence of science as expressed by Darwinism and Higher Criticism. L. Nelson Nichols, writing in the History of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City says:

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

Dr. Jefferson  
passive Chris  
want death t  
and teachers.  
into the pulpit  
He could the  
however fearful  
books in the  
is a loving  
He might be.<sup>4</sup>

By 1906 the

Library, exclusive

Library include the

ing. With regard

It was a well  
most modern  
been enough to  
while the e  
shelves down t

In November, 1916,

John in the Broad

were listed under

History, Travel,

and Theology, Mis

History and Poetry

During his

the cases of the

clearly the expi

the term "Bible

the Bible School

organized the t

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.

<sup>3</sup>Selected  
H. Phillips, 191

Dr. Jefferson knew very well what the supine acceptance of a passive Christ and vindictive God meant for religion. It meant death to many active minded scientists, lawyers, editors and teachers. Dr. Jefferson knew also that he was coming into the pulpit of Finney, Thompson, Taylor and Stimson. He could therefore dare to ask his people to hear the truth however fearful it might seem, and to read that truth from books in the Tabernacle library. Jefferson knew that there is a loving God. A capable people should go and find where He might be.

By 1906 there were four thousand books in the Tabernacle Library, exclusive of Jefferson's office collection. Nor did this library include the children's books used for Bible School Teaching. With regard to this collection Nichols adds:

It was a well selected collection for educated readers upon most modern subjects. The interest on a library fund/ had been enough to keep up the high standard of the collection, while the elimination of out-of-date books has kept the shelves down to reasonable proportions.<sup>2</sup>

In November, 1916, a pamphlet was circulated listing Selected Books in the Broadway Tabernacle Library. These selected books were listed under such headings as Biography and Autobiography, History, Travel, Fiction, Art, Music, War and Peace, Religion and Theology, Missions, Economics, Socialism and Social Reform, Essays and Poetry.<sup>3</sup>

During his first year at the Tabernacle Jefferson modernized the names of the congregation's activities in order to reveal more clearly the emphases of the church. For example, he preferred the term "Bible School" to "Sabbath School" or "Sunday School." The Bible School emphasized Bible Study. Jefferson also emphasized the traditional church year and such traditional

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Selected Books in the Broadway Tabernacle Library (New York: No Publisher, 1916).

events as those of

The inter-  
stood by Dr.  
pioneers read  
nearer to a  
Tabernacle to  
leading to the  
This being do  
event, and a  
Protestants.

The Tabern

little studies and

letter service M

with the old New

men, singing and

of a New Year.

While pas

associated with

to student group

of his assistant

students and pro

were regular par

Dr. Alfred D.F.

for example, ta

As a past

he saw "the valu

as an outcome of

and the many act

The Broadway Tay

objectives:

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p

events as those of Holy Week. One historian observes:

The interdenominational approach that was so well understood by Dr. Jefferson and Phillips Brooks made the new pioneers ready to accept any ritual that brought a congregation nearer to a sense of God. It was therefore easy for the Tabernacle to take up Holy Week and the Passion of Jesus leading to the Cross and to the Resurrection at Easter. This being done in a Congregational Church before 1900 was an event, and an inspiration to a large body of American Protestants.<sup>1</sup>

The Tabernacle also became favorably known for its mid-week Bible studies and its New Year's eve church service. Of the latter service Nichols says: "It was a fine opportunity to match with the old New York custom of walking in the streets and avenues, singing and waiting until clocks proclaimed the beginning of a New Year."<sup>2</sup>

While pastor of the Broadway church, Jefferson closely associated with Union Theological Seminary as a frequent speaker to student groups and a lecturer in homiletics; furthermore, many of his assistants were graduates of Union. Reciprocally, many students and professors at Union Seminary and Columbia University were regular participants in the activities of the Tabernacle. Dr. Alfred D.F. Hamlin, Professor of Architecture at Colombia, for example, taught a Bible class.

As a pastor, Jefferson not only valued the spoken word, but he saw "the value of the inspired printed page appearing regularly as an outcome of the overflowing spirit of the Tabernacle pulpit and the many activities of [its] organizations."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings began in October, 1898, with six objectives:

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

To acquaint  
their church;  
To furnish  
Pastor and his  
To supply  
concerning con  
To supply  
are throughout  
To preserve  
be of service  
ism;  
To foster a  
ments of the  
Identified with

In time the

Minister in New York

Jefferson's

was matched

construction of a

the Broadway

the Broadway at

and moving farther

to move toward the

that the new Tabernacle

that, "Dr. Jefferson

would for a church

people in the Scr

The new church

the building in the

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.

<sup>2</sup>New York



To acquaint the members of the Tabernacle with the doings of their church;

To furnish an additional medium of communication between the Pastor and his people;

To supply to shut-in members of the congregation information concerning church life and work;

To supply the friends of the Tabernacle, scattered as they are throughout the world, with current church news;

To preserve a record of church activity and growth which may be of service to future historians of New York Congregationalism;

To foster an intelligent interest in the purposes and achievements of the Tabernacle among those who have never yet been identified with it.<sup>1</sup>

In time the Tidings was mailed to every active Congregational minister in New York State.

Jefferson's ability to build a church, in the congregational sense, was matched by his ability to lead that congregation in the construction of a mere complete church edifice. Under his direction, the Broadway Tabernacle Church was built on its present site, Broadway at Fifth-sixth Street. Although many members advocated moving farther north, following the trend of city churches to move toward the suburbs, Jefferson and other members insisted that the new Tabernacle be built on Broadway. It was reported that, "Dr. Jefferson often said there was no better place in the world for a church."<sup>2</sup> Jefferson found it possible to interest people in the Scripture even on Broadway--the Great White Way.

The new church was completed in 1905. Webber describes the building in these words:

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, September 13, 1937, p. 21.

The building  
in Boston.  
twin towers a  
tower, more  
superficial.  
roof, is real  
for all manner  
roof of the  
assistants.

During the time  
Jefferson's congr  
Henderson Hall  
titles associated  
grew in size, from  
new tabernacle was

Jefferson's c  
an active one. H  
organization. Me  
and supported  
projects in such  
Turkey, and Puerto  
to the American  
any spirit of the  
as the Jefferson  
Ingress founded  
and the Home for  
the dynamic natu  
list of the numb

Webster.

The building recalls in a general way Phillips Brooks' Church in Boston. There is the same broad, short nave, with its twin towers and shallow transepts. There is the great central tower, more than 50 feet square. However, the resemblance is superficial, for the central tower, with its ornate pyramidal roof, is really an eight-story office building with facilities for all manner of congregational activities. High above the roof of the church are the offices of the pastor and his assistants.<sup>1</sup>

During the three years required to build the new Tabernacle, Jefferson's congregation conducted services and activities in Mendelssohn Hall on Forty-first Street. In spite of the difficulties associated with these temporary quarters, the congregation grew in size, from fewer than 600 persons in 1900 to 839 when the new tabernacle was dedicated in March, 1905.

Jefferson's church was not only a growing one, but it was an active one. He saw the Broadway Tabernacle as a missionary organization. Members of the congregation not only participated in and supported city missions work, but carried on extensive projects in such countries as China, India, Ceylon, Armenia, Turkey, and Puerto Rico. The congregation also gave assistance to the American Indians, the Negroes, and the aged. The missionary spirit of the Tabernacle found expression in such institutions as the Jefferson Academy for boys in China, Howard University for Negroes founded by General Oliver O. Howard, a Tabernacle trustee, and the Home for the Aged in New York City. Further evidence of the dynamic nature of this congregation is found in the following list of the number of meetings held in 1910.

---

<sup>1</sup>Webber, op.cit., p. 553.

Taylor C. A.  
Bible School  
Women's Y.  
Men's League  
Library...  
Pastor's Office  
Robing Room  
Thompson Co.

In addition, the

Perhaps

activities was

through his pa

peace, and he u

nations. The b

Taylor before h

In civilization

well as his ac

and peace, and

Jefferson spok

Peace." Later

Boston on "The

preached a ser

During

as "Missions a

Christianity's

International

New York Peac

Promoted vari

for the servi

1 Micho

2 Ibid.

Taylor Chapel.....	343 meetings
Bible School Hall (now Jefferson Hall)...	172 meetings
Women's Floor.....	211 meetings
Men's League Room.....	70 meetings
Library.....	7 meetings
Pastor's floor.....	98 meetings
Robing Room.....	8 meetings
Thompson Chapel.....	10 meetings <sup>1</sup>

In addition, there were many meetings of small committees.

Perhaps the most important objective of the Tabernacle activities was that of international understanding and good-will. Through his pastorate, Jefferson was devoted to the cause of peace, and he urged his parishioners also to promote peace among nations. "He hated war just the same as did Finney, Thompson and Taylor before him, and he hated it as a disturber of God's program in civilization."<sup>2</sup> The titles of his sermons and addresses, as well as his activities, reveal his position with regard to war and peace, and how earnestly he sought the latter. In 1904 Jefferson spoke to his ministerial friends on "Battleships and Peace." Later in that year he spoke to the Peace Congress in Boston on "The Reduction of National Armaments." In 1908 he preached a sermon, "Militarism and the Christian Church."

During the years which followed, he spoke on such topics as "Missions and International Peace," "The Need of the World and Christianity's Response," "The Cause of War," "Christianity and International Peace," and "Thinking Peace." Jefferson founded the New York Peace Society in 1906, and although an ardent pacifist, promoted various social and recreational activities in the Tabernacle for the service men and women during World War I. Following

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

the war he was

the necessity of

what Jefferson

world gone mad

Christian grace

gation writes:

The Bible

course in C

week at the

that built

after book

friendly or

and time as

with the la

ing new dat

Jeff

It was p

a deeply sincere

preacher<sup>3</sup> who

throughout the

building, however

tions.<sup>4</sup> He bel

and his sheep

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Lou  
Hall, Vol. 4,

<sup>4</sup> The New  
Jefferson said  
during his last

the war he was vocal in support of the League of Nations and the necessity of decreasing armaments. Nichols remarks that what Jefferson "could not do as a matter of Christian power in a world gone mad ever war, he put into the finer polishing of the Christian graces of his inner flock."<sup>1</sup> One member of the congregation writes:

The Bible became more intensely Dr. Jefferson's advanced course in Christian living. He taught it to us week after week at the mid-week meetings with a ripened scholarship that built up a devoted coterie of eager students. Book after book in the Bible he handled with close analysis and friendly criticisms of the backgrounds of the authors. Time and time again he checked the details of his findings . . . with the latest scholarships of the learned writers, accepting new data here and disputing opinions there.<sup>2</sup>

#### Jefferson's International Reputation

It was probably Jefferson's "outstanding attributes [as] a deeply sincere, reverent reader, a profound scholar, a great preacher"<sup>3</sup> which prompted many invitations for him to speak throughout the nation and world. Jefferson's emphasis on church building, however, caused him to turn down most of these invitations.<sup>4</sup> He believed that the shepherd of the flock could not tend his sheep if he were not physically present. Most of his

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Anna Louise White, "Memorable Ministries," Conference Trails, Vol. 4, No. 2 (February, 1954), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>The New York Times, April 20, 1929, p. 11, reports that Jefferson said he refused four out of five speaking invitations during his last ten years at Broadway Tabernacle.

travelling

in 1922. It

England, was

of the City

following

The  
unconve  
into the  
Joseph  
box Par  
to its  
had liv  
ordinar  
out he  
at once  
ing to  
an hour  
in this  
eloquen  
Invited  
Temple.  
ward he  
the pres  
physical  
His hear  
broad.  
His pers  
his seal  
It was  
Never be.

<sup>1</sup> In the  
sp. cit., PP  
tensively, bo  
the Pacific c  
Alaska, and n  
hundred days  
covered the co  
and Turkey and  
vice and two s  
Charles Fred  
upon learning  
taken to facil  
a tour through  
Italy, Palestin  
summer home in  
all his summers



travelling was, therefore, limited to his annual vacation periods.<sup>1</sup>

In 1922, it was possible for Jefferson and his wife to travel to England, where he exchanged pulpits with Dr. Frederick W. Norwood of the City Temple, London. Of this exchange Jefferson wrote the following in The Friendship Indispensable:

The City Temple seems destined to do always the unexpected and unconventional thing. It startled the world by reaching over into the State of Iowa and calling a Universalist pastor [Dr. Joseph Fort Newton] to stand in the pulpit of the great orthodox Parker, and it gave the world another jolt when it called to its pulpit an unknown Baptist from Australia. Dr. Norwood had lived to the middle forties in Australia as a plain, ordinary, fairly successful pastor, and when the war broke out he came with the Australian troops to the front. Almost at once he was found to possess exceptional ability for talking to men. The soldiers liked him. They could listen to him an hour and then want more. There were evidently powers in this man which had hitherto been undeveloped. There was an eloquence in his tongue of which the world had not dreamed. Invited one Sunday while in London to preach at the City Temple, he made such a deep impression that not long afterward he was called to be its pastor. From the first day to the present he has been growing. . . . Dr. Norwood has the physical strength of a Samson. His mind is keen and alert. His heart is tender and big. His sympathies are fervent and broad. He has a voice of unusual compass and sweetness. His personality is winsome. Upon this man every god has set his seal to give the world assurance of a pulpit prince.

It was in exchange with Dr. Norwood that I went to London. Never before had I preached under the British flag. Twice

---

<sup>1</sup>In the Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson op. cit., pp. 6-7, the following is recorded: "He travelled extensively, both at home and abroad, having visited repeatedly the Pacific coast, various sections of Canada and Newfoundland, Alaska, and nearly every country in Europe. In 1895 he spent a hundred days in Europe visiting ten countries, and in 1904 he covered the continent of Europe from Norway and Sweden to Russia and Turkey and Greece. The summer of 1906 was spent with his wife and two sons in Germany, most of the time in Weimar and Jena. [Charles Frederic Jefferson recalls that his father was intent upon learning the German language, and that the latter trip was taken to facilitate this goal.] In 1912-13 he and his wife made a tour through Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, France, Spain, Italy, Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Since 1890 he has had a summer home in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, and there he has spent all his summers except those devoted to travel."

before had  
visitor.  
official  
I preached  
June. I  
church.<sup>1</sup>

David L.

and Jefferson  
representative

Upon his

case of the Lea

international

Christ's affa

localized New Y

understanding a

retire. The co

and Mrs. Jeffor

Dr. and Mrs. Jo

from June, 1925

161 times in for

On the ev

nation to the B

nation should ta

resignation, Je

as his entire 14

newspaper report

<sup>1</sup>Charles  
York: The Macmillan

<sup>2</sup>New York

<sup>3</sup>Nichols.

before had I been in England, but on both occasions only as a visitor. This time I went as an ambassador of good will, the official representative of the Protestant churches of America. I preached morning and evening on seven Sundays in May and June. I preached the same sermons I had preached in my own church.<sup>1</sup>

David Lloyd George praised Jefferson's ministry in England, and Jefferson was hailed throughout England and Scotland as the representative of the American Protestant Churches.<sup>2</sup>

Upon his return to America, Jefferson was not only an advocate of the League of Nations, the World Court, and peaceful internationalism, but "he was also in spirit living the life of Christ's affairs all over the world. Never again could he be a localized New Yorker."<sup>3</sup> In 1925, this advocate of international understanding announced to his congregation that he felt he should retire. The congregation rejected his suggestion and urged him and Mrs. Jefferson to visit the mission fields throughout the world. Dr. and Mrs. Jefferson, therefore, toured the mission fields from June, 1925, to July, 1926, during which time Jefferson spoke 161 times in fourteen countries.

On the evening of May 5, 1929, Jefferson tendered his resignation to the Broadway Tabernacle. It was decided that the resignation should take effect on August 29, 1930. At the time of this resignation, Jefferson stated that he did not know how to play, as his entire life had been devoted to church work. He told a newspaper reporter:

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, The Friendship Indispensable (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923), pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, September 13, 1937, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 173.

I have all  
centuries  
speciality  
like to do

In Aug-

final sermon at

was held in we

appeared in the

When, Fe  
throughs ga  
Street to  
of the ser  
moved, spe  
walked by  
700 by nam

Further

previous state

pastor of the

out of five sp

Jefferson long

many honorary

Garlin College

(1903), the Uni

degree from On

(1923). He was

The Geor  
Seminary, B

The Merr  
Ohio, April  
series Jeff  
The New Th

<sup>1</sup>New Yor

<sup>2</sup>New Yor

<sup>3</sup>ibid..

I have always dreamed of writing a history of the first four centuries of the Christian Church . . . and my hobby and speciality for years has been international peace; and I'd like to devote more time to both interests.<sup>1</sup>

In August, 1930 Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson preached his final sermon as pastor of the Tabernacle. The esteem in which he was held is well illustrated by a report of this sermon which appeared in the New York Times:

When Jefferson ended his thirty-two year pastorate in 1930, throngs gathered at the Broadway Tabernacle at Fifty-sixth Street to hear him preach his final sermon. At the conclusion of the service nobody went out. Instead, the congregation moved, spontaneously, up the aisles, formed a line and walked by the pastor as he greeted virtually everyone of the 700 by name.<sup>2</sup>

Further estimation of his popularity can be gained from a previous statement which indicates that during his last decade as pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Jefferson had to refuse four out of five speaking invitations.<sup>3</sup> Honors, of course, came to Jefferson long before his retirement. For example, he received many honorary degrees, including the Doctor of Divinity from Oberlin College (1898), Union College (1898), Yale University (1903), the University of Vermont (1921), and the Doctor of Law degree from Ohio Wesleyan University (1905), and Miami University (1923). He was also asked to present the following lectures:

The George Shepard Lectures on Preaching, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1905-06. "The Minister as Prophet."

The Merriek Lectures at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, April 23-27, 1906. "The New Age and Its Creed." Of this series Jefferson presented one lecture entitled, "The New Theology."

<sup>1</sup>New York Times, April 20, 1929, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, September 13, 1937, p. 21

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., See footnote 4, p. 19.

The Lynde  
Yale University  
The Building

The Payne  
Stanford University  
15 and 16.

The George  
Seminary, B

The George  
College, G  
International

The Cole  
Tennessee.

The Knox  
Maine, 1920

The Bible  
ch. pp. 4-c.  
ing activities.

1905. New Brunswick  
University  
Nashville, Tenn  
1914. Drake Uni  
University, "Wm  
N.Y. City. 191  
1920. Hendrix C  
1920. Worcester

[The following  
which Jefferson

Amherst Theologi  
Theological Sem  
School of Theol  
Rochester Theol  
N.Y. City. Vand

Brown, Chicago.  
Stanford, Michi  
Princeton, Vern

Amherst, Mass.

The Lyman Beecher Foundation Lectures, Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, April and May, 1910. "The Building of the Church."

The Raymond F. West Memorial Lectures on Immortality, Leland Stanford Junior University, Palo Alto, California, February 15 and 16, 1911. "Why We May Believe in Life After Death."

The George Shepard Lectures on Preaching, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1912, 1912. "The Minister as Shepherd."

The George A. Gates Memorial Foundation Lectures, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, February, 1915. "Christianity and International Peace."

The Cole Lectures, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1918. "Old Truths and New Facts."

The Enoch Pond Lectures, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, 1929. "Christianizing a Nation."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson, op. cit., pp. 4-6, includes the following record of Jefferson's speaking activities, exclusive of those listed above.

#### Course of Lectures

1905, New Brunswick School of Theology, New Jersey. 1909, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1914, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1914, Horace Mann School, N.Y. City, "Jesus." 1914, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. 1916, Ohio Wesleyan University, "What the War is Teaching." 1916, Teacher's College, N.Y. City. 1919, Broadway Tabernacle, "What the War Has Taught Us." 1920, Hendrix College, Conway, Ark., "Lectures to Ministers." 1920, Worcester, Mass., "The Present Crisis."

[The following are the schools, colleges, and universities at which Jefferson lectured or preached.]

#### Theological Seminaries

Auburn Theological Seminary, Bangor School of Theology, Drew Theological Seminary, Hartford School of Theology, Lancaster School of Theology, Theological Seminary, Newton, Mass., Rochester Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary, N.Y. City, Vanderbilt School of Theology, Yale Divinity School.

#### Universities

Brown, Chicago, Colombia, Cornell, Harvard, Iowa State, Leland Stanford, Michigan State, New York, Ohio Wesleyan, Ohio State, Princeton, Vermont State, Virginia State, Yale.

#### Colleges

Amherst, Mass.; Dartmouth, N.H.; Dental, N.Y. City; Durham, N.C.;

From the  
death in 1837.  
merits of the  
he travelled a  
which soon came

Dr. Jeff  
him with a  
January, 18  
Chapel for  
King's Chap  
installatio  
was a comp  
The fifth w  
the opening  
terium in  
The calls  
ing in the  
had receive

At the a  
reported on his  
Minister. He s  
people as he wo  
he had spoken i  
congregations r

Grinnell, Iowa;  
Missions, India  
Williams, Mass.

The list also  
and Schools. Ac  
institutions at

1 In his  
op. cit., Jeff  
occur in its le  
Tabernacle Chur

2 Nichols

3. Ibid..



From the day when his resignation became effective until his death in 1937, the Rev. Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson was pastor emeritus of the Broadway Tabernacle Church.<sup>1</sup> During these years he travelled and spoke extensively. Nichols reports the honors which soon came to Jefferson:

Dr. Jefferson was now given to the world, and the world took him with an enthusiasm that surprised even him. He started January, 1930, with five honors. One was to conduct Harvard Chapel for five days. The second was to give four sermons in King's Chapel, Boston. The third was to deliver an installation sermon at his old church in Chelsea. The fourth was a complimentary dinner to him from his fellow ministers. The fifth was the privilege of preaching the first sermon at the opening of Bushnell Memorial at Hartford, the best auditorium in New England . . . and this was only the beginning. The calls from all over America were so numerous and conflicting in their dates that he had to refuse more calls than he had received in his active ministry.

At the annual Broadway Tabernacle meeting in 1932, Jefferson reported on his activities during his first year as Honorary Minister. He stated that he had spoken to three times as many people as he would have at the Tabernacle. He also reported that he had spoken in fourteen states, nineteen colleges, and to 167 congregations representing nine different denominations.<sup>3</sup>

---

Grinnell, Iowa; Grove City, Pa.; Meredith, Raleigh, N.C.; College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind.; Oberlin, Ohio; Pennsylvania State; Williams, Mass.; Wabash, Indiana.

[The list also includes the names of forty-four Girls' Colleges and Schools, Academies, High Schools, and other educational institutions at which Jefferson spoke.]

<sup>1</sup>In his reminiscences entitled Thirty Years on Broadway, op. cit., Jefferson writes: "The word Congregational does not occur in its legal title. Its full name is the 'Broadway Tabernacle Church.'"

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

In 1901

caused a heart

Mr. William, B.

reported:

Dr. Jeffers

"The Spirit"

to name him

more than 4

nature in E

These words

would have

but Dr. Jef

world for a

not the mos

and were ve

The news

Would it possi

people in the S

to be a miracle

Jefferson's qui

On Septe

<sup>1</sup> New York

ing to note tha

been Pastor of

"fifty days." Y

my Sermon, P

March 4, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Tre

resides in Broo

that his father

Treat. The lat

at the Central

and Treat fami

Mr. William. Ne

point some rema

He said that hi

baseball or foot

over, Charles Ed

Christian Associ

usually playing

In 1934 Jefferson became ill with pneumonia. This apparently caused a heart ailment of which he died on September 12, 1937, in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. On the following day the New York Times reported:

Dr. Jefferson had a longer "run" on Broadway than any actor. "The Spirit of the Great White Way" (as it often was suggested to name him) "labored" there, according to his own reckoning, more than 20,000 days [sic] . . . he testified that human nature in Broadway was the same yesterday and today. . . . These words were uttered of a street, which to a puritan would have seemed as the way which leadeth to destruction; but Dr. Jefferson often said there was no better place in the world for a church. The people of Broadway, he admitted, were not the most pious, but they were better than they are painted and were very human.<sup>1</sup>

The newspaper reporter further observed that Jefferson "found it possible, even on the 'Great White Way' to interest people in the Scriptures." He added: It would indeed seem to me to be a miracle if one did not know the subtle power of Dr. Jefferson's quiet eloquence."<sup>2</sup>

On September 15, 1937, the Rev. Mr. Rodger Eddy Treat<sup>3</sup> of

---

<sup>1</sup> New York Times, September 13, 1937, p. 21. It is interesting to note that on March 4, 1928, Jefferson said that he had been Pastor of the Tabernacle "for ten thousand nine hundred and fifty days." For this comment see his booklet, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, preached in the Broadway Tabernacle, Sunday morning, March 4, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Treat was a life-long friend of Jefferson. He now resides in Brockton, Mass. Charles Frederic Jefferson stated that his father's favorite tennis partner was the father of Mr. Treat. The latter was a fish wholesaler, and the choir leader at the Central Congregational Church in Chelsea. The Jefferson and Treat families purchased summer homes near each other at Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire. It is interesting to note at this point some remarks by Dr. Jefferson's son, Charles Frederic. He said that his father was not athletic, that he did not play baseball or football, nor could he swim. While at Chelsea, however, Charles Edward Jefferson exercised at the Young Men's Christian Association. Throughout his life he enjoyed tennis, usually playing doubles. He also played a little golf; he liked

Detroit and the

services in the

The call  
or the need  
. . . There  
sadness.  
crowns for  
so faithful  
would come  
perfection

gathering at his  
family enjoyed v  
Jefferson appar  
especially in t  
or coffee. He  
breakfast often  
there were no e  
o'clock. His w  
morning.

Mr. Cha  
now Professor o  
University Scho

2Nichols  
The Rev. Dr. Ch  
School] assist  
Jefferson state  
service, and to  
also declares  
If this is true  
by the Broadway  
1927. It state  
conducted by "D  
is included in  
Theological Sem  
written by Rose  
in Memoriam, 18

3Nichols

Detroit and the Rev. Mr. Allan Knight Chalmers<sup>1</sup> conducted burial services in the village church at Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire.<sup>2</sup>

The calm of the nearby mountains, the quiet far-distant blue or the near hills, seemed set for this last sad duty to him. . . . There was a note of victory there that transcended all sadness. His work had been so well done that he had won our crowns for leaving a Tabernacle made with hands which he had so faithfully directed. The final crown from a loving Father would come with Dr. Jefferson's consciousness of the final perfection.<sup>3</sup>

---

gardening at his summer home, and he enjoyed walks. He particularly enjoyed visiting the Bronx Zoo in New York City. C. E. Jefferson apparently took care of himself physically, but not especially in terms of exercise. He didn't smoke, or drink alcohol or coffee. He liked tea and root beer. In his later years his breakfast often consisted of only grapefruit and warm water. If there were no evening meetings to attend he went to bed by nine o'clock. His working day often began at five o'clock in the morning.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Chalmers succeeded Jefferson at the Tabernacle. He is now Professor of Preaching and Applied Christianity at the Boston University School of Theology.

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 202, is incorrect in stating that The Rev. Dr. Charles R. Brown, [Dean Emeritus of Yale Divinity School] assisted in the burial service. Charles Frederic Jefferson states that Dr. Treat was in charge of the funeral service, and that Brown did not participate in it. C. F. Jefferson also declares that Chalmers gave only the opening prayer. If this is true, it is interesting to note the impression created by the Broadway Tabernacle Church Bulletin, Sunday, September 19, 1937. It states that the funeral services at Fitzwilliam were conducted by "Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Treat . . ." This bulletin is included in a typed manuscript presented to the Union Theological Seminary by D. Rockwell, June 9, 1943. It was written by Robert M. Hume and is entitled: "Charles E. Jefferson, In Memoriam, 1860-1937."

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 202.

Jeff

This s

his contempor

tion will be

Jefferson, the

is difficult

conclusions and

of Jefferson a

The una

distinguished

although he se

was said that

in appearance

young man, qui

In comm

Jefferson said

in height, tha

1 I have  
contemporaries  
Nichols, Miss  
Nichols and M  
erson's past  
services while  
views took pl  
York City.

2 Nicho

Jefferson as Seen by Contemporaries  
and Later Commentators

This section considers how Charles M. Jefferson was seen by his contemporaries<sup>1</sup> and by later commentators. Particular attention will be given to opinions about Jefferson, the man, and not Jefferson, the preacher, realizing of course, that this distinction is difficult because conclusions about the man may in reality be conclusions about the preacher. Whenever possible, a consideration of Jefferson as a preacher will be left until Chapter VIII.

The unanimous opinion seems to be that Jefferson was of distinguished appearance, and was a disciplined student, and that, although he seemed shy and aloof, he was warm and hospitable. It was said that Jefferson "as a young man was unusually attractive in appearance [and that] he looked to be a kindly and vigorous young man, quite capable of thinking his own thoughts."<sup>2</sup>

In commenting about his father's appearance, Charles Frederic Jefferson said that Dr. Jefferson was about five feet seven inches in height, that he weighed about 175 pounds, and that he had "an

---

<sup>1</sup> I have had several personal interviews with the following contemporaries, and non-relatives of Jefferson: Mrs. L. Nelson Nichols, Miss Anna L. White, and the Rev. Dr. Roy L. Minich. Mrs. Nichols and Miss White were members of the Tabernacle during Jefferson's pastorate. Dr. Minich attended Jefferson's Tabernacle services while he was a student in New York City. These interviews took place during the week of December 6th, 1959, in New York City.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, op. cit., p. 137.

excellent man  
his as of the  
of slightly  
was also dead  
and in later  
his dark hair  
in front, and  
without the a  
of the day, we

The por  
by the New York  
and given to  
follow the Gre

<sup>1</sup> Charles  
May 19, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A.  
February 11, 1

<sup>3</sup> Shephe

<sup>4</sup> Charles  
writer on Dece  
seems without

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. I  
writer on Dece

<sup>6</sup> Jones,



excellent muscular development."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers portrays him as of "better than average height, although not really tall; of slightly more than medium weight for his height."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jefferson was also described as a "square faced, sturdy man,"<sup>3</sup> clean shaven, and in later years somewhat bald.<sup>4</sup> Snapshots of Jefferson show that his dark hair was combed toward the back of his head with a high wave in front, and that he wore eye glasses which fitted on his nose without the aid of side or ear pieces.<sup>5</sup> He dressed in the fashions of the day, wearing, for example, a high collar and a wide bow tie.

The popular opinion about Jefferson was apparently expressed by the New York newspapers which described him as "austere, a Puritan, and given to setting up exacting standards for those who would follow the Great Galilean."<sup>6</sup> In contrast to this description, Joseph

<sup>1</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated May 19, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers in a letter to the writer dated February 11, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Shepherd , op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson in a personal interview with the writer on December 4, 1959, in Rochester, New York. "Clean shaven" means without moustache.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. L. Nelson Nichols in a personal interview with the writer on December 10, 1959, in New York City.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 69.

Port Newton

They are  
site in the  
of firmness  
rugged face  
covers the  
serenity.  
relative m

Arthur

Newton in rep

in appearance

and affection

penetrated.<sup>2</sup>

of being an

reality he was

that the Bro

particularly

in concluding

cold and un

life serious

five years.

1908  
Studies in  
1923), p. 7

<sup>2</sup>Art  
p. 72

<sup>3</sup>Wic  
book, More

<sup>4</sup>Cha  
writer in

<sup>5</sup>The  
Internaclo,  
1959.

6. B

Fort Newton concluded:

They err who think him stern, cold, or unbending; though as he sits in the pulpit, his appearance does give one an impression of firmness, if not austerity. But as he begins to speak, his rugged face is illumined by an inner brightness, and one discovers that it is the firmness of strength, of poise, of serenity, suffused by a great gentleness, and touched by that elusive magnetic quality so impossible to define.<sup>1</sup>

Arthur Porritt, an English journalist, seems to agree with Newton in reporting that Jefferson was "a shy, retiring man, austere in appearance, a New England Puritan in outlook; but a very charming and affectionate man when once his rather chilly reserve had been penetrated."<sup>2</sup> According to Porritt, Jefferson had the reputation of being an isolationist and not a "clubbable man,"<sup>3</sup> but that in reality he was very hospitable.<sup>4</sup> There is, therefore, some evidence that the Broadway Tabernacle minister had a gift for making friends, particularly with men older than himself.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Newton is right in concluding that persons erred who thought Jefferson stern and cold and unbending.<sup>6</sup> However, it does appear that Jefferson took life seriously. Roger Eddy Treat, his intimate associate for forty-five years, concluded that Jefferson never dealt superficially or

<sup>1</sup>Jospeh Fort Newton, Some Living Masters of the Pulpit: Studies in Religious Personality (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923), p. 72.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Porritt, op. cit., p. 197, quoted by Nichols, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, Ibid., p. 70. Nichols refers to Arthur Porritt's book, More and More Memories (London: George Allan and Unwin, 1947).

<sup>4</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959.

<sup>5</sup>The Rev. Dr. Roy L. Minich, visiting minister at the Broadway Tabernacle, in a personal interview with the writer on December 9, 1959.

<sup>6</sup>Newton, op. cit., p. 72.

carelessly with

over when  
gave than  
victorious  
withheld.  
habits ref  
needlessly  
feelings w

Similar

Barry Sloane Co

Dr. Jeff  
But if once  
affectionat  
He grappled

It is p

son's high con

prevented him

frictions. Ap

city a church

wanted to be l

Jefferson, th

In his lectur

was greater t

greater than

reported to l

1. Jones

2. Henry  
Jefferson, p  
1877, p. 49

3. Jones

carelessly with any person or event. He said of Jefferson:

Even when he played tennis, he put no more effort into the game than was nicely calculated to meet its requirements in victorious fashion. There was nothing wasted and nothing withheld. . . . All his thoughts, as well as all his personal habits reflected this disciplined control. I never saw him needlessly excited, although many times I have sensed that his feelings were intense.<sup>1</sup>

Similar sentiments are expressed in an observation by Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President of Union Theological Seminary:

Dr. Jefferson was a reserved, diffident, self-effacing man. But if once he gave his friendship, no one could be more affectionate, more sympathetic, more devoted, more loyal. He grappled you to his soul with hoops of steel.<sup>2</sup>

It is probably no exaggeration to conclude that it was Jefferson's high conceptions of God and man, duty and destiny which prevented him from engaging in frivolity and lighter social functions. Apparently his driving purpose was to build in New York City a church which would witness to Christ as man's Savior. He wanted to be known not as a preacher, but as a church builder. Jefferson, therefore, approached the preacher through the Church. In his lectures to the Yale divinity students he stated that the Church was greater than the best of preaching, greater than liturgy, and greater than anything we tend to associate with its life.<sup>3</sup> He is reported to have said that in order to build a witnessing church,

<sup>1</sup>Jones, Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Sloane Coffin, "Tributes to the Life and Work of Dr. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XL, No. 1 (November, 1937), p. 4963.

<sup>3</sup>Jones, Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 71.

he worked for  
apologized to  
However, Jeff  
more than a v  
[19] was a b  
Jesus Christ.  
I. Jefferson  
something fro  
in the world.

---

1 The  
writer, Dec  
questionna  
he consider  
remarkable.  
told the wr  
genius. Pe  
hard to liv  
his on some

2 Rob  
1860-1937.  
Theologica

3 Hi

he worked fourteen hours per day, seven days per week, and he often apologized that this busy life prevented him from making friends.<sup>1</sup>

However, Jefferson was remembered by one person, at least, as "far more than a voice crying out to whoever might be willing to listen.

[He] was a builder, a master builder, a builder of the Church of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the greatest compliment was given Charles E. Jefferson by Allan Knight Chalmers in the statement, "You caught something from his presence which made you remember that God was in the world."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Rev. Dr. Roy L. Minich in a personal interview with the writer, December 9, 1959. Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959, said that he considered his father's nervous energy and physical endurance remarkable. One person, who probably prefers to remain anonymous, told the writer: "There is such a thing as the idiosyncracies of genius. Perhaps this is true of Jefferson. I have been told he was hard to live with, by someone who was much with him and accompanied him on some of his journeys and travels to meet speaking engagements."

<sup>2</sup>Robert E. Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson, In Memoriam, 1860-1937," typed manuscript by Robert E. Hume presented to Union Theological Seminary by D. Rockwell, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 12.

13

It is

which Jefferson

his preaching

relationship

sons reveals

clearly disce

Jefferson's c

topics as: in

political ide

problems, so

verses, the

and denomina

that he was

theological

This

the major tr

during his

cannot be fr

blocks. How

to this page

follows:



## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORICAL CLIMATE IN WHICH JEFFERSON SPOKE

It is necessary to understand the historical climate in which Jefferson lived if we are to determine the significance of his preaching and adequately analyze his sermons. A study of the relationship between this historical climate and Jefferson's sermons reveals that these sermons grew out of, and were addressed to, clearly discernible historical trends and events. For example, Jefferson's oral discourses reflect and/or deal directly with such topics as: imperialism, reform, labor-management relations, political ideologies, pacifism, international relations, racial problems, self-indulgence, the Social Gospel, theological controversies, the new trends in church activities, architecture, worship, and denominationalism. Dr. Jefferson's sermons reveal, therefore, that he was cognizant of their social, political, economic, and theological bases and implications.

This chapter will consider Jefferson's relation to some of the major trends and events which occurred, particularly in America during his Tabernacle pastorate. Because history is a process, it cannot be fully studied in terms of clearly distinguishable time blocks. However, for purposes of simplicity, clarity, and relevance to this paper, the years from 1890 to 1930 will be discussed as follows:

The Years of Transition and Imperialism (1890-1900)

The Years of Reform (1900-1917)

The Years of World War I and its Aftermath (1917-1920)

The Years of "Normalcy" (1920-1930)

American Church History (1898-1930)

The Years of Transition and  
Imperialism (1890-1900)

Charles Edward Jefferson resigned from the pastorate of the Central Congregational Church, Chelsea, Massachusetts, and was installed as pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Henry Steele Commager terms this decade "the watershed of American history."<sup>1</sup>

He observes:

As with all watersheds the topography is blurred, but in the perspective of half a century the grand outlines emerge clearly. On the one side lies an America predominantly agricultural: concerned with domestic problems; conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic, and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—an America still in the making, physically and socially; an America on the whole self-confident, self-contained, self-reliant, and conscious of its unique character and of a unique destiny. On the other side lies the modern America, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in the world economy and politics; troubled with the problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social institutions, economy and technology; and trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry Steel Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

By ab

and was also

states with

rolled and e

population fr

on American

conditions in

there were ex

strike, the P

summarizes the

... 1

of the cro

trusts, but

the malitie

to adopt a

and a lais

In the

Anglo-Germ

active. Richa

1890's . . .

limited to cor

During

businessmen, a

that Rulyard K

were flattering

discovered the

1. 1890's

2. 1890's

States (New Yo

By about 1900 the old West had passed. Cheap western farm land was almost unavailable, railways linked the Atlantic Ocean states with those of the Pacific Ocean, trusts and monopolies controlled and exploited the farmers. There had been an influx of population from the rural areas and from overseas to the northwestern American cities. Cheap labor from overseas and poor working conditions in this country led to labor agitation and class struggles. These were expressed in the form of such incidents as the Homestead Strike, the Pullman Strike, and the Haymarket Riot. One historian summarizes the late 1800's in these words:

. . . in this period came at last a full-throated recognition of the crowding problems of agriculture, urban life, slums, trusts, business and political corruption, race prejudice, and the maldistribution of wealth, and with it, convulsive efforts to adopt a federal political system to a centralized economy, and a laissez-faire philosophy to a program of social democracy.<sup>1</sup>

In the late 1890's the American advocates of Manifest Destiny, Anglo-Saxon superiority, and Social Darwinism, became unusually active. Richard Heffner remarks: "To the expansionists of the 1890's . . . the vision of America's 'Manifest Destiny' was not limited to continental shores alone."<sup>2</sup>

During this period, military officers, politicians, pastors, businessmen, and Social Darwinists urged the nation to take up, what Rudyard Kipling later termed, "The White Man's Burden." "No more flattering euphemism for imperialism and colonialism had been discovered than /this/ apostrophe. . . . This sounded much better than

---

<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Richard D. Heffner, A Documentary History of the United States (New York: The New American Library, 1952), p. 202.

Survival of the

racial superiority

On every

recognize and

mission. This

of an advanced

colored literature

Effner

Such pla  
American pr  
nineteenth  
nation's d  
ing, human  
overseas p

One of

Alfred Mayer

War College.

begins in the

a strong, com

national and

ases. He al

laral, and na

In his "ge  
the Unite  
two-ocean  
Nathan arg  
one in wh  
enrich ba

1 Harvey  
York: Longman

2 Effner

3 Vlach

4 1916

'survival of the fittest' without giving up the happy thought of racial superiority."<sup>1</sup>

On every hand the American citizens were called upon to recognize and accept, in the name of God, America's destiny or mission. This destiny included carrying the benefits and blessings of an advanced and Christian civilization to their backward and colored "brothers" in the Caribbean area and the Far East.

Heffner writes:

Such plans for overseas expansion had been put before the American public before, but not until this last decade of the nineteenth century were most Americans convinced that their nation's destiny was inextricably bound up in securing, civilizing, humanizing, "sanitizing", Christianizing, and maintaining overseas possessions.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most aggressive exponents of imperialism was Alfred Thayer Mahan, president and naval lecturer at the Newport War College. "No one could excel [him] in shaping imperialistic dogmas in their most plausible 'realistic' form."<sup>3</sup> Mahan argued for a strong, constantly prepared navy, world-wide colonization, international and colonial trade, a merchant marine, and far-flung naval bases. He also argued for the annexation of Hawaii, an Isthmian Canal, and naval control of the Caribbean:

In his "geopolitical" concept--the term was not yet current--the United States was a vast continental island and needed a two-ocean navy and England's friendship for its security. Mahan argued that our naval policy should be an expansionist one in which the superior culture of the United States would enrich backward nations.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 389.

<sup>2</sup>Heffner, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 390.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 391-392.

Time, 18

realist. It

in reality, pr

in these stru

rejected the

eral princip

In confid

only if the

could perma

war-made la

an empire,

prevail. 2

questions

One of the

ultimate follo

actor, Petru

sympathy for the

East and P

tential explos

1. 1848.

2. William  
American War (

As a count  
of the sen  
press which  
independence  
equalled,  
matter whi  
which comp  
phases of  
readers in  
family and  
deepened w  
Sunday Sch  
of course,  
printed th  
if not who  
put of the

Thus, as an exponent of nachpolitik, Mahan was a determined realist. It was his belief that international relations were, in reality, power struggles, and that the most significant factor in these struggles was control of the sea. Furthermore, Mahan rejected the international arbitration of disputes involving moral principles. As Wish points out, Mahan believed that:

In conflicts between nations . . . one could arbitrate only if the dispute involved no moral principle. No nation could permit compromise upon a matter of conscience. If man-made law, such as international law or the judgment of an empire, conflicted with moral law then the latter must prevail. This effectively eliminated arbitration upon questions most likely to lead to war.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most blatant examples of America's refusal to arbitrate followed the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana harbor, February 15, 1898. American indignation, blind revenge, sympathy for the Cuban rebels, the sense of "Manifest Destiny," Hearst and Pulitzer "yellow journalism" combined to form a potential explosive.<sup>2</sup> The militant enthusiasm of such Mahan converts

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 392-393.

<sup>2</sup>William A. Karraker, The American Churches and the Spanish-American War (Chicago: No publisher, 1943), p. 282 says:

As a countervailing influence against the insidious effect of the sensational press, [the churches] possessed their own press which, for subscription coverage, quality of content, independence of thought, and high ethical outlook was unequalled, perhaps, by that of any other group. The subject matter which issued in a perennial stream from this press and which comprised, generally speaking, a description of all phases of the war was leisurely read and digested by individual readers in numberless homes. This formed the basis for many family and neighborhood discussions. Convictions were deepened when similar discussion ensued at the regular church, Sunday School, and midweek gatherings. The grand climax came, of course, with the preaching of the "war sermon" (seldom printed though very popular) which was frequently tinctured, if not shot through, with the spirit and content of the output of the church press.



as Assistant

Henry Cabot

of Indiana.

was declared

April 26, 1912

Frederick

and, following

cavalry. As

fore he got

Frederick

historian

with the

generally

life," and

him to a

Heffer adds:

Fantastic

described

Vitus and

role in s

But Roose

a folk-he

energies t

Three d

Senator Bever

adopted state

to commemorate

Vish observes

Heffer, op.

2nd ed., p. 205.

as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, probably only served to ignite the explosive, and war was declared by the United States of America against Spain on April 24, 1898.

Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt was one of the foremost jingoists and, following the declaration of war, he became a colonel in the cavalry. Apparently his only fear was that the war would end before he got the Rough Riders trained for battle. Heffner declares:

Theodore Roosevelt was an aristocrat and Harvard-bred young historian, reformer, and politician whose early association with the Dakota badlands had given him the frontiersman's generally belligerent outlook and a taste for the "strenuous life." These were characteristics that thoroughly endeared him to a public ripe for aggressive self-reliance.<sup>1</sup>

Heffner adds:

Fantastically energetic and ebullient--John Morley once described Roosevelt as "an interesting combination of St. Vitus and St. Paul"--Roosevelt played a particularly vital role in sparking and directing America's expansionist drive. But Roosevelt's greatest significance in this period was as a folk-hero, as a living, fighting symbol of the nervous energies that dominated America.<sup>2</sup>

Three days after the United States declared war on Spain, Senator Beveridge, known as "Beveridge the Brilliant" in his adopted state of Indiana, spoke to the Middlesex Club of Boston to commemorate the birthday of former President Ulysses S. Grant. Wish observes that this speech revealed much more of Beveridge's

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

ideas that

President W

He never  
must of  
new land  
held, as  
appears  
fore the  
types of  
dreaded  
and Eam  
imperial  
till all  
the flag

As one

combination

Beveridge's

return from

wrote to his

exactly your

lysis:

2200  
Speeches (K

SVia:

4 Act  
following to  
the English  
nothing but  
lol! He has  
system when  
to overwhelm  
made us ade  
savage and

SVia

ideas that it did of the former president.<sup>1</sup> With regard to President Grant, Beveridge stated:

He never forgot that we are a conquering race and that we must obey our blood and occupy new markets, and, if necessary, new lands. He had the prophet's seer-like sight which beheld, as a part of the Almighty's infinite plan, the disappearance of debased civilizations and decaying races before the higher civilization of the nobler and more verile types of man . . . He had the instinct of empire. He dreamed the same dreams that God put in the brains of Jefferson and Hamilton, of John Bright and of Emerson, and of all the imperial intellects of his race--the dream of American extension till all the seas shall bloom with that flower of liberty, the flag of the Great Republic.<sup>2</sup>

As one historian declares, Beveridge's speech was "a neat combination of altruism and self-interest."<sup>3</sup> One may easily infer Beveridge's personal message to Roosevelt in 1899 after the Senator's return from the Philippine Islands.<sup>4</sup> On that occasion Roosevelt wrote to his friend Lodge: "His views on public matters are almost exactly yours and mine."<sup>5</sup> In other words, Beveridge too was an

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 393.

<sup>2</sup>Houston Peterson, (ed.), A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1954), p. 651.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 394.

<sup>4</sup>After this trip to the Philippines Beveridge declaimed the following to a joyous Senate audience: "God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government to savage and senile peoples." Peterson, op. cit., p. 660.

<sup>5</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 394.

Imperialistic  
However, there  
who, decrying  
outspoken and  
the hero of the  
States of America  
President Roosevelt  
twentieth century  
that his nation

1As has  
was an outspoken  
tion from the  
of the Philippine  
his book: Doctrines  
Sermons (New York  
of this sermon  
p. 2. This  
persons who say

2On June  
occupied hill  
to this hill  
Henry P. Prime  
A Biography (New  
Whether . . .  
subject  
Roosevelt ref  
but in all his  
that the hill  
forts. It was  
because some  
entrenchments

3Heff  
The Sun, Novem  
"Big Stick."  
the reporter  
paper was put

imperialistic expansionist, who sought self-governing colonies. However, there were some Americans, such as Charles Edward Jefferson<sup>1</sup> who, decrying the Mahan-Roosevelt-Lodge-Beveridge positions, became outspoken anti-imperialists. In 1901 Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of Kettle Hill,<sup>2</sup> suddenly became president of the United States of America, upon the death of William McKinley. It was President Roosevelt whom the American people followed into the twentieth century. The capstone of Roosevelt's foreign policy was that his nation "speak softly and carry a big stick."<sup>3</sup> But, as

---

<sup>1</sup>As has been previously pointed out, in this paper, Jefferson was an outspoken advocate of world peace. In his sermon, "Temptation from the Mountain Top," he deplors the American annexation of the Philippines. A full copy of this sermon can be found in his book: Doctrine and Deed: Expounded and Illustrated in Seventeen Sermons (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1901). For extracts of this sermon see the book by Fulton and Trueblood, (Footnote 1, p. 2). This book also includes the public addresses of other persons who spoke out against this war.

<sup>2</sup>On July 1, 1898, Roosevelt and his men stormed a Spanish occupied hill near Santiago, Cuba. Roosevelt frequently referred to this hill as San Juan Hill, however, it probably was not. Henry F. Pringle, in his Pulitzer winning book, Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1931), p. 136, says: "Whether . . . Roosevelt and his men stormed San Juan Hill became /a/ subject of heated controversy, if a matter of small importance. Roosevelt referred loosely to the 'San Juan Charge' on many occasions, but in all his more formal accounts of the fight, he stated clearly that the hill he had stormed had been to the right of the San Juan forts. It was christened Kettle Hill immediately after the battle because some sugar kettles were found there. The Spaniards had entrenchments on Kettle Hill."

<sup>3</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 206. An excerpt from a newspaper The Sun, November 8, 1915, states: /C.E. Jefferson/ "opposes 'Big Stick.'" This excerpt is in the Tabernacle Library. Neither the reporter's name, nor the name of the city in which the newspaper was published, is given. The latter is probably New York.

to the closing  
the early 1900s  
they demanded a  
Roosevelt act  
Panama could  
And in 1904-  
warned our  
impotence  
exercise an

As the  
it seems that  
insurance, but  
birth to another  
there were far-  
depressions, m  
older agrarian  
trial urbanism  
concludes that  
channeled into  
product of rea  
expression of  
domager state

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the nation in the early 1900's seldom spoke softly. Secretary of State John Hay demanded an "Open Door" policy in China. In 1903 President Roosevelt actively supported a revolution in Colombia so that Panama could freely negotiate a canal route with the United States. "And in 1904-5 the 'Roosevelt Corollary' to the Monroe Doctrine warned our Latin neighbors that 'chronic wrong doing or . . . impotence . . . might force the United States . . . to exercise an international police force.'"<sup>1</sup>

As the American people anticipated the twentieth century, it seems that they did so, not with feelings of security and self-assurance, but with fear and uncertainty. As one century gave birth to another century, internal chaos characterized the nation. There were farm revolts, labor-management disputes, spectres of depressions, monopolizations, and "continuous [conflicts] between older agrarian values and the material symbols of a new industrial urbanism. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Heffner is right when he concludes that "the nervous energies that popular leaders channeled into a wild enthusiasm for expansion were less the product of real feeling for mastery and world domination than an expression of immaturity, insecurity, and fear."<sup>3</sup> Thus, as Commager states:

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



Even the  
era; it is  
Not only  
psycholog  
than the  
Americans  
problems

The re  
elimination in  
was perhaps not  
another time  
of the Era was  
at least in pa  
economic, and  
Progressive Y

... this  
and anxiety  
corporate  
had been c  
pansterism  
as well.

America  
accompanying  
sons. The per  
a social conec  
by the Rev. Wa

- 
1. Commag
  2. Heffne
  3. The So  
considered lat.

[Even though] the decade of the nineties marked the end of an era; it heralded even more unmistakably, the beginnings of one. Not only economically and politically, but intellectually and psychologically, it attached itself to the twentieth rather than the nineteenth century. It fixed the pattern to which Americans of the next two generations were to conform, set the problems which they were required to solve.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Years of Reform (1900-1917)

The reform movement, which began about 1880, reached its culmination in the period 1900-1917. The impulse for improvement was perhaps more widespread and dynamic during this period than at any other time in the nation's history, and perhaps the "voice" of the Era was that of the Progressives. They were responsible, at least in part, for the nation-wide agitation for extensive social, economic, and political reforms. With regard to what he terms this "Progressive Ferment" Heffner remarks:

. . . this was truly the Golden Age of Reform, when the fears and anxieties of middle-class Americans hard pressed between corporate power from above and the laboring masses from below had been channeled not only into an aggressive, boastful expansionism, but into a humanitarian, collectivist Progressivism as well. The task of the Progressives lay clear before them.<sup>2</sup>

American had experienced a rapid growth of industry, and accompanying it, the exploitation of natural resources and persons. The personal acquiring of wealth had taken the place of a social conscience; for example, the Social Gospel,<sup>3</sup> advocated by the Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, had been supplanted by the Gospel

---

<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup>The Social Gospel and Jefferson's relation to it will be considered later in this paper.

of wealth. The

human values

collective eco

social justice

The Pro

formation of

acted immedia

before them.

Oppman, Herbe

hauschenbusch.

Progressives a

Theodore Roose

immediate acti

out many small

threatened, an

rapidly expand

social problem

of such thousan

persons called

and economic l

And with

rents had

industries w

screwed t

labor prac

human reso

1. Effine

2. id.

of wealth. The task of the Progressives was to "recapture the rich human values of an earlier age, adapt them to the realities of collective economic power, and lead the nation in its quest for social justice."<sup>1</sup>

The Progressives did not concern themselves only with the formation of new ideologies and philosophies of life, but they acted immediately upon the social, economic, and political problems before them. While the seminal works of Thorstein Veblen, Walter Lippman, Herbert Croly, Charles A. Beard, John Dewey, Walter Rauschenbusch, Ida Tarbell, and Upton Sinclair gave direction, Progressives such as "Fighting Bob" La Follette, "Golden Rule" Jones, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson instituted the reforms. Immediate action was imperative, for huge monopolies had snuffed out many small, independent businessmen, free enterprise was threatened, and there was an unequal distribution of wealth. The rapidly expanding cities and increased immigration brought such social problems as slums, disease, crime, and vice to the attention of such thoughtful Americans as Charles Edward Jefferson. Some persons called for government interference in the nation's social and economic life:

And within a comparatively few years Federal and state governments had begun a widespread campaign to regulate those industries which vitally affected the public interest, to curb somewhat the extensive power of the trusts, to encourage fairer labor practices, and to help preserve and protect the nation's human resources through widely expanded social services.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

During

formed, the P

used to cons

ment Sherr

The Pr

the historian

With a vast  
imperative  
ular will  
efficiency  
ulated an  
promised t  
the proces

human gover

morality syst

city managers.

referendum, an

ary, which te

ical machines.

federal govern

sent to the Co

for the direct

"Princi

mentally to t

aggressive apor

1 Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Another  
during this year  
for national wa  
when in certain

<sup>3</sup> Heffner

During this period, the Department of Commerce and Labor was formed, the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, various laws were enacted to conserve the nation's natural resources, and the long dormant Sherman Anti-Trust Act was invoked.

The Progressives promoted certain political reforms, for as one historian observes:

With a vast increase in its powers and responsibilities, it was imperative that government be made more responsive to the popular will and that new standards of honesty and administrative efficiency be widely adopted. Progressivism therefore stimulated an intense public interest in reform measures that promised to insure the direct and competent administration of the process of democracy.<sup>1</sup>

In urban government the Progressives attempted to abolish corrupt mayorality systems by replacing mayors with city commissioners or city managers. On the state level of government the initiative, referendum, and recall were advocated, along with the direct primary, which tended to reduce the exploitive powers of corrupt political machines. The most important reform accomplished within the federal government, before World War I was the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution. This was ratified in 1913 and provided for the direct election of United States Senators.<sup>2</sup>

"Principle and plan, however, seldom contributed as importantly to the achievement of these liberal measures as did the aggressive apostles of reform who dominated the Progressive Era."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Another important Constitutional change was made in 1920. During this year the nineteenth amendment was ratified, providing for national women suffrage, a right which had been given to the women in certain western states years before.

<sup>3</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 216.

Size of the m

mentioned. C

. . . 627

liquor tr

and above

and school

The vicke

weighed u

preaching

conferenc

faced the

was in hi

With pain

with the

the strain

In 190

national ite

liquor traffic

[The Tate

all classe

make war

tions whic

In the

of Wisconsin.

Jones, the may

for the common

ement on the

<sup>1</sup>Henry

The Broadway

<sup>2</sup>Charles

Past and Future

Some of the most colorful of these "aggressive apostles" have been mentioned. On the non-political scene Charles Edward Jefferson

. . . gave battle to the great dragons. He took on the liquor traffic, political apathy with consequent government, and above all, militarism. . . . Men who met this retiring and scholarly man hardly realized the agony within his soul. The wickedness and wrongs and insanities and woes of mankind weighed upon him. His manner of dealing with them was through preaching. Agitation, political activity, scampering off to conferences, newspaper articles--these were not for him. He faced them [if possible] in his pulpit. The pain of mankind was in his thought. Their desperate need lay on him. . . . With painstaking forethought he laid out his preaching to deal with the doubts, the vexations, the pettinesses, the faults, the strains, the sorrows of individuals.<sup>1</sup>

In 1901 Jefferson told his congregation that the Tabernacle must hurl itself against "four dragons," political corruption, the liquor traffic, militarism, and industrial injustice. He added:

[The Tabernacle] must be a people's church. It must take in all classes of society. It must exist for humanity. It must make war on social caste, and on all distinctions and separations which embitter and disgrace.<sup>2</sup>

In the political arena "Fighting Bob" La Follette, Governor of Wisconsin, and later United States Senator, and "Golden Rule" Jones, the mayor of Toledo, Ohio, re-echoed Jefferson's concerns for the common man and the need for honest and intelligent government on the local, state, and national levels.

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry Sloane Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), p.10.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future (New York: No publisher, 1901), p. 37.



Personalities  
the income  
the high  
Both men  
enhanced  
broadly  
far-reaching  
tributed

There

and, particularly  
of trusts. E  
such as the U  
many smaller  
businessman.  
institutions  
regulated by  
nationalism, "  
Combination  
economic  
The effort  
failed.

Heffner

2Frederick  
Bartan Books,  
of the United  
the size and  
United States  
stocks and bonds  
stocks of Federal  
Steel and Wire  
ican Sheet Steel  
Superior Concrete  
This new concept  
trol roughly the  
country; and in  
the altogether  
\$1,402,846,817

[Perhaps] the most influential of the many stimulating personalities who lent color and character to Progressivism were the incomparably dynamic and dramatic Theodore Roosevelt and the highly intellectual, highly idealistic Woodrow Wilson. Both men were determined and inspiring leaders who considerably enhanced the power and prestige of the Presidency; both were broadly liberal in their political orientation; both advocated far-reaching changes in the national structure that later contributed importantly to the New Deal and the Fair Deal.<sup>1</sup>

There were, however, differences of opinion between the two men, particularly with regard to the federal government's regulations of trusts. Both men were aware that giant trusts and monopolies, such as the United States Steel Corporation,<sup>2</sup> had "swallowed up" many smaller enterprises and threatened the existence of the small businessman. Theodore Roosevelt was impressed by these powerful institutions and believed that they must behave themselves or be regulated by the national government. In his speech on "The New Nationalism," Roosevelt said:

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>2</sup>Frederick Lewis Allen, The Great Pierpont Morgan (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1949), p. 140. This account of the formation of the United States Steel Corporation gives a good indication of the size and power of this combine. Allen writes: ". . . the United States Steel Corporation [acquired] not only the outstanding stocks and bonds of the Carnegie Company, but also the preferred stocks of Federal Steel, National Steel, National Tube, American Steel and Wire, American Tin Plate, American Steel Hoop, and American Sheet Steel. To these, a little later, were added the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mills and the American Bridge Company. This new concern would embrace under a single management and control roughly three-fifths of the steel business of the entire country; and its total capitalization would reach--at par value--the altogether astonishing, altogether unprecedented figure of \$1,402,846,817--nearly a billion and a half dollars."

when our  
interest

In the

regards the

from, "big a

ex-president

examination of

feared, however

New Jersey.

Woodrow

unpolished re

if permitted

Roosevelt, he

self to the r

any." In a

Wilson said:

I take the

and economic

the center

Wilson concluded

We are wi

of sober

the begin

our thought

set up in

<sup>1</sup>Effner

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Author

is interesting

prosecuted twi

(1909-1913) th

1909).

<sup>4</sup>Effner

<sup>5</sup>Peters

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In this speech Roosevelt stated that "this New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare."<sup>2</sup> Thus, "big government" would match "big business." With this program, ex-president Roosevelt, the "Trust Buster,"<sup>3</sup> received the presidential nomination of the Independent Progressive Party in 1912. He was defeated, however, by the Democrat nominee, Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey.

Woodrow Wilson vehemently attacked Roosevelt's proposal that monopolies need only be regulated. Wilson feared that big business, if permitted growth, would eventually control the government. Unlike Roosevelt, he rejected existing economic conditions and dedicated himself to the restoration of the "economic realities of an earlier century."<sup>4</sup> In accepting the presidential nomination, September 15, 1910, Wilson said:

I take the three greatest questions before me to be reorganization and economy in administration, the equalization of taxation, and the control of corporations.<sup>5</sup>

Wilson concluded:

We are witnessing a renaissance of public spirit, a reawakening of sober public opinion, a revival of the power of the people, the beginning of an age of thoughtful reconstruction that makes our thought hark back to the great age in which Democracy was set up in America.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>3</sup>Although Roosevelt is sometimes termed the "trust buster," it is interesting to note that President Taft, an avowed conservative, prosecuted twice as many trusts during his four years as president (1909-1913) than did Roosevelt during his eight years as president (1901-1909).

<sup>4</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>5</sup>Peterson, op. cit., p. 687.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 689.

Perhaps these

alternately and

The so-

have made

life ago

giving a

work of

"In the

trust policies

Wilson found.

and business

Tariff Act (1

Act (1914), 5

national govern

Justice and

American people

Roosevelt had

greater product

Apparently W.

that by the t

of his basic

in central

freedom.<sup>3</sup>

One as

pacifism. S.

pacifist act

1. A. C.

New York: Mc

2. Hoff

3. Ibid.

4. W. H.

Perhaps these words from Wilson's "First Inaugural Address" more adequately summarize what he termed his "New Freedom."

The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.<sup>1</sup>

"In theory the 'New Freedom' [stood] for the simple anti-trust policies of discontented nineteenth century agrarians."<sup>2</sup> Wilson found, however, that during his presidency both government and business grew rapidly in size and power. The Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act (1913), the Federal Reserve Act (1913), and the Clayton Act (1914), gave strength to the anti-trust activities of the national government, but these and other efforts toward social justice and legislation meant greater government authority over the American people and the creation of the "big government" which Roosevelt had urged. During the First World War the demands for greater production again led to the growth of "big business." Apparently Wilson met the challenge of Progressivism, but it appears that by the time America entered World War I, he had sacrificed much of his basic antipathy to the powerful business combines and a powerful central government. These grew at the expense of individual freedom.<sup>3</sup>

One ambitious movement during this Reform Era was that of Pacifism. Some writers, such as Wish, believe that "the peak of Pacifist activity came during the decade before World War I."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A. Craig Baird, (ed.), American Public Addresses, 1740-1952 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956), pp. 222-223.

<sup>2</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 399.

in 1910, for  
the World Pe  
national aff  
organization  
League Peace  
known as the  
agency was b  
University.  
organized th  
February 23,

At th  
his mind  
1907. W  
overflow  
T. Stead  
addresses  
Billis o  
others.  
has ever  
men would  
of peace  
world. \*

Andrew Carneg  
collective ac  
disputes be s  
societies of  
peoples. Suc  
national peace

1810  
2nd  
Jefferson and  
these are in  
for the name  
given. The c  
Monday, Novem

In 1910, for example, Edwin Ginn, a text-book publisher, established the World Peace Foundation to disseminate information on international affairs and to provide lecturers for women's clubs and labor organizations. Andrew Carnegie, the steel magnate, built the Hague Peace Palace, and, in 1910, provided a ten million dollar fund known as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This agency was headed by Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University. Charles E. Jefferson, the subject of this dissertation, organized the New York Peace Society in the Broadway Tabernacle, February 23, 1906.

At this meeting Dr. Jefferson outlined the plans that were in his mind and arranged for the next meeting in the Tabernacle in 1907. This was held April 14, 1907, and was so large as to have overflow addresses delivered in other auditoriums. William T. Stead, editor of the Review of Reviews of London, made addresses, as did Bishop Potter of New York, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Rabbi Silverman and many others. It was the greatest event in Peace history that the world has ever seen. From this seed sown it was expected that statesmen would arise wise enough in this generation so that an era of peace and its resulting happiness would continue in the world.

Andrew Carnegie, president of the New York Peace Society, urged that collective action be taken against war-mongering nations and that disputes be settled by arbitration. He was also active in the peace societies of Great Britain and promoted a union of English-speaking peoples. Such a union, he said, would be a strong force for international peace.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>2</sup>Typical of the newspaper comments about the activities of Jefferson and Carnegie are the following excerpts from The Sun. These are in the Tabernacle Library. Neither the reporter's name, nor the name of the city in which the newspaper was published, is given. The city is probably New York.

Monday, November 22, 1915. "'The Perils of Preparedness' was the



Not  
as the Quakers  
Federal Court  
Protestants  
As for  
oration of  
1850's. The  
laws, lower  
icipal govern  
legislation,  
endum and re  
which Jeffer  
America's en  
ignored, and

It was  
I at the be  
American Pea

title of an  
Charles E. J  
Waterman, a  
Union, found  
Dr. Jefferson  
newspapers in

November 8,  
advisers of  
Wish

Not to be forgotten were the efforts of such "Peace Churches" as the Quakers and Anabaptists, and the peace committee of the Federal Council of Churches which represented nearly twenty million Protestants.

As formerly suggested, the period, 1900-1917, marked the culmination of social, economic, and political reforms began in the 1880's. This period was marked by an agitation for pure food and drug laws, lower tariffs, government control of corporations, honest municipal government, conservation of natural resources, public-utility legislation, the income tax, direct primaries, the initiative, referendum and recall, and world peace. In 1914, the great catastrophe which Jefferson had foreseen broke upon the world. Consequently, with America's entrance into this First World War, the reform program was ignored, and emphasis was directed to the war effort.

#### The Years of World War I and its Aftermath (1917-1920)

It was ironic that the United States should enter World War I "at the height of the peace movement and with a member of the American Peace Society in the White House."<sup>1</sup> Realizing that "it is

---

title of an "anti-militarism" lecture delivered by the Rev. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson last night to his congregation in the Broadway Tabernacle, at Broadway and Fifty-sixth Street. The Church Peace Union, founded by Andrew Carnegie, had become interested enough in Dr. Jefferson's arraignment of preparedness in America to supply newspapers in advance with lengthy extracts from the lecture."

November 8, 1915. "Dr. Jefferson thinks military men are poor advisers of the nation.

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 401.

a fearful

President W

clare war

democracy.

Verilrand,

Wilson had

When war was

style and

either side.

Wilson

State Br

ground fo

the will

markind.

like men

one must

This belief

against Germa

We are

sisted to

for wrong

that are

states. 4

In sp

contained

<sup>1</sup>Peter

<sup>2</sup>read

<sup>3</sup>Wish.

<sup>4</sup>Baird

a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war,<sup>1</sup>  
 President Wilson nevertheless asked Congress on April 2, 1917, to declare war on Germany, so that the world could be "made safe for democracy."<sup>2</sup> From the day of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne in June, 1914, Wilson had urged complete neutrality on the part of the United States. When war was officially declared between Britain and Germany, he asked movie audiences not to cheer for, nor make derogatory remarks about, either side.

Wilson was not as unyielding a pacifist as his Secretary of State Bryan, but like him drew upon a strong religious background for his ideas regarding peace. Both men believed in the millennial advent of peace through the moral progress of mankind. Wilson, a fervent moralist, always held that nations, like men, were moral persons, and for such responsible beings one must consider wrong doing and guilt to be personal things.<sup>3</sup>

This belief was expressed by Wilson in his declaration of war against Germany:

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the fact that Wilson's inaugural address of 1912 contained no hint of American international responsibility, the

<sup>1</sup>Peterson, op. cit., p. 713.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 402.

<sup>4</sup>Baird, op. cit., p. 228.

nation was n

conflict of

So an  
British  
unrestr  
in lead

William H. H.

Apart fr  
even at  
wise dec  
have bee  
balanced  
Great Bri  
armament  
pacetime  
A German  
was a dis  
no means  
and the A  
and conti  
won, Amer  
certain.

This s

of self-pres

ty of the Am

Empire. Le

American  
American  
American  
ican Chr  
sally app  
new conse  
aggressive  
America  
out the  
unique A  
it the d

1 Heff

2 Will  
Chicago: The

nation was now formally engaged in the greatest international conflict of the world's history.

No single factor of itself 'caused' America to fight, though British propaganda, American economic ties to the allies, and unrestricted German submarine warfare all played significant roles in leading the nation on the road to war.<sup>1</sup>

William E. Leuchtenberg wrote in 1958:

Apart from the issue of neutral rights, it is impossible, even at this distance, to know whether American entry was a wise decision, for we do not know what the consequences would have been if the United States had not entered. With power balanced on the Continent and the Atlantic controlled by Great Britain, the United States had been able to avoid huge armament expenditures, heavy taxation, a large standing army, peacetime conscription, and expeditions to fight localized wars. A German victory--and without American entrance a German victory was a distinct possibility--presented certain threats. It is by no means clear that a Germany which dominated both the continent and the Atlantic would have been as benign as Britain had been and continued to be. . . . One thing was certain: If the Allies won, American interests would be safe. No one could say for certain. . . what would happen if Germany won the war.<sup>2</sup>

This suggests that America did not enter the war for reasons of self-preservation. Wilson apparently did not feel that the security of the American people was threatened by the Hohenzollern Empire. Leuchtenberg is probably correct when he concludes:

American entrance into the war cannot be seen apart from the American sense of mission. The United States believed that American moral idealism could be extended outward, that American Christian democratic ideals could and should be universally applied. This sense of mission was combined with a new consciousness of national power. The United States was aggressively peaceful. Admiral Mahan had compared the duty of America to repress evil abroad with that of the rich to wipe out the slums; this view carried with it the assumption of unique American virtue, which had the ironic effect of making it the duty of "peace-loving" Americans to resort to killing

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup>William E. Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 33-34.

to improve  
tradition  
the war  
would do

Appar

the war relat

such as Treas

were few orga

Irish-American

pacifist orga

consequently

city under th

period of con

pendents, tra

ists. (Inc

military serv

treated immen

in a marriage

to such techn

In ord

established t

former editor

his campaign

his slogan, "I

whip up suppor

Ibid.

2Wish.

to impose virtue abroad. The culmination of a long political tradition of emphasis on sacrifice and decisive moral combat, the war was embraced as that final struggle where the righteous would do battle for the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, the majority of Americans, like Wilson, entered the war reluctantly. There were, of course, bellicose war-mongers such as Theodore Roosevelt, but pro-war statements by such as he were few compared with the anti-war statements of the German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Scandinavians, the Socialist Party, and various pacifist organizations. These protests, however, were ineffectual. Consequently over two and one half million men were chosen for army duty under the Selective Service Act, although during the early period of conscription, many exemptions were allowed for men with dependents, tradesmen, postal employees, ministers, and religious pacifists. (Incidentally, many of the latter who refused substitute military service were branded as cowards or traitors and were often treated inhumanely). The exemption granted to married men resulted in a marriage boom. In addition 300,000 "slackers" evaded the draft by such techniques as escaping to Mexico.<sup>2</sup>

In order to gain support for the war, President Wilson established the Committee on Public Information under George Creel, former editor of the Rocky Mountain News. During the 1916 presidential campaign, Creel had carried on propaganda activities for Wilson; his slogan, "Expression, not repression," made him a likely person to whip up support for the American war effort. Creel not only whipped

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 405.



up support

up hatred

vigilante

Mary German

force them

splashed to

in the Germ

and German

in American

violinist.

ancestry.

As t

Anglo-Saxon

At first

crusade

war from

to stand

princip

Theodore Ro

He who

kind, i

enemy.

The

vived the p

of civil 11

thousand pe

1. The

2. The

3. The

4. Deba  
at his citi

up support for the voluntary censorship of newspapers, but whipped up hatred of all things German; in many communities the response of vigilante leaders went far beyond what Creel or Wilson intended.<sup>1</sup> Many German-Americans were visited by "patriots" who attempted to force them to buy war bonds. Mobs of German-hating Americans splashed the homes of German-Americans with yellow paint, instruction in the German language was all but eliminated from school curricula, and German-Americans were unjustly accused of putting ground glass in American Red-Cross medical supplies. Fritz Kreisler, a renowned violinist, was driven from the concert stage because of his German ancestry, and the lowly sauerkraut was christened "liberty cabbage."

As the war hysteria mounted, even American citizens with Anglo-Saxon heritage were apt to be suspect. Luechtenberg remarks:

At first directed at German-Americans and alleged spies, the crusade for conformity quickly focused on any criticism of the war from any source. "Woe to the man," warned Wilson, "that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure."<sup>2</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt echoed Wilson's sentiments when he said:

He who is not with us, absolutely and without reserve of any kind, is against us, and should be treated as an alien enemy.<sup>3</sup>

The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 revived the precedents established during the Civil War for the violation of civil liberties. This resulted in the arrest of nearly two thousand persons, including the Socialist leader, Eugene Debs.<sup>4</sup> Post-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 410-411.

<sup>2</sup> Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Debs was released from jail by President Harding in 1921, but his citizenship was never returned.

Master Gen

mailing any

English, c

judge in T

other Sena

and shot b

Butler, pr

Endowment

Associatio

American b

La Follet

World were

this labor

Butte, Mont

America, Ha

The sta

Minrest

for the

could t

teachin

precede

Rose Pa

in a fe

governm

later r

case, 2

that a

in a his

Act. 2

Lenc

2Wish

Master General Albert Burleson was permitted to exclude from the mails anything which he thought was pro-German, anti-American, anti-English, or in sympathy with the Russian revolutionists. A Federal judge in Texas declared that "Fighting Bob" La Follette and five other Senators should be lined up against the wall of an adobe hut and shot because of their anti-war sympathies. Even Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University and head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, told the American Bankers' Association: "You might just as well put poison in the food of every American boy that goes to his transport as to permit that man [La Follette] to talk as he does."<sup>1</sup> The Industrial Workers of the World were also persecuted. Frank Little, the crippled leader of this labor organization, was hanged from a railroad bridge one night in Butte, Montana, by a masked mob. In Society and Thought in Modern America, Harvey Wish recalls:

The states had their own sweeping espionage acts. Under Minnesota's law a man went to jail for telling women knitting for the servicemen, "No soldier ever sees these socks." One could be imprisoned for declaring that war was contrary to the teachings of Christ or saying that a referendum should have preceded our declaration of war. In a federal district court Rose Pastor Stokes, a socialist, was sentenced to ten years in a federal prison for saying, "I am for the people, and the government is for the profiteers." This court judgment was later reversed. In an unfortunate symbolic title for a federal case, The United States v. "The Spirit of '76," it was held that a motion picture which depicted the British unfavorably in a historical film of colonial days violated the Espionage Act.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 411.

In light of the fact

Charles E. Jeffers

The exigency

upon a man's freedom

regiment American

Bernard Baruch.

the production of

brought railroads

control of the na

"weatherless days,"

nights," and "day

agencies might pr

Congress. P  
program to fo  
liquors. Thu  
It also seizes  
this way.<sup>1</sup>

The war wa

come taxes, as we

war was largely f

Liberty and Victo

enacted by the Co

action picture st

cities and small

sales can be appr

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.

In light of the foregoing one can see how dangerous it was for Charles E. Jefferson to speak out as a pacifist.

The exigencies of wartime not only permitted infringements upon a man's freedom, but also permitted President Wilson to regiment American industry under the War Industries Board of Bernard Baruch. This Board was successful in lessening waste in the production of military and civilian materiel. Wilson also brought railroads, telephone, and telegraph systems under the control of the national government. Americans also experienced "wheatless days," "meatless days," "heatless Mondays," "lightless nights," and "daylight saving time," in order that various government agencies might prosecute the war more efficiently.

Congress, pressed by anti-saloon lobbies, used the food control program to forbid the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Thus prohibition crept in as a conservative measure. It also seemed patriotic to strike at the German brewers in this way.<sup>1</sup>

The war was financed through individual and corporation income taxes, as well as through excess profit taxes. However, the war was largely financed by the federal government's sale of Liberty and Victory bonds. This scheme for public borrowing was enacted by the Committee on Public Information. It "employed motion picture stars and 'four-minute men' as salesmen in various cities and small communities."<sup>2</sup> The extensive nature of war-bond sales can be appreciated when one reads, for example, that the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 407.

Committee on Public

who delivered more

The war pro

for as a result of

Either than risk s

ployers permitted

thus grow in size.

added two million

The cities

production with le

employment in town

trained persons fr

negroes migrated t

into the segregate

Detroit, Chicago,

gregation that "du

become constantly

<sup>1</sup>William Ho  
American Public Ad  
Vol. 1, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>In reply t  
reports that his f  
labor unions but d  
some clergymen hav  
in labor-management  
International Unif  
Pilgrim Press, 192  
About Work," and "2

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. c

<sup>4</sup>Charles Edw  
(New York: No publi

Committee on Public Information alone directed 75,000 speakers, who delivered more than 750,000 speeches.<sup>1</sup>

The war provided a favorable growth period for labor unions,<sup>2</sup> for as a result of war necessities, the unions grew in status. Rather than risk strikes, which would hinder production, many employers permitted the labor unions to openly solicit members, and thus grow in size. The American Federation of Labor, for example, added two million more to its membership during 1917 and 1920.<sup>3</sup>

The cities were also affected by the war. Increased farm production with less labor permitted many rural persons to seek employment in towns and cities. The needs of wartime industries drained persons from such occupations as teaching. Thousands of negroes migrated to northern urban areas. Many of them were crowded into the segregated, cheap housing areas in cities like New York, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. Jefferson mentioned to his congregation that "during the last twenty-five years, New York has become constantly more crowded and more uncomfortable to live in."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>William Norwood Brigance, (ed.), A History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1943), Vol. 1, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>In reply to a questionnaire, Charles Frederic Jefferson reports that his father, Charles Edward Jefferson, "thought well of labor unions but did not believe them incapable of doing wrong as some clergymen have." Two sermons which reveal Jefferson's interest in labor-management struggles were published in Sermons on the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for 1921 (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1920). The sermons were entitled: "Bible Teachings About Work," and "Poverty and Wealth."

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 407

<sup>4</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon (New York: No publisher, 1923), p. 10.



As compe  
estate and jobs  
urged church me  
and racial line  
race riot in La  
hostilities whi  
1927 battle also  
and scores more  
color barrier i  
ability and pat  
and after the wa

If the S  
nation in its ex  
Destiny," then,

World War I  
Progressive  
society. It  
imposed, to  
party and ra  
this sense o  
that L. P. J  
of being at  
observed Han  
dled by the  
extended alm  
were only to  
ideal, to fe  
return to th  
State, its m  
old doubts a

<sup>1</sup>Charles  
York: The Macmillan

<sup>2</sup>Wish, on

<sup>3</sup>Leuchten

As competition between colored and non-colored for real estate and jobs rubbed raw the sore of racial animosity, Jefferson urged church members to "love one another across . . . cultural . . . and racial lines."<sup>1</sup> Many violent racial clashes occurred. A race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois, was typical of the open hostilities which broke out like a rash across the land. In that 1917 battle alone, thirty-eight Negroes and eight whites were killed, and scores more were injured.<sup>2</sup> The Negro, however, did break the color barrier in some branches of the armed forces, and the fighting ability and patriotism of Negro troops were often applauded during and after the war.

If the Spanish-American War offered an outlet for a young nation in its muscle-flexing stage to verify the theory of "Manifest Destiny," then, as Leuchtenberg concludes:

[World War I] offered an outlet for the messianic zeal of the Progressive era without jeopardizing the structure of American society. It gave a sense of national unity, partly real, partly imposed, to quiet the concerns about the rifts of class and party and race that haunted the last years of the era. It was this sense of psychic release from baffling internal problems that L. P. Jacks had in mind when he wrote of "the peacefulness of being at war." "The mass of the worried middle classes," observed Randolph Bourne, the keenest critic of the war, "riddled by the campaign against American failings, which at times extended almost to a skepticism of the American State itself, were only too glad to sink back to a glorification of the State ideal, to feel about them in war the old protecting arms, to return to the old primitive sense of the omnipotence of the State, its matchless virtue, honor, and beauty, driving away old doubts and dismays."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Clayton Morrison, (ed.), The American Pulpit (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 407.

<sup>3</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

Following

1918, representa

and other nation

During the creat

Wilson made sev

order to assure

His famous Four

nations . . . f

political indep

states alike .

League was Char

However, as Ric

Wilson  
of England  
was the Re  
nationalis  
against Wi  
defeat by

Wilson'

Cabot Lodge, c

committee, and

isolationists

usual to rati

cerning the c

1Heffner

2Ibid.

3Ibid.

4Ibid.,

Following the cessation of hostilities among nations in 1918, representatives of France, England, Italy, the United States, and other nations, met in Paris to draw up the Treaty of Versailles. During the creation of this Treaty to conclude the war officially, "Wilson made several concessions in his . . . idealistic demands in order to assure the creation of a meaningful League of Nations."<sup>1</sup> His famous Fourteenth Point provided for a "general association of nations . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike . . ."<sup>2</sup> One of Wilson's ardent supporters for the League was Charles E. Jefferson of the Tabernacle on Broadway. However, as Richard D. Heffner points out:

[Wilson's] concessions to Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of England and Orlando of Italy were to no avail, . . . for it was the Republican leaders of the United States, not the nationalist statesmen of Europe, who fought most bitterly against Wilson's League and who contributed to its ultimate defeat by refusing American participation.<sup>3</sup>

Wilson's leading opponents to the League were Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations committee, and Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. While these isolationists are often the only persons blamed for America's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Versailles with its Article Ten concerning the covenant of the League of Nations,<sup>4</sup> perhaps some blame

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

should be placed  
at the polls in  
more than one  
Conference.

When it  
of the League  
changes too dr  
people in the  
age of sixty-  
in history--t  
Effner is of  
address at Pu  
physically.

But the  
compromis  
in vain.  
nestic r  
entrollm  
own sing  
of inter  
without  
the last  
which he  
ative.3

For  
a cripple  
to direct h

1Pet

2He

3Is

should be placed on Wilson for his plea for a Democratic victory at the polls in 1918 to vindicate himself, and his refusal to take more than one Republican, and not one Senator, to the Paris Peace Conference.

When it was obvious that the Senate would pass the covenant of the League of Nations only if it included certain changes--changes too drastic for Wilson--Wilson took his case to the American people in the summer of 1919. Houston Peterson declares that "at the age of sixty-three, [he] set out on the most heroic speaking tour in history--thirty full-length speeches in twenty days."<sup>1</sup> Richard Heffner is of the opinion that Wilson's most moving speech was his address at Pueblo, Colorado.<sup>2</sup> It was here that Wilson collapsed, physically. Heffner adds:

But the President had unfortunately forgotten the role of compromise in the democratic process, and his efforts were in vain. The irony of Wilson's Presidency was that the domestic reformer should have been so completely caught up in the embroilments of world affairs. Its supreme tragedy was that his own single-minded devotion to the establishment of the machinery of international cooperation--exactly as he conceived it, without reservation or amendment--should have helped destroy the lasting peace for which he had fought so valiantly and which he considered a personal as much as a national imperative.<sup>3</sup>

For fifteen months, until the end of his term, Wilson lay a cripple in the White House. His singleness of purpose caused him to direct his supporters to vote against a modified covenant of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Peterson, op. cit., p. 725.

<sup>2</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 238.

League of Na

Disil

of the comp

United State

disillusion

of Communis

States exper

when the Con

1919. This

Hungary and

planned a r

for its lack

Attorney-Gen

November, 1

Palmer atte

1 Jef

"I beli

duties

believe

the wor

There n

There i

that we

greater

common

America

the pas

functio

world r

and thu

which v

League of Nations, even when it meant voting with his enemies.

Disillusionment reigned over the Western World as a result of the compromises in the Versailles Treaty, and the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations.<sup>1</sup> Coupled with this disillusionment was fear--a fear of Communism and Fascism. The fear of Communism alone was so widespread and irrational that the United States experienced a "Red Scare." The "Red Scare" gained momentum when the Communists' Third International was organized in March, 1919. This organization, coupled with Communist uprisings in Hungary and Bavaria, whipped up the sentiment that the Communists planned a revolution in the United States. In a campaign, noted for its lack of purpose, direction, and democratic procedures, Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, began his infamous raids in November, 1919. In an effort to reduce strikes and bombings, Palmer attempted to round-up anarchists and communists. Many of

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 22-23 states:

"I believe that the nations belong together and that they owe duties to one another. Because I am an internationalist, I believe in the League of Nations. The international life of the world must be organized. There must be a supreme court. There must be a parliament of man, a federation of the world. There is at present a league of 52 nations, and it is our shame that we are not a member of it. It is intolerable that the greatest of the world's republics should have no chair at the common council table of mankind. . . . I do not claim that the American government is under bonds to accept every feature of the particular constitution under which the present league is functioning. All I say is that the international life of the world must be organized; that there must be a League of Nations and that America must be in it. This is the part of my sermon which will be read the best fifty years from now.



these suspect

trial, and

Palm  
meeting  
and sub  
handcuff  
New Eng  
connect  
least b  
there b  
The radi  
sults in  
few ind  
protest  
a nation

Beac

of Communis

of Labor Wi

bomb scare

There was,

cerous sore

Italian alie

guard in S

were senten

chair, arpa

It wa

American his

1Wist  
evangelist a  
eyed Social  
squad and se

2Leuc

3Wish

these suspects were dragged from their homes, imprisoned without trial, and even deported.<sup>1</sup>

Palmer invaded private homes, union headquarters, and meeting halls. People were held incommunicado, denied counsel, and subjected to kangaroo trials. In one city, prisoners were handcuffed together and marched through the streets. In New England, hundreds of people were arrested who had no connection with radicalism of any kind. . . . Not for at least half a century, perhaps at no time in our history, had there been such a wholesale violation of civil liberties. The raids yielded nothing in the way of arms and small results in the way of dangerous revolutionaries. Although a few individuals (the steel baron Charles M. Schwab was one) protested against the raids, Palmer emerged from the episode a national hero.<sup>2</sup>

Because of a combination of factors, such as the demise of Communist power in Europe, the opposition to Palmer by Secretary of Labor Wilson and Assistant Secretary Louis Post, and a Palmer bomb scare which never materialized, the "Red Scare" ended abruptly. There was, however, one product of this scare which left a cancerous sore. In 1920, Nichola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian aliens, were arrested for the murder of a paymaster and his guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts. These admitted anarchists were sentenced to death, and in 1927 they died in the electric chair, apparently innocent of the murders.<sup>3</sup>

It was suggested previously that the years 1917-1920, in American history, are:

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 420, reports that Billy Sunday, prominent evangelist announced: "If I had my way with these ornery, wild eyed Socialists and I.W.W.'s, I would stand them up before a firing squad and save space in our ships."

<sup>2</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., pp. 418-420.

Marked by  
administrative  
pressures  
dictated, at  
States had  
war entered

This period is  
of Nations, h  
unsolved probl  
Scare." With  
"no entangling  
the American  
"normalcy."

By 192  
Wilsonian ide  
industrial and  
inated as the  
Governor James  
American peop  
the White Hou  
was that he l

Harding c  
years bef  
a speech  
the court  
not nostr  
fining a

1Briga

2Leuch

Marked by the curtailment of the reform program of the Wilson administration, as well as by the war itself. In it were pressures for and against American participation in the conflict, attempts to create national unity once the United States had entered the war, and appeals for the support of war enterprises.

This period is also noted for America's refusal to join the League of Nations, high industrial productivity, a rash of major strikes, unsolved bombings, supposed enemies of the State, and the "Red Scare." With the cessation of hostilities, a program calling for "no entangling alliances," and the seeming impotence of Communism, the American people, in 1920, looked forward to a period of "normalcy."

#### The Years of "Normalcy" (1920-1930)

By 1920 the United States had apparently had enough of Wilsonian idealism. In a political convention, dominated by industrial and financial lobbyists, Warren Gamaliel Harding was nominated as the Republican candidate for President. His opponent was Governor James Cox of Ohio. In the voting which followed, the American people, perhaps tired of crusades and crusaders, sent to the White House a man whose only qualification for being President was that he looked like one.

Harding capitalized on an immense feeling of nostalgia for the years before the war, for the days when life was simpler. In a speech in May, 1920, in Boston, Harding caught the spirit of the country in urging a return to "not heroism, but healing, not nostrums, but normalcy," thereby coining a word and defining a mood.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Brigance, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 89.

In the wo

A  
enlig  
the c

William E

The 1  
which  
Hardi  
thoug  
had b  
thoug  
him r  
who d  
gover  
regin  
price  
when  
store

Th

Age." the

the "Fabu

It was a

code of t

sequently

era of th

of clare

the auton

to the Co

612, the

The scand

elect the

1  
Ee

2-  
L

In the words of Richard Heffner:

A war weary and disillusioned America formally abandoned the enlightened Progressivism it had embraced in the early years of the century and embarked upon a decade-long quest for "normalcy."<sup>1</sup>

William E. Leuchtenberg adds, in The Perils of Prosperity:

The 1920 election was a national disavowal of the ideas for which Wilson had stood, and Cox was lost in the process. Harding won through a combination of opposites, people who thought the peace too harsh and people who thought Wilson had betrayed internationalism at Versailles and people who thought he had forfeited national integrity, workers who held him responsible for the high cost of living and businessmen who damned him for coddling workers. Most Americans resented government intervention in the economy, especially wartime regimentation, but farmers were angry because Wilson withdrew price supports from wheat in the spring of 1920 and because, when a farm depression struck that summer, he did not restore them.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, America entered a decade known variously as the "Jazz Age," the "Roaring Twenties," the "Decade of Bad Manners," and the "Fabulous Twenties." The decade itself was contradictory, for it was a period of freedom and conservatism. The Victorian moral code of the American people had been shattered by the war; consequently, America entered a period of moral laxity. It was an era of the "flapper," of bobbed hair, make-up and short skirts, of cigarette smoking women, of movies and the Charleston dance, of the automobile and sexual license. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution led to the speakeasy, the hip-flask, bath-tub gin, the rum-runner and such underworld figures as Al Capone. The scandals of President Harding's administration served to reflect the decay of American morals. The moral laxity of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 88.

nation

book wh

during

The

Clas

Soc

off

far

not

deb

the

cal

tor

Unit

"The

of

one

and

Mon

Pro

dis

In

des

wit

not

In 1923

Bro

sti

it.

spa

les

lec

end

and

soo

hea

What Je

been sa

land.

Books,

nation did not, of course, go unnoticed. In Only Yesterday, a book which superbly describes the actions and thoughts of America during the 1920's, Frederick Lewis Allen says:

The forces of morality rallied to the attack. Dr. Francis E. Clark, the founder and president of the Christian Endeavor Society, declared that the modern "indecent dance" was "an offense against womanly virtue, the very fountainhead of our family and civil life." The new style of dancing was denounced in religious journals as "impure, polluting, corrupting, debasing, destroying spirituality, increasing carnality," and the mothers and sisters of church members of the land were called upon to admonish and instruct and raise the spiritual tone of these dreadful young people. President Murphree of the University of Florida cried out with true southern warmth, "The low-cut gowns, the rolled hose and short skirts are born of the Devil and his angels . . ." A group of Episcopalian church women in New York, speaking with the authority of wealth and social position (for they included Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Henry Phipps, Mrs. James Roosevelt, and Mrs. E.H. Harriman) proposed an organization to discourage fashions involving an "excess of nudity. . . ." In Philadelphia a Dress Reform Committee . . . proceeded to design a "moral gown . . . innumerable families were torn with dissension over cigarettes and gin and all-night automobile rides. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

In 1929 Charles E. Jefferson wrote:

Broadway in thirty years has undergone many changes. It is still the great white way, but there are many black spots on it. The world, the flesh and the devil have never been more sparkling and potent than now. The street is endlessly restless and everlastingly capricious. Actors and singers and lecturers and stars of varied brilliancies come and go in an endless procession. The life of entertainer and performer and hero is brief. Voices soon lose their magnetism and stunts soon become stale. Like Athens, Broadway is forever eager to hear and talk about some new attraction.<sup>2</sup>

What Jefferson said of Broadway during the 1920's might well have been said of thousands of smaller "Broad Ways" up and down the land. Millions of people on millions of streets were seeking

<sup>1</sup>Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1931), pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 5-6.



thrills and e  
compensated f  
conservation  
cars were hys  
the economic

Althou

the twenties  
Persons who q  
ment and big  
fascists, or  
marginal of v  
"foreigners,"  
ation. Prey  
racial and re  
white, Protec  
founding men  
1924. Throu  
release his  
it upon itse  
legs, mutila  
Negroes were  
organizers.

Here

thrills and excitement. "The Americans, however, more than compensated for this liberal self-indulgence with a political conservatism that bred fear and intolerance."<sup>1</sup> Middle class Americans were hysterically intolerant of those persons who questioned the economic and political status-quo.

Although the "Red Scare" had ended by 1921, the decade of the Twenties was plagued by intolerance and exaggerated patriotism. Persons who questioned or criticized the alliance between government and big business were apt to be branded socialists, communists, fascists, or anarchists; such persons were often subjected to the purgings of vigilante groups. Negroes, Jews, Roman Catholics and "foreigners," in particular, suffered persecution and discrimination. Preying on the fear that America was threatened by such racial and religious groups as these, the Ku Klux Klan promoted white, Protestant, supremacy. The Klan grew rapidly from a few founding members in 1915, to a membership of over two million in 1924. Through the Klan the small town, middle class American could release his hatred upon those persons he disliked. This group took it upon itself to "keep the Nigger in his place" through beatings, mutilations, and the confiscation of property. Sometimes Negroes were murdered. The Klan also punished Southern Labor organizers, prostitutes, and rum-runners.

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 249.

In  
Catho  
Ameri  
Oriem  
Oreg  
paroc  
pries  
"neck  
tract  
lang  
were  
of t

T

it contr

Kan rea

S

Many  
flun  
On p  
whit  
abse

E

Kan, Da

decline

clearly

on Surda

entitled

W

You  
spea  
citi  
it,  
soon  
the  
agai

1

2

In the East and Middle West [the Klan] absorbed the anti-Catholic sentiment of the Know-Nothing Movement and the American Protective Association. In California and Oregon [it] expanded [its] anti-Catholic program by exploiting anti-Oriental, anti-Semitic, and anti-foreign prejudices. In Oregon, the Klan backed a compulsory school law aimed at the parochial schools, hired "escaped nuns" to spread stories of priestly immoralities, and lynched some of [its] foes in "necktie parties." Fundamentalist groups were sometimes attracted by [the Klan's] prohibition campaign or the idealistic language the Klansmen spoke. Small townspeople and villagers were especially drawn to the thrilling adventure and pageantry of the K.K.K.<sup>1</sup>

The K.K.K. also entered politics. In Indiana, for example, it controlled the state government. It was in this state that the Klan reached its height:

Some 250,000 white-sheeted Klansmen took over the state. Many of them sauntered brazenly through town with their hoods flung back, not even bothering to conceal their identity. On parade nights in Kokomo, the police force vanished and white-robed figures, bearing a curious resemblance to the absent patrolmen, directed the traffic of the town.<sup>2</sup>

However, the conviction of the mid-west commander of the Klan, David Stephenson, for second degree murder, led to a rapid decline in the Klan's power. Jefferson's opinion of the Klan is clearly expressed in the following excerpt from a sermon preached on Sunday morning, March 2, 1924, at the Tabernacle. His sermon was entitled: "Roman Catholicism and the Ku Klux Klan."

What, then, ought your attitude to be towards the Klan? If you will take my advice, you will keep out of it. . . . I speak to you first of all not as a Christian, but as an American citizen. I urge you to keep out of it. If any of you are in it, then I urge you to get out of it, and get out of it as soon as you can. It is a dangerous movement. It stirs up the worst passions. It is always dangerous to work in the dark against your fellow men. . . . The Klan is an organization

---

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 422.

<sup>2</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., pp. 212-213..

that was  
of the d  
in the c  
petuate  
in which  
of bad t  
is respo  
is invar  
It is pa  
ride in  
at all.  
Have not  
Christia

By the time  
was powerles  
corrupt, and

Anot:

individuali  
mate offspr  
believed in  
"experts" t  
in passing  
a restricti  
in particul  
the America  
strumental  
worst blows  
result of U  
Exclusion A  
excluded fr

1 Char  
(New York:  
2 Wish

that works in the dark. Bad men of the Klan take advantage of the darkness to do lawless things, and other bad men in the community take advantage of the darkness to perpetuate atrocities too. This is the result in every State in which the Klan has enrolled a great membership. All sorts of bad things have been done, and it is impossible to say who is responsible. But no matter what is done, the responsibility is invariably rolled upon the Klan, and this is inevitable. It is part of the price which men must pay who put on hoods and ride in the dark. . . . It will not harm the Catholic Church at all. It will strengthen it. It will solidify it. . . . Have nothing to do with the Ku Klux Klan. It is not a Christian thing to fight in the dark.<sup>1</sup>

By the time of Al Smith's presidential campaign in 1928, the Klan was powerless, for it had been exposed as a sadistic, financially corrupt, and politically subversive organization.

Another "important ingredient in the intolerance and extreme individualism of the 1920's was the 'eugenics cult,' an illegitimate offspring of scientific eugenics."<sup>2</sup> Many members of this cult believed in Nordic superiority, and because they often acted as "experts" to federal immigration committees, they were instrumental in passing the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. Under these Acts a restrictive quota system was established, and under the 1924 Act in particular, an effort was made to increase Nordic immigration. The American Federation of Labor, fearing cheap labor, was instrumental in keeping foreigners out of the country. One of the worst blows against foreign immigrants came in 1924 when, as the result of Union agitation and "yellow journalism," the Japanese Exclusion Act was passed. Under this Act the Japanese were totally excluded from the United States. It was not uncommon in the year

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, Five Present Day Controversies (New York: Revell Publishing Co., 1924), pp. 166-169.

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 423.

which followed

Americans out

Still,  
could des  
test, and  
Ernest He  
tradition  
were many

Due to

the United States

need for unsk

Migrant work

In 1934

groups who f

This party, a

ated Senato

In the elect

This was an

that La Folle

W. Davis, it

Liberal  
and a vo  
for legi  
agrarians  
ing farm  
"the bus  
even the  
vetoed t  
governme  
from dep  
Other es  
equally

1. Heff

2. Ibid.

which followed to see west coast communities drive Japanese-Americans out of town.

Still, not even the hysterical intolerance of the twenties could destroy entirely the American tradition of liberal protest, and though far less successful than H. L. Mencken, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos and other writers who attacked traditionalism in literature and Puritanism in society, there were many who dared challenge traditionalism in politics.<sup>1</sup>

Due to American immigration policies, many Europeans entered the United States illegally. Furthermore, the "truck farmers'" need for unskilled labor lured many Mexicans to this country as Migrant workers.

In 1924 the Progressive Party was formed by farm and labor groups who felt they were not sharing in national prosperity. This party, supported by the American Federation of Labor, nominated Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin for President. In the election the Progressives polled about five million votes. This was an impressive total, but when the third party realized that La Follette ran far behind President-elect Coolidge, and John W. Davis, it disbanded. However, as Heffner reminds us:

Liberal agitation did not end with Coolidge's triumph . . . and a vociferous Farm Bloc in Congress continued to press for legislation to aid underprivileged and hardpressed agrarians who were caught between soaring costs and a declining farm income. Nevertheless, Coolidge was convinced that "the business of America is business," not agriculture, not even the welfare of all citizens, and the President twice vetoed the McNary-Haugen Bill that was designed, through government support, to keep an exportable agriculture surplus from depressing farm prices by glutting the domestic market. Other efforts at relief for the farmer and the worker were equally unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



From 192

"Silent Cal" m

anticipated th

business and m

"not to run ag

zene, Herbert

Democratic par

Alfred E. Szi

. . . Szi

compelled

was to dr

years of

the era o

. . . Hoo

at the ve

defense o

American

In this speech

settling in t

he thought, w

When the

our count

should co

many inst

were chal

system of

diametric

state soc

meant the

the under

through v

Although he a

as Secretary

to business.

In Oct

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

From 1924 to 1928 the nation kept "Cool with Coolidge." "Silent Cal" maintained the Harding prosperity, and like Harding, anticipated the day when there would be "less government in business and more business in government." In 1928 Coolidge chose "not to run again" and the Republicans nominated Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Clark Hoover. The liberal, urban element of the Democratic party succeeded in nominating the Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, as their presidential candidate.

. . . Smith's record of progressive social reform . . . compelled Hoover to express the political philosophy that was to dominate Republican thinking in the harsh depression years of his own administration . . . no less than it had in the era of prosperity presided over by Harding and Coolidge. . . . Hoover's speech on "Rugged Individualism," delivered at the very end of the 1928 campaign, ranks with Carnegie's defense of the Gospel of Wealth as a classic statement of American conservatism.<sup>1</sup>

In this speech Hoover stated that he disliked the government meddling in the economic affairs of the nation. Such meddling, he thought, would lead to socialism. He said:

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our country and throughout the world was whether Governments should continue in their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peace-time choice between the American system of rugged individualism and an European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrine--doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of those ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness.<sup>2</sup>

Although he argued against government interference, Hoover, both as Secretary of Commerce and as President, supported government aid to business.

In October, 1929, the recently inaugurated President saw

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

one bott

market an

an end.<sup>1</sup>

effects o

tions, no

his speed

aid to fa

Hoover, 1

a 'press'

lationship

tury Ind.

T.

laissez-f

governme

McCumber

tariff r

Under th

raise an

rate. I

thirty-t

received

with an

trade, f

own.

En

1

2

"the bottom literally [drop] out of a bullish, speculative stock market and a decade of unparalleled prosperity came abruptly to an end."<sup>1</sup> Public pressure eventually forced Hoover to combat the effects of "The Crash" through government intervention. His actions, however, were consistent with the ideals he expressed in his speech on "Rugged Individualism." Although he gave federal aid to faltering industries, he refused to aid individuals. Hoover, like Harding and Coolidge, failed to realize that there was a "pressing need for an appropriate new understanding of the relationship between the State and the individual in twentieth century Industrial America."<sup>2</sup>

The decade of the twenties was, therefore, a period of laissez-faire in business. Yet it was a decade when the federal government aided private industry through such acts as the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922. This act not only restored the high tariff rates of the prewar days, but added a new tariff of its own. Under this act the President of the United States was empowered to raise and lower tariff rates up to fifty percent of the existing rate. In using this power, Harding and Coolidge raised the rates thirty-two times and lowered them only five times. Neomercantilism received its severest expression in the Hawley-Smoot Tariff in 1930 with an increase in tariff rates; this greatly hindered world trade, for other countries retaliated through various acts of their own.

Harvey Wish terms this period "A business civiliation:

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 253.

era of Ben

scientific

In this  
factor  
the re:  
The sl  
Hoover  
Hays,  
man's  
govern  
retire  
duced  
that t  
belong  
too ac  
Regula  
allowe  
out to  
farne

As

points ou

the "boos

Kiwans.3

of their

of busine

American

the divi

ozena of

In depic

ever live

man, tol

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

later in

era of Henry Ford."<sup>1</sup> It was the period of the assembly line, and scientific management.

In this race for efficiency, more than eight thousand manufacturing and mining firms disappeared within a decade while the remaining corporations greatly increased in size. . . . The slogan of that era was "Stabilization of business," and Hoover believed that the end of poverty was in sight. Will Hays, Republican national chairman, popularized the businessman's slogan, "Less government in business, more business in government." Income taxes were cut, war debts were largely retired, a scientific budget and accounting system was introduced into government, and statesmen were elected who believed that the real initiative and leadership in American society belonged to the businessman. Party differences did not seem too acute to the millions who ceased to go to the polls. Regulatory agencies born during the trust-busting era were allowed to atrophy. Protective tariffs and subsidies went out to the businessman, but few favors were accorded the farmer.<sup>2</sup>

As one of the most representative novels of the twenties points out, this "Business Civilization" was characterized by the "booster spirit" of such groups as the Rotary, Lions, and Kiwanis.<sup>3</sup> These clubs "expressed the national faith in what one of their founders called 'the redemptive and regenerative influence of business.'"<sup>4</sup> H. L. Mencken quoted a Rotary speaker, in the American Mercury, as declaring that "Rotary is a manifestation of the divine."<sup>5</sup> One of the most interesting and significant phenomena of the decade was this association of business with religion.<sup>6</sup> In depicting Christ as the "Greatest Human-nature Expert" that ever lived, Fred. F. French, a New York builder and real-estate man, told his salesmen that by loving their neighbor as themselves

---

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 441.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 442-443.

<sup>3</sup>Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt (New York:Harcourt, Brace and Co.,1922).

<sup>4</sup>Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>This association of business with religion will be considered later in this paper.

they could  
and yet .  
of Bruce B  
estate pro  
the way of

The

apparent r  
Leopold mu  
flight acro  
"Helicoptar

internatio  
arms reduc

the Geneva  
with some

these effo  
yet gone :

isolation  
League of

signed th  
Britain,

1A

21

31

LS  
to Charle  
New York

they could "serve [their] stockholders at a lower commission rate, and yet . . . earn more money. . . ." <sup>1</sup> According to the Gospel of Bruce Barton, "Moses was one of the greatest salesmen and real-estate promoters that ever lived."<sup>2</sup> Apparently Christianity was the way of life because it was based on sound business principles.

The "Jazz Age" was highlighted by underworld gang wars, the apparent murder of the lovers, Rev. Hall and Mrs. Mills, the Loeb-Leopold murder trial, the Scopes' trial, and Lindbergh's historic flight across the Atlantic Ocean. This was also the period when the "Reluctant Giant," <sup>3</sup> the United States, hesitatingly entered into international agreements. She did, of course, participate in such arms reducing conferences as the Washington Conference (1921), the Geneva Meetings (1927), and the London Arms Conference (1930), with some eagerness. <sup>4</sup> Many pacifists, such as Jefferson, lauded these efforts, but they expressed the fear that disarmament had not yet gone far enough. Generally speaking, the United States was isolationist in policy. The fact that she had refused to join the League of Nations was somewhat overlooked when, in 1928, she signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, or the Pact of Paris, with Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

---

<sup>1</sup>Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Leuchtenberg, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>See Jefferson's sermon, "Talking Peace and Thinking War," in Charles W. Ferguson, (comp.), Great Themes of the Christian Faith (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), pp. 77-91.



Their  
dem re  
versies  
their r  
nations  
ever n  
by pac  
ratific  
signat

The

in the pro

championed

those pers

of "power

from it as

temptation

group of 1

The Ameri

individuals

racism. 2

La  
whom  
turne  
Theod  
[as e

1  
(New York)

2

3

Their pledge of eternal peace bound the signatories to "condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." Over their signatures, the nations agreed that the settlement of their disputes "of whatever nature or of whatever origin shall never be sought except by pacific means." This Pact the Senate of the United States ratified in January, 1929, and President Coolidge appended his signature, in America, at a special ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

The decade of the twenties witnessed a waning of interest in the programs of the Populists, the Progressives, and those who championed the New Freedom. Life, to many persons, lost its purpose. Those persons of the "lost generation" saw the world at the mercy of "power politics" and "cynical materialism," so they withdrew from it as much as possible and became preoccupied with the contemplation of self. But the "lost generation" was not the only group of Americans who lacked an interest in the common good. The American people in general were guilty of laissez-faire individualism which led to prosperity, as well to chauvinism and racism.<sup>2</sup> However:

Early in the thirties the American people rejected those whom they regarded as false prophets of conservatism and turned with renewed faith and hope to the Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. La Follette, Woodrow Wilson [as expressed by] Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, America In Midpassage (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 466.

<sup>3</sup>Heffner, op. cit., p. 253.

History

in Genes

American

C

churches

A History

this sec

P

be consi

Social G

Activiti

in this

(

T

caused m

Christia

ing cond

labor.

priests

\_\_\_\_\_

2

## American Church History (1898-1930)

This section will include a discussion of American church history under the following major headings: American Church History in General, and Congregationalism: History and Theology.

### American Church History in General

One of the best sources of information about the history of churches in America during the years 1898-1930 is F. R. Webber's A History of Preaching.<sup>1</sup> This book will be the major source for this section, although other sources will be used.

Perhaps the history of American churches for this period can be considered most easily in light of the following topics: The Social Gospel, Revivalism, Liberalism and Fundamentalism, Church Activities, and Church Architecture. I shall consider these topics in this order.

#### (1) The Social Gospel

The labor agitations and class struggles of the late 1800's caused many Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen to ask whether Christianity did not have solutions for such problems as poor working conditions, long hours of labor, poor wages, slums, and child labor. Serious minded Biblical scholars and small town pastors and priests attempted to find in the teachings of Christ certain

---

<sup>1</sup>Webber, op. cit.

principles which

of the writings

and Josiah Str

Gospel taught

broad enough t

[and that] t

to obscure th

The S.

Christian Soc

persons who

problems fro

Christians f

the redempti

ceeded in h

Sociology t

Perh

Hauschenbus

tered to a

City slum a

17.

Examination  
the Problem  
1900).

2Was  
Mifflin Co.

3Jos  
(New York)

4W

principles which were applicable to these problems. As a result of the writings of such men as F. G. Peabody,<sup>1</sup> Washington Gladden,<sup>2</sup> and Josiah Strong,<sup>3</sup> a Social Gospel was formulated. The Social Gospel taught that the principles of Christ's teachings "were broad enough to support a just social order of a cooperative nature [and that] the traditional kingdom of heaven could not be allowed to obscure the hope of a kingdom of righteousness on earth."<sup>4</sup>

The Social Gospel was variously known as Applied Christianity, Christian Sociology, Christian Socialism, and Social Service. Those persons who advocated it often discussed social and industrial problems from the pulpit; they attacked the so-called orthodox Christians for emphasizing personal redemption at the expense of the redemption of society from economic injustices. They succeeded in having various seminaries add such courses as Christian Sociology to curricula.

Perhaps the best known American social gospeller was Walter Rauschenbusch. He was an idealistic Baptist clergyman who ministered to a German congregation for eleven years in the New York City slum area known as Hell's Kitchen. Just before the turn of

---

<sup>1</sup>F. G. Peabody, Jesus Christ and the Social Question: An Examination of the Teachings of Jesus in its Relation to Some of the Problems of Modern Social Life (New York: Macmillan Company, 1900).

<sup>2</sup>Washington Gladden, Social Salvation (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1902).

<sup>3</sup>Josiah Strong, Religious Movements for Social Betterment (New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1900).

<sup>4</sup>Wish, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

the century, Baus  
ment of Rochester  
of Henry George,  
John Spargo, "Baus  
regulated competi  
active would be re  
and the Social Cr  
order. Capitalis  
for it corrupted  
In 1912 he wrote  
A Theology for the  
social sins, such  
were inherent in  
and prestige, and  
points out, the t  
alone suggest  
central tenet  
his leadership  
of the Kingdom  
for an entire  
young clergyman  
teachings. .

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Ba  
(New York: The Ma

<sup>3</sup>Walter Ba  
(New York: Macmil

<sup>4</sup>Walter Ba  
(New York: The Ma

<sup>5</sup>Wish, op.

the century, Rauschenbusch became a professor in the German Department of Rochester Seminary. Influenced by the single tax doctrines of Henry George, the idealism of Tolstoy, and the socialism of John Spargo, "Rauschenbusch denounced the jungle philosophy of unregulated competition and proposed a social order in which the profit motive would be replaced by a cooperative ideal."<sup>1</sup> His Christianity and the Social Crisis<sup>2</sup> reflected a concern for a moral economic order. Capitalism, he declared, was anti-social and anti-Christian, for it corrupted society, politics, economics, and man's spirit. In 1912 he wrote Christianizing the Social Order,<sup>3</sup> and in 1917, A Theology for the Social Gospel.<sup>4</sup> In the latter book he stated that social sins, such as intemperance, prostitution, war, and oppression were inherent in any social system which placed a premium on profit and prestige, and not on honesty and brotherly love. As Wish points out, the titles of Rauschenbusch's books

alone suggest the consistent emphasis that he put upon his central tenets of a kingdom of righteousness on earth. Under his leadership Christian Socialists organized the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. More important than this is the fact that, for an entire generation at least, innumerable idealistic young clergymen were profoundly influenced by his social teachings. . . .<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907).

<sup>3</sup>Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912).

<sup>4</sup>Walter Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917).

<sup>5</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 165.



0  
tod was

Topeka.

Jesus D

acted in

that the

would li

these pa

renewed

of such

many yea

I

creeds &

gationa

the Met

enthusia

labor-m

child la

days, m

jobs.

an inte

in 1908

The F.C.

dealing

evangel

1

(Chicago

One of the most prolific and successful writers of this period was Charles Monroe Sheldon, a Congregationalist minister of Topeka, Kansas. In 1896 he published In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do?<sup>1</sup> This book tells the story of a church congregation which acted in response to a challenge of its pastor. The challenge was that the church members live for one year as they thought Jesus would live. The book describes transformations in the lives of these parishioners, acts of kindness, mercy, understanding, a renewed interest in socio-economic conditions, and the consequences of such acts and interests. In His Steps was a best seller for many years and in 1936 was made into a movie.

By 1908 welfare organizations had been founded, and social creeds adopted, by such denominations as the Unitarians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. In May of that year the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted its "Social Creed," which was enthusiastically received by labor. It called for such reforms as labor-management arbitration and conciliation, the elimination of child labor, shorter working hours, one day of rest in every seven days, more than subsistence wages, and safety measures on hazardous jobs. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, an interdenominational and interracial Protestant group, organized in 1908 and adopted the Methodist Episcopal "Social Creed." The F.C.C.C.A. "set up local and state councils to assist it in dealing with national and international questions including evangelical programs, reform of the marriage laws, philanthropy,

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Monroe Sheldon, In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do? (Chicago: Advance Publishing Co., 1896).

and soc

Churches

interes

churches

ing sys

as lab

va

Su

re

di

cl

Like t

and to

tions"

For ex

ings t

declan

I

I

T

ti

ax

ti

I

a.

me

to

le

I

t.

t.

a.

h

d.

le

a.

and social legislation."<sup>1</sup> As both Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches entered the twentieth century, they did so with a new interest in socio-economic, and even political, problems. More churches, for example, took an interest in labor problems by dealing sympathetically with strikes and the unemployed, and by serving as labor-management mediators.

The "institutional" church grew after 1890 to include a wide variety of welfare, educational, and recreational activities. Such urban churches often added employment bureaus, charitable relief agencies, kindergartens, gymnasiums, libraries, clubs, dispensaries, soup kitchens, hospitals, and home economics classes.<sup>2</sup>

Like the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Association, the so-called "larger denominations" now ministered to those persons who were "down and out." For example, Jefferson, a Congregationalist, applied Christ's teachings to the socio-economic problems of his day. Jefferson himself declared:

I have emphasized through 25 years the social side of religion . I have preached in season and out of season the social Gospel. The only Gospel that I know is the Gospel which covers all the departments of human life. All the kingdoms of this world are to become the Kingdom of Christ. It is our daily prayer that God's will may be done on earth as it is in heaven, and so I have meddled year after year with business, and with industry, and with politics, and with diplomacy. I have repudiated the monastic conception of life, and have urged you without ceasing to work with all your might for the extension of the sway of love. I have spoken on the sacredness of political duty. . . . I have struck with all my might all the gigantic evils of our time. There has never been a wrong which I have been afraid to hit. The infamy of lynching I have stamped on again and again. . . . Commercial greed I have condemned with all the heat and force of my nature. Social injustice, the twelve hour day and the seven day week, I have denounced. . . . Upon lawlessness in every form, especially the trampling on the 18th amendment, I have poured my unstinted condemnation. Ku Klux

---

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

Kla  
the  
rac  
pre  
whi

Jeffers

Bauson

racie

that t

.  
no  
en  
It  
in  
in  
of

1890 t

new in

to the

litera

led va

of the

reason

by a w

and re

ected

Klans and all other oath bound secret societies, organized for the purpose of setting class against class or race against race, I have denounced. . . . Unfairness, unbrotherliness, prejudice, race hatred, cruelty, these are abominations against which you have been warned again and again.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson cannot, however, be termed a social gospeller as was Rauschenbusch. Jefferson points out, for instance, that the Tabernacle was not an institutional church in the common meaning of that term. He states:

. . .it has no gymnasium, no swimming pool, no bowling alley, no industrial classes, no organized groups working for the entertainment or the physical development of submerged classes. It is rather an inspirational church, working chiefly upon the intellect and the conscience and the heart, and endeavoring, in divers ways, to build up in as many as possible, the mind of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

## (2) Revivalism

It has been pointed out in this study that the period from 1890 to 1930 witnessed a cityward movement by rural persons and new immigrants. Perhaps the majority of those persons who moved to the American cities were illiterate, or at least only partially literate. It seems possible that the illiteracy of the city masses led various evangelists to discard a rational, formal presentation of the Gospel in favor of a simple, emotional appeal. Whatever the reasons, the revival campaigns of this period were characterized by a "simple, Gospel message," aimed at the emotions, not the mind, and resulting in "weeping, wailing, and the gnashing of teeth."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 21-22.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup>It will be shown later that Jefferson's sermons were directed toward man's rational powers, rather than his emotions.

These

cedin

carpa

1899,

ture

spiri

(

A

h

A

r

w

t

m

7

P

Dwig

guide

D

O

A

E

a

O

r

E

i

the Y

These campaigns were more dignified than the camp-meetings of preceding generations; however, they did lead to religious fervor.

Two men whose names are directly associated with revival campaigns are Dwight L. Moody and William A. Sunday. Moody died in 1899, but not before he and his song leader, Ira David Sankey, had toured the United States and the British Isles, and had aroused the spirit of revival.<sup>1</sup>

In 1889, he had built a citadel of evangelical training in (Moody) Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in Chicago. At his birthplace and residence, Northfield, Massachusetts, he introduced annual conferences of Church workers and students. A master of publicity--his critics called him the Barnum of religion--he scattered tons of religious tracts wherever he went. When he died in 1899, the statistically-minded estimated that he had carried his gospel messages fully a million miles, addressed 100,000,000 people, and prayed directly with 750,000 sinners. Admirers insisted that he had reduced the population of hell by a million souls.<sup>2</sup>

Dwight L. Moody's evangelistic campaigns served as examples, or guides, to the evangelists of the early 1900's. Webber comments:

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the work of the itinerant evangelist became a well-organized undertaking. A great hall was secured, or else a large tabernacle was built. Extensive advertising and newspaper publicity were utilized, and daily papers throughout the country printed the sermons of the more famous evangelists. As a rule the newspapers devoted from one to two full pages each day to the campaigns of Dr. W. A. Sunday, in the cities that he visited, often printing his sermons in full for a period of six weeks.<sup>3</sup>

William A. "Billy" Sunday entered evangelical work through the Young Men's Christian Association. Although he was an ordained

<sup>1</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 156-157.

<sup>3</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 527.



Pres:

como

pulpi

repor

threw

appar

him.

wound

it or

J. W

Serp

with

that

the

quan

what

the

son

and

in

say

pla

who

the

but

the

thru

Presbyterian minister, he lacked the pulpit dignity that is commonly associated with austere Calvinistic theology. His pulpit actions were unusual and unpredictable. It has been reported that, in an effort to be dramatic, Sunday stood on chairs, threw chairs and other objects, and told off-color stories. He apparently tossed persons bodily out of his audience for taunting him.<sup>1</sup> Sunday, a former professional baseball player, sometimes wound up like a baseball pitcher and exhorted his audience to "put it over the plate for Jesus."<sup>2</sup>

Moody, Sunday, and such other evangelists as Samuel P. Jones, J. William Chapman, William E. Biedervold, Rodney Smith, Aimee Semple McPherson, and Reuben Torrey, seldom concerned themselves with the economic and social problems of the day. They believed that "Wall Street, like the East Side Slums, had souls to save and the advantages of the world to come appeared far too great for quarrels over temporary advantages in this one."<sup>3</sup> Because of what appeared to be their sole interest in the hereafter, and their belief that the Scriptures were infallible, many such persons were termed Fundamentalists. If charged by the "Modernists" and agnostics that there are contradictions and inconsistencies in Scripture, they were wont to reply, as did Moody, "The Bible

---

<sup>1</sup>Edgar DeWitt Jones, American Preachers of To-Day, p. 14, says, "Mr. W. A. Sunday, who was so amazingly acrobatic on the platform of his tabernacle, had for a while a company of imitators who did picturesque stunts, such as mounting chairs, pulling off their coats and flinging aside their collars in a frenzy of fervor; but they did not last long, probably because they were palpably ineffective and lacked the red-blooded robustness and tremendous thrust of the famed evangelist."

<sup>2</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

was

was

was

was

his

trial

tory

pres

mis

gro

'st

att

new

si

cl

at

re

vo

was not made to understand."<sup>1</sup>

About the year 1925, the revival or evangelistic campaign was replaced by the preaching mission. One of the most famous missionaries was Dr. G. Campbell Morgan. Webber remarks that Morgan was a remarkably gifted expositor of the Bible, and that during his American missions, he would secure the use of a large, centrally located church, where he would present a series of expository sermons over a period of a week or ten days. He usually preached twice a day, afternoon and evening. Such preaching missions as these strengthened the theology of the Fundamentalist groups and greatly increased the sizes of their congregations.<sup>2</sup>

During these years, when evangelists and missionaries were "stumping" the nation, Jefferson remained in New York City, attempting "to build . . . a church . . . through which the good news of God's love might be heralded to all the world."<sup>3</sup>

### (3) Liberalism and Conservatism

Due to the influence of the scientific method many theologians took a "second look" at Christian theology. This led to a close scrutinizing of Scripture in terms of the original languages and cultures in which it was written, as well as in terms of the relationships between the events recorded in the Scriptures which were possible, and those which were probable. The influence of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 528.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 30.

this "E"

ology

widespr

New The

profess

lication

denounc

the res

and th

retell

science

were s

conve

of su

extra

Stray  
in w  
the  
tic

this "Higher Criticism,"<sup>1</sup> of materialism, and a popular psychology which did not view man as a fallen creature, "led to a widespread spirit of religious liberalism, at one time called the New Theology."<sup>2</sup> It was not unusual, therefore, for students and professors in colleges and seminaries, writers in religious publications, and ministers in the pulpit, to question, and often denounce, the Virgin Birth of Christ, the divinity of Christ, the resurrection of Christ, the miracles as recorded in the Bible, and the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures.

"Rural Protestants and their orthodox allies in the cities rebelled against the 'modernist' liberals and their faith in science as a guide to spiritual values."<sup>3</sup> Differences of opinion were sometimes expressed in heated debates during denominational conventions. Often congregations and denominations split because of such differences.

In 1910 a series of twelve small books, entitled The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth, was published by certain

---

<sup>1</sup>This term apparently originated with David Friedrich Strauss of Tübingen. In 1835 he published his Life of Jesus in which he attacked the Bible and its contents, particularly the miracles, revelation, and the supernatural, with naturalistic "higher criticism."

<sup>2</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 528.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 153.

Fundamentalist scholars.<sup>1</sup>

True to the one objective of the project, many of the essays in The Fundamentals condemned higher criticism and Darwinism. . . . But the primary importance of the work lay in its doctrinal exposition. In addition to several articles on regeneration, sin, and other tenets, the series expatiated on the "Five Points" that were to become the sine qua non of fundamentalism: the infallibility of the Bible, Christ's Virgin Birth, his Substitutionary Atonement, Resurrection, and Second Coming. The conservatives' creed was now reduced to clear essentials; so significant did the undertaking seem that some attributed the start of the fundamentalist movement to the influence of the volumes.<sup>2</sup>

"As for the Catholic Church, its rejection of Modernism was thorough; papal encyclicals emphatically denounced this as a flagrant heresy to be avoided by the faithful."<sup>3</sup>

The years 1890-1930 saw, not only a struggle between Modernists and Fundamentalists, but a struggle between the Modernists and the skeptics. Allen declares:

The Modernists . . . had . . . another adversary, the skeptic nourished on outlines of science; and the sermons of more than one Modernist leader gave the impression that Modernism, trying to meet the skeptic's arguments without resorting to the argument from authority, was being forced against its will to whittle down its creed to almost nothing at all. . . . It reached its climax in the Scopes' case in the summer of 1925.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Some of these scholars were: Dr. James Orr of Glasgow, Reuben A. Torrey, Dean of Los Angeles Bible Institute, Dr. G. Campbell Morgan of England, Dr. Benjamin Warfield of Princeton, James M. Gray, Dean of Moody Bible Institute, Leander W. Munhall, a Methodist evangelist. Note: Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 12, says: [there were only] ten small pamphlets, produced through the generosity of two wealthy residents of Los Angeles, Milton and Lyman Stewart." (Underlining mine).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup>Wish, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 142.

charged

fundament

apparent

fundament

teaching

really

the

loc

civ

ama

ism

Liberal

The

rev

com

has

bet

and

and

int

cir

wit

on

it was

during

of chu

barren

tee

pe

Jeffery

mental



John T. Scopes, a Dayton, Tennessee, school-teacher, was charged with having taught evolution. William Jennings Bryan, a Fundamentalist, was the prosecuting attorney. Clarence Darrow, apparently a skeptic, was the defense attorney. Technically, Fundamentalism won, for Scopes was convicted, and the law against teaching evolution stood. Yet, as Allen concludes, Fundamentalism really lost:

Legislators might go on passing anti-evolution laws, and in the hinterlands the pious might still keep their religion locked in a science-proof compartment of their minds; but civilized opinion everywhere had regarded the Dayton trial with amazement and amusement, and the slow drift away from Fundamentalism certainly continued.<sup>1</sup>

Charles E. Jefferson was aware of the havoc created by the Liberal-Conservative struggle. In 1929 he wrote:

The changes in the realm of thought have been widespread and revolutionary. The Higher Criticism amid vast confusion and commotion has done its colossal work. The New Psychology has started new speculations along many lines. The conflict between Fundamentalists and Modernists has torn congregations and denominations to pieces. New philosophies, distracting and divisive, have forced their way to the front. The whole intellectual world has been shaken to its foundations. In many circles chaos reigns, and black night. The air is filled with the dust of controversy. There is no general agreement on anything.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Liberal-Conservative struggle was widespread, it was not this struggle which characterized American Church history during the early twentieth century, rather, it was the rapid growth of church membership, denominationalism, and the intellectual barrenness of the theologians:

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that during the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, religion prospered while theology went bankrupt. From Edward to Royce,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 5. A discussion of Jefferson's theological position, in light of the Liberal Fundamental Controversy, will follow.

A  
t  
o  
o  
s  
A  
t  
v  
e  
s

in t  
wors  
your  
week  
and  
or c  
the  
izin  
rad

the  
res

America did not produce a first-rate religious philosopher; the achievement of a seer like Emerson or a scholar like Parker or an evangelist like Beecher was rather to escape from the coils of theology than to wrestle with them and reduce them to some harmonious design. Even the fabulous sectarianism of American religion did not stimulate philosophical inquiry, for the differences that seemed to justify denominational splits were rarely dogmatic, and most of the new sects which clustered around the fringes of Protestantism represented a flight from reason rather than an exercise of it.<sup>1</sup>

#### (4) Church Activities

The activities of the typical Protestant church congregation in the year 1900 included: Sunday morning and evening services of worship, with a sermon at each service, Sunday school, attended by young and old persons, a mid-week service or prayer meeting, a weekly sewing circle for the older women, a weekly youth meeting, and a weekly choir practice. The church organization had few groups or organizations. It seems that the primary reason for going to the "Lord's House" was for worship and instruction, not for socializing and recreation. Church life, however, changed quickly and radically after the turn of the century:

. . . organizations began to multiply. Societies, clubs and guilds were organized and these included every age group. Social activities increased greatly. . . . As parish organizations increased in number, and as socials, suppers, sales and church fairs became common, new buildings were demanded, and the parish house came into existence. In some cases this was merely a hall set apart for social gatherings, but it was not long until more elaborate buildings, with clubrooms, a kitchen of considerable size, an assembly hall, committee rooms, a suite of offices, and even a gymnasium, became common enough.<sup>2</sup>

The activities of many churches became similar to those of "big business." The church program was conducted with the thoroughness of a corporation, or business office. The minister often spoke

---

<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>Webber, op. cit., pp. 529-530.

of his "plant."  
Parishioners w  
pastor's offer  
to the church  
"minister's of  
filling cabinet  
chairs. Offer  
writing obliga  
the necessity

The met  
the local cong  
quarters. "Th  
had been relea  
of a multipli  
organization  
although chur  
whether Chris  
erick Lewis A

Religion  
many book  
ing divi  
this dis  
religion  
accepted  
ity.3

Jeff  
of sermons.  
son states t  
his /Charles  
save his mor  
in case of t  
some grumbli  
ministry.

2 Webb  
3 A

of his "plant." There were "money drives" and "membership drives." Parishioners were urged to "support the cause of Christ." The pastor's often austere study was frequently removed from his home to the church or parish house, where it became known as the "minister's office" or the "church office."<sup>1</sup> It was replete with filing cabinets, card indexes, wall maps, a large desk, and easy chairs. Often the pastor had a private secretary who reduced his writing obligations. The social worker and the county nurse lessened the necessity of counselling and pastoral calling."

The methods of the business world were adopted, not only by the local congregation, but sometimes by the denominational headquarters. "There were imposing suites of rooms, and clergymen who had been released from parish duties became executive secretaries of a multiplicity of agencies and boards."<sup>2</sup> In spite of increased organization and efficiency, there was decreased spirituality, and although church membership increased, many persons questioned whether Christianity was the only path to eternal salvation. Frederick Lewis Allen emphasizes this point when he says:

Religion was furiously discussed; there had never been so many books on religious topics in circulation, and the leading divines wrote constantly for popular magazines; yet all this discussion was itself a sign that for millions of people religion had become a debatable subject instead of being accepted without question among the traditions of the community.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson maintained a study at home for the preparation of sermons. Each morning was spent there in such preparation. His son states the following in a letter dated May 19, 1958. "One of his [Charles E. Jefferson] habits which seems to me unique was to save his mornings for study and permit no interruption except in case of the sickness or death of some parishioner. This caused some grumbling among his friends but he stuck to it during his ministry.

<sup>2</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 530.

<sup>3</sup>Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 532.

The loss  
to increase  
clarity  
clergy  
decrea

church  
suburb  
more  
ings

tradi  
The  
the c  
bule  
cond  
demon  
with  
arms  
unif  
the

The loss of the spiritual dynamic cannot, of course, be attributed to increased organization, alone. National prosperity, the popularity of Sunday sports, the support of the Ku Klux Klan by many clergymen, and scientific thought, apparently also contributed to decreased spirituality, especially during the 1920's.

#### (5) Church Architecture and Worship

The twentieth century brought about the removal of many churches from the business section of the city and town to the suburbs. There were also mergers or consolidations of two or more congregations and the construction of many new church buildings in the areas which bordered the city.

In church construction there was a general return to the traditional type of church building with its chancel and altar. The "Akron Plan" also included an elevated choir loft from which the choir faced the congregation, a floor sloping from the vestibule to the chancel, and a platform or stage from which the minister conducted the services. The worship service in many of the large denominations tended to become a theatrical production, complete with processions, special music, paid musicians and soloists, arms-swinging choir leaders, flowers, fancy lighting effects, and uniformly garbed ushers. Webber makes this comment with regard to the relationship between church architecture and worship:

This great era of church building introduced certain things that might be questioned. With church buildings of the traditional kind, with chancels, altars and liturgical services, certain things of a showy character began to appear. Not content with sober black and white vestments, choirs began to appear in robes of all manner of curious colors from deep maroon to light ivory. A gala parade through the center aisle during the opening and closing hymns became quite general in the larger cities and among the churches of a

T

O

W

W

S

t

t

W

S

h

Y

W

S

T

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W

W



number of denominations.<sup>1</sup>

The Protestant worship service was, for the most part, unlike that of the 1800's. The simplicity which characterized earlier services was often replaced with elaborate rituals and showmanship.

Jefferson, however, did not follow this trend toward showmanship. He did employ some of the new architectural features, such as the sloping floor and the choir loft facing the congregation, in the Tabernacle built under his direction; but he attempted to utilize only those architectural and theatrical features which would facilitate worship.<sup>2</sup> Jefferson was careful lest the church service become simply another Broadway "show." In explaining why he had been able to remain in the Tabernacle pulpit for thirty years, he said:

The Tabernacle minister assumed long ago that he was called to the ministry not to make a show but to do a work. . . . The Tabernacle pastor has resolutely put behind him stunts

---

<sup>1</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 532.

<sup>2</sup>A more thorough description of the Tabernacle architecture will follow. Jefferson's concern for worship is expressed in the following advice to young ministers. It appeared in the Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, Vol. 9, No.2 (November, 1906), p. 15. "It is not wise to allow members of the congregation to take their pews when they please at a service called for public worship. . . . Many a religious service seems to be entirely lacking in reverence and solemnity because of incessant movement up and down the aisles. There are churches in which members of the choir whisper during the prayer or read during the sermon. No minister should put up with this for a single day. But let the minister also be careful how he behaves during the singing by the choir. If during the choir singing he hunts for his scriptures and looks up his hymns and fidgets around in the pulpit making preparations for his sermon, then should the members of the choir whisper during his prayer or giggle through his sermon he has only reaped the retribution which he richly deserves."

of every d  
ical stunt  
He has sco  
clear of a  
Church a c  
creates an  
leads to d

Congregational

Probably

ization or gov

the Congregati

gregational po

pattern of chu

This form of c

first finding

Plymouth, Mass.

of American hi

leading advoca

loved by such c

The New I

to the English

land of its sec

Revolution, wh

was partially c

---

1Jefferso

2Accordin  
is a heirarchy

3Accordin  
Presbyters or e  
elder is ordaine

of every description. . . . He has never reveled in rhetorical stunts. . . . He has performed no dramatic stunts. . . . He has scorned all publicity stunts. . . . He has steered clear of all miracle-working stunts. . . . To sweep into the Church a crowd of converts by spectacular revivalistic methods creates an appearance of prosperity which is deceptive and leads to discouragement and deadness.<sup>1</sup>

### Congregationalism: History and Theology

Probably the most familiar forms of Protestant church organization or government are the Episcopal,<sup>2</sup> the Presbyterian,<sup>3</sup> and the Congregational. Charles E. Jefferson was an advocate of Congregational polity. He believed that it followed closely the pattern of church organization as described in the New Testament. This form of church government came to America by way of England, first finding expression in the establishment of a church at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620. For more than the first century of American history, the New England Congregationalists were the leading advocates of Congregational government. They were followed by such denominations as the Baptists and the Unitarians.

The New England Congregationalists could trace their history to the English Puritans, who desired to cleanse the Church of England of its secular and Roman Catholic influences. The English Revolution, which led to the execution of Charles I, in 1649, was partially directed by these English Puritans and the supporters

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 38-40.

<sup>2</sup>According to the Episcopal form of church government, there is a heirarchy of rulers, the Bishops being the highest rank.

<sup>3</sup>According to the Presbyterian form of church government, presbyters or elders are invested with all spiritual powers. An elder is ordained, and may, or may not, be a clergyman.

of John Knox.

control of the

Church of Eng

polity. There

Separatists:

[They] the govern  
also the  
extreme w  
higher and  
to them, c  
teachings.  
England o  
that the c  
both form  
pendent o  
for their

Beau

Separatists f

who landed at

During the year

despaired of

England;

When they  
authority  
began org  
to its ow  
modified

In 16

gathered unde

and John Daven

1 Encyc

2 Ibid.

of John Knox. As a result of this revolution, the Puritans gained control of the English Parliament and attempted to reorganize the Church of England according to the Presbyterian form of church polity. There was, however, a group of Puritans, known as the Separatists:

[They] went beyond the Puritan body and rejected not only the the government-organized and controlled Church of England, but also the Scottish Presbyterian forms and regulations. This extreme wing . . . saw no hope in an ecclesiastical system of higher and lower courts for the control of religious affairs. To them, the whole idea of a state church was foreign to Bible teachings. Hence, rather than try to reform the Church of England or to accept the Presbyterian forms, they believed that the only way was to separate themselves entirely from both forms and establish groups of believers entirely independent of all higher authority, except that exercised by God for their guidance both as individuals and as groups.<sup>1</sup>

Because of severe persecutions in England many of the Separatists fled to Holland. It was a group of these Separatists who landed at Plymouth, December 21, 1620, on board the Mayflower. During the years 1628 to 1635 more than 20,000 Puritans, who despaired of reforming the Church of England, also came to New England:

When they were settled, they soon realized that they had no authority to establish any form of Anglican Church, so they began organizing their own churches, each community according to its own pattern. These early churches varied from a modified Presbyterian to a free form of Congregationalism. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In 1646 delegates from the various New England churches gathered under John Cotton of Boston, Thomas Hooker of Hartford, and John Davenport of New Haven. The purpose of this council,

<sup>1</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, op. cit., XVI, 501.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 502.

which met and  
church govern  
tures. The  
expressed in  
guided the C

With few  
establish  
officers,  
program,

Each c

therefore, a  
under state l  
ter, determin  
membership, a  
of theological  
the basic beli

---

1William  
P. F. Collier

2In 193  
Church to form  
any of the Co  
Evangelical and  
Although the na  
it is still com  
Church.

3William  
The Pilgrim Pre  
Compendium of F  
The Congregation  
and the Organiza  
States (Boston:  
makes this inter  
"It was no accid  
were the first t  
to absorb Darwin  
Christian doctrin

which met annually for three years, was to decide upon a form of church government and discipline in light of a study of the Scriptures. The findings and decisions of this prolonged council were expressed in the famous Platform of Church Discipline which has guided the Congregational Churches to this day:

With few modifications the Colonial pattern of a free church, established and controlled by its members, electing its own officers, calling its own minister, and developing its own program, continues to characterize the Congregational Churches.<sup>1</sup>

Each congregation of the Congregational denomination is, therefore, a self-governing body.<sup>2</sup> It is usually incorporated under state law; it elects its own officers, calls its own minister, determines its own conditions and requirements for church membership, and formulates and adopts its own creed or statement of theological beliefs. Such statements of belief usually include the basic beliefs of Protestantism.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>William T. Couch, (ed.) Colliers Encyclopedia (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1955), V, 587.

<sup>2</sup>In 1931 the Congregational Church united with the Christian Church to form the Congregational-Christian Church. More recently many of the Congregational-Christian congregations united with the Evangelical and Reformed Church to form the United Church of Christ. Although the name of the denomination has officially been changed, it is still common practice to speak of it as the Congregational Church.

<sup>3</sup>William T. Barton, A Pocket Congregational Manual (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1927), pp. 225-230. See chapter entitled: "A Compendium of Forms." See also: Frederick L. Fagley, et. al., The Congregational Churches: An Outline of the History, Beliefs, and the Organization of the Congregational Churches in the United States (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1938). Henry Steel Commager makes this interesting observation in the American Mind, p. 177. "It was no accident that the Unitarian and Congregational Churches were the first to accept 150 of the findings of the Higher Criticism, to absorb Darwinism evolution, and to attempt to socialize the Christian doctrine. Both New England in origin, innocent of dogma

Frederick L

It cannot  
theology  
If such  
its most  
dence of  
the year  
what the  
Salvation

Charles Edwa

words:

Our d  
governmen  
of the C  
life, or  
peculiar  
ment of v  
governmen

The Co

have a rich i  
highly ethica

sard to the P

The Father  
They did n  
They did n  
from their

or creed or ce  
largely from v

It will be sho  
tionalist, was  
Higher Critici

1 Pagley.

2 Broadwa

3 Pagley.  
Sermon, "The Co  
Forefather's Da  
250-267. Jeffe  
anniversary of t



Frederick L. Fagley reminds us:

It cannot be said that Congregationalism as such has a theology which is universally accepted by all the churches. If such were the case, Congregationalism would lose one of its most distinctive characteristics, which is the independence of the congregation. . . .As it has been through all the years, so also today Congregationalists are free to say what they believe concerning God and Man, and Christ, and Salvation through Him.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Edward Jefferson re-emphasizes Fagley's remarks in these words:

Our denomination takes its name from its theory of church government. It is not because we differ from other branches of the Christian Church in our conception of God, or man, or life, or duty, of time or eternity, that we have taken our peculiar name, but because we differ from them in our judgment of what is the safest and most effective form of church government. Congregationalism is Congregationalism.<sup>2</sup>

The Congregationalists of today, as the Pilgrims of old, have a rich interpretation of the meaning of life. They are highly ethical and they support and promote education.<sup>3</sup> With regard to the Pilgrim inheritance Fagley says:

The Fathers desired to be free from interference. . . .  
They did not ask help from anyone, either King or State. . . .  
They did not object to other people holding opinions differing from theirs. . . . The fathers believed in a God who was near

---

or creed or central governing authority, they drew their membership largely from the educated, native-born middle class."

It will be shown later in this paper that Jefferson, a Congregationalist, was "liberal" in the sense that he accepted much of the Higher Criticism.

<sup>1</sup>Fagley, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup>Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, Vol. 1, No. 3 (December, 1898), p.8.

<sup>3</sup>Fagley, op. cit., p. 47. See too Charles E. Jefferson's Sermon, "The Contribution of Congregationalism to Education," in Forefather's Day Sermons (Boston: The Pilgrim's Press, 1917), pp. 250-267. Jefferson preached a Forefather's Day Sermon each year on the anniversary of the Pilgrim's landing on American shores.

at hand and  
stand His  
were made  
qualities  
Church of  
and has in  
portion to  
"The Pilgr  
traditions  
confidence

The Con

sible for his a  
Calvinistic) an  
believe that be  
be stressed as  
future conditi

Charles

that "in order  
must first mas  
in its essence  
conduct."<sup>3</sup> Ec  
tionalism came  
gationalism wa  
to the throne  
all other doct  
hood of all Ec  
priest and the  
aid of an inte

<sup>1</sup> Pagley

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffers

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

at hand and they lived their lives in His sight, sought to understand His will and to do it in private and public life. They were modest, reticent, hard-working, frugal, honest people. These qualities they contributed to our common life and wherever the Church of the Pilgrims has gone, it has stood for the same ideals and has influenced the common life of our country out of all proportion to their numbers. As Professor Hart has expressed it: "The Pilgrim Fathers handed down to later generations priceless traditions of strength, manliness, patience, uprightness, and confidence in God."<sup>1</sup>

The Congregationalists believe that each person is responsible for his acts (the Arminian position as opposed to the Calvinistic) and that eternal salvation is in his hands. They also believe that because vices arise due to ignorance, education should be stressed as the vehicle or instrument by which present and future conditions are determined.<sup>2</sup>

Charles Edward Jefferson agrees with Fagley when he writes that "in order to grasp the significance of Congregationalism we must first master the meaning of Puritanism. . . . Puritanism in its essence is a zeal for purity, in doctrine, worship, and conduct."<sup>3</sup> He adds: "Out of the heart of Puritanism Congregationalism came."<sup>4</sup> Jefferson stated that the root idea of Congregationalism was "the right of every Christian to immediate access to the throne of God."<sup>5</sup> From this central doctrine he believed all other doctrines flowed, such as the doctrine of the "Priesthood of all Believers," according to which every Christian is a priest and thereby has the right to commune with God without the aid of an intermediary. God deals, therefore, with every Christian

<sup>1</sup>Fagley, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Forefather's Day Sermons, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 240.

direct

pulpit

pit an

tional

arrive

expres

Congre

Co

su

cr

Lo

ev

an

ti

On

ac

tw

fo

but th

I

pe

ual

gl

bu

vir

Jeffers

directly, not via a priest.

As a preacher, Jefferson asked for only one thing: "A free pulpit and intelligent listeners."<sup>1</sup> He believed that such a pulpit and such an audience would probably be found in the Congregational denomination. In a sermon, preached during the sixtieth anniversary celebration of the Broadway Tabernacle, Jefferson expresses clearly what he considers to be the functions of a Congregational church or body:

[The Tabernacle] must be true to the fundamental truth of Congregationalism--loyalty to God. It must repudiate the supremacy of all teachers, all books, all councils, all creeds, all preachers, all popes, and look straight to the Lord of Heaven for commands and guidance. It must stand forever the guardian of the liberty of the soul. We have fought and won the battle of religious liberty, we must go on fighting till complete intellectual liberty is established in all Christian Churches, and until industrial liberty has been achieved for all the countless sons of toil. Through the twentieth century this corner must be what it has been called for forty years--"Liberty Corner."<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson was proud not only of his Tabernacle congregation, but the denomination of which it was a part. He wrote:

I am proud of my denomination because of its trust in the people. . . . I am proud of our history and of the invaluable contribution we have made to human progress. We have gloried in liberty. . . . We have exalted the reason and built colleges all over the land. We have had the world vision.<sup>3</sup>

#### Summary

In accord with historic Congregationalism, Charles Edward Jefferson freely expressed himself in his pulpit. Consequently,

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>The Congregationalist, XIII, No. 24 (June 14, 1928), p. 754.

the corner of  
case known as  
nounced what  
imperialism,  
spiritual is  
evidenced by  
integrated  
writings.

political c  
his parish  
ulate theo  
a view to  
Jefferson  
was the tr  
Fifty-sixt  
the metrop

It  
with a pers  
because Dr.  
his own wor  
I know. #1

the corner of Broadway and Fifty-sixth Street in New York City became known as "Liberty Corner." From this corner Jefferson denounced what he believed were individual and national shortcomings--imperialism, prejudice, greed, lawlessness, political apathy, and spiritual ignorance. He was, however, a constructive critic as evidenced by his activities on behalf of world peace, his racially integrated congregation, and his instructive sermons, lectures and writings. Furthermore, Dr. Jefferson did not become embroiled in political or theological controversies; but in his sermons he urged his parishioners to engage actively in political affairs and to formulate theological positions which were individually satisfying. With a view to ministering more adequately to the needs of New York City, Jefferson relocated the Tabernacle building--not in the suburbs as was the trend--but in the heart of the Great White Way, Broadway at Fifty-sixth street. Here he preached to Hell's Kitchen, Broadway, the metropolis, the nation, and the world.

It appears that Jefferson had the ability to view his world with a perspective denied to most men. Perhaps this was possible because Dr. Jefferson was a prophet, priest and shepherd, and in his own words, "a follower of Jesus Christ--the highest type of man I know."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, "Why I am a Christian," The Congregationalist, III, No. 38 (September 23, 1926), p. 40.

## CHAPTER III

### JEFFERSON'S BELIEFS OR TENETS OF FAITH

#### Introduction

The purpose of this section is to consider, briefly, Jefferson's tenets of faith or his theological positions as revealed by his sermons. His tenets will be considered in the light of the central beliefs of the Christian Church, and in the light of the theological trends of his day. In this regard I shall discuss (1) Jefferson's conceptions of the Bible, the source-book for Christian theology; (2) his conception of the founder of the Christian religion, Jesus Christ; (3) Jefferson's conception of the church, that faith-producing institution founded by Christ; (4) and, finally, his conception of Social Christianity, or the application of Christ's teachings to the social order.

#### Jefferson's Conception of the Bible

Because of the influences of Higher Criticism and Darwinism, the authority of the Bible was eagerly debated by many Liberals and Conservatives.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps most of the Modernist-Fundamental struggles were concerned with the content of the Bible. With regard to this matter, Jefferson was Liberal in that he was apparently influenced by, and believed in, the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures. This

---

<sup>1</sup>I shall use the terms Liberal(s) and Modernist(s) interchangeably and the terms Conservative(s) and Fundamentalist(s) interchangeably.



1.

t.

s.

is apparent in a sermon he preached in 1925 on "Why It is Difficult to Read the Prophets." In this sermon Jefferson states that there are six reasons why the Prophets are difficult to understand. He says:

The first reason is that we have an imperfect Hebrew text. The tooth of time is ceaselessly at work, and it has eaten through many of the ancient manuscripts, so that here and there a word is partially obliterated, and in other cases it is completely gone. . . .

A second reason is faulty translation. . . . Textual criticism has made great advances within the last three hundred years, but it is always difficult to decide what English word is the exact equivalent of a Hebrew word. . . .

A more baffling form of difficulty is our inability sometimes to disentangle the words of the Prophet from the words of other people. . . .

Now we come to the chief reason why the Prophets are difficult to read. We must remember that the Prophets were preachers, and that there are two kinds of preaching. There is what we may call "Academic" preaching, the unfolding of ideas and truths themselves. . . . On the other hand, there is "Practical" preaching. When a man preaches practically, he always applies his ideas to the social or the political problems of his day. . . . The Prophets were practical preachers. They never preached academically. They always applied their ideas to the life of their city and nation. They were easily understood by the people who heard them. Because they were easily understood by them, it is hard for us to understand them. In order to know what they meant, we must be acquainted with the social and political conditions which they faced. We must get our eye on the target to know what they are driving at. We must understand the character of their opponents in order to appreciate the cleverness of their thrusts. . . . The reason we find it so difficult to understand their language is because we are not acquainted with the world in which they lived.

There is another reason why it is difficult to read them, and that is because the time sense of the ancient Hebrews was imperfectly developed. The time sense is very strong in us. . . . The ancient Hebrew was an entirely different kind of man. His mind did not work as ours works. The man who wrote the first page of Genesis said that God made Heaven and earth in six days. He said something which to us is quite shocking. . . . We think he was fearfully ignorant, and committed an egregious blunder. We are almost ready to give up the whole Bible because he said such an absurd thing as that. The fact is, it did not make the slightest difference to him whether the world was made in six days or six million years. . . .

The Jews cared little for chronological sequence. . . . When it came to dealing with numbers, they were careless. You can never depend upon the chronology in the Books of the Old Testament. There are twenty-five numeral contradictions in one Old Testament Book, the Book of Numbers. The chronology of the Book of Isaiah is a tangle. . . .

T  
lack  
of c  
For  
Isai  
can  
afte  
ther

Bible is

The foll

S

Bib

sub

play

que

lect

see

Cain

the

side

him

Gene

rig

obed

dis

hear

him

him

a bl

Bibl

T

of a

the

take

the

alle

T

to b

10  
The Macmi

20  
Preached  
1823, pp.

There is still another source of difficulty, and that is the lack of connection between the chapters, and sometimes the lack of connection between even the paragraphs of the same chapter. For instance, there is a gap between chapters 12 and 13, in Isaiah<sup>7</sup> and another gap between chapters 23 and 24. . . . The man who wrote the 40th chapter of Isaiah, lived at least 150 years after Isaiah, the Son of Amoz, was in his grave. In other words, there were two authors to the Book known as Isaiah.<sup>1</sup>

Further evidence of Jefferson's liberal interpretation of the Bible is contained in another sermon, "The Common Sense of Jesus."

The following passage is taken from this sermon.

Some men always act the fool whenever they come near the Bible. They are sensible enough when they are talking about many subjects, but as soon as they begin to talk about the Bible, they play the dunce. For instance, some men are always asking the question, Where did Cain get his wife? . . . Think of the intellectual stature of a man who in the presence of the Bible can see no other question worth discussion but the question about Cain's wife! A man begins to read the Bible, and soon comes to the story of a woman being made out of a rib taken from a man's side. He closes the book at once. That one story is enough for him. . . . Another man hears that the Bible says that a Jewish general one day ordered the sun to stand still in order that he might have a chance to kill more of his enemies, and the sun, obedient to his word, stood still. That fills the man with deep disgust and he has no further use for the Bible. Another man hears that the Bible says that a whale swallowed a man and kept him in his stomach three days and three nights and then spewed him out on the land, and he laughs so loud 'hat you can hear him a block away. These three things are indeed mentioned in the Bible, but that is not what the Bible teaches.

The Bible does not teach that a woman was made out of the rib of a man. That is an incident in an old story that came out of the distant past. . . . The idea of the sun standing still is taken from an ancient poem. . . . The Bible does not teach that the whale swallowed Jonah. That incident is related in an allegory, a book something like our Pilgrim's Progress. . . .

The Bible was written for a religious purpose. It was written to build up in men a right disposition.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles E. Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 20-31.

<sup>2</sup>Charles E. Jefferson, The Common Sense of Jesus, Sermon preached in the Broadway Tabernacle, Sunday morning, September 22, 1929, pp. 15-17.

1.

1.

ti.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

1.

It appears, then, that Jefferson did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> He was not a bibliolator, or one who believed in the "dictation theory of the Bible," whereby God told a writer the exact words to be written down. In an address entitled, "Searching the Scriptures," Jefferson declared:

The prime aim of the Scriptures is to impart life, and they fail of their purpose if they do not bring men to Him who is the Giver of Life and whose supreme desire is that all may have life more abundantly. . . .

Bibliolatry is one of the sins against which believers must ever be on their guard. . . . If we convert the Bible into an idol and put it on a level with God, we fall into the very pit into which the Jewish leaders had fallen, and repeat the tragedy which overwhelmed the Jewish church.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson did not consider the Bible to be perfect, or infallible. In taking what we might term the "Neo-Orthodox" position, he did not believe the Bible was "the Word of God," but rather that the Bible contained "the Word of God." He also believed in the Progressive Revelation of God--in other words, that God made Himself and His will known over a period of centuries. He believed that this divine revelation culminated in Jesus Christ, "the greatest of the prophets and the Son of God."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>By "verbal inspiration" is meant that God "dictated" to the various authors of the Books of the Bible the precise words which were to be written down and which are now part of the Christian Bible. Because God inspired these authors to write the precise words the Bible contains no errors, therefore, it must not be questioned.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Frederick Wishart, et. al., The Bible in Our Day (New York: The Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 35-36.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 13. Apparently the Tabernacle membership decreased during the late 1920's. This may have been due to an urbanward movement of the Tabernacle's members, although some persons (who desire to remain anonymous) suggest that Jefferson could no longer control the policies of

Jefferson did not attempt to hide the fact that he was in agreement with the methods of Higher Criticism, although he preferred the term "historical scholarship."<sup>1</sup> His regard for historical scholarship, as well as his position with reference to Progressive Revelation, is clearly expressed in the following passage:

It is an interesting fact that the trend of the world's thought through the last hundred years has swept human minds into a more serious contemplation of Jesus of Nazareth. . . . This has been the result of movements both inside the church and outside of it. Within the church we have had for a full century the scientific study of the Scriptures. The work of historical scholarship has been prodigious. No other book known to man has ever received such piercing and discriminating study as has been bestowed upon the Bible during the last two generations. This study has given us a changed conception of the Holy Scriptures. . . . We now see as we did not see before that the Bible is the record of the evolving religious sense of man. The Old Testament does not stand on a level with the New. The Old Testament is preparatory. It is a preliminary stage in the religious development of the race. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Although he allied himself with Higher Criticism, Jefferson added:

[I do] not accept the conjectures and the speculations of all the so-called higher critics, for in many cases they have been fantastic and freakish and wild. There is in every great movement a fringe of lunacy and some of the most stupid and useless writings of our generation has been done by men who have studied the Scriptures but who have lacked a sound mind. Fancy has taken the place of reason and a love of speculation has crowded out common sense. . . . But sane men in large numbers have been at work on the Bible and they have given us results which are assured. It is proved to all who are not hopelessly biased and blinded that the Seventeenth Century conception of the Bible is no longer tenable by those who have come to know the kind of world we are living in.<sup>3</sup>

---

the congregation, due to advanced age. In light of the foregoing it may be that Thirty Years on Broadway is Jefferson's defense of his practices. If so, it may contain exaggerations and, therefore, not represent his "true self."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Stelzle, (ed.), If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), p. 265.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 14.

It was  
all respect  
ship. He ar  
Bible is mor  
errors, he t  
Jefferson's  
stated in the

It is  
view of  
gradual  
less spe  
dematio  
it of it  
fulness.  
now to  
our fat  
more il

Jeff

is a word o

God is the

The

He summed u

On more tha

the Bible w

content. H

It is .  
for a mo  
Bible ha  
ing. I  
tures. I

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



It was not Jefferson's opinion that one must necessarily lose all respect for the Bible because one accepts historical scholarship. He argued that as a result of historical scholarship, the Bible is more easily understood; and although the Bible contains errors, he believed it is authoritative for it contains God's Word. Jefferson's beliefs with regard to this matter are succinctly stated in this excerpt from his writing, Thirty Years on Broadway.

It is sometimes assumed that if a preacher gives up the old view of the Bible, his reverence for the Bible must go. He will gradually wander away from Christ and lose himself in profitless speculations. The assumption is mistaken and the condemnation is unjust. The modern view of the Bible does not rob it of its authority. It increases its spiritual value and usefulness. It makes it an understandable Book. It is easier now to find the Word of God in it than it was in the days of our fathers. The Book is today to those who know how to use it more illuminating and helpful than it has ever been before.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson noted that "while the Bible is not inerrant, there is a word of God in the Bible which is authoritative. This Word of God is the ultimate authority."<sup>2</sup>

The Bible was the basis for all of Jefferson's preaching. He summed up the character of his preaching in one word: "Biblical." On more than one occasion the pastor of the Tabernacle declared that the Bible was the only source for his sermon ideas, texts, and content. He said, for example:

It is . . . a source of satisfaction to me that I have never for a moment neglected the Bible. Through thirty years the Bible has held the central place in all our Tabernacle thinking. I have drawn my inspiration constantly from the Scriptures. My joy has been to unfold the ideas of the prophets and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

apostles  
Sunday  
services  
and out  
I find  
necessary  
which to

In 1929 he w

If the P  
cribe in  
it is B  
the B  
the H  
Jesus o  
the mat  
never f  
or insp  
and has  
today. 2

The

other books

ing such pr

was not a c

without err

preclude th

faithful an

scholarship

was able to

contribute t

church. Jeff

<sup>1</sup>Jeff

<sup>2</sup>Jeff

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

apostles and of the Prince of Glory. I have done this on Sunday mornings and on Sunday evenings and in our special Lenten services and also in my Bible class. I have done it in season and out of season, and always with delight.

I find satisfaction that in all the years it has not been necessary for me to go outside the Bible to find material with which to stimulate your minds or feed your hearts.<sup>1</sup>

In 1929 he wrote:

If the Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle were asking to describe in a sentence the character of his preaching he would say it is Biblical. Through all his ministry he has kept close to the Bible. Out of the Bible he has gotten his message. It is the Hebrew poets and prophets and the apostles and especially Jesus of Nazareth, who have furnished him his ideas and given him the materials out of which he has built his sermons. He has never found it necessary to turn aside to other books for texts or inspiration. The Bible has grown on him through all the years and has never been so wonderful and so indispensable as it is today.<sup>2</sup>

The Bible, therefore, was placed on a higher pedestal than other books, for in it Jefferson found the meaning of life. In giving such prominence to the Bible, he was conservative; however, he was not a conservative in the sense that he believed the Bible to be without error. The fact that the Bible contained error did not preclude that it could not contain God's Word. It was "by the faithful and fearless preaching of the Bible"<sup>3</sup> in light of historical scholarship (which exposed Biblical fallacies) that Jefferson was able to make the Bible more meaningful to his parishioners, and contribute to the Tabernacle's reputation as a Liberal or Modernist church. Jefferson summed up his conception of the Bible in these words:

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

The  
will of  
as like  
history.  
We stud  
in it to  
it with  
the Bibl  
no place  
The Book  
lamp unt  
consulte  
practica  
nounced  
day prob  
light on  
interpre  
used as  
the pre  
living  
aggress

One

mentalists

modernists

His divinit

divinity. b

mentalists

Christ, or

ation of Go

As a

regard to a

following re

1

Ibid.

The Bible is our textbook and we study it to find out the will of God concerning us. We do not study the Book simply as literature, nor do we study it as a volume of ancient history. We do not study it as art critics or antiquarians. We study it because it contains the oracles of God. It has in it the Words of eternal life. The Pastor has never classed it with the writings of Homer or Shakespeare. The notion that the Bible is no more inspired than is Dante or Milton has had no place in the preaching of the Broadway Tabernacle pulpit. The Book has been extolled as unique, the Book of Books, a lamp unto our feet and a light to our path. It has been consulted as a voice from heaven. It has been prized as a practical treatise on the art of living. The principles announced by prophets and apostles have been applied to present day problems. The ideals of Jesus have been made to flash light on modern situations. The signs of the times have been interpreted by the help which the Bible has given. It has been used as a medium of divine revelation from the living God to the present generation, and it is because the Bible has been a living Book in the Tabernacle pulpit that the Church is today aggressively alive.<sup>1</sup>

#### Jefferson's Conception of Jesus Christ

One of the major struggles between the Modernists and Fundamentalists was that concerning the person of Jesus Christ. The modernists tended to emphasize Christ's humanity at the expense of His divinity. In fact, some Modernists not only minimized Christ's divinity, but rejected it entirely. On the other hand, the Fundamentalists usually emphasized Christ's divinity. They saw God in Christ, or God in human flesh. It was upon this divine manifestation of God that the Fundamentalists focused their attention.

As a young man Jefferson was apparently a Modernist with regard to a conception of Jesus Christ. For example, he wrote the following regarding himself:

---

<sup>1</sup>  
Ibid., pp. 16-17.

When  
embraced  
not only  
there  
It failed  
gave up  
conception  
the Apostles  
life a  
It was  
whom he

Jefferson, t

Christ in fa

Unlike the M

exceptional a

was simply an

Jefferson's f

Years on Broad

There  
ordinary  
Assisi, a  
lofty spi  
ranked an  
popular t  
the people  
held tena  
bers many  
this esti  
Jesus was  
world, th  
gladness  
of an ins  
solution.  
which has  
through t

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

When a young man the future Pastor of the Tabernacle had embraced the lower idea of Jesus. To him this conception was not only easier to grasp but seemed far more reasonable. But there came a day when this conception was no longer tenable. It failed to satisfy his intellect and to feed his heart. He gave up and turned his back upon it forever. He accepted the conception held by Peter and Paul and John and all the rest of the Apostles. This conception made the world new. It gave life a new significance and stirred in him a desire to preach. It was the Christ whom he found more than forty years ago whom he has held constantly before the eyes of his congregation.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson, therefore, apparently gave up a Modernist conception of Christ in favor of the traditional or orthodox Christian belief.

Unlike the Modernist, Jefferson did not view Christ as a human with exceptional and peculiar abilities. Nor did he believe that Christ was simply an unusually gifted prophet. What appears to be Dr.

Jefferson's final conception of Jesus Christ is revealed in Thirty Years on Broadway. In this booklet Jefferson wrote these words:

There is a theory that Jesus of Nazareth is only an extraordinary man, a Palestinian Socrates, a Galilean Francis of Assisi, a First Century ethical teacher, a Jewish prophet, a lofty spiritual genius, the founder of a new religion to be ranked among the other religions of the world. This was the popular theory in Palestine when Jesus asked his disciples who the people were saying he was. . . . This has been a conception held tenaciously by many through sixty generations. It numbers many adherents today. But Jesus was not satisfied with this estimate of his person. When Simon Peter declared that Jesus was the Messiah, the dream of the nation, the hope of the world, the son of the living God, the answer was accepted with gladness and announcement was made at once of the foundation of an institution which would defy all the forces of dissolution. It is this second and higher conception of Jesus which has been the substance of all the Tabernacle preaching through the last thirty years.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.

to

at

Je

At

or

Je

th

ch

in

hi

us

or

Go

fer

bel

gra

of

liv

His

lev



Perhaps it was his new conception of Christ that caused him to choose as his motto the words of the Apostle Paul: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid which is Christ Jesus."<sup>1</sup> Jefferson began each church year with a sermon based on this text. At this annual service he also had the congregation sing the hymn: "The Church's One Foundation Is Jesus Christ Her Lord." Thus, as Jefferson states: "Through the shifting scenes of the changing years the Tabernacle pulpit has proclaimed the grace and power of the unchanging Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson saw God in Christ. Christ was the Son of God, and in Him God was revealed. "The Bible has but one message," he told his fellow Congregationalists at a National convention, "it tells us the character and will of God. . . . Its many voices melt into one clear and musical appeal: 'Come and see the mind and heart of God.'"<sup>3</sup> This doctrine of the revelation of God in Christ was Jefferson's central or fundamental belief. It was also the central belief of his denomination. To a nation which he thought was being gradually consumed by greed, lust, worldliness, and "the atheism of force," Jefferson warned: "Nothing can save us but faith in the living God, the God who so loved and loves the world that He gave His Son to die on the Cross."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Shepherd, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Jefferson, The Need of the World and Christianity's Response (New York, no publisher, 1913), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

Although Jefferson stressed the need for personal conversion and faith in Christ, he was not an evangelist in the sense of Billy Sunday or Dwight L. Moody. However, he was evangelical, and he insisted that the Tabernacle be an evangelical church. In speaking of "The Tabernacle of the Twentieth Century," he said:

It must be an evangelical church. "We profess our decided attachment," so runs the creed of 1840, "to that system of the Christian religion which is distinguishably denominated evangelical." The old Tabernacle was conceived in the heart of a man yearning for the conversion of men. At the dedication of this church, forty-one years ago, Dr. Thompson closed his great sermon with a thrilling appeal to the unconverted. Again and again he repeated the apostolic words: "Be reconciled to God." The air of this room still quivers with Dr. Taylor's burning exhortation: "Give<sub>1</sub> your heart to God." This church must convert men or it is lost.

Jefferson, however, permitted, and even advocated, freedom of thought and expression with regard to theological matters, although not permitting a "lower idea of Jesus Christ." In his "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon," he points out:

I have always urged you to think for yourself, to read the latest and ablest book, to arrive at your own conclusions, and never to give them up until someone showed you good reasons for doing so. I have never worried as to whether you agreed with me or not. I have never considered you my enemies no matter how far apart on sundry points we might be in opinion. A Church ought to be wide enough to hold men of all sorts of opinions and of many different viewpoints and of diverse theological positions. We are all under Christ and we answer to him. Each one must be free to follow the direction in which the Spirit of Truth seems to lead. . . . And so we have a free Church. No one need ever stay out of the Tabernacle if he is willing to accept Jesus Christ's way of living.<sup>2</sup>

In the conclusion to this sermon Jefferson states:

. . . my preaching from the first day to this has been organized

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 19-20.

0  
0  
1  
t  
c  
h  
6  
te

Chr

around Jesus Christ. From God in Christ it has drawn all its inspiration. I have had but one ambition for myself and for you, and that is that we might know Christ, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, if by any means we might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.<sup>1</sup>

### Jefferson's Conception of the Church

A cardinal belief or tenet of the Christian religion is that the Church is a necessary evangelical institution.<sup>2</sup> Jefferson expressed this belief when he said that the Church was "a divine institution, a feature of the eternal plan of the Almighty, and indispensable in the spiritual education of the human race."<sup>3</sup> In Jefferson's opinion the Church was an ecclesiastical institution composed of those persons who believed in Jesus Christ as the Son of God. As such, the Church was not simply another fraternity, club, or lodge, but a unique organization. Its uniqueness lay in the fact that it was founded by Jesus Christ. Jefferson stated that society could be transformed only through the Church, and that the Christian himself must be a member of the organized Church if he desired to grow spiritually.<sup>4</sup> In explaining his conception of the Church, Jefferson wrote, (in the third person):

He accepts the conception of the Church which Paul sets forth in his letters. He believes that it is the Body of Christ, the

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>See preceding section on "Jefferson's Conception of Jesus Christ."

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

Temple of God, the Household of Faith, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, the Bride of Christ, and the Medium of revelation of the manifold wisdom of God. From his reading of history he knows that it has never been well with Christianity unless it has been well with the Church. He knows that whenever the Church has been feeble or corrupt the cause of Christ has languished, and that wherever the Church has been vigorous and loyal the Kingdom of God has advanced gloriously. He knows that today it is universally true that the power of Christ in any community is dependent on the strength of the Church. It is through the Church that Christ gets his work done. It is by the organized company of his followers that he performs his miracles. The Church is his body, his instrument, his servant. A weak and blundering Church in a town means that in that town moral ideals will be low and the spiritual life will be feeble. Everything depends on the Church. As soon as men see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ they at once become zealous in forwarding the work of the Church. Lukewarmness in devotion to the Church indicates a dim vision of God in Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Although Jefferson considered the Church a divine institution, he was not blind to its faults. He recognized its blunders and shortcomings. However, "the defects of the actual Church . . . never dimmed his eyes to the loveliness of the ideal Church and he . . . held ever before him the vision of a glorious Church having no blemish or trace of decay."<sup>2</sup> Jefferson claimed that he was never daunted or disheartened by the ridicule to which the Church had been subjected. He believed with Christ that the gates of Hell or destruction would never prevail against the Church.

It was probably because of this conception of the Church, and his belief that the doctrine of the Church received too little attention, that Jefferson chose as his theme for the Yale Lectures on preaching: "The Building of the Church." Of these lectures he said:

When over twenty-five years ago the Pastor of the Tabernacle was invited to deliver the Lyman Beecher Lectures before the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

students of the Divinity School of Yale University he chose for his theme, "The Building of the Church." He felt that the Church had been too much neglected in all the preceding courses and it was his aim to call the attention of theological students to a conception of the Church which would put tonic into their blood and make them more efficient workers for God.<sup>1</sup>

The following statements from these lectures are indicative of Jefferson's concern for Church building:

From [the hour of his conversion] to his death Paul knew but two sovereign themes--one was Jesus Christ, the other was the Church. The only sin whose memory burned like fire in his heart was the sin which he had committed against the Church. When you find him with his face in the dust, it is his persecution of the Church which he is bewailing. When he declares he is the chief of sinners and that he is not worthy to be called an apostle, it is because the recollection of his sin against the Church rolls over him like a flood. When you seek him at his highest, jubilant and enraptured, you find him thinking of the Church. It is a subject never absent from his mind. He ransacks his vocabulary in search of figures by which adequately to image forth his idea of the Church's character and mission. Sometimes he thinks of it as the household of faith--the family of Jehovah. At other times he sees it as the temple of God, the very seat and shrine of the Eternal. Again it presents itself to him as the body of Christ. . . . Still it rises before him beautiful and radiant as a woman in the hour of her greatest loveliness, the bride of the world's redeemer. . . . Always it is the medium of revelation. . . . To regret that Paul has so much to say about the Church is to repine that Christianity is not other than it is.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the above quotation Edgar DeWitt Jones says: "One is at a loss which to admire more: the faultless diction of the quotation, or the resolute way in which the Apostle's conception of the Church is stated so fully and in so small a compass."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Charles E. Jefferson, The Building of the Church (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916), pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup>Edgar DeWitt Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit (New York: Harper and Bros., 1951), p. 72.

In 1

these lectu

tures he ma

the religio

In 3

In the plan

only a word

felt that t

practical m

sought to c

the goals f

In th

should be mo

congregation

of the Sunda

sermon, there

of the servic

part. Jeffer

Even thoug

may not be

while to b

service of

<sup>1</sup>Jeffer

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>3</sup>The or  
when the settl

<sup>4</sup>Jeffer



In 1929 Jefferson declared that the book which contained these lectures was his favorite. He thought that in the Yale Lectures he made his "most distinctive and valuable contribution to the religious life of his generation."<sup>1</sup>

In Jefferson's opinion the Church was a practical instrument in the plan of God, as well as a divine institution. It was not only a worshipping body, but a teaching and working body. Jefferson felt that the Church must meet the devotional, instructional, and practical needs of its members. These three phases of life he sought to cultivate so that the worshipping body might accomplish the goals for which Christ created it.<sup>2</sup>

In the first place Jefferson resolved that the Tabernacle should be more than a preaching station on Broadway. He trained his congregation to recognize the importance of the devotional portions of the Sunday church services, as well as that of the sermon.<sup>3</sup> The sermon, therefore, filled an important place in even the main feature of the service. Each part of the service was as vital as another part. Jefferson emphasized this when he wrote:

Even though on any particular Sunday the theme of the sermon may not be level to everyone's needs, it would be still worth while to be in the Tabernacle's congregation, because of our service of praise and Bible reading and prayer.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>The order of worship will be considered later in this paper when the setting for the sermon is discussed.

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 24.

The sermon had a high place, of course, in the worship exercises. Jefferson said that it was an essential part of the service, for it was through the sermon that he could fulfill the second obligation of the Church, that of instruction or teaching. The Tabernacle was noted for these sermons, not only because of their content, but also for their length Jefferson asserted:

The Church is . . . a teaching body. The sermon has a high place in our worship. It is an essential part of the Worship. No sermonettes are preached in the Tabernacle. They have a rightful place, no doubt, in some churches, but not in a church like the Tabernacle. In every large city there ought to be a few churches in whose pulpits great themes are habitually discussed. No theme of imperial dimensions can be profitably dealt with in ten or fifteen minutes. . . . Those who attend our services know in advance that they will have the opportunity of moving on a high plane in the consideration of some august theme worthy of the attention of thoughtful people. The sermon is never less than a half hour in length. Often it is thirty-five minutes, sometimes forty, and occasionally forty-five. In the Lenten Season, when the great doctrines of the Church are being unfolded, the sermon is occasionally extended to an hour.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson's Tabernacle was also a working institution. It was not only a body or group of hearers of the Word, but also a group of doers. There were various societies for the promulgation of the Gospel and for humanitarian services. The Parish House provided a place for meetings, discussions, and lectures, and the further planning and development of Christian programs. In a day when the "institutional church" constructed gymnasiums and swimming pools, and organized entertainments for industrial workers, the Tabernacle strove to be an inspirational Church.<sup>2</sup> When the new Tabernacle was

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>See section in chapter two entitled, "American Church History (1898-1930)."

built on Br

Do not  
concern  
trains  
is good  
inspira  
emphasi  
women t  
thought  
with th  
a Chure  
in doin  
ambitio

After havin

Jefferson d

The Tan  
sense.  
chiefly  
and ende  
possible

Jeffe

Church is th

ing, and vic

erson saw i

of love. The

one's fellow

The Chure  
Church th  
The famil  
up the wo  
breadths  
lovers.3

1Jeffe

2Jeffe

3Ibid.

built on Broadway and Fifty-sixth street, Jefferson said:

Do not let us have an institutional church--a church which concerns itself with amusements and gymnastics--a church which trains human fingers in the art of earning a livelihood. That is good, but let other institutions do it. Let us have an inspirational church--a Church which shall put the supreme emphasis on the Spirit; a Church that shall inspire men and women to think, to use their minds, to reason, and to think God's thoughts after him; a Church that shall concern itself supremely with the building of character after the pattern set by Christ; a Church that shall train men and women to join their strengths in doing the works of Christ, and fire them with the holy ambition to bring the whole world to God.<sup>1</sup>

After having served thirty years as pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle,

Jefferson declared:

[The Tabernacle] is not an institutional church in the popular sense. . . . It is rather an inspirational church, working chiefly upon the intellect and the conscience and the heart, and endeavoring, in divers ways, to build up in as many as possible the mind of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson apparently agreed with the Apostle Paul that the Church is the Body of Christ. It was an organism, a living, growing, and victorious body. The main task of the minister, as Jefferson saw it, was to bind or knit his people together into a family of love. The badge of the Christian disciple was that of love for one's fellow believers. Jefferson wrote:

The Church . . . is primarily a school of love. In the Church the disciples of Jesus are trained to love one another. The family is the first school of love. . . . The Church takes up the work of the home and extends it. It weaves broader breadths of love. . . . A true Church of Christ is a band of lovers.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-29.

ach

Ann

buil

the

As m

poli

And a

"the

espa

schil

E

C

d

Jeff  
Krieger  
the f  
"He /  
the b  
him to  
which

Jefferson believed that the Tabernacle Congregation had achieved this goal of Christian brotherhood. In his "Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon" he said:

Christian unity is not with us a theory. It is a solid fact. We love to sing, "Blest be the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love." And we can truly say, "Like a mighty army moves this church of God. We are not divided, all one body we, one in hope and doctrine, one in charity." The new commandment has become for us the supreme law of life, and to love one another is to us the fulfillment of the deepest wish of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Jefferson's "highest and constant ambition" was to build on Broadway a church--a family of believers--through which the Christian Gospel might be promulgated throughout the world.<sup>2</sup> As minister of a congregation committed to the Congregational polity, Jefferson was able to speak freely and to a free people. And although he was committed to Congregationalism, which emphasized "the autonomy of the local congregation and the fellowship of equal churches,"<sup>3</sup> Jefferson "was not a sectarian in the sense of schismatic or bigot."<sup>4</sup> Of himself he wrote:

He is a denominationalist in the sense that he believes that Churches do their most effective service when they are organized into groups, each group doing its work in ways which are congenial to the Christians of that group. He believes in denominations. He is proud of the Congregational denomination.

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>The Rev. Mr. Frank W. Murtfeldt who was ordained by Jefferson in 1908, and who was later associated with Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Jefferson's successor at the Tabernacle, said the following in a letter to the writer dated June 4, 1958. "He [Jefferson] has left two monuments; the church he built, not the building, but the great group of those who learned through him to believe in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and his sermons, which still are helpful to an understanding of that Gospel."

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

a

Ec

da

cu

la

roc

or

ser

There are many regiments in the Lord's army, and one of the regiments in that army is the Congregational. . . . To work in cooperation with its sister churches has been its constant aim. It does not parade its denominationalism. . . . Its Pastor has never been a critic of other denominations nor taken delight in holding up Congregationalism as superior to all forms of polity. He believes that several church polities are divinely ordered, and that all these different polities working side by side bring out a fuller measure of Christian wisdom and power.<sup>1</sup>

### Jefferson's Conception of Social Christianity

It was stated in an earlier chapter that Jefferson was not a "social gospeller" after the manner of Walter Rauschenbusch. However, he did apply Christianity to the social problems of his day, believing that the Christian Gospel should be applied to current problems. He said that it was unfortunate that the Christian Church often did not have a social vision, and therefore no social conscience. He believed that there was no hope for the nation, or the church, unless they accepted the religion of Christ. In a sermon on "The Social Vision of Isaiah" he said:

Without the social vision we never can have a social conscience. Without a social conscience we can never save the world. . . . There is no hope for us unless we come up and accept the religion of Jesus. People sometimes talk of the "Old Gospel." That is the very Gospel I am speaking about. The "Old Gospel" is the "Social Gospel." Sometimes they speak admiringly of the Simple Gospel. That is indeed the Gospel that we all want. The Simple Gospel is the Social Gospel. . . . Men are to know that Christians belong to Christ, not by the form of their worship, or by the phrases of their creed, or by the form of their church government; they are to prove their Christian discipleship by their relations to men. That is the Simple Gospel. That is the Old Gospel, and without that Gospel we cannot be saved.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah, pp. 56-61.



12

mat

day

and

pea

pre

accr

25-

Q

Q

A

In 1923 Jefferson reminded his congregation:

I have emphasized through 25 years the social side of religion. I have preached in season and out of season the Social Gospel. The only Gospel that I know is the Gospel which covers all the departments of human life. All the kingdoms of this world are to become the Kingdom of Christ. It is our daily prayer that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven, and so I have meddled year after year with business, and with industry, and with politics, and with diplomacy.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson's sermons on Social Christianity dealt with such matters as voting, lynching, commercial greed, the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week, the Volstead Act, the Ku Klux Klan, and war and peace.

[In 1921] there began the series of Broadway Tabernacle Tracts. They consisted of short dissertations that came out of the application of Jesus' way of life to specific mooted questions. There were fifteen of these tracts issued down to the end of 1922. They were on such diverse topics as: disarmament, Bible reading, joining the Church, how to pray, observing Lent, beer and light wines, and the church social.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson's comments indicate that the topic "war and peace" received his greatest attention. This interest is well expressed in this statement: "For many years [my] most fervent sermons have been peace sermons. In them [I have] risen to [my] fullest

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 171. In Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah, pp. 25-26 Jefferson says:

I am . . . a practical preacher. I never preach academically. I am not interested in abstractions in the pulpit. . . . I am always dealing with life as I see it around me. I care nothing for the unfolding of ideas unless I can apply them to the conduct of individuals and institutions. I am always preaching to the twentieth century. . . . I am preaching all the time to New York City. I am not especially interested in Philadelphia, Chicago, or San Francisco. I am always grappling with the intellectual and social and political problems which our generation is facing. . . . My sermons are full of local color. . . . I am always referring to "Republicans," "Democrats," "Syndicalists," "Communists," "Anarchists," "Bolshevists." Again and again I say something about the "World Court," and the "League of Nations." Again and again I have spoken of the "Senate," and the "Subway Muddle," and the "18th Amendment."

sta

let

pro

low

the

Cori

exam

orde

ing

vered

Congre

Decemb

stature."<sup>1</sup> In his anniversary sermon in 1923 he told his listeners:

From the beginning until now I have been an internationalist--always thinking about the family of nations, and dwelling on the wonderful fact that God has made of one all the nations of the earth. . . . Because I am a Christian internationalist, I am a passionate and unrelenting enemy of war. How I have cudgeled war--and lashed war--and trampled on war in scorching indignation. 25 years of it! I am proud of that record.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson's interest in the application of Christianity to social problems, especially that of war, is further expressed in the following excerpt from his address to the First Industrial Seminar of the Congregational Churches of the United States:

. . . I understand that this is the first Seminar held under the auspices of our Congregational denomination. It is very fitting that it should be held in Broadway Tabernacle, for the reason that the Tabernacle from its beginning has been at the front in all great social movements. . . . For thirty years I have endeavored to keep Broadway Tabernacle in the front line trenches. I do not care to be the pastor of a church which is a fugitive and cloistered sort of church; that is afraid to sail out and meet the adversary. The church I like to be pastor of is the church that has both eyes open and keeps them fixed on the affairs of our generation. So for thirty years I have stood for international peace on this corner. Christianity is not worth anything unless it is applied, and . . .<sup>3</sup> you got to have Christianity if you are going to apply it.

Because of his great interest in the application of the Christian religion to the problem of war, I shall use this as an example of Jefferson's attempts to apply Christianity to the social order.

In an effort to persuade persons of the necessity of applying Christian principles to the problem of war, Jefferson did not

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup>Stenographic record of the First Industrial Seminar, Convened under the auspices of the Department of Social Relations, Congregational Churches of the U.S., Broadway Tabernacle, New York, December 27-30, 1927, pp. 10-11.

limi

decr

Wnic

thre

rat:

Pa. E

Int:

Yas:

Amer

circ:

Caase

Jeffe

Legat

netco

IN

7

ON

IN

IN

IN

IN

W

Y

86

Ne

limit himself to the preaching and publication of sermons. He decried militarism and war in The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, which he considered to be a "second pulpit." He also published three volumes of lectures on war and peace: Christianity and International Peace, What the War is Teaching, and What the War Has Taught Us. The concluding chapter of The New Crusade is entitled, "International Peace," and the final chapter of Christianizing a Nation is entitled, "The Church and International Relations."

The Church Peace Union, the New York Peace Society, and the American Association for International Conciliation published and circulated thousands of copies of such Jefferson speeches as, "The Cause of War," "Varieties of Pacifism," and "The Next Step." Jefferson also stated his position with regard to war in newspapers, magazines, periodicals, as well as in conventions and conferences.

In writing about his efforts to promote peace by Christian methods, Jefferson said of himself:

He has poured his strength into this cause without stint. There is no part of his work which he contemplates with greater satisfaction than his work for peace.

His labor does not stop with his speaking and writing. He has built the idea of peace into the very structure of the Tabernacle. We have an enthusiastic Council of International Goodwill through which the Tabernacle keeps speaking to the world. Its most conspicuous achievement is the holding every year of an International Dinner to which are invited representatives of all races and many of the nations in our city. Near and far our influence is being felt.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently Jefferson's greatest desire was to "link the

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 46.

Exos

tion

two

green

green

222

"222

time

of t

his

of t

would

then

or p

and

Broadway Tabernacle with the most momentous cause of our generation--the cause of world peace."<sup>1</sup> The greatest problem of the twentieth century, according to Jefferson, was that of war. The greatest movement of the twentieth century was that of peace. The greatest peril, he stated, was militarism. The greatest hope of man was international good-will.<sup>2</sup> He concluded his booklet, "Thirty Years on Broadway" with these words:

The great challenge which the Church must meet is the challenge put up by the militarists. That the Tabernacle might be in the forefront of all the cohorts battling against war and contending for peace has been the Pastor's highest ambition. He has endeavored to make the Tabernacle an international Church, with an international mind and an international heart and an international conscience. When a prominent New Yorker, not a member of our Church, declared the Tabernacle to be the most internationally minded Church in America, the Pastor felt he had not labored in vain.<sup>3</sup>

#### Summary

It appears that Jefferson was both a Liberal and a Conservative. His interest in, and advocacy of, the historical scholarship of the Bible leads one to conclude that he was a Liberal; however, his acceptance of Christ's Virgin Birth and Divinity is typical of the conservative theologian. Most Liberals and Conservatives would agree with Jefferson that the Church is a divine institution, therefore, it is difficult to "label" him as either a Modernist or Fundamentalist in this regard. However, in his application of Christianity to social problems Charles E. Jefferson was apparently

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 46-47.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 47.





a Liberal. His conceptions of the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, and Social Christianity reflect both Liberal and Conservative positions.

Was Jefferson, therefore, a Modernist or Fundamentalist?

Perhaps his answer should be ours:

The Pastor of the Tabernacle is a "Fundamentalist," in the deepest sense of that word. Years ago he wrote his best known book--"Things Fundamental." But he is also a "Modernist" in the truest sense of that word. He is a "Modernist-Fundamentalist," but as that is a rather cumbersome designation to write before a man's name, he chooses to drop all descriptive titles and be known simply as a "Minister of Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XXXVIII, No. 13, (February, 1924), p. 3468.

in

see

acq

hav

ana

spo

he

see

Pla.

see

the

not

leas

line

obl.

## CHAPTER IV

### JEFFERSON'S SERMON PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

#### Sermon Preparation

##### Introduction

It has been noted in this paper that Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson was a studious person—one who spent many hours in acquiring knowledge and in sermon planning and preparation. I have suggested that in his preparation Jefferson observed and analyzed the time in which he lived and the persons to whom he spoke. Let us now consider, in more detail, the method whereby he prepared himself and his sermon so that he could meet the needs of his Tabernacle audience.

##### Planning Ahead

Dr. Jefferson apparently planned his sermons months ahead of the day when they would be delivered, thus, following the advice he gave to the Yale theological students. This does not mean that he planned his sermons in detail, but that he at least chose the topic or subject and often sketched an outline.<sup>1</sup> Nor did Jefferson believe that a minister was under obligation to follow a pre-arranged schedule of sermons; he

---

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson, The Building of the Church, pp. 264-265.

bell

As a

at t

serm

The

basic

revea

the L

was, I

commen

were r

preach

love,

sent,

pentan

way Tab  
says: "  
planning  
believed  
continua

4

5

believed also in flexibility and adaptability:

No man's plan can be carried out entirely as he framed it, Jefferson said for we are under the government of God who also makes plans, and when our plans conflict with His plans, it is our plans which are broken. By using the light we have, we should project long courses of action.<sup>1</sup>

As an advocate of a long pastorate<sup>2</sup> and as one who achieved this at the Tabernacle, it is possible that Dr. Jefferson planned his sermons five and ten years in advance.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Basis for Preparation

It appears that Jefferson used the Church Year as the basis for scheduling and planning his sermons.<sup>4</sup> His sermons reveal that this year was divided into such Holy periods as the Lenten Season and the Advent Season; such events as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Forefather's Day were especially commemorated, and international, national and local holidays were noted and observed. Between these occasions Jefferson preached annually on such themes as God's sovereignty, God's love, Christ's life, death and resurrection, the New Commandment, prayer, Bible study, war and peace, missions, and repentance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 262-263.

<sup>3</sup>Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XLII, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), pp. 5099-5101 says: "He toiled over his sermons! He toiled in anticipation--planning them a whole year and even several years in advance. He believed that sermons must be grown, not manufactured; and he was continually cultivating the soil of his soul and mind."

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, The Building of the Church, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 253.

## Periods of Preparation and Sources of Material

When did Jefferson plan his sermon schedule and prepare his sermons? Apparently he used his annual three-month vacation for such purposes. He wrote (in the third person):

Every year through the last thirty years the Pastor was given a vacation of three months. He accepted it as a sacred gift and used it conscientiously. In the summer months he did little public speaking. He turned down nearly all invitations. He kept resolutely out of the lecture field. He could not be beguiled into selling time which his people had given him and which he really believed was still theirs. He used this time in getting ready for the next year's labors. He consecrated his summers to study and reflection. He took time to think. He took time to read, but he took more time to think. If a man is to last thirty years in a city pulpit he must do a deal of thinking. He must brood. It is not enough to be a reader. . . . The mind must have leisure for meditation. The intellect must be given a chance to loaf. . . . During the winter months the city preacher has not time for solitude. . . . If he does not use the summer in feeding the brain and getting the fever out of his nerves, he is lost.

The Church gave him every year a generous vacation and also a generous salary. The salary made it possible for him to travel. One year his Church gave him eight months all for travel and another time . . . an entire year. There is no school for a minister which is quite as valuable as the school of travel. . . . A preacher must live in a wide world. He must cultivate the habit of looking beyond his parish walls.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Frederic Jefferson gives us further insight into his father's sermon preparation:

In the summer vacation [my father] planned the topics for his sermons the following year. Five mornings a week, Monday through Friday, he gave over to study and would permit no interruption except in case of sickness or death. He kept no scrapbooks and had no filing system. He took great quantities of notes on 5" by 8" sheets of white paper in the course of his studies, but he had no kind of index for them. He did keep a diary each year. He read the N.Y. Times, N.Y. Evening Post, Atlantic Monthly, Christian Century, British Weekly, Congregationalist, etc. He was an insatiable reader

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 6-7.

of newspapers and spent a great deal of time in studying in many fields of learning. I think his illustrations or examples were mostly true to life.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Frederic Jefferson states that his father's major sources for his sermon material were his travels, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and more especially books on theology, history, biography, and poetry,<sup>2</sup> the "four branches indispensable to a man who wishes to be a master-teacher of men."<sup>3</sup> His most important source book was the Bible, from which he drew constant inspiration<sup>4</sup> and in which he found

<sup>1</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959. With regard to the keeping of scrapbooks and filing systems it appears that Dr. Jefferson was following the advice he gave in The Building of the Church, p. 289. He said; "The preacher should also beware of note-books, scrap-books, envelopes for clippings, cases of boxes and drawers for the storing away of sermonic material. All such devices have their legitimate place, but they can easily become a source of peril. They take a deal of time, and a man may form the habit of using his scissors when he ought to be using his head. It is possible to have a hundred huge envelopes bulging with sermonic treasures, while the mind is distressingly spindling and lean. It is far more important to keep the heart full than to have a lot of things laid away in drawers." Henry Sloane Coffin said "there was more in [Jefferson] than he ever said or wrote. That was because he kept replenishing his mind and his soul from books and travel and observation of the ongoings of the world and the intercourse with folk and above all from fellowship with Him with whom is the fountain of life." See "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XLII, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), p. 5101.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959. The writer perused a book of Tennyson's poetry which Dr. Jefferson had owned and which is now in the library of his son, Charles Frederic Jefferson. This book bore the marks of use, such as underlining, notations in the margins, and on the inside of the covers poems listed according to such major topics as God, Christ, Church, Nature.

<sup>3</sup> Jefferson, The Building of the Church, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 17.



answer

Jefferson

Dr.  
cal  
bey  
ly  
clo  
in  
to  
to  
out  
tied  
ness  
one  
and  
fal

Jefferson

His

or  
vis

points  
sermon  
is one  
any man  
of ages  
great v  
ways is  
can war  
Sermon  
work on  
preacher  
man is l  
can a pre  
It is as  
tion as it  
201, 209.

2 Jone

answers for the problems of his parishioners.<sup>1</sup> A friend of Jefferson's wrote:

Dr. Jefferson got his sermon-ideas, sermon-seeds, he called them, as do all preachers, from many sources. But beyond many, he spoke "out of life." He wrote painstakingly during much of his ministry. . . . The opening and closing sentences of his sermon, at least, were worked out in full and final detail. How important it was, he said, to win your congregation from the first syllable and then to know just how, as well as when, to stop. . . . Throughout all of the discourse ran the red thread of an outline, tied inseparably to the text, with inexorable reasonableness, logic and appeal, which you might have expected from one who started to be a trial lawyer, became a minister and was one of the great expositors and defenders of the faith and a spokesman for God in our times.<sup>2</sup>

#### Jefferson's Comments About Sermon Preparation

When Edgar DeWitt Jones asked Jefferson how he prepared his sermons, Jefferson replied:

I prepare my sermons by preparing myself. Self-preparation is the most difficult work a preacher has to do. . . . If the preacher does not prepare himself, it matters little what else he does. A preacher who is spiritually anemic, or intellectually impoverished, or morally depleted, will wish often for a juniper tree. Milton contended that if a

---

<sup>1</sup>In The Minister as Shepherd Charles Edward Jefferson points out the value and importance of audience analysis in sermon preparation. He wrote: "The feeding of a congregation is one of the most momentous and difficult enterprises which any man can undertake. There is in every church a wide variety of ages, temperaments, appetites, tastes, constitutions, and a great variety of foods prepared and delivered in different ways is consequently demanded. . . . In a sermon [the minister] can warn, protect, guide, heal, rescue, and nourish. . . . Sermon preparation has two stages—work on the preacher and work on the message. . . . It is in his parish that the preacher gets his most telling illustrations. . . . No rifleman is likely to hit the target if he fires in the dark. How can a preacher aim if he does not know where the people are? It is as important that a minister should know his congregation as it is that he should know his Bible." pp. 74, 79, 190, 201, 203.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit, pp. 73-74.

man wishes to write a good poem, he himself must be a poem. It is equally true that a preacher to create a living sermon must himself be a sermon. The preacher's fundamental job is working on himself.

But I work on my sermons too. I work on them all the time. I work on them through my waking hours and probably I keep right on working in my sleep. But I have a queer way of working. I do not build sermons as Ford builds automobiles or architects build sky-scrapers. My sermons are not manufactured products. They are more like apple dumplings. I usually have a half-dozen of them in the pot at the same time. I keep the water boiling and then I stick in a fork to see which one should be served next. Some dumplings must be cooked longer than others.

But my favorite figure for my sermons is a flower. My sermons grow. They unfold. I never "get up" a sermon. I suspect the genuineness of a sermon which must be "got up." A sermon of the right sort gets itself up. If I supply the soil and the seed and the sun and the rain, the sermon will come up of itself. My soul is a flower-garden. My business is raising sermons. The tragedy of a preacher's life is that so many of his sermons must be picked too soon. Sundays come so close together and the preacher has so many things to do that often he can not find those nooks of leisure in which lovely things come to blossom.<sup>1</sup>

#### Jefferson's Comments About Self-Preparation

It appears that Jefferson believed that the minister must himself live the Word of God before he can successfully preach it to other persons. In other words, a preacher makes an impression, not simply by his words, but by his actions and appearance:

Humanly speaking, everything depends upon the minister. Music cannot save a church, nor the Bible, nor the sacraments, nor pulpit discourses. Worship dies unless it is kept alive by a living man. Out of the personality of the preacher flow, as Jesus said, the refreshing streams. Most Christian congregations know this. They are caring less and less for scholastic attainments, academic degrees and titles, denominational affiliations, even creedal loyalties--what they want is a man. Things that men pick up in schools have their value, but they

---

<sup>1</sup>Jones, American Preachers of To-Day, pp. 59-60.

c  
p  
n  
n  
th  
n  
be  
w  
bu  
or  
tu

The bui

Jeffers

preach

This wa

tleness

Prayer

se  
b  
s

Je

ac  
pr  
so  
wh  
wo  
se

3  
4

can never take the place of the one thing essential in a preacher--character. . . . A preacher makes an impression not simply by his words, but by his soul. When words do not penetrate, it is because there is a feeble man behind them. When ideas do not kindle, it is because there is no divine fire in the lips that speak them. Bullets may be of equal size and like material, but the distance to which they travel depends upon the gun. Sermons are bullets. How far they go does not depend upon the text or upon the structure of the sermon, but upon the texture of the manhood of the preacher.<sup>1</sup>

The building of the preacher was, therefore, of concern to Jefferson. He believed that if a man was to be a successful preacher, he must prepare himself, as well as his sermons. This was accomplished through longsuffering, patience, gentleness, goodness, temperance, meekness, and above all else, prayer, meditation and the study of the Bible:<sup>2</sup>

But what is it to preach, and how can one make himself a preacher? Here again we are thrown back on the basal fact, that the sermon depends on the man. The sermon is, indeed, the man. The man himself must be a sermon. . . . In preaching it is the character of the preacher which is the preacher's power.<sup>3</sup>

Jefferson added:

What a stride forward the Church of God would make if only the men in the pulpits were more Christlike men. . . . The preacher must subject himself to rigid and continuous discipline. He must walk the way that is narrow. The gate that opens into pulpit power is strait. Every moral delinquency reports itself in his accent, every secret sin comes to judgment in his preaching. "What you are speaks so loud"--says Emerson--"I cannot hear what you say." It is the preacher who is the sermon, and it is this sermon which the world remembers. The texts spoken in the pulpit are soon forgotten, and so are the ideas, and also the

---

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson, The Building of the Church, pp. 276-277.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 302-305.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 282.

illustrations, but the spirit of the man who preaches the sermon passes into those who listen and lives on in them after the preacher's lips are dust.<sup>1</sup>

### Summary

Jefferson apparently followed the advice he gave to theological students, for he prepared himself and his sermons. One of his friends, Dr. Treat, states that he "spent all of his conscious years disciplining his body, mind and spirit in order to make them obedient, effective and worthy instruments of high religious purpose."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, as Edgar DeWitt Jones suggests, Jefferson's ability to discipline himself was the secret of his sermonic excellence.<sup>3</sup>

### Delivery

#### Introduction

In the previous section of this paper, it was concluded that Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson attempted to prepare himself and his sermon thoroughly before he participated in a Tabernacle church service. It is now my purpose to discuss Jefferson's sermon delivery.<sup>4</sup>

#### An Overview

The consensus seems to be that Jefferson was not a "pulpit

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>The physical appearance of a man may enhance his success as a speaker, for an audience may be persuaded to accept what is said by the speaker, not only by what is said and how it is said.

orator," that is, he did not use spectacular vocal effects, embellished language, and dramatic bodily movements. Apparently he spoke rather quietly, in simple language and short sentences, and with few gestures. The following critique of Jefferson's delivery was written by his friend, the Rev. Dr. Roger E. Treat:

Few would question the fact that . . . Jefferson was one of the greatest of the American preachers through all the years of his ministry. . . . People who expected him to deliver the spectacular, scintillating, pyrotechnic sermon, commonly associated with "pulpit orators," were certain to be disappointed. More than a few persons have testified to this fact. A Connecticut lawyer-judge once told me of going to the Tabernacle to hear Dr. Jefferson for the first time and wondering how the preacher had won his wide acclaim. There was so little of the dramatic in the man, so much directness and simplicity in his manner, as well as in the sermon itself, as to make such a chance and curious visitor wonder how or why the preacher had become so famous. The one thing that then impressed the stranger from Connecticut was the fact that the sermon had filled almost an hour! . . .

Jefferson was free from the erratic and the fanatical and foolish. His ideas, like his words, were like skillfully fashioned and carefully chosen arrows, sped by strong bow and almost perfect aim to their appointed mark with the ease of effortless artistry. . . .

For simplicity of structure and directness of delivery, Dr. Jefferson's sermons will long be remembered. . . . A minimum of gestures and movements characterized his delivery. So frequently the preacher's hands were folded upon the top of the open Bible. Who of his congregation ever heard him shout, even when his soul was burning at white heat? Yet the voice was full and strong, speaking crystal-clear ideas in one- or two-syllable words, which were never slurred and never clipped.<sup>1</sup>

Several writers seem to agree with Treat's observations, for example, Edgar DeWitt Jones in American Preachers of To-Day:

---

but by the reputation and appearance of the speaker. See Chapter I for a discussion of Jefferson as a man--the section entitled, "Jefferson as Seen by Contemporaries and later Commentators."

<sup>1</sup>Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit, pp. 73-74.

Most ministers down deep in their souls despise cheap pulpit devices to win an audience--despise them even while they employ them, justifying their use by the sophistry that it is better to fill your church by sensational methods than preach to empty pews. Is either horn of the dilemma necessary? Dr. Jefferson thinks not. Nay, he knows better. He has held himself unflinchingly to a straight, hard pulpit course, and if he has not had the largest night audiences in his city, he has always had four or five hundred thoughtful people to preach to Sunday evenings, and that is no small accomplishment in season and out in a down-town city church. Never sensational nor spectacular, his pulpit methods have always been fresh, stimulating, well conceived and ably carried out. His topics have been timely and sometimes striking, both in subject-matter and treatment.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Sloane Coffin also commented on Jefferson's delivery in a memorial address at the Broadway Tabernacle Church:

As a preacher Jefferson stood quietly in the pulpit, used few gestures, and for the most part spoke in a conversational tone. As he spoke his words began to sparkle, then kindle, then leap into flame.<sup>2</sup>

A reporter whose work "constantly appeared in American magazines of all types"<sup>3</sup> went into the Broadway Tabernacle "to see what a church that didn't look like a church would be like."<sup>4</sup>

He reported:

. . . as soon as I entered it, I found it was just like church at home. The sermon was very simple; it had the sort of thing in it that told a young fellow that life couldn't be all theatres and whiskey and flashing lights. The words the man in the pulpit used were very short words, but powerful; they were wonderfully arranged. And the strong voice was more resonant and pleasing than the words of some of the greatest actors along that famous street of elocution.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jones, American Preachers of To-Day, pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup>Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles M. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XLII, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), p. 5101.

<sup>3</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-119.



## The Place of Delivery

Jefferson apparently did not give delivery a place of prominence through the utilization of tricks, techniques, and devices of bodily and vocal action.<sup>1</sup> However, as a former student and teacher of elocution,<sup>2</sup> he was concerned how delivery was taught in the theological seminaries. In speaking to the theological students at Bangor Theological Seminary, he said:

Too often the teachers of elocution have been shallow and uneducated men, teaching in a mechanical way, and running their pupils into a common mold, so that all the members of the same school have come out with similar tones and gestures, every pupil thus being spoiled. Moreover, a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and in no department of human learning is this so true as in the science and art of elocution. A little elocution is indeed ridiculous. A man who studies voice and gestures just long enough to be conscious of them cuts a very sorry figure when he comes before the people. Elocution is a curse unless studied so long and patiently that all its scaffolding disappears and there is left no trace of the various processes by which the voice has been redeemed.<sup>3</sup>

In his Yale lectures on preaching, Jefferson emphasized that "it is the character of the preacher which is the preacher's power."<sup>4</sup> He reminded his listeners:

Even to-day there are men who think that the chief thing in preaching is an artful use of the voice, or a crafty combination of gestures, or a cunning carving of diction, or an expert jugglery of illustrations, or a dexterous manoeuvring of ideas, or a clever and impressive display of learning. In this view, preaching is a sort of magic, a sleight of hand or of tongue, an ingenious piece of legerdemain by which souls

---

<sup>1</sup>In Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 38-42, Jefferson says that he never uses elocutionary, rhetorical, or dramatic stunts, as these produce temporary, not lasting results. He also says that the conversational style of delivery is best for an audience which is tired on Sunday; it doesn't want to be entertained or hollered at.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter I.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Edward Jefferson, The Minister as Prophet (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1905), pp. 133-134.

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, The Building of the Church, p. 282.

are  
The  
or la

Jefferson

A

vice that

he is say

ported:

Mr. J

robust

the g

effect

ness

and h

the c

Pastor

drama

the s

I

the Yale

sympathet

[spoke] i

erson to

I rem

fathe

for a

passa

all h

1

2

3

4

K

5

May 19. 19

are mezerimized and the boundaries of God's kingdom extended. . . . The man who thinks that preaching is a trick of voice, or thought, or language, never learns how to preach.<sup>1</sup>

### Jefferson's Use of Voice and Gestures

Apparently Jefferson spoke quietly, thus following his advice that a preacher should hide his voice lest it, rather than what he is saying, receive the attention of the audience.<sup>2</sup> It was reported:

Mr. Jefferson's voice is full of power and charm. It is not robust or sonorous, and yet it fills and seems to overflow the great church. He makes few gestures, and depends for effect upon a wide range of tone and modulation. His quietness impresses one as springing from intensity of conviction, and his reserve has the semblance of enthusiasm. When, at the close of his sermon, his first sermon as the Tabernacle Pastor he recited a few lines of poetry, he spoke the deeply dramatic words untheatrically, letting them fall slowly into the sense of his audience with perfect rhythm and cadence.<sup>3</sup>

In commenting upon Jefferson's voice, a former member of the Yale Divinity School Faculty said that Jefferson had a "mellow, sympathetic voice, of considerable range and flexibility, and he spoke in an easy, conversational style."<sup>4</sup> Charles Frederic Jefferson told the writer:

I remember that before leaving for church Sunday mornings, my father would go to the piano and practice modulating his voice for a minute or two, or perhaps he would repeat some short passage from Shakespeare. He was a close student of elocution all his life.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>3</sup>The New York Times, March 7, 1898, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Kleiser, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated May 19, 1958.

and Roger

in the p

sermon of

but,

pet

all

human

Dr

decessor.

style. .

without

Jefferson

erson sp

preached.

spoke so

hymn, the

Method of

Tr

1C

Tabernacl

The Royal

2

3A

February

4A

5A

6A

Two of Dr. Jefferson's contemporaries, Henry Sloane Coffin and Roger Eddy Treat, report that Charles E. Jefferson never shouted in the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> Coffin said, for example, with regard to Jefferson's sermon on the text, "Lift up thy voice like a trumpet:"

. . . Jefferson was never loud. At times he was startling, but, if one may say so, quietly startling. To him the trumpet was positive, penetrating, moving; but he managed to be all three without seeming to be forcing his voice. To him human souls were too delicate to be coerced.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers informed the writer that his predecessor, Jefferson, "spoke very quietly in the conversational style. . . . his gestures were infrequent, and he normally stood without movement in the pulpit."<sup>3</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Charles Frederic Jefferson<sup>4</sup> and the Rev. Roy L. Minnick<sup>5</sup> also agree that Dr. Jefferson spoke quietly in a tenor voice and used few gestures when he preached. Mrs. Charles Frederic Jefferson stated that Dr. Jefferson spoke so quietly and began his sermon so soon after the pre-sermon hymn, that it was easy to miss his opening words.<sup>6</sup>

#### Method of Sermon Presentation

There is disagreement as to whether Jefferson preached with,

<sup>1</sup>Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, "The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XLII, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), p. 5101, and Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Allan Knight Chalmers in a letter to the writer dated February 11, 1958.

<sup>4</sup>A personal interview with the writer on December 4, 1959.

<sup>5</sup>A personal interview with the writer on December 9, 1959.

<sup>6</sup>A personal interview with the writer on December 4, 1959.

or with

"heard J

he wrote

however

minister.

thorough

preached

For he ha

to him in

Jefferson

preparati

into the

the sermo

Another i

who said,

sometimes

Tr

whether J

he preach

out n

1C

February

27

June 4, 19

3A

the Pulpit

4A1

February 1

or without notes or manuscript. The Rev. Charles S. Bucher, who "heard Jefferson preach often," told the writer, "I assume that he wrote his sermons in his preparation. I was not conscious however that he read them. I am sure he used notes."<sup>1</sup> Another minister, Frank W. Murtfeldt, said that Dr. Jefferson "was thorough in his research preparation. He wrote carefully. He preached from his manuscript without being closely confined. For he had worked over his manuscripts until they were familiar to him in every word."<sup>2</sup> According to a close acquaintance of Jefferson, the Tabernacle Pastor wrote painstakingly in the preparation of his sermons, but he did not take a manuscript into the pulpit until forced to do so by failing memory or if the sermon contained facts or figures which called for accuracy.<sup>3</sup> Another interesting observation is that of Allan Knight Chalmers, who said, "Dr. Jefferson normally . . . would not read, though sometimes he found himself doing it on special occasions."<sup>4</sup>

There seems to be some disagreement, therefore, as to whether Jefferson used, or did not use, written aids each time he preached. Let us permit Jefferson to speak for himself:

. . . through all the thirty years I have preached without manuscript. Possibly not over a dozen sermons have I

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles S. Bucher in a letter to the writer dated February 12, 1958.

<sup>2</sup>Frank W. Murtfeldt in a letter to the writer dated June 4, 1958.

<sup>3</sup>A comment by Roger Eddy Treat in Jones, The Royalty of the Pulpit, pp. 73-74.

<sup>4</sup>Allan Knight Chalmers in a letter to the writer dated February 11, 1958.

read in this entire period. Neither on Sunday morning nor on Sunday evening do I ever take a scrap of paper with me into the pulpit, except once in a long while when I want to use an important quotation too long to be carried easily in the mind. My Anniversary Sermons I have always read. I celebrate an Anniversary by reading. I think I deserve at least once in five years to enjoy the luxury of reading. To have been able to keep my mind in such a clear condition, as to be able Sunday morning and evening through thirty years to plunge into a sermon anywhere from thirty to forty minutes long, trusting my memory to supply every link in my argument in its logical sequence, and every idea in its proper relations, and every adjective and adverb in its foreordained position, without any assistance whatever from manuscript or note, this certainly is an achievement of no small dimensions; and I mention it not by way of boasting, but by way of sorrowful confession. I am sorry I did it. I would advise no young preacher to attempt it. I would never do it again. The price is too great to pay. I am thankful that my mind has not broken to pieces under the long-continued and tremendous and reckless strain.<sup>1</sup>

In commenting upon his father's ability to preach without notes or manuscript, Charles Frederic Jefferson said that Dr. Jefferson's "memory was remarkably good and he once told me that during the year following his graduation from high school, his eyes gave out and he could use them so little that his memory was greatly strengthened as a result of his depending on it so much."<sup>2</sup>

#### Dictation of Sermons

Each Monday morning Jefferson dictated the sermons he had preached on the previous day.<sup>3</sup> Many of these sermons were subsequently published in pamphlets and books. Dr. Roy L. Minich,

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated May 19, 1958.

<sup>3</sup>This fact is attested to by Charles Frederic Jefferson in a letter to the writer dated May 19, 1958, and by Nichols, op. cit., p. 168, and by Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XLII, No. 3 (Spring, 1940), p. 5101.





visiting minister at the Broadway Tabernacle, told the writer that some stenographers copied Jefferson's sermons in shorthand as they were delivered on Sunday and then compared them with the sermons Jefferson dictated on Monday morning; the comparison revealed that the sermons were almost the same, paragraph by paragraph. He added, "Jefferson had an amazing memory."<sup>1</sup>

#### Summary

It appears that Jefferson labored many hours to perfect a sermon which was well structured, one which included simple, direct, forceful language, a sermon which was then presented by memory, in a quiet, conversational manner. Robert E. Hume and Dr. Rockwell Harmon Potter agree that it was not Jefferson's method of delivering his sermon which caught the attention of his audience, but the sense of urgency in his composition.<sup>2</sup>

Morrison wrote:

There is no word that better describes Jefferson's pulpit ministry than to call it an honest ministry. Steadfastly he has eschewed all meretricious false appeals, both in the subject matter of his sermons and in his manner of preaching. He preaches as a man might talk to a friend. It is straightforward, honest dealing with life, unstained, undecorated, realistic in the broad sense.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps Joseph Fort Newton, minister of the Church of the Divine Paternity in New York City, best summarizes the sermon

---

<sup>1</sup>Roy L. Minich in a personal interview with the writer on December 9, 1959.

<sup>2</sup>Robert E. Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson, In Memoriam, 1860-1937," Typed manuscript by Robert E. Hume, presented to Union Theological Seminary by D. Rockwell, June 9, 1943. Also Rockwell Harmon Potter, "Tributes to the Life and Work of Dr. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XXXIII, No. 1 (October, 1930), pp. 4958-4959.

<sup>3</sup>Morrison, op. cit., p. 165.

delivery of his contemporary:

What a lawyer Jefferson would have made, with his clear incisive intellect, his scrupulous precision as a workman, and his gift of quiet, persuasive eloquence! . . . . There are those who hold that oratory always moves on a more or less low moral plane, and is an exercise perilous alike to the soul of speaker and hearer. . . . Jefferson shares this distrust of oratory--he so hears unreality--and that, too, in spite of his amazing gift of lucid, fitly colored, gracious and moving speech. He knows how easily an orator is betrayed into saying more than he sees, mistaking ornament for insight, a peril which, if unchecked, eats away the moral fibre of a man. He knows that if a man sets out to be eloquent, using oratorical tricks, stratagems and pyrotechnics, he bids goodbye to truth and sincerity. . . .

Style, he once said, is perfect when it becomes invisible, and that exactly describes his own style. It puts on no airs, knows no frills, and attracts no attention to itself. . . . The diction of Dr. Jefferson is admirably attuned to the character of his delivery, which is clear, gentle, melodious and of varied modulation. He is sparing of gesture; his sentences are short; his language is rich in color, but its beauty is inwrought rather than decorative. His sermons are not read, but spoken, and that with an air of the utmost ease and spontaneity--like a teacher telling a tale, like a friend persuading you of higher matter. There is a passion in his discourse, but it is not of a kind that resembles a torrent of fire. Rather . . . it is like "a warm radiance shining through the windows of a home where strong conviction and quiet faith dwell at peace with understanding and hope and acquaintance with grief." He does not seek to take the mind of an audience by violence or to carry it away on an impetuous tide of words. His way is rather to win the hearers, taking them captive unawares, showing them the beauty of the Gospel and the meaning of their lives, seeking to lead them into the freedom and service of the Master.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Newton, op. cit., pp. 75-80.

## CHAPTER V

### THE AUDIENCE, OCCASION, AND SETTING FOR JEFFERSON'S SERMONS

#### Introduction

In order adequately to analyze and evaluate a speech, the rhetorical critic should reconstruct the speech situation in the light of the interaction between the speaker, the audience, the subject, and the occasion.<sup>1</sup> Since the speaker, in this instance Charles E. Jefferson, has already been considered in some detail, my purpose is now to determine the nature of the audience to whom he spoke, the occasion or special time of his speaking, and the setting or specific location of his speaking.

#### The New York City Audience

Jefferson told his congregation that he preached "all the time to New York City."<sup>2</sup> Let us, therefore, look briefly at the city to which he spoke, and from which most of his Tabernacle congregation was drawn.

---

<sup>1</sup>Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah, p. 25.



Perhaps the experiences of most New York City inhabitants between 1898 and 1930, Jefferson's years at the Tabernacle, can be summed up in the word "change." As a result of many rapid changes, the New York citizen was placed in peculiar situations and faced with peculiar problems; it was to such persons that Jefferson spoke. Some conception of these changes can be gained from Jefferson's comments in his Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon:

I love to contrast [the New York of 1898] with the New York of today. The old New York seems so old fashioned, and quaint, and quiet and funny. It seems hard to believe that it ever existed. In 1898 the City had electric lights, but no such lights as we now have. The old Broadway was a dim affair. The street cars were pulled, part of them by cables and part of them by horses. The elevated trains were all run by steam. There was only one bridge over the East River, and that bridge was so new that people were still talking about it as something quite wonderful. There were, of course, no subways. There were no tubes under the Hudson. There were a few automobiles. . . . and they were so few in number that the City authorities did not take the trouble to count them. There are now over 300,000. . . . There are in the United States over 10,000,000 automobiles, and when you want to cross the street you are sure they have all come to this City. It seems like a fairyland that old fashioned, tortoise-like, poky New York. It was the age of the bicycle. I used to ride up and down Fifth Avenue in style on my bicycle. We used to check bicycles Sunday mornings at the church door. That seems as far off as the days of Noah. We are now wondering how we can find a landing place near our front door for aeroplanes. . . .

It was a quiet, humble, unaspiring, little city--the New York of 25 years ago. It was not yet a city of skyscrapers. . . . I cannot attempt to name the wonderful additions made to the City since my pastorate began. Our Public Library, our Grand Central station, our Pennsylvania Station, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, our new Catskill Mountain Water Supply System, our three great reservoirs. . . . These, and twenty other monumental works have all been created within my pastorate.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Jefferson said it was not easy for him to do religious work in New York City, for "the difficulties . . . are all knotted

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 6-7.

and multiplied. The discouragements . . . are so varied and so exhausting that only workers who are stout-hearted can survive."<sup>1</sup> Jefferson pointed out that his Manhattan borough audience included an increasing number of Jews, over one million of whom had come to New York City since his arrival. The Roman Catholic Church also increased in size and strength due to European immigrations. Within twenty-five years of his ministry on Broadway, 271 synagogues and forty Roman Catholic churches were established, whereas Protestant churches decreased by thirty-six. Out of a population of 2,269,874 in Manhattan, there were only 177,406 Protestants. On the other hand, there were over 860,000 Roman Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

According to a study made by Jefferson and his assistants, the English language was the mother tongue of only 110,000 persons in Manhattan;<sup>3</sup> German was the mother tongue of 200,000; Celtic was the mother tongue of 295,000; Italic and Hellenic was the mother tongue of 430,000; and Hebrew-Arabic was the mother tongue of 539,000.<sup>4</sup> "Dr. Jefferson often told his visitors that only one person out of fifteen in Manhattan proper is able to say that the English language is his native tongue."<sup>5</sup> Jefferson remarked:

There are twice as many tongues spoken in New York every day than were spoken in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost. There exists no doubt a greater confusion of tongues at the mouth of the Hudson than there was at the foot of the tower of Babel.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 9

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 130. See also Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 553.

With the middle class Protestant church-going population being squeezed out of Manhattan by the inexorable pressure of economic and social forces, and the influx of a great horde of non-English speaking Russian Catholics and Jews, English speaking Protestant Christianity finds itself face to face in our city with one of the most perplexing and baffling of all the situations which the world today presents.<sup>1</sup>

The rapid social and economic changes were partially responsible for crowded and uncomfortable living, noise, crime, and an urban-ward movement of the population. Since Jefferson believed that it was his task to minister to the needs of the city, he built the new Tabernacle in the heart of Broadway. His task, however, was not easy. Within a mile of the Tabernacle there were very few boys and girls. This meant that Jefferson could not depend on a large Bible School from which to draw his church membership. Furthermore, the number and regularity of children and adults in attendance at a church service were often reduced because of the long travelling distances. Jefferson apparently realized this, for he said:

A Broadway Tabernacle Pastor has many tribulations to try his patience and to test his courage. His people must come to Church through long distances, and this costs time and money. It reduces the number of children in the Church meetings, and it reduces the regularity of the attendance of adults. When one must travel an hour or over to reach the Church, and spend an equal time in returning home, it is not in human nature to be as punctual in attendance on Church services as if the distance were not as great. Age and health and strength make it impossible for many to be regular in Church attendance under these conditions. The amazing thing to me through all these years is that people have been willing to come so far.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Jefferson further remarked, with regard to the size of his congregation:

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 11.



A minister's church may dwindle through no fault of his whatever. There may be social and economic conditions which render it impossible for the church to maintain its former standards. A minister, moreover, may be too high in his ideals, too true to the principles of Christ, to win the crowd or to bring certain classes of rich men into the membership of the church. I was told, on arriving in New York, by a distinguished Doctor of Divinity, that the Broadway Tabernacle was the "Matterhorn" of churches, meaning, I presume, that its pulpit was high and difficult and dangerous, and that if I failed, the whole world would know it. I could not get it out of my mind. Every time anybody moved out of the city, I thought of the Matterhorn. Our members were always moving away, and so I thought of the Matterhorn quite often. . . . All through these years our members have been moving to the suburbs or to distant parts of the world in a ceaseless procession. . . . That is somewhat trying on the nerves. To see one's members moving farther and farther from the church every year, to behold the boundaries of the parish receding continuously into the dim distance, to have one's best families and one's most capable and most trusted workers vanishing from sight, this does not add to the gaiety of a preacher's heart.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the foregoing awareness of his audience, Jefferson realized that New York was not a Congregational city, for the citizenry tended to drift toward other communions. Jefferson stated that this was "a factor which must be taken into account by any man who would deal successfully with the Congregational problems in New York City".<sup>2</sup> His writings indicate that he believed a Congregational minister was hampered from the start by the "mental constitution and temper" of the citizens of the City. The work of a Congregational minister was, therefore, made difficult by the lack of a strong constituency from which church members could be drawn and through which evangelism could occur.

Throughout his ministry, Dr. Jefferson preached that Congregationalism was a religion for thinking men, but he apparently never

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future, p. 32.

changed from the position that he held in 1901 that the populace of large cities are not thinking people.<sup>1</sup> Such an audience, he believed, made it difficult for him to promote Congregationalism.

New York was also a difficult city in which to work because it more and more became a city of pleasure seekers. Increased wealth and ease of travel tended to keep Jefferson's audience in a state of flux, and made continuous work or systematic analysis of an audience very difficult.

### The Tabernacle Congregation

#### Persons in Attendance

Let us now look more closely at the Tabernacle Congregation, Jefferson's most immediate audience. It has been mentioned previously that the Tabernacle held 1500 persons and that it was not uncommon for every seat to be filled when Jefferson preached. F. R. Webber reports, for example, that the Tabernacle was always filled and that there were usually more men than women in attendance.<sup>2</sup>

Joseph Fort Newton also stated that when he attended Jefferson's church on a Sunday morning, it "was full, the men outnumbering the women, young men, especially, to whom the preacher is so attractive."<sup>3</sup> Many of these young men were probably students, for a Tabernacle historian writes that Dr. Jefferson "attracted many young men studying for the ministry who could through his sermons adjust their new outlook to science with the love of God."<sup>4</sup> In his Twentieth Anniversary

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Webber, op. cit., p. 554.

<sup>3</sup>Newton, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>4</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 158.



Discourse Jefferson said:

I have studied continuously and hard, and have candidly told you everything of importance which I have learned. That is one of the reasons why for many years our church has been a favorite meeting house for students--especially theological students. Six theological seminaries have every year sent me delegates of their undergraduates, and along with these students of theology have come students of every kind.<sup>1</sup>

The usual Sunday audience to which Jefferson spoke also included many visitors. At the end of thirty years on Broadway, Jefferson told his congregation: "It is my reward to know that in nearly every state of the Union there are men and women, who, whenever they visit New York, always seek a place in our congregation."<sup>2</sup>

## Occupations Represented

The occupations represented by Jefferson's parishioners were varied. In his Tenth Anniversary Sermon Jefferson reported the professional occupations of resident members as follows:

240 Business men and women,  
67 Teachers,  
47 Religious and philanthropic workers,  
35 Physicians,  
21 Ministers,  
17 Lawyers  
13 Editors and authors,  
11 Artists,  
10 Professional Nurses.<sup>3</sup>

Twenty years later the occupations of the resident members were similar:

361 Housewives  
248 Business persons  
93 Teachers  
90 Students  
60 Secretaries

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Twentieth Anniversary Discourse, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Tenth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 20-21.

46 Artists  
 41 Nurses  
 30 Ministers  
 26 Physicians  
 23 Engineers  
 18 Social Workers  
 15 Librarians  
 13 Lawyers  
 12 Musicians  
 10 Authors and editors  
 10 Actors and actresses  
 5 Artisans  
 5 Architects.<sup>1</sup>

One member of the Tabernacle congregation noted that the following occupations were represented, ". . . nurses, superintendents of schools, principals of schools, teachers in public and private schools, librarians, stenographers, book-keepers, dressmakers, cooks, wash-women, carpenters, day-laborers, janitors, elevator-attendants, telephone operators, journalists, musicians, and people connected with the theatre."<sup>2</sup>

#### Various Backgrounds of the Audience

Charles Frederic Jefferson told the writer that he believed that the congregation was above average in educational attainments.<sup>3</sup> Some estimation of the training represented in the Tabernacle can be gained from Jefferson's report in 1908 that members of his congregation had attended over sixty different colleges and universities and that every fourth member was a college man or woman.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson," The Presbyterian Tribune, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959.

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, Tenth Anniversary Sermon, p. 21.

The congregation was not wealthy;<sup>1</sup> it was cosmopolitan in that it included Chinese, Japanese, and American Negroes in its membership,<sup>2</sup> and it drew members from various denominations, including the Roman Catholic. In 1923, for example, at least twenty different denominational backgrounds were represented in the congregation.<sup>3</sup>

#### Jefferson's Knowledge of His Audience

Jefferson's anniversary sermons reveal that he was apparently interested in, and familiar with, the persons to whom he spoke. He realized that, in order to preach effectively, he should know his audience. This realization is well expressed in the following introduction to his sermon, "The Tabernacle of the Twentieth Century."

On my arrival in New York nearly three years ago, I was met by an enterprising newspaper man who wished me to outline for his paper my policy, and tell the city what I proposed to do. His request was interesting to me as an illustration of the dense and hopeless ignorance so common in all communities concerning the character and processes of religious work. This man evidently thought that a minister could work out his plans in Boston for a church on Manhattan Island and come down here on a flying express and put them on with as much celerity and ease as a tailor fits a customer with a suit of clothes. Indeed, it was worse than that. For the tailor measures the man he wants to fit. . . . This newspaper man, however, evidently supposed that a minister can hitch his church to a plan which he has elaborated in his inner consciousness with as much dexterity as one might hitch a horse to a cart. But a church is not a cart, nor is it a piece of cloth to be cut into any pattern which the minister may fancy by a few snippings of the clerical shears. A church is a living thing. It has a disposition, a temperament, a mind and a will just as a human being has, and no minister knows what his church ought to do until he

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 14. This was reported also by Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 29-30.

knows the people who compose it. . . . To ascertain then what the Tabernacle of the future ought to be, it was necessary for me to study diligently the Tabernacle in its cradle and to master all the forces which have contributed to its development. . . . It was necessary for me, therefore, to know New York--at least this section of it--in all the length and breadth of its varied life.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his pastorate Jefferson and his assistants studied various trends and situations in the Tabernacle congregation and in Manhattan. Sometimes they conducted special programs in order to accomplish this, such as the tenth anniversary study of the active interests of the 1,000 Tabernacle members.<sup>2</sup>

#### Summary

It seems that Jefferson's success as a preacher can be partly traced to his knowledge about those to whom he spoke.<sup>3</sup> His audience included various races and nationalities and differing church backgrounds, varied social classes, and occupations. Many of the members commuted twenty and thirty miles to the Tabernacle for church services; some members lived one hundred miles apart, yet met regularly at the Tabernacle for worship.<sup>4</sup>

With painstaking forethought [Jefferson] laid out his preaching to deal with the doubts, the vexations, the pettinesses, the faults, the strains, the sorrows of individuals. . . . More than most shepherds he led his people to the pastures in which he thought they needed to feed, and pointed out to them God's afore-prepared provisions for their wants. Much preaching is rightly criticized because it deals in generalities. Jefferson was explicit. . . . He knew just what he wanted to do for his people, and he told them plainly where they were weak or deficient, where

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future, pp. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 130.

supplies of divine strength and wisdom and patience could be had, and how these could be made their possession. Again and again members of his congregation have told me that they never came to church without feeling themselves spiritually enriched.<sup>1</sup>

### The Occasion

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson preached his sermons at regularly scheduled church services. Most of his sermons were preached at morning and evening services on Sunday; however, he also presented sermons on days other than Sundays, such as New Year's Eve, Good Friday, and Christmas.

Jefferson believed his sermon was an important part, but not necessarily the most important part, of the church service. He believed that a downtown church has a tendency to shrivel into a preaching station and that its prosperity often hangs on the vocal cords of the minister.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jefferson said that he built his service on "two sets of instincts, the worshipping instinct and the instinct which craves instruction."<sup>3</sup> The sermon, which met the instinct for instruction, therefore, filled an important place in the service, but not the whole place. His description of a typical church service gives one a better understanding of the place of the sermon in the time sequence of the service. He reported:

The time of the morning service . . . is normally an hour and a half. Half of this period is devoted to praise and prayer and the other half to the sermon. The devotional service is never less than forty-five minutes, and often fifty minutes, and sometimes more. The order of service is such as to give the people an active and generous part in it. They sing two

---

<sup>1</sup>Coffin, "Tribute to Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, p. 5100.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



hymns, two glorias, and the Doxology. They join in repeating the Lord's Prayer, read responsively from the Psalter, and recite the Apostle's Creed. The choir sings the call to worship, two anthems and three responses. A Lesson is read from the Old Testament and also one from the New. The reading of the Bible is made a cardinal feature of the service. There are three prayers by the ministers. The service is elaborate and rich, full-toned and impressive. Everyone who desires to worship is assisted to do so. . . .

The Church is also a teaching body. The sermon has a high place in our worship. It is an essential part of the worship. No sermonettes are preached in the Tabernacle. . . . The sermon is never less than a half hour in length. Often it is thirty-five minutes, sometimes forty, and occasionally forty-five. In the Lenten Season when the great doctrines of the Church are being unfolded, the sermon is occasionally extended to an hour.<sup>1</sup>

Because Charles E. Jefferson considered the church service a sacred occasion, he was therefore adamant when anyone or anything threatened to mar it. His concern with regard to latecomers, for example, is evidence of this:

Within our walls the exercises of devotion are counted sacred and are not allowed to be trampled on by late comers. Any church located on a street along which a miscellaneous throng incessantly passes is in danger of becoming a sort of ecclesiastical street-car into which and out of which anybody and everybody can pass at pleasure. This is fatal to a spiritual service. In any city in which worshippers are compelled to travel through long distances, it is impossible for all to arrive at the same time. In many churches late comers are seated during the anthem, and also during the reading of the Scriptures, and in a few churches even during the prayers. All such desecration was banished from the Tabernacle long ago. Our service is reverential from the first minute to the last. Our ushers are instructed to seat no one, pew-holder or stranger, during anthem, Scripture or prayer. Late comers . . . must wait in the vestibule until the appointed pause arrives for the seating of those who did not arrive on time. The Church of Christ is a company of worshipping disciples and this worship must not be broken to pieces by desultory straggling in of belated individuals who did not start to church on time. Worshipful moods are difficult to build and are easily marred and must be zealously safeguarded by those who are desirous of building up in a community devotional frames of mind.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-25. See also Jefferson, Twentieth Anniversary Discourse, pp. 30-37 and Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 20-23.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 24-25.

In a sermon on his thirtieth anniversary at the Tabernacle, Dr.

Jefferson revealed:

I am not so fierce against late comers as I once was. In the earlier years, they got on my nerves. It seemed sometimes that the devil amused himself Sunday morning by inducing people to come late. I have had more hard feelings against late comers than any other class of sinners. Even bandits have not exasperated me so much. . . . To have people treat the Broadway Tabernacle in a way in which they would not dare to treat the New York Central Railroad Corporation, made me indignant. When people go to a railway station, they go on time. . . . But I am glad to tell you that I have now kindly feelings even toward late comers. I even pity them because they have to stand in the vestibule until the time for their deliverance arrives. . . . I cite this as a bit of evidence that even a preacher can grow in grace.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently the Tabernacle Pastor did what was possible to make the church service a special and meaningful occasion in the experiences of his audience. It seems that nothing was permitted to destroy this time of worship, meditation, and instruction. One member of the Tabernacle said that "the rapt attention of the entire audience was a very impressive and inspiring aspect of the church services at the Broadway Tabernacle."<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson was careful lest he and his assistants put on a "show." For example, there was no processional of choir and ministers either before or after the church service. Nor did Jefferson move to the rear of the sanctuary after the services to greet his audience. Rather, he stood in front of the pulpit, thus permitting persons to go to the front of the sanctuary and greet him if they desired.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Jefferson assumed that he had been called to do a work,

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson, In Memoriam, 1860-1937," Typed manuscript presented to Union Theological Seminary by D. Rockwell, p.11.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Frederic Jefferson in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959.

not to engage in theatrics. Broadway had witnessed generations of short-lived showmen, and Jefferson believed that showmanship in his pulpit would destroy the Tabernacle.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion for the sermon was, therefore, one of concern to Jefferson. He attempted to make it a time of spiritual enrichment, not only through his sermon, but by prayer, singing, and the reading of Scripture. Joseph Fort Newton wrote, with regard to a Tabernacle service he attended:

If, as Delsarte once said, "mediocrity is not the too little, but the too much," Dr. Jefferson is a genius in the conduct of public worship. The service was simple, natural, satisfying, rich without being ornate, reverent without being formal; and it did what every service of worship is intended to do. It welded an audience into a congregation, wooing us out<sup>2</sup> of our lonely isolation into liberty and joy of fellowship.

#### The Setting

When the writer attended a church service in the Tabernacle on December 6, 1959, he was impressed with the acoustic properties and architecture of the sanctuary in which Jefferson had preached. The sensitive acoustics made an amplifying system unnecessary. A Tabernacle historian attested to this when he wrote, with regard to the first Sunday service held in the Tabernacle on February 26, 1905: "one of the profoundest causes for satisfaction in the services of the day was the proof that the acoustic properties of the auditorium were completely successful."<sup>3</sup> Other impressive architectural features are that the

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Newton, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup>Judd, op. cit., p. 28. In his Twentieth Anniversary Discourse, p. 10, Jefferson says, "I suggested a sounding board, and

pulpit is visible from any location in the sanctuary, including the two transepts and the galleries. It is raised in the front center of the short nave; the floor slopes toward it; and steep galleries surround the sloping floor on the sides and rear. The choir loft is elevated behind the pulpit (there is no lectern) and faces the pews. Perhaps the best description of the architectural features of the Tabernacle is that by Alfred D. F. Hamlin, who was a professor of architecture at Columbia University and a Deacon of the Tabernacle:

The edifice is a marvel of careful and ingenious planning and sound construction. The Taylor Chapel for prayer meetings, seating 300; the Bible School and the Parish House are provided for in a massive and imposing tower-like structure at the rear or east end of the lot where it is widest, so as to allow for the necessary light courts. For these courts ample area was allowed, as the adjoining territory is sure to be covered with lofty buildings. The hall of worship occupies the front portion of the site, the rear end joining the parish house, which forms a mass suggesting a transept with a huge tower rising from the intersection. This tower, with its broad,

---

we have it." Mrs. L. Nelson Nichols told the writer in an interview on December 10, 1959, in New York City, that this sounding board was not used long.

Previous to the use of the new church building Jefferson preached in the Thirty-fourth Street Tabernacle, near Sixth and Broadway. In 1902 this property was sold and from March 1, 1902, to February 19, 1905, Jefferson's congregation used the facilities of Mendelssohn Hall, on Fortieth Street east of Broadway. There seems to be no detailed record of the architectural features of the Tabernacle on Thirty-fourth Street or of Mendelssohn Hall.

The term "tabernacle" apparently was given to a round church; a sketch of the interior of the Thirty-fourth Street church indicates that the pews were arranged in a semi-circle about the pulpit. With regard to the Mendelssohn Hall setting, L. Nelson Nichols writes, op. cit., p. 145: "The hall with its low broad balcony was not at all inconvenient for church services, and it was always quiet on Sundays. The Bible School and midweek meeting had ample space. What did suffer was their lack of rooms for committees, societies and conferences that were such an important part of Tabernacle activities. . . . The strength of the organization and attraction of Dr. Jefferson's sermons were shown by the fact that fifty-six new members were added in 1903, and seventy-nine in 1904, while using Mendelssohn Hall. The Sunday morning services in January 1905 were more largely attended than at any time since leaving 34th Street.

1

spire-like roof and its elaborate gables and pinnacles, rises to a height of 190 feet, and is visible from a great distance. By contrast the church proper looks low, but its lack of loftiness is justified by acoustic considerations. In the front of the northwest corner the ornate little Thompson Chapel--named for Dr. J. P. Thompson, a former pastor--projects toward Broadway, filling up part of the triangle formed by the angular direction of the thoroughfare. The lecture hall, seating 600, is under the hall of worship, but abundantly lighted by spacious and deep areas. Every requirement of the program has been provided for. . . .

The whole structure is externally of cream-white brick with terra cotta finishings of the color of Indiana limestone, and the entire interior construction of fireproof materials--steel and concrete predominating. The style is a rather free version of the late French Gothic, with mouldings, traceries and sculptural details of great elegance, beautifully executed in terra-cotta. The front presents a noble triple entrance under a richly ornamented surbased arch, with a tympanum sculptured with an admirable group representing the Sermon on the Mount. Two low towers flank the west front. The south flank is noticeable for the great wheel window and pinacles of the parish house, which forms a major transept. The south portal admits to a corridor, from which one enters the church on the left, and the Taylor Chapel--a fine lofty cruciform room, with oaken ceiling--on the right.

At the farther end are the elevators and stairs. Above the Taylor Chapel is the Bible School Hall, two stories high, perhaps the most complete arrangement for the purpose in Manhattan, with its fine central hall and twelve spacious class rooms. The club rooms and offices are above this. . . . Every convenience of plumbing, heating and ventilation has been provided.

The hall of worship, covering over 7,000 square feet, with its immense west gallery and two transept galleries, is a noble room. . . . The pews, pulpit, choir seats and gallery fronts are of dark oak; and the organ . . . forms an imposing decoration behind the pulpit. The ceiling is a handsome groined vault in plaster on steel framing purposely arched with a flattened elliptical curve. Every architectural detail has been carefully studied, and every inch of space utilized to the utmost. There is here a splendid equipment for the carrying on of that enlarged and aggressive Christian work toward which, under Dr. Jefferson's inspiring lead, the officers and members of this historic church have resolutely set their faces in confident expectation of the Divine favor and blessing.<sup>1</sup>

Various Tabernacle members report that Jefferson was largely responsible for the construction of this "Skyscraper Church." When Deacon Hamlin was asked if he were not the real architect (the architects were Barney and Chapman), he replied that every member of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Judd, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

Building Committee contributed some idea that went into the new building, but that the most ideas came from Jefferson.<sup>1</sup> Jefferson's regard for details and those factors which promote worship are indicated in the following advice he gave to young ministers:

There are ministers who have never learned the value of light. They make no effort to light up the doorways of their church after night. Many a prayer meeting has been poorly attended because the entrance to the church was kept dark, and there is no money better expended than the money which is spent on light at the door. But light, however important, should be kept in its right place. Lights in a church should never be so placed as to shine into people's eyes. . . . Under no circumstances should there ever be a light on the wall toward which a congregation looks.<sup>2</sup>

L. Nelson Nichols states that "Dr. Jefferson watched every major step in the erection [of the Tabernacle] from the sub-cellar to the top of the ten story office tower."<sup>3</sup> In a eulogy to Jefferson, another Tabernacle member said:

Dr. Jefferson was one of the first (if not the very first) minister in this metropolis to conceive and to execute the idea that a Christian church should adjust itself to changes, particularly that it should avail itself of recent developments in architecture and efficiency, and should organize and conduct its work as a community centre, concentrated under one roof, and located geographically near the centres of human life and activity.<sup>4</sup>

The Tabernacle was built, therefore, not in the suburbs as was the trend, but on Broadway at Fifty-sixth Street, "a Sahara Desert, in which only night clubs and theatres and automobile sales rooms come to full bloom."<sup>5</sup> However, Jefferson declared that "there

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, "Little Things," The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, IX, No. 2 (November, 1906), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>4</sup>Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson," The Presbyterian Tribune, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 8.

was no better place in the world for a church. The people of Broadway, he admitted, were not the most pious, but they were better than they are painted and were very human."<sup>1</sup>

In a setting which was not conducive to church building, Jefferson labored for thirty-two years and made the services of an architectural wonder, the "Skyscraper Church," inspirational, worshipful and instructive, and "welded an audience into a congregation."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The New York Times, September 13, 1937, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Newton, op. cit., p. 73.



## CHAPTER VI

### JEFFERSON'S SERMONS

#### Introduction

The two previous chapters considered (1) Jefferson's sermon preparation and delivery and (2) the audience, occasion, and setting for his sermons. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider Jefferson's sermons in more detail.

#### Overall View of the Sermons Studied

The writer has studied two hundred and sixty-eight sermons which Jefferson prepared while pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle.<sup>1</sup> These sermons appear to deal with five major themes or concerns--the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, and the Church Year. With the exception of the last theme--the Church Year--the themes coincide with Jefferson's main tenets of faith as discussed in chapter three. There is, of course, some overlapping among these major themes. For example, any one of Jefferson's "anniversary sermons" could legitimately be placed in both the Church and the Church Year categories. The sermon "Militarism and the Christian Church "

---

<sup>1</sup>Apparently the sermons on Paul (The Character of Paul) were never preached to the Tabernacle congregation. However, it seemed wise to include them in the lists of sermons because they were prepared for the Tabernacle congregation, and Jefferson considered them companion sermons to those on The Character of Jesus. (See later discussion in this chapter).

could also be placed in two categories, the Church and Social Christianity. However, in the lists of sermons which follow,<sup>1</sup> each sermon is listed only once, and then in light of what appears to be its major emphasis.

---

<sup>1</sup>In the lists which follow, most of the sermons are arranged chronologically in each of the five divisions. The chronological arrangement is based on the known date of the sermon's delivery (see under the heading "Year") or, if that is unknown, the publication date of the book in which the sermon is found (see under the heading "Location of the sermon"). If there is no such evidence (date of delivery or publication) the sermon is listed at the end of the division. Under the heading "Type" the sermons are described as Textual (Text.) or Expository (Exp.) or Topical. It is also noted whether or not the sermon is based on the Old Testament (O.T.) or the New Testament (N.T.) A fuller description of the "Location of the Sermon" will usually be found in the bibliography. An asterisk (\*) behind the sermon title indicates that the sermon was published privately under that title by the Broadway Tabernacle. There may be more than one location. If the sermon was prepared for a specific audience, this is noted under the heading "Audience."

Sermons on the Bible

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
Faith and Life*	1903	Text. N.T.
The Nature and Place of Faith in the Christian Life	1903	Text. N.T.
The Nature and Place of Reason in the Christian Life	1903	Text. O.T.
How the Old Conception of the Scriptures Differs from the New (Part I)	1903	Text. N.T.
How the Old Conception of the Scriptures Differs from the New (Part II)	1903	Text. N.T.
The Miracles	1903	Topical
Sin and Its Punishment	1903	Topical
The Immortality of the Soul	1903	Text. N.T.
A Message to the Perplexed*	1913	Topical
The Difficulty of Believing*	1922	Text. N.T.
Come, Let Us Reason Together*	1922	Text. O.T.
Two Views of the Bible	1924	Topical
Evolution and the Book of Genesis	1924	Topical
Peter Delivered From Prison		Topical
The Value of the Study of the Hebrew Prophets	1925	Topical
Why It Is Difficult to Read the Prophets	1925	Topical
A Holy and Reasoning God	1925	Text. O.T.
Sin and Retribution	1925	Topical
The Day of the Lord	1925	Topical
How to Pray*	1927	Text. O.T.
The Man, Jeremiah	1928	Topical
Jeremiah, the Thinker	1928	Topical
Religion Is an Affair of the Heart	1928	Exp. O.T.
The Infinite May Be Temporarily Thwarted But Cannot Be Permanently Defeated	1928	Topical
The Law in the Heart Is the Sole Basis of Permanent Reformation	1928	Topical
Prayer Is Conversation With God	1928	Topical
There Is Always Light Ahead	1928	Exp. O.T.
The Man		Topical
What We Know and What We Do Not Know		Topical
His Limitations		Topical
As Seen by His Contemporaries		Topical
His Sincerity		Topical
His Sanity		Topical
His Weakness		Topical
His Strength		Topical
His Pride		Topical
His Humility		Topical
His Vehemence		Topical

Sermons on the BibleAudienceLocation of the Sermon

Jefferson, Things Fundamental, 1903.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Jefferson, Five Present-Day Controversies, 1924.

Ibid.

Christian Century, XLI, No. 1 (February 28, 1924).

Sermons on the International Sunday School Lessons for  
1924, 1923.

Jefferson, Peter Delivered From Prison, 1924.

Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah, 1925.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Jeremiah, 1928.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Jefferson, The Character of Paul, 1923.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Sermons on the Bible (cont'd.)

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
His Patience		Topical
His Courage		Topical
His Indignation		Topical
His Tenderness		Topical
His Breadth and Narrowness		Topical
His Sympathy		Topical
His Thankfulness		Topical
His Joyfulness		Topical
His Trustfulness		Topical
His Hopelessness		Topical
His Love		Topical
His Religiousness		Topical
His Greatness		Topical
His Loveableness		Topical

Sermons on Jesus Christ

The Person of Christ	1899	Text. N.T.
The Deity of Jesus (Part I)	1903	Text. N.T.
The Deity of Jesus (Part II)	1903	Text. N.T.
Sin and Its Forgiveness	1903	Topical
The Actual and the Ideal		Text. N.T.
God Manifest in the Flesh		Text. N.T.
The Reconciliation		Text. N.T.
The Holy Spirit		Text. N.T.
The Cross		Text. N.T.
Introduction	1907	Text. N.T.
Reasons for Our Study	1908	Text. N.T.
Sources		Text. N.T.
The Strength of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Sincerity of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Reasonableness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Poise of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Originality of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Narrowness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Breadth of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Trust of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Brotherliness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Optimism of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Chivalry of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Firmness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Generosity of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Candor of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Enthusiasm of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Gladness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Humility of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Patience of Jesus		Text. N.T.

Sermons on the Bible (cont'd.)AudienceLocation of the SermonJefferson, The Character of Paul, 1923.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Sermons on Jesus ChristJefferson, The New Crusade, 1907.Jefferson, Things Fundamental, 1903.Ibid.Ibid.Jefferson, Doctrine and Deed, 1901Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Young Men Jefferson, The Character of Jesus, 1908.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.Above Ibid.



Sermons on Jesus Christ (cont'd.)

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
The Courage of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Indignation of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Reverence of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Holiness of Jesus		Text. N.T.
The Greatness of Jesus		Text. O.T.
Jesus Entering Jerusalem		Text. N.T.
The Transfiguration		Exp. N.T.
The Question Which Answers Itself*	1918	Exp. N.T.
The Spirit of Christ		Topical
The Virgin Birth	1924	Topical
The New Commandment		Text. N.T.
The Messiah	1925	Exp. O.T.
The Many-Sided Christ*	1929	Text. O.T.
The Common Sense of Jesus*	1929	Topical
Unrecognized God in Spiritual Experience*	1929	Text. N.T.
Faith in a Storm*	1929	Text. N.T.
The God of the Living		Topical
The Difficulty of Believing		Text. N.T.
Behold the Man*		Text. N.T.
Jesus Feeds Five Thousand*		Text. N.T.

Sermons on the Church

Graced Penalties		Text. N.T.
Seeking to Save		Text. N.T.
Concentration		Text. N.T.
The Harvest Coming Gradually		Text. N.T.
The Church of the Living God	1903	Text. N.T.
The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit	1903	Text. N.T.
The Cause of the Present Uneasiness in the Christian Church	1903	Text. N.T.
The Unrecognized God	1904	Text. O.T.
Religion as a Form of Power*	1906	Text. N.T.
Christian Unity	1907	Text. N.T.
Militarism and the Christian Church*	1908	Text. N.T.
Forty Years in the Wilderness*	1922	Text. O.T.
The Heavenly Vision*	1922	Text. N.T.
The Use of Creeds	1924	Topical
Religion and Morality	1925	Topical
The Remnant	1925	Topical
I Don't Know What to Believe*	1926	Topical
Expectancy	1927	Text. N.T.
The Life Eternal		Topical
Why I Am a Congregationalist*		Topical



Sermons on Jesus Christ (cont'd.)

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Location of the Sermon</u>
Young Men	Jefferson, <u>The Character of Jesus</u> , 1908.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Sermons on the International Sunday School Lessons for 1910, 1909.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	McKeehan, <u>Great Modern Sermons</u> , 1923.
	Jefferson, <u>Five Present-Day Controversies</u> , 1924.
	Morrison, <u>The American Pulpit</u> , 1925.
	<u>Christian Century</u> , XLII, No. 1 (May 28, 1925).
	Jefferson, <u>Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah</u> , 1925.
	Mather, <u>Voices of Living Prophets</u> , 1933.
	Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Stidger, <u>If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach</u> , 1929.
	Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.

Sermons on the Church

Jefferson, <u>Doctrine and Deed</u> , 1901.
<u>Ibid.</u>
<u>Ibid.</u>
<u>Ibid.</u>
Jefferson, <u>Things Fundamental</u> , 1903.
<u>Ibid.</u>
<u>Ibid.</u>
Jefferson, <u>The New Crusade</u> , 1907.
<u>Ibid.</u>
<u>Ibid.</u>
Walker, <u>Sermons for the Times</u> , 1924.
<u>Homiletic Review</u> , LXXXVI (September, 1923).
Jefferson, <u>Five Present-Day Controversies</u> , 1924.
Jefferson, <u>Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah</u> , 1925.
<u>Ibid.</u>
Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.
Gates, <u>My Belief in Immortality</u> , 1928.
No author, <u>Twelve Modern Apostles and Their Creeds</u> , 1926.

Sermons on Social Christianity

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
Temptation From the Mountain Top	1898	Text. N.T.
The Impossible Commandment		Text. N.T.
The Principle of Giving		Text. N.T.
More than Others		Text. N.T.
The Sinfulness of Worry		Text. N.T.
Christianity and Wealth		Text. N.T.
Christianity and War		Text. O.T.
The Bramble King		Text. O.T.
Liberty--Its Dangers and Duties	1903	Text. N.T.
International Peace	1907	Text. N.T.
Ethical Questions Created by Our Government		
Declaring War*	1912	Topical
Ambition*	1913	Text. N.T.
Three Men Behind the Guns		Topical
Cause of the War	1914	Topical
Christianity and International Peace*	1915	Topical
Sermon to Fathers		Topical
Sermon to Mothers		Topical
Sermon to Daughters in Law		Topical
Sermon to Grandparents		Topical
Sermon to Grown-up Daughters		Topical
Sermon to Grown-up Sons		Topical
Fundamentals		Topical
Soldiers of the Prince*	1916	Topical
Bible Teachings About Work	1921	Text. N.T.
Poverty and Wealth	1921	Text. N.T.
The Duty of Thinking*	1922	Text. N.T.
The Soul of Britain*	1922	Topical
Anglo-American Friendship*	1922	Topical
Friendship Indispensable*	1923	Topical
Thoughtfulness in Religion*	1924	Text. O.T.
Roman Catholicism and the Ku Klux Klan*	1924	Topical
The Social Vision of Isaiah	1925	Text. O.T.
A Warless World	1925	Text. O.T.
Seeds of War*	1926	Topical
Thinking Peace*	1927	Topical
Like a Trumpet*	1927	Text. O.T.
The Individual Is the Key of the World Problem	1928	Topical
A Sick Heart Is the Source of the World's Woe	1928	Text. O.T.
Loyalty to God Is Above Loyalty to the Government	1928	Topical
The Next Step*		Topical
Liberty and Prohibition*	1929	Text. N.T.
Obedience to the Law*	1929	Topical
Talking Peace and Thinking War*	1930	Text. O.T.
Varieties of Pacifism		Topical
Nemesis of Armaments*		Topical

Sermons on Social ChristianityAudienceLocation of the Sermon

Jefferson, Doctrine and Deed, 1901.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Jefferson, The New Crusade, 1907.

Ibid.

American Association for International Conciliation,  
1914.

Jefferson, Cause of the War, 1914.

Woman's Home Companion, XLII (October, 1915).

Ibid., XLII (November, 1915).

Ibid., XLIII (March, 1916).

Ibid., XLIII (April, 1916).

Ibid., XLIII (February, 1916).

Ibid., XLIII (January, 1916).

Young Men's Christian Association Press, 1916.

Sermons on the International Sunday School Lessons for  
1921, 1920.

Ibid.

Jefferson, Five Present-Day Controversies, 1924.

Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah, 1925.

Ibid.

Jefferson, Like a Trumpet, 1934.

Jefferson, Cardinal Ideas of Jeremiah, 1928.

Ibid.

Ibid.

World Alliance for International Friendship Through  
the Churches, 1928.

Ferguson, Great Themes of the Christian Faith, 1930.

World Alliance for International Friendship Through  
the Churches, n.d.

Sermons on the Church Year

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
Line Upon Line	1900	Text. O.T.
How to Grow	1901	Text. N.T.
The Broadway Tabernacle of the Nineteenth Century [ <u>Anniversary sermon</u> ]	1901	Topical
The Broadway Tabernacle of the Twentieth Century [ <u>Anniversary sermon</u> ]	1901	Topical
Congregationalism	1901	Text. O.T.
The Contribution of Congregationalism to Education	1902	Text. O.T.
The Duty of Asking Questions	1902	Text. O.T.
The Beauty of Obedience	1903	Text. N.T.
The Puritans of New England	1903	Text. N.T.
The Puritan and the Home	1904	Text. N.T.
My Father's Business	1904	Text. N.T.
The Strengths and Weaknesses of Puritanism As Illustrated By the Life and the Character of John Knox	1905	Topical
The Silent Years	1905	Text. N.T.
A Thanksgiving Sermon*	1905	Text. N.T.
The Puritan Vision of God*	1905	Text. N.T.
The Place of the Puritan in History	1906	Text. N.T.
Work	1906	Text. N.T.
The World's Christmas Tree [ <u>Christmas</u> ]	1906	Topical
The Angel in the Sun [ <u>Thanksgiving</u> ]	1906	Text. N.T.
The Unpopularity of the Puritan: Its Causes and Glory	1907	Text. N.T.
The Will	1907	Text. N.T.
The Art of Forgetting [ <u>New Year</u> ]		Topical
The Art of Reaching [ <u>New Year</u> ]		Topical
Tenth Anniversary Sermon*	1908	Topical
Fundamental Traits of Puritan Character As Illustrated by John Milton	1908	Topical
Honesty	1908	Text. O.T.
Being a Christian	1909	Text. N.T.
The Puritan Conscience	1909	Text. N.T.
An Original Year [ <u>New Year</u> ]		Topical
The Puritan Sabbath and Ours	1910	Text. O.T.
The Puritan Theology	1911	Text. O.T.
Sermon for Thanksgiving		Topical
The Rainbow	1912	Topical
Easter Sermon	1912	Topical
The Puritan Type	1913	Topical
Deserts	1913	Topical
Birds	1914	Topical
The Puritan and the Cavalier	1914	Text. N.T.
New Year's Sermon*	1914	Topical
A New Year's Sermon	1914	Text. N.T.
Sunsets	1915	Topical
Christmas Sermon for Boys and Girls	1915	Topical

Sermons on the Church Year

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Location of the Sermon</u>
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future</u> , 1901.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
	Jefferson, <u>The New Crusade</u> , 1907.
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
	Jefferson, <u>The World's Christmas Tree</u> , 1906.
	Jefferson, <u>The New Crusade</u> , 1907.
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
	Jefferson, <u>The Old Year and the New</u> , 1907.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
Children	Jefferson, <u>My Father's Business</u> , 1909.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	Jefferson, <u>An Original Year</u> , 1910.
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	<u>Woman's Home Companion</u> , XXXVIII (November, 1911).
	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Woman's Home Companion</u> , XXXIX (April, 1912).
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Woman's Home Companion</u> , XLII (December, 1915).



Sermons on the Church Year (cont'd.)

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
The Pilgrims	1915	Text. N.T.
The Cloud and the Sea	1916	Text. N.T.
A Fire in the Snow [ <u>Christmas</u> ]*	1916	Topical
Storms	1916	Topical
Shadows	1917	Topical
A Thanksgiving Sermon*	1917	Text. N.T.
Twentieth Anniversary Discourse*	1918	Topical
Sounds	1918	Topical
Mists	1919	Topical
Spring	1920	Topical
Pilgrim Tercentary Sermon*	1920	Text. N.T.
Removing Mountains [ <u>New Year</u> ]*	1920	Topical
Odours	1921	Topical
A New Year's Sermon*	1921	Text. O.T.
Stand Upon Thy Feet*	1921	Topical
All Saint's Day Sermon*	1922	Text. N.T.
The Sin of Untruthfulness		Text. O.T.
Lions and Adders		Text. O.T.
A Brave Builder		Text. O.T.
The Two Roads		Text. N.T.
The Tongue		Text. N.T.
The Importance of Little Things		Text. N.T.
Preparedness		Text. N.T.
Discipline		Text. N.T.
Precious Jewels		Text. O.T.
Wings		Text. O.T.
Five Wrong Ideas About God		Text. N.T.
Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon*	1923	Topical
The Landscape	1923	Topical
Lakes	1924	Topical
The Puritan	1926	Text. O.T.
New Men and New Years [ <u>New Year</u> ]	1926	Topical
Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon*	1928	Topical
Facing the Future [ <u>New Year's Eve</u> ]*	1929	Text. N.T.
The One Foundation*	1929	Text. N.T.
Fun*	1930	Topical
This Do in Remembrance of Me [ <u>Communion</u> ]*	1930	Text. N.T.
The Mayflower		Text. N.T.
Play		Text. O.T.
The Wedge of Gold		Text. O.T.
Jonah		Text. O.T.
The Most Beautiful Thing in the World		Text. O.T.
War		Text. N.T.
Our Little Brothers and Sisters		Text. O.T.
Fun		Text. O.T.
Patriotism		Topical
My Eight Acres		Topical
The Sky		Topical
Grass		Topical

Sermons on the Church Year (cont'd.)

<u>Audience</u>	<u>Location of the Sermon</u>
-----------------	-------------------------------

	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.

Children	Jefferson, <u>Under Twenty</u> , 1922.
----------	--

Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Nature Sermons</u> , 1925.
	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Forefather's Day Sermons</u> , 1917.
	<u>Homiletic Review</u> , XCI (January, 1926).

	Jefferson, <u>Like a Trumpet</u> , 1934.
--	--

Children	
----------	--

Children	Jefferson, <u>Under Seventeen</u> , 1930.
----------	---

Above	Jefferson, <u>Under Twenty</u> , 1922.
Above	Jefferson, <u>Under Seventeen</u> , 1930.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	Jefferson, <u>Under Twenty</u> , 1930.
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>
Above	<u>Ibid.</u>

	Jefferson, <u>Other Nature Sermons</u> , 1931.
	<u>Ibid.</u>
	<u>Ibid.</u>



Sermons on the Church Year (cont'd.)

<u>Title of the Sermon</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Type</u>
Leaves		Topical
Trees		Topical
Rain		Topical
Snow		Topical
Brooks		Topical
Rivers		Topical
Color		Topical
Dawn and Dusk		Topical

Sermons on the Church Year (cont'd.)AudienceLocation of the Sermon

Jefferson, Other Nature Sermons, 1931.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The following characteristics of Jefferson's sermons are evident in the foregoing lists of sermons: (1) The titles of the sermons are simple and direct, and seem to reveal what Jefferson plans to speak about. Sometimes the title consists of only one word. (2) Most of the sermons are topical,<sup>1</sup> or textual;<sup>2</sup> a few are expository.<sup>3</sup> (3) Jefferson occasionally preached a series of sermons on the same general topic. Sometimes the series was preached on subsequent Sundays, such as the series on Jeremiah and Isaiah; sometimes the series continued from year to year, such as the sermons on Nature. (4) There is variety in the subjects of the sermons; there are character studies, expositions of Biblical verses and books, Nature sermons and children's sermons, doctrinal sermons and sermons on contemporary problems, and traditional sermons for holy seasons. (5) Some of the sermons were prepared for, and directed to, specific audiences, such as young men or children. However, most of the sermons seem to have been prepared for an audience which included persons of various ages and occupations. (6) The sermons on The Character of Paul were apparently never preached at the Tabernacle. (See section which follows). However, there is reason to believe that the sermons

---

<sup>1</sup>Topical sermons are based on a particular subject such as "church membership" and not on a Bible verse or Book.

<sup>2</sup>Textual sermons are based on particular Bible verses or Books. In a sense they may be Topical, but they are distinguished from the Topical sermon because they utilize a Bible verse or Book as a basis for discussion.

<sup>3</sup>Expository sermons are based on a particular Bible verse or Book. They are distinguished from the Textual sermons in that each sermon deals only with an explication of the source, including, for example, a consideration of the meaning of a word in the original Hebrew, Greek, or Aramaic, or perhaps an exposition of the historical context in which the words were spoken, or written. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly between the Topical sermon, the Textual sermon, and the Expository sermon, for they overlap. However, it is possible to describe a sermon as one of these types in terms of its major emphases.

printed in the Woman's Home Companion and in Sermons on the International Sunday School Lessons were preached at the Tabernacle.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now consider these sermons according to the five major divisions.

#### Sermons on the Bible

Perhaps the outstanding feature of these sermons--those aimed at a better understanding of Bible verses, Books, and characters--are Jefferson's character studies. During the year 1925 he preached a series of sermons on Isaiah; three years later he preached a companion series on Jeremiah. In 1923 Dr. Jefferson published a series of sermons on The Character of Paul. Of this book Jefferson said:

This is a book of sermons, although the sermons have never been preached. I find that my mind, as I grow older, can create more sermons than it is possible for me to preach. Ever since the appearance of my volume of sermons on "The Character of Jesus" some fifteen years ago, it has been my intention to publish, sometime, a companion volume on "The Character of Paul." For over thirty years, Paul has been one of my favorite heroes. . . . For thirteen years of my life, I made it my practice each succeeding year to carry with me for the summer one of his letters and make it my special study. Through my vacation months he was my daily companion. I read the letter again and again. I read everything of value on the letter which I could find, meditated on its contents, pondered the problems it suggested, communed with the spirit of the man who wrote it, prepared a sermon on it, and finally made out a list of a hundred questions for the assistance of my people in their study of it through the following year.<sup>2</sup>

Some of Jefferson's doctrinal sermons are based on selected Bible verses, for example, the sermons published as Things Fundamental.

They began January 11, 1903, and ended April 26th. This was the first definite step into that very high religious life that showed [Jefferson] to have an understanding of the messages of

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup>Charles E. Jefferson, The Character of Paul (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923), p. V.

his predecessors and to be a part of the intellectual leadership of the country. . . . There was a simplicity of life in Dr. Jefferson that characterized his confident mind, a persistent study of ethical sources and also a clarity of English in his speech that made it easy to listen and understand what he was explaining. People . . . became confident of two things: first, that Jefferson was a brave man to defy ignorance in religion; and second, willingly or not, the listener believed that Jefferson was telling great truths in a simple way.<sup>1</sup>

#### Sermons on Jesus Christ

Jefferson's sermons on Christ reveal that he tried to reconcile the theological problems associated with Christ's divinity and humanity during the years when the Liberal-Conservative controversies over these subjects were at their peak. Jefferson's sermons reveal that he was a Conservative with regard to his interpretation of Christ's divinity and manhood.<sup>2</sup>

#### Sermons on the Church

Some of Dr. Jefferson's sermons deal specifically with the Church Universal. Sometimes he spoke on the strengths and weaknesses of his denomination; at other times he preached on the Old Testament Church--the Remnant, and occasionally he talked on the Apostolic Church.

#### Sermons on Social Christianity

These sermons disclose Jefferson's concern for international harmony, in that most of the sermons in this category deal with the subject of "war and peace." Jefferson said that his most fervent

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter III

sermons had been "peace" sermons.<sup>1</sup> However, he attempted also to apply Christ's teachings to the problems associated with prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, family relationships, political responsibilities, and labor-management relations.

#### Sermons on the Church Year

The Church Year appears to have formed the basis for much of Jefferson's preaching.<sup>2</sup> He preached appropriate sermons for such traditional holy days as Easter and Christmas and annual sermons at other designated times. Each year he preached a Forefather's Day sermon on the anniversary of the Pilgrim's landing in America; each year, following his summer vacation, he preached a sermon on the motto of his life,<sup>3</sup> "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus;" in 1900 he began a series of annual addresses to boys and girls of the Tabernacle,<sup>4</sup> and in 1915 he began a series of "nature" sermons.<sup>5</sup> In October of each year, Dr. Jefferson

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter IV for Jefferson's Sermon Preparation and Delivery.

<sup>3</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>4</sup>With regard to this series of annual addresses Nichols, op. cit., p. 149 says: "The first one was in 1900 and he continued with them to 1930 allowing only two to be preached by Assistant Ministers in his absence. Each sermon was printed, autographed, and presented by Dr. Jefferson to each boy and girl who heard the sermon. They were not just nice little sermonettes to tempt them into Bible School, but deep constructive sermons in clear and perfect English upon the better things in life."

<sup>5</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 165-166 says: "It was in 1915 that Dr. Jefferson preached his notable sermon on Birds that possibly pleased more people in the Tabernacle than most city churches are apt to show in response to nature. In his Introductory to his volume of Nature Sermons published in 1925, Dr. Jefferson told the cause of his beginning such a series. He said that it was near the end of the last century, and while there were so many puzzling questions on high criticism and related topics, he decided to preach once a year a nature sermon. "If the Zeitgeist makes one skeptical. let him turn to that

devoted a Sunday morning sermon to an appeal for more earnest Bible study, and each year an entire Bible Book was dealt with in one sermon.<sup>1</sup>

### Summary

Jefferson's sermons can be grouped according to five major topics or concerns: the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, and the Church Year. While there is, of course, some overlapping among these major divisions, nevertheless, the five categories seem to provide a good understanding of Jefferson's sermons, including the year the sermons were preached, the types of sermons preached, the specific audience for which the sermons may have been prepared, as well as the variety of topics with which the sermons dealt.

---

other Gospel and pay reverent attention to another set of voices--the voices which come sounding through the flowers and the forests, through the beauty of the landscapes and the thunder of the storms. Nature and Bible are both rich gifts of God." The aim of his nature sermons was to move the mind and heart nearer to God.

In his second volume, Other Nature Sermons (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1931), p. 147 Charles E. Jefferson says: "As for the Christian Church, it is doing almost nothing to lead the mind to a contemplation of the mighty works of God in the physical creation. It does well-nigh nothing in arousing the heart to appreciate this ancient and amazing revelation. And so many years ago I decided that at least once every year I should call your attention to this neglected means of grace."

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 15.

## CHAPTER VII

### RHETORICAL ANALYSES OF FIVE SERMONS

#### Basis of Selection

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze five sermons of Charles E. Jefferson which were preached to his Tabernacle congregation. Each of the sermons was drawn at random from one of the five major divisions--the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, the Church Year--discussed in the previous chapter. These randomly chosen sermons appear to be representative of Jefferson's major themes in that they include his emphases as noted above, they "cover" the early, middle, and late years of his Tabernacle ministry, and they are of various types.

#### Critical Method

The critical method employed in the analysis of each sermon will be based upon the various classical canons of rhetoric. These canons are: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronunciatio.<sup>1</sup> The last two canons, memoria or memory, and pronunciatio or delivery were discussed in chapter four. In an analysis of the

---

<sup>1</sup>In the analyses of these canons, attention will be focused on textual matters. However, it should be remembered that Jefferson's background, his tenets of faith, his intellectual abilities, and the times in which he lived, are important aspects of our analyses. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to relate, explicitly and "word for word," the details of chapters I through VI to the various facets of this analytical investigation, but what has been said in these chapters should not be forgotten, for this material provides a more complete understanding of Jefferson as a speaker.



remaining canons, inventio or invention, dispositio or arrangement, elocutio or style, it should be understood that although each canon takes a distinctive view of speech, it is, nevertheless, inseparable from the other canons. In other words, something which is discussed under one canon might possibly be considered under another. For example, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether or not a particular sentence or group of sentences is a part of logical proof or emotional proof; and often what is considered as being logical or emotional proof might conceivably be considered under style. Let us now consider each of the three remaining canons--arrangement, invention, and style, in this order.<sup>1</sup>

### Arrangement

Rhetoricians, both ancient and modern, have discussed this canon in terms of the various divisions of a speech and how the divisions are related to each other. Plato taught:

Every speech ought to be put together like a living creature, with a body of its own, so as to be neither without head, nor without feet, but to have both a middle and extremities described proportionately to each other and to the whole.<sup>2</sup>

A more recent writer states that "a well organized speech presents the ideas as 'organized platoons--in marching order'"<sup>3</sup> and he goes

<sup>1</sup>It might be argued that invention "logically" comes first and should, therefore, be considered before arrangement and style. However, arrangement is being considered first in order that a synopsis and an analysis of the various speech divisions can provide a backdrop of the discussion of content per se.

<sup>2</sup>Plato, Phaedrus, Lester Thonssen, (Comp.), Selected Readings in Rhetoric and Public Speaking (New York: N. W. Wilson Co., 1942) p. 29..

<sup>3</sup>William Norwood Brigance, Speech: Its Techniques and Disciplines in a Free Society (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1952) p. 210.

on to discuss the "overall" organization or arrangement of a speech.

It is, therefore, the purpose of this section to analyze Jefferson's sermons in terms of (1) the patterns of development in the divisions of his sermons and (2) the relationship among these divisions. In order to do this effectively, the sermons will be discussed according to their major divisions--introduction, body, and conclusion.

### The Introductions

In discussing the speech introduction, Brigrance states an accepted rhetorical tradition. He writes:

The speech introduction has two purposes: (1) to get attention and good will, (2) to orient the audience, tell what the subject is about, and supply the necessary background.<sup>1</sup>

He lists the following methods of getting attention and good will:

- (1) A personal greeting.
- (2) A compliment to the audience.
- (3) A reference to the occasion or surroundings.
- (4) A reference to matters of special interest to the audience.
- (5) Pleasant or humorous remarks.
- (6) A direct reference to the significance of the subject.
- (7) An illustration, comparison, or quotation related to the subject.

The audience, he says, may be oriented to the subject and purpose of the speech in these ways:

- (1) An explanation of the background of the subject.
- (2) A statement and explanation of the proposition.
- (3) An explanation of how one proposes to develop the subject.<sup>2</sup>

The above outline will serve as a basis for an analysis of the introductions to Jefferson's sermons.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 228-236.

The Patterns of Organization in the Bodies of the Sermons

The purpose of this part of the analysis is to determine the methods or patterns by which Jefferson organized the materials in the bodies of his sermons.

That is to say, the critic is interested in finding out whether the speaker's conception of his task--be it to explain, to entertain, to convince, or to persuade--is clear, and whether the selection and arrangement of the ideas conduce to their effectiveness.<sup>1</sup>

We are concerned, therefore, with the clarity of a single purpose, the recognizable emergence of a central theme, and the order or plan by which the parts of body are developed.

Brigance's principles of speech arrangement or organization will serve as a basis for our analysis of the bodies of Jefferson's sermons. Brigance discusses five "common thought patterns" whereby the content in the body of a speech may be arranged. These are:

- (1) A time order whereby the speech material is organized according to time or chronological divisions.
- (2) A space order whereby the speech material is organized according to a pattern of space or spatial relationship.
- (3) A classification order whereby the speech material is organized according to its relationship to related subjects or classes. Another term for this might be the topical order for in both orders the speaker breaks the speech theme into various parts, or topics, and arranges them in their most effective order. It is possible for this form of organization to overlap with another form, for example, the chronological order.
- (4) A cause-and-effect order whereby the speech material is organized according to the causes and results of a condition or situation.
- (5) A problem-solution order whereby the speech material is organized according to a consideration of the nature of a problem and then the solution to the problem.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 393.

<sup>2</sup>Brigance, op. cit., pp. 213-215. See also William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts inc., 1937), p. 91.

It should be remembered that any one of the above patterns of organization may be the basic structure of the sermon, while one or more of the other patterns may serve as a basis for the development of the segments or parts of the sermon text.

### The Conclusions

The conclusion of a sermon has one or more purposes, depending in large measure upon the type and objective of the sermon--to summarize or restate the main ideas, to apply the ideas of the sermon by proposing definite plans of action which coincide with the interests and abilities of the audience, and to motivate the audience to action.

The speaker must pitch his conclusion on a high plane, through the choice of ideas, through composition and through delivery. . . . A conclusion should serve a definite purpose, tie up loose ends, maintain a high level of expression, and end with a note of finality.<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of Jefferson's conclusions, therefore, should reveal whether or not, as needed by the type of sermon, he "tied loose ends together," proposed plans of action, and motivated his audience to action. The following forms of conclusions will serve as a basis for this analysis:

- (1) The summary conclusion in which the speaker restates his main ideas in a condensed form.
- (2) The conclusion of application in which specific procedures or plans of action are advocated.
- (3) The conclusion of motivation in which the audience is moved to act in a particular manner because of appeals to self-preservation, property, power, reputation, affections, sentiments, and tastes.
- (4) The quotation conclusion in which the theme of the speech is reinforced with the words of someone else.

---

<sup>1</sup>Lew Sarett and W. T. Foster, Basic Principles of Speech (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 521.

- (5) The visualization of the future conclusion in which the speaker pictures what will, or will not happen, if his proposition(s) is accented.<sup>1</sup>

### Invention

Classical rhetoricians have traditionally divided the canon of invention into three parts known as modes of persuasion or proof. These modes of proof are: ethical proof, emotional or pathetic proof, and logical proof. Because Jefferson's sermons will be analyzed in terms of this tripartite division, let us consider them in more detail.

#### Ethical proof

Those available means of persuasion which lie within the speaker himself are termed ethos or ethical proof. Aristotle defined the role of ethos in speaking as follows:

The character (ethos) of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; 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. . . we might also affirm that this character (ethos) is the most potent of all the means to persuasion.<sup>2</sup>

According to Aristotle, ethos or ethical proof includes the three constituents of character, intelligence (sagacity), and good will.<sup>3</sup> These have been described in Speech Criticism:

In general, a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 511-521 and Brigrance, Speech: Its Techniques and Disciplines in a Free Society, pp. 238-241.

<sup>2</sup>Aristotle, Rhetoric, Lane Cooper, (Trans.), (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 92.



tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.

. . . it may be said that a speaker helps to establish the impression of sagacity if he (1) uses what is popularly called common sense; (2) acts with tact and moderation; (3) displays a sense of good taste; (4) reveals a broad familiarity with the interests of the day; and (5) shows through the way in which he handles speech materials that he is possessed of intellectual integrity and wisdom.

Finally, a speaker's good will generally is revealed through his ability to (1) capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) to identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems; (3) to proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech; and (6) to reveal, without guile or exhibitionism, his personal qualities as a messenger of the truth.<sup>1</sup>

While Aristotle's definition still serves as a basis for many of the contemporary discussions of ethos, modern writers have extended its scope to include those elements or phenomena which are external to the speech itself. David C. Phillips, for example, states that if a person's good reputation precedes him, ethical proof is established before he begins to speak.<sup>2</sup> A more recent writer, Wayne C. Minnick, agrees with Aristotle and Phillips but adds a third source of ethical proof.

The nature of ethos can be clearly understood if prestige is conceived as arising from three sources: (1) the tangible attainments or known reputation of the speaker which the audience acquires before the delivery of the speech, (2) the character and

---

<sup>1</sup>Thonssen and Baird., op. cit., p. 358.

<sup>2</sup>David C. Phillips, Oral Communication in Business (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955), p. 83.

personality revealed by the speaker as he utters the speech, and (3) the coincidence of the speaker's proposals with the rigid beliefs and attitudes of the audience.<sup>1</sup>

This definition includes ethical proof which is exterior to the speech text, ethical proof which is interior to the speech text, and ethical proof which relates the exterior and interior phenomena. Thus, ethos includes everything a speaker does to persuade his audience that he is credible.

In this analysis of Jefferson's sermons, both exterior and interior phenomena will be considered as contributory to ethical proof. Aristotle's elements of character, intelligence, and good-will will be discussed under Minnick's second category as quoted above; his other categories will also be considered. It seems wise to study these various sources of ethos inasmuch as Jefferson's ability to influence was probably not limited to his sermons, for mass media and word-of-mouth reports carried information about him. Thus, many persons who heard Jefferson preach had previously acquired a knowledge and opinion of him.

#### Emotional or Pathetic Proof

The speaker who seeks to bring his audience into a psychological state so that it influences its own reaction to what is said employs what is commonly termed "pathetic proof." Such proof concerns what have been termed "extra-logical matters." Aristotle was apparently aware of this, for he wrote that proofs may be "effected through the audience when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway

---

<sup>1</sup>Wayne C. Minnick, The Art of Persuasion (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1957), p. 113.



of pain or joy, and liking or hatred."<sup>1</sup> Whereas this concept of "pathetic proof" in the strict Aristotelian sense embraces only the emotions, it has subsequently been broadened to include the several elements of motivation (even though Aristotle chose to discuss these elements in another connection). Similarly, it has been altered by the virtual ignoring of the emotions as such and the substitution of the above-mentioned elements of motivation for the emotions.

In harmony with this line of thought, we shall here consider not only the emotions as such but also the related factors of motive appeals as we seek to analyze Jefferson's practices in this area of communication.

This analysis of Jefferson's "persuasion" will be based on A. E. Phillips' "impelling motives" which consider man's spiritual, intellectual, moral and material wants.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Self-preservation: This means the desire for the preservation of life and health, the desire for freedom from disease, fire, flood, injury or pain. It means the desire for freedom from those things both here and in the hereafter.
- (2) Property: This means the desire for goods, lands, and money.
- (3) Power: The desire to possess skill, force, energy--the ability to be and to do. It includes the desire to possess intellectual, moral and physical strength--the ability to sway and control men.
- (4) Reputation: The desire for the good opinion and good will of other persons.
- (5) Affections: The desire for the welfare of others, the town, the county, the state and nation. This desire is altruistic, not selfish.
- (6) Sentiments: The desire to be and to do what is right, fair, honorable, noble, true--desires associated with intellectual and moral culture. It embraces duty, liberty, independence and also

---

<sup>1</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 358.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur E. Phillips, Effective Speaking (Chicago: The Newton Co., 1909), p. 48.

patriotism considered as a moral obligation.

(7) Tastes: This means the aesthetic desires, the finer pleasures of touch, taste, smell, hearing, sight. It also includes those appetites in so far as they have an aesthetic side and are not looked at from the point of view of self-preservation.<sup>1</sup>

Consideration will also be given to how Jefferson used these appeals to (1) gain the attention of his listeners, and (2) to bring suggestion to bear on his audience.

Emotional proof may also be affected by a phenomenon outside the speech text, the speaker's emotionality. For example, facial expressions, shedding tears, and gestures. Emotionality may be a cause of positive influence. However, it may also hinder the speaker's achievement of this goal if the audience feels that the speaker is too involved in his subject.<sup>2</sup>

#### Logical Proof

In the analysis of Jefferson's logical proof I shall examine his rational appeals--appeals aimed primarily at man's reasoning process. Classical rhetoricians, such as Aristotle and W. T. G. Shedd, stress the importance of logos or logical proof:

The most important ingredient of a speech is rational demonstration through severe argumentation.<sup>3</sup>

Every complete speech is "the evolution of an idea."<sup>4</sup>

One writer defines the role of logic in persuasion as follows:

Argument in persuasive discourse consists of a pattern of reasoning which leads to a particular conclusion. It is a mode of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-56.

<sup>2</sup>Phillips, Oral Communication in Business, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 331.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

demonstration, not of discovery; that is to say, it aims to illuminate some conclusion previously discovered by the arguer.<sup>1</sup>

While the types of reasoning used in oral discourse have been catalogued and labelled in various ways, they can be considered as standardized in spite of variations in terminology. The following types of reasoning will be used as a basis for our analysis of Jefferson's logical proof.

(1) Reasoning from example: This is the process of inferring conclusions from specific cases or instances. Statistics will be considered as examples.

(2) Reasoning by analogy: An analogy is a comparison between two cases, in one of which a certain factor is known to exist while in the other this same factor is under question. It follows the line of reasoning that if two cases are alike in essential respects, they will probably be alike in the respect under consideration. If the two cases compared fall in the same general category, the analogy is said to be literal. If the compared cases are generically different, the analogy is said to be figurative.

(3) Causal reasoning: Causal reasoning may be from cause to effect or from effect to cause.

(4) Reasoning from sign: This involves the relationships between substances and attributes. A sign is a reason for acknowledging a proposition to be true. The nature of the inference involved in reasoning from sign is this: If two things are usually or always associated in some manner, the presence or absence of one may be taken as a sign of the presence or absence of the other, i.e. a reason for acknowledging its being or not being.<sup>2</sup>

### Style

This canon is concerned with the manner in which Jefferson expressed himself, that is, the manner in which he clothed his thoughts with words.

---

<sup>1</sup>Minnick, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup>James H. McBurney and Kenneth G. Hance, Discussion in Human Affairs (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 94-108.

Although Jefferson's style was his own, as is the style of every speaker, nevertheless, it appears that it can be analyzed according to certain characteristics. Aristotle sets forth these characteristics as clearness and appropriateness in word choice and word combination, and Quintilian conceived of style as embracing the choice of words, appropriate ornamentation, orderly and artistic arrangements of selected words--all suited to the conditions of the speaker, subject, and occasion.<sup>1</sup> A more recent definition of style also expresses this functional viewpoint:

Style is the form in which the speaker expresses his ideas. It involves his choice of words, his phrase and sentence structure, and his use of specific devices making for vivid and interesting language.<sup>2</sup>

John F. Genung states that style has three qualities--clearness, force, and beauty.<sup>3</sup> He says: Style is the manner of choosing and arranging words so as to produce determinate and intended effects in language.<sup>4</sup> In the light of these and other discussions, the following synthesis has been made of the characteristics of style; and it will serve as a basis for the analysis of this canon:

(1) Clearness--clearness or clarity in style is achieved by such devices as directness (personal pronouns and common feeling), familiar and concrete words, questions and answers.

(2) Coherence--coherence is achieved by the effective ordering of materials, internal summaries, and connections or transitions.

<sup>1</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup>William Phillips Sandford and Willard Hayes Yeager, Principles of Effective Speaking (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937).

<sup>3</sup>John Franklin Genung, The Working Principles of Rhetoric (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1900), p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

(3) Force--force or strength is achieved by such devices as repetition, repetitive linking of words or phrases, climax development, challenge, appeal, and command.

(4) Variety--variety or lack of monotony can be achieved through varying combinations of the above: clearness, coherence, and force.<sup>1</sup>

Style, therefore, will be analyzed in terms of the above four categories. It should be remembered that these overlap and that such supporting materials as simile, metaphor, analogy, and alliteration may be discussed under any of these categories.

### Summary

Five of Jefferson's sermons have been randomly selected for rhetorical analysis. One sermon was chosen from each of five major categories--the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, the Church Year. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of each sermon according to the canons of arrangement, invention, and style.

---

<sup>1</sup>Brigance, Speech Composition, Genung, op. cit., Sanford and Yeager, op. cit., Sarett and Foster, op. cit., James H. McBurney and Ernest J. Wraga, The Art of Good Speech (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1953).

The Rhetorical Analysis of Sermon OneThe Source for the Sermon Text

This sermon, "The Cause of the Present Uneasiness in the Christian Church," is taken from Charles E. Jefferson's book, Things Fundamental (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1903).<sup>1</sup> It is based on the question, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" (Matthew 16:3).

Audience, Occasion, and Setting

The sermon was preached to the Tabernacle congregation on Sunday, January 25, 1903. At this time the congregation met in Mendelssohn Hall, for the Tabernacle at Broadway and Fifty-sixth Street was not completed. The sermon was the third in a series of thirteen on Christian doctrines which were preached during the first four months of 1903.

Synopsis of the Sermon Text

## Introduction

"Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" In this question there is the sting of a rebuke. Christ addressed it to men who were experts in interpreting the signs of the weather. "You know," He said, "how to read the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times? You know how to interpret the forms of mist that float between your eyes and the sun, but do you not know how to read the forces by whose actions a new world is about to be created?" Wonderful things had just happened in their midst. Rome had conquered Judah. John the Baptist had come preaching. A prophet from Nazareth had amazed men. And yet not a man realized that a crisis is at hand. They know how to discuss weather, but they cannot read the mighty movements of the mind of God.

---

<sup>1</sup>It was pointed out in Chapter IV that it was Jefferson's custom to dictate his Sunday sermons on the following day, and that these sermons were almost identical to the ones he preached. The sermon texts which will be analyzed in this paper are reprints of the sermons which he dictated, and therefore can be considered excellent transcripts of what he said.

## Body

This question is of perennial significance. We ourselves are quite expert in discussing the weather. We say, for example, "Times will be prosperous this coming year," or "He stands no chance of re-election." We have our tittle-tattle and our gossip and our conversation spiced with learning, but are we able to tell what God has been doing with the world, and what He is going to do with it?

Among the signs of the times which thoughtful men should observe are book titles. Let us look at some of the titles of books which have been published within the last ten years. A Russian has written, What is Religion? A German professor has written, What is Christianity? A theologian writes, Can I Believe in God the Father? Many other books have been written whose titles end with interrogation points.

Evidently something has happened. What is it? Every Christian should know. If we do not see clearly what it is that has caused this world-wide commotion in religious circles, we shall be the victims of a vague mistrust and an undefined dread, and this alarm will paralyze all the nerves of action and close the avenues of peace. Christians must know themselves and the world in which they live. Let us this morning ask ourselves this question: What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world?

Six things have happened. Two happened long ago; the remaining four are the results of the first two. The first thing happened in 1492 with Columbus' discovery of new land. Since that day men have been saying: "Give us land! Give us something real, substantial, solid. Give us a place to stand on, a place where we can build." We are all under the sway of Columbus' spirit.

The second event happened twenty-nine years later. With men's faces turned toward the future the question immediately arose: Can a man accept the new facts which he finds? Can he embrace the new truths at which he arrives? Martin Luther replied: "Yes." Since this second event the mind has been free.

The other four things happened because of what Columbus and Luther did. In the first place space has been expanded enormously. Copernicus, Galilee, Kepler, and Herschel have concluded that our earth is nothing but a grain of sand lying upon a shore that has no bounds. What must be the effect of this upon our conceptions of God, the Bible, man, and the world?

Time has also been extended. Years ago everybody believed the earth was only six thousand years old. Hutton, Lyell, and Agassiz assure us that the earth and man are millions of years old. How must these discoveries affect our Christian thought? If the margin of our Bible says the race is six thousand years old, and if geologists say it is older, what is going to become of the margin of our Bible? What place does Christ occupy in this unfolding of the human race? Will Christianity be sufficient for this large universe--will it fit--is it adequate? Christianity must be thought out again.

Into this larger universe came the idea of development.

Buffon, Goethe, Lamarck, Oken, and Darwin searched for an answer to the question: By what processes did vegetable and animal life assume their forms? Evolution was the answer accepted by leading thinkers the world over. In the hands of masters like Drummond and Fiske this idea of development becomes one of the most bewitchingly fascinating ideas since Jesus taught the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. The universe is now read in the light of the principle of development. Everything grows: languages, institutions, constitutions, governments, religion, races--Man has come up. But what must be the effect of this on our conceptions of the Christian religion? Is man the creation of God? If things get better what becomes of sin? What is the meaning of Christ's death? In this age the Christian doctrines of sin and the cross must be re-examined and thought out again.

The sixth thing which has happened is that men have turned to a study of history. The product of the historic spirit of Lessing, Herder, Schlegel, Comte, and Draper is termed "historic criticism." All the records of the past, including the Bible, are being studied from this new viewpoint. The works of historical critics have led to a renewed interest in the life of Jesus. What must be the effect of all this? In the first place it is causing the outside world severely to scrutinize the Church. It has also led to heart-searching on the part of Christians.

But why should anyone be alarmed at the six things which have happened? These facts should not destroy our Christian faith, but increase it. When we once come to see what science has accomplished, we should hold our heads higher as Christians and sing a more jubilant song. We should bear in mind that new things do not mean that we must do away with old things. The fact is, everything is old except our thoughts. For example, astronomy is new, but the stars are old, and although there is a new theology, God is old.

### Conclusion

In an age of miracles we can still kneel down by our bed and use the same words which our fathers and grandfathers used:

Now I lay me down to sleep;  
I pray the Lord my soul to keep;  
If I should die before I wake,  
I pray the Lord my soul to take.

### Arrangement

#### The Introduction

##### (1) Gaining attention and good-will

Jefferson began this sermon by repeating the Biblical text, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" This question carries "the sting of a rebuke" and, therefore, probably included means of gaining the immediate attention of the audience. If Jefferson's



sermon title was included in the "order of worship" usually distributed to each person in attendance, then it is possible that some persons noted a relationship between the text and title. However, Jefferson does not make a direct reference to the title of his sermon. Within the first four sentences he identifies the question with Jesus Christ and thereby makes a direct reference to the object of special interest in a church service.

## (2) Orienting the audience

In attempting to orient the audience to the Biblical text, Jefferson emphasizes its significance by explaining why Christ spoke these words. He explains that Christ addressed the question to "men of great intellect and wide influence, men who held the foremost positions in the church, and sat in the chief seats at feasts." These men, said Jefferson, were experts in forecasting weather; by observing smoke, sun, and sky, they could foretell climatic conditions. It was to these experts that Christ said, "You know how to read the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Jefferson then gives examples of these signs: Rome had conquered Judah; John the Baptist had urged men to repent of their sins, and a prophet of Nazareth had been teaching and performing wonderful deeds. "And yet not a man in all this crowd realizes that a crisis of human history is at hand." Jefferson summarizes his introduction by saying: "They know how to discuss weather, but they cannot read the mighty movements of the mind of God."

Jefferson, therefore, apparently sought to orient his audience to his text by utilizing two explanatory passages. In the first passage he gives examples of the weather-forecasting abilities of the persons to whom Jesus spoke; in the second explanatory passage he

gives examples of the signs of the times--the wonderful things which have recently happened. Thus, Jefferson seeks to orient the audience to the Biblical text by explaining its background. In addition, this explanation also contains resources designed to maintain the attention of his listeners.

#### The Pattern of Organization in the Body of the Sermon

In terms of overall organization this can be termed a problem-solution type of sermon. Jefferson says that the problem--"mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world"--can be resolved by noting "what science has accomplished within the last hundred years." The "problem portion" of the body of the sermon is organized according to the effect-to-cause ordering of materials. The six events which have led to the problem are arranged chronologically, as are the materials pertaining to each of these events. Thus, the basic effect-to-cause relationship of parts within the body of the sermon includes materials which are arranged from past to present. Let us consider the relationship between the introduction and the body of the sermon.

Jefferson makes the transition from the introduction to the body in one sentence. He says, "This question is of perennial significance because the ditch into which the Pharisees fell is always open, and people of reputation have a fatal facility for falling into it." Jefferson explains that the people of his day are adept in discussing political, social, and commercial weather or "signs of the times," but, he asks, "Are we able to tell what God has been doing in the world, and what he is going to do with it in the years . . . ahead?" He adds that thoughtful men should observe such signs as book titles, for these suggest "the way the wind is blowing." He

lists many of the titles of recent books and concludes that when Christians write "books whose titles are interrogation points, it is safe to say that something has taken place." Such titles as, Shall We Believe in Divine Providence? and Can I Believe in God the Father? suggest, he believes, a "world-wide commotion in religious circles." Jefferson states, "If we do not see clearly what has caused it we shall be the victims of an undefined dread, and this alarm will paralyze all the nerves of action and close the avenue of peace." Jefferson urges his audience to make the Christian Church an instrument of power by answering the question, "What has happened? What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world?"

Dr. Jefferson then proceeds to answer the question, "What has happened?" He indicates clearly the organizational plan of his sermon at this point by saying, "Six things have happened. Two of them happened long ago, and the remaining four are the result of the first two." He says that, in the first place, ever since Columbus discovered "Land! New Land!" men have searched for "new things, new truths, new lands--and the last four hundred years have been years of exploration." After summarizing, "we are all under the sway of that intrepid Italian, Christopher Columbus," Jefferson directs the attention of his audience to "the second event [which] happened only twenty-nine years later." The minister explains that the second "cause of the present uneasiness" was the Diet of Worms, where Martin Luther's refusal to recant made man aware that he "has the right to accept the truth whenever and wherever he finds it." Then Jefferson summarizes the two causes upon which the other four causes are based:

The great Italian and the great German, they walk like mighty spiritual giants before us across the centuries, and all our life is different because they lived and labored. The other four things happened because of the work which Columbus and Luther did.

In a short transition Jefferson moves smoothly into the discussion of the "four things which have happened within a hundred years" to cause the present uneasiness. He discusses (1) the enormous expansion of space through the discoveries of such persons as Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Herschel, (2) new concepts about the age of the universe and its inhabitants resulting from the studies of James Hutton, James Lyell and Louis Agassiz, and others, (3) the slow development of the earth, plants and animals as proved by Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Lyell, Haeckel, Gray, and Fiske, and (4) the conclusions of such historians as Strauss, Neander, Ullmann, and Tholuck which have led to a renewed interest in the life of Jesus Christ.

Jefferson considers each of these four causes in the same manner. (1) Each event is introduced in a single sentence which, with regard to events two, three, and four, also forms the connecting link with the previous event or cause. For example, the transition sentence from event one to event two is, "Not only has space been expanded, but time has been enormously extended." (2) The persons and discoveries which have led to present knowledge are chronologically discussed, from past to present. (3) Jefferson then asks several questions which he believes must be answered in light of recent information, such as:

But what must be the effect of the slow development of earth, plants and animals/ on our conception of the Christian religion? If man has come up from brute-life, is he the creation of God, and if everything is passing from less to more, from lower to higher, what becomes of sin? Was there ever a fall?

And if there was never a fall, what is the meaning of the death of Christ?

(4) Each of the four causes is then summarized in one, two, or three sentences; and in each summary Jefferson states that Christianity must be reconsidered because of our increased knowledge about the world, man, and Christ.

Jefferson's single purpose is clearly evident in the body of this sermon. He discusses six separate causes of "the present uneasiness in the Christian Church." Just as he summarizes his discussion of each event, so too he summarizes his discussions of all six events:

These, then, are the six things which have happened. The spirit of exploration and the passion of liberty have gone abroad through all the earth, and under the influence of that spirit and that passion the universe has been immeasurably expanded. Space is vaster. Time is longer. The universe is discovered to be a growing thing. Humanity itself grows. . . . If these are the things which have happened, why should anybody be alarmed? What is there in any one of these six facts to cause the slightest uneasiness? Why should we be afraid of astronomy or geology, or biology or research? If the astronomers have made it clear that my Father's house is larger than I thought it was, then I shall value still more highly the privilege of being counted a child of the King. . . . If time is as long as geologists say . . . then I have a new revelation of God's patience. . . . If it be true, as the biologists claim, that everything is growing, that humanity passes from lower to higher, then I will rejoice with a new joy when I read St. John's assertion, "Now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be." The latest science gives me larger ground for hope . . . And if historical criticism has brought out into clearer light the face of Jesus, surely I will count historical criticism the dearest of my friends.

The "problem" is, therefore, clearly organized according to an effect-to-cause pattern of speech materials. Jefferson first states that the church is uneasy. Then he states that there are six causes of this condition, and he proceeds to name and discuss each one. They are clearly introduced, discussed, and summarized; and there are strong transitions between points of the first order.

Jefferson completes the body of the sermon by offering a solution to the problem of uneasiness in the Christian Church. The solution, he says, is "to see what science has accomplished within the last hundred years, [then] we shall hold our heads higher as Christians and sing a more jubilant song." Thus, the body of this sermon is organized according to the problem-solution ordering of materials, while the "problem portion" of the body is organized according to the effect-to-cause patterning of materials. The body of the sermon is concluded with the suggestion that the problem can be resolved by noting the accomplishments of science.

#### The Conclusion

The conclusion is the shortest of the three major divisions of the sermon, and in it Jefferson reassures his audience that in an age of wonders and miracles we can still find peace in the prayer of our fathers and grandfathers:

Now I lay me down to sleep;  
I pray the Lord my soul to keep;  
If I should die before I wake,  
I pray the Lord my soul to take.

In the conclusion, therefore, Jefferson provides a soothing and familiar childhood prayer. It is possible that Jefferson's audience was comforted by the manner in which he reinforced his solution for the problem of uneasiness in the Christian Church.

#### Invention

#### Ethical Proof

##### (1) Exterior to the sermon text

This was the third sermon in a series which Dr. Jefferson entitled "Things Fundamental." In this series Jefferson attempted

to reconcile the conclusions of Science with Christian theology; and while not all persons, of course, agreed with him, he was generally regarded favorably. Many persons considered him a credible source and were eager to hear what he believed.<sup>1</sup>

L. Nelson Nichols, a Tabernacle historian, emphasizes that these sermons were preached in Mendelssohn Hall while a new Tabernacle was being built, but that the inconveniences of the temporary quarters were more than offset by Jefferson's preaching ability. He says: "The strength of the organization [the Tabernacle] and the attraction of Dr. Jefferson's sermons were shown by the fact that fifty-six new members were added [to the congregation] in 1903. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

(2) Revealed by the sermon text

In the introduction to the sermon Jefferson discusses the concern which Christ expressed for the religious leaders of His day—men who could interpret the signs of the weather, but who failed to consider the significance of the preaching of John the Baptist and the marvelous deeds of a Nazareth prophet. Jefferson says that Christ's question—"Can ye not discern the signs of the time?"—is of perennial significance because the ditch into which the Pharisees fell is always open, and people of reputation have a fatal facility for falling into it. With respect to ethos, this introduction contains means of suggesting Jefferson's integrity through the associating of the theme with one of Christ's major concerns.

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

Jefferson's probity of character seems to be further enhanced by his sincerity, that is, his earnestness and unselfishness with regard to his listeners. Note how the following statements seem to reveal this sincerity:

Let us then this morning ask ourselves this question: What has happened? What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world? If we can find a satisfactory answer to that question, we shall have done a good day's work.

Are the statements of theology large enough? Are the conceptions of Luther and Calvin and Wesley large enough? Are Paul's ideas large enough? Christianity must be thought out again. It must be correlated to a universe of which our fathers knew nothing.

Jefferson probably sought to establish an impression of intelligence by acting with tact and moderation. For example, he states that Christ rebuked the Pharisees for not discerning the signs of the times, but, rather than rebuke his audience, Jefferson includes himself among those persons who have failed to discern "what God has been doing with the world. . . ." Furthermore, Jefferson probably impressed the audience with his knowledge of the interests and events of the day, such as religious uncertainty, as well as his competence in the fields of history, geology, paleontology, biology, philosophy, and historical criticism.

He also seems to create an impression of intellectual integrity by dealing honestly with various persons. That is, he credits them with certain ideas, conclusions, and discoveries; he does not attempt to "twist the facts" to his advantage. We might say that Jefferson is "objective." His apparent integrity and wisdom probably contributed much to his personal qualities as a messenger of truth.



One of the interesting features of this sermon is the oneness with the audience which Jefferson expresses. Through this identification Jefferson reveals to us his good-will, an important element of ethical proof. The following examples contain what must have been regarded as revelations of Jefferson's good-will:

If we do not see clearly what it is that has caused this world-wide commotion in religious circles, we shall be the victims of a vague mistrust and an undefined dread. . . . Christians of all people on earth ought to be positive and radiant. They must know themselves and the world in which they are living. If they are nervous and hysterical, shrinking and scared, they will not be able to do their work effectively. . . .

We are all under the sway of the spirit of that intrepid Italian, Christopher Columbus.

We are all under the sway of Martin Luther's soul. The great Italian and the great German, they walk like mighty spiritual giants before us across the centuries, and all our life is different because they lived and labored.

What must be the effect of all this upon our conceptions of God, man, and the world? What shall we think of the earth? What shall we do with the story at the beginning of Genesis which speaks as though the sun and the moon and the stars had been created to cast light upon this tiny speck of matter? Is that story the naïve fancy of a childlike mind? And what shall we think of man? Is he really great as he has always dreamed himself to be?

Thus, it appears that the sermon text contains evidences of Jefferson's probity of character, his intelligence, and his good-will. His integrity is related to those factors which indicate that he is a person of sincerity, straightforwardness, and unselfishness. Furthermore, the relationship between his theme and Christ's concern leads us to conclude that his interests are similar to those of Christ and, therefore, suggests that he is a man of integrity.

The sermon text also suggests elements of intelligence and intellectual honesty. Jefferson appears to be a competent scholar

in various fields of study; he acts with tact and moderation in discussing our ability "to tell what God has been doing with the world," and he gives rightful credit for certain ideas, conclusions, and discoveries.

A further evidence of Jefferson's ethos is revealed by the good-will he expresses toward his audience. He expresses a concern for their spiritual, physical, mental, and material welfare.

In summary: the three constituents of ethical proof—character, intelligence, good-will—are revealed in rather high degree by the sermon text.

### (3) Speaker's interests and audience's interests

It has been concluded that Jefferson identifies himself with his audience in this sermon. Several examples of this identification have been cited. However, this oneness is perhaps best illustrated by the following quotations, the first of which is taken from the introduction to the sermon, the second quotation from the body. Note the repetition of the word "we".

We ourselves are quite expert in discussing the weather. There are all sorts of weather,—political, social, commercial. And we are adepts in predicting what the weather is going to be. We say with great assurance, "Times will be prosperous through the coming year." We look over the political field and say with bland assurance, "He stands no chance of re-election." We know how to read the face of the sky but do we know how to interpret the pulsations of the oceanic current by which the world is being borne onward to its predestined goal?

When we once come to see what science has accomplished within the last hundred years, we shall hold our heads higher as Christians and sing a more jubilant song. And when we use the adjective "new," we should bear in mind what it is to which the adjective is applied. We sometimes speak of new things as though there were nothing left that is old. . . . We talk of the new geology, but the rocks are old. We speak of the new theology, but God is old. We pride ourselves upon the new Biblical interpretation, but the Bible is old.

Thus, Jefferson evidently seeks to establish ethical proof by identifying his experiences and interests with those of his hearers.

#### Pathetic Proof

Jefferson's opening question, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" was probably attention gaining. It is an arresting question, containing familiar words which probably suggested to the persons who heard it that they should think seriously about the preservation of life and health and, as such, constituted a clever opening remark by Jefferson. Dr. Jefferson then appeals to man's desire for a good reputation by stating that in this question "there is the sting of a rebuke." He continues by pointing out that "it is one of the most caustic and audacious of our Lord's questions," and that it was addressed to "men of great intelligence and wisdom." He appeals to his listeners' interest in the weather by citing examples of the adeptness of these men in predicting the weather. Jefferson adds that "Jesus is ready to acknowledge that in all such matters these men are experts," suggesting that if Jesus admits this, then it must be so.

In discussing Christ's concern for the weather prognosticators who failed to "read the forces by whose action a new world is about to be created," Jefferson cites the example of Judah, which Rome has made "politically dependent, morally degraded, and spiritually dead." He also suggests that John the Baptist and a Nazareth prophet were desirous of the welfare of others, and yet their deeds and words went unheeded. "Every man," says Jefferson, "is as blind as a bat at noon."

The motives of self-preservation, power, and the aesthetic desires are appealed to as Jefferson states that we also are expert in discussing the political, social, and commercial weather, but we fail to understand what God is doing in the world. In an appeal to man's desire to possess knowledge, Jefferson states that "among the signs of the times which every thoughtful man ought to observe are the titles of books." He lists certain titles, some of which may have appealed to his listener's desire for freedom from fear and death; for example, Can the Old Faith Live with the New? By again using motivational appeals to wisdom and freedom from fear, Jefferson emphasizes that it is the duty of every Christian to know what has caused the uncertainty that is revealed by these book titles. He adds:

The Christian life ought to be a life of peace, but how can a man's heart be at peace if he knows that something tremendous has happened but does not know the nature of the event? . . . Christians of all people on earth ought to be positive and radiant. . . . If they are nervous and hysterical, shrinking and scared, they will not be able to do their work effectively. . . .

In motivational appeals to self-preservation and physical power the speaker says that social and industrial forces will lead to catastrophe unless properly regulated by a powerful church. He summarizes with a question which suggests man's desire for freedom from fear; "What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world?" Then, in an appeal to the desire for wisdom, he states, "If we can find a satisfactory answer to that question, we shall have done a good day's work."

Jefferson says that the first cause of uneasiness in the Christian Church can be attributed to Columbus' discovery of new land which resulted in a desire for "something real, substantial,

solid." In describing Columbus' weary voyage across the Atlantic, and of the ninety pairs of eyes peering wistfully into the twilight and darkness "eagerly looking for the longed-for shore," Jefferson uses the motivational appeal of self-preservation.

In discussing the second cause of uneasiness, the desire for the freedom of thought as first expressed by Martin Luther, Jefferson relies, primarily, upon a motivational appeal to intellectual strength or knowledge.

Jefferson continues by discussing the other four things which have happened because of the work done by Columbus and Luther, the first of these being an increased knowledge about the universe. In considering the fact that "space has been expanded tremendously," he utilizes appeals to intellectual power, the affections, and self-preservation. Note these examples:

. . . in the sixteenth century a Pole by the name of Copernicus dethroned the earth. He proved that the sun is the centre, and that the earth is only one of several planets revolving round the sun.

Our little earth . . . is nothing but a grain of sand lying upon a shore that has no bounds.

Can we any longer believe that God's only son would come to an earth so small and live and die for men like us?

Jefferson then discusses the second thing which has happened--- the extension of time. His treatment of this topic is similar to that of the expansion of space. He utilizes the motivational appeals to intellectual power, and self-preservation in discussing that geology and paleontology assure us that man has lived on the earth for millions of years.

In considering the third idea, that of development, Jefferson suggests that intellectual acumen is a worthy goal. He discusses the

intellectual achievements of Buffon, Goethe, Lamarck, Oken, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Lyell, Lubbock, Spencer, Haeckel, Gray, Drummond, and Fiske. In emphasizing the slow development of the human race, as well as man's continual finiteness, Jefferson uses a quotation from Tennyson which appeals to the pleasures of sight and touch:

Flower in the crannied wall,  
I pluck you out of the crannies  
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,  
Little flower; but if I could understand  
What you are, root and all, and all in all,  
I should know what God and man is.

According to Dr. Jefferson, the fourth thing which has resulted from the influence of Columbus and Luther is a renewed interest in history. He discusses the recent development of the historic spirit in terms of man's desire for wisdom. Thus, he considers history as he did the idea of development, by suggesting that increased knowledge enables man to live a more contented life. Dr. Jefferson speaks of the attainments of Lessing, Herder, Gibbon, Schlegel, Comte, Buckle, Draper, Strauss, Meander, Ullman, and Tholuck which have increased man's knowledge about Christ.

He summarizes:

And this new revelation which has come to us in the study of the man of Galilee has caused much heart searching among professing Christians. It has begotten in many hearts a sense of unworthiness, and has taken away from Christians much of the assurance which the church once possessed.

Jefferson concludes the body of this sermon by summarizing his major points, and by offering a solution to "the cause of the present uneasiness in the Christian Church." In the final portion of the body, as well as in the conclusion of the sermon, he appeals to his listeners' desire for wisdom, their affections, and their desire for self-preservation. Note these examples:

The latest science gives me larger ground for hope; it lifts my expectations; it puts a deeper glory into my dreams. And if historical criticism has brought out into clearer light the face of Jesus, surely I will count historical criticism the dearest of my friends.

And so in an age filled with the wonders of the microscope, and the marvels of the telescope, and the miracles of the spectroscope, we can kneel down by our bed every night and use the words which our fathers and grandfathers used: "Now I lay me down. . . ."

It appears, therefore, that Jefferson made extensive use of motivational appeals in this sermon. He employed several types of motivational appeals and each appeal seems to have been used to gain the attention of his audience and/or suggest that the Christian must revise his conceptions of God, man, creation, sin, and eternity in light of recent scholarship. The most ineffective use of such appeals seems to be those appeals made via the various selections of poetry in support of various contentions. Because it is often difficult for the reader to "see" the relationship between such quotations and the preceding material in this sermon after several readings it is probable that the listener, who had but one opportunity to hear what was said, had even more difficulty in noting such relationships. Therefore, the motivational appeals within poetry may have been less effective than those appeals in prose. In general, however, it appears that in light of the foregoing analysis Jefferson's sermon contains means of motivating his audience toward a predetermined goal by appealing to their spiritual, intellectual, moral, and material wants.

#### Logical Proof

##### (1) Reasoning from example

The predominant form of reasoning in this sermon seems to be reasoning from example. In the introduction to the sermon Jefferson

says: "Jesus is ready to acknowledge that in all such matters these men are experts." This conclusion is based on the following examples of Christ's words to the weather forecasters:

You know . . . how to read the face of the sky. . . . You know how to interpret the forms of mist that float between your eyes and the sun, but do you know how to read the forces by whose action a new world is about to be created?

Jefferson then adds this assertion: "Wonderful things had happened." He supports it with these examples:

Judah had fallen from her high place. . . . The nation was politically dependent, morally degraded, spiritually dead. John the Baptist had come out of the desert with his flaming message. There was a ferment in men's hearts everywhere. A prophet of Nazareth had been doing wonderful deeds, and saying things more marvellous than his deeds.

This pattern of supporting assertions with examples is also found throughout the body of this sermon. Jefferson begins this section of the sermon by asserting that "we ourselves are quite expert in discussing the weather." He gives examples of our ability to predict what the weather is going to be in the political, social, and commercial areas of life.

In supporting his contention that book titles are good "signs of the times," he lists eight examples of Russian, German, Scotch, and American books "which every thoughtful man ought to observe." Jefferson continues by piling assertion upon assertion in stressing that Christians should "see clearly what it is that has caused this world-wide commotion in religious circles." He then states that six happenings have contributed to the present uneasiness. These are: (1) the discovery of new land by Columbus, (2) the belief in freedom of thought as proclaimed by Luther, (3) the expansion of space, (4) the extension of time, (5) the idea of development, (6) a renewed interest in history.



As was indicated in the analysis of arrangement, Jefferson discusses most of these causes according to a characteristic pattern. In the discussion of each cause, frequent use is made of reasoning from example.

In discussing the influence of Columbus' discovery, Jefferson says that "men went back to such old things as the old momments, the old tombs, the old manuscripts, the old lands." He continues by citing several examples to support his assertion that "the last four hundred years have been four hundred years of exploration."

In speaking of the influence of Luther, Dr. Jefferson gives examples of the "assembled hosts of authority" and "representatives of the most august and mighty hierarchy known to history" before whom Luther stood--electors, princes, the emperor, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, the Bishop of Rome.

Jefferson continues by citing examples to support his assertion that "space has been expanded enormously." He contrasts examples of the ancient conception of the universe with examples of recent discoveries about the universe. He says that the ancients thought the sun was only seventy-five miles away; that it was solid, and that the stars were brilliants tacked to it, but, since then, "great telescopes have found fifty millions of stars, and the photographic plates have found as many millions more. There is not one system, there are thousands of systems; not one universe, but many universes."

Jefferson proceeds by pointing out that time has also been enormously extended. He states that there is geological and paleontological evidence of this:

Man has existed on earth for millions of years, that there were long ages of animal life before man appeared, and unnumbered

milleniums of vegetable life before there was an animal on the earth, and unnumbered aeons when the earth was without form and void. . . .

In discussing the idea of development which has entered this enlarged universe, Jefferson relies, primarily, on reasoning by assertion. However, he cites several examples to support his belief that everything grows. He lists languages, institutions, constitutions, governments, religions, race, and man.

Jefferson believes that the last thing which has contributed to uneasiness is the birth of the historic spirit. Again he relies upon the amassing of assertions; but in supporting the assertion that "Protestantism at first was not interested in the gospels," he uses the following examples:

Martin Luther began his sermons with the Psalms and ended them with Paul's letters to the Galatians and Romans. John Wesley was converted by one of Paul's letters, and always gave Pauline thought a large place in all his sermons.

He also uses examples to support his assertion that "it is only since the days of Strauss that preachers have been preaching the life of Jesus." Jefferson gives, as examples, the sermons based on Jesus's Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus's Parables and Miracles, Jesus's teachings in the upper room and his words from the cross.

In the conclusion to the sermon Jefferson says, "The fact is, everything is old except our thoughts." He cites these examples to support this statement:

Astronomy is new, but the stars are old. We talk of the new geology, but the rocks are old. We speak of the new biology, but life is old. Men write of the new psychology, but the mind is old. We discuss the new theology, but God is old. We pride ourselves upon the new Biblical interpretation, but the Bible is old.

It appears that reasoning from example is used throughout, and that it is, therefore, an important form of logical proof in this sermon.

## (2) Reasoning by analogy

There are two analogies in this sermon. Note how effectively Jefferson uses the first of these to emphasize the importance of knowing what has caused uneasiness in the Christian Church:

The boy who travels down the hall stairs in the dark and sees something standing at the bottom of the stairs, would not be alarmed if he could see all of this object, whatever it is. The reason his heart palpitates is because he sees a little of it, but not all of it. Its edges fade away into the darkness, and this gives the boy's imagination a chance to work and his imagination increases the action of the heart. And so it is in religious matters. If we do not see clearly what it is that has caused this worldwide commotion in religious circles, we shall be the victims of a vague mistrust and an undefined dread, and this alarm will paralyze all the nerves of action and close the avenues of peace.

In discussing early conceptions of the creation of the world, Jefferson mentions an eighteenth century person, Paley, who "compared the universe to a watch, a fine piece of mechanism put together and set running by the divine watchmaker." While this analogy may be clear and adequate in that it relates two things generally known, perhaps further detail would make it more easily understood.

## (3) Causal reasoning

In the rhetorical analysis of the arrangement of this sermon Jefferson's effect-to-cause ordering of materials was discussed. However, in this portion of the paper it is necessary to note the causal statement with which he directs the thinking of his audience. In beginning his discussion of the six things which have led to "the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world" he says, "Two of them happened long ago, and the remaining four are the results of the first

two." Within this overall causal ordering of materials Jefferson also uses causal statements which add to his logical proof. For example:

It was two o'clock when one of the sailors on the Pinta shouted "Land! Land!!" . . . That cry ushered in a new age.

. . . when the Spanish sailor shouted "land," the glory of scholasticism began to fade.

. . . all our life is different because they lived and labored.

As soon as men discovered the real nature of the earth, they began to ask themselves, how did it come to be?

If a man studies the Bible [he will] be impressed by those wonderful narratives which we call the gospels.

. . . the study of the Man of Galilee has caused much heart searching among professing Christians. It has begotten in many hearts a sense of unworthiness, and has taken away from Christians much of the assurance which the church once possessed.

The effect-to-cause ordering of materials gives the reader a strong sense of progression as he reads this sermon. It is probably true that this feeling of logical development captured the attention and directed the thinking of Jefferson's listeners according to his pre-arranged plan.

#### (4) Reasoning from sign

The following is a list of signs which Jefferson uses in this sermon. Note how he employs sign reasoning in describing Christians, defining scholasticism, and defining an agnostic:

Christians of all people on earth ought to be positive and radiant. They must know themselves and the world in which they are living. . . . The Christian's life ought to be a life of peace. . . .

[Scholasticism] is that strange and fantastic palace of syllogism, argument, proposition, dream, fancy, guess.

The agnostic is a man who has been struck to the earth by [a] majestic vision of an immeasurable universe. All he can say is: "I don't know! I don't know! I don't know!" Or as Tennyson has expressed it:

What am I?

An infant crying in the night;  
An infant crying for the light;  
And with no language but a cry.

E

C

E

Y

C

C

He also employs sign reasoning in speaking of the church of this century, and of Darwin's influence:

The church of this century must be a church of power, and power is always conditioned on the clearness of conceptions of fundamental truth.

All leading thinkers the world over are evolutionists.

Jefferson, therefore, uses sign reasoning in describing persons and institutions. In other words, he cites the characteristics whereby a Christian, scholastic, agnostic, and Christianity can be distinguished. These signs are effective operational definitions. Jefferson's adeptness with various forms of logical proof is well illustrated by the following statement, for it is an example of both causal reasoning and sign reasoning:

It was two o'clock when one of the sailors in the Pinta shouted "Land! Land!!". . . That cry ushered in a new age.

In summary: Jefferson's logical proof includes reasoning from example, reasoning by analogy, causal reasoning, and sign reasoning. His use of examples is particularly striking, for it exemplifies the kind of spirit he emphasized several times—"let us be rational," "let us think clearly," and "let us use the scientific method." Reasoning from example is the major element of his development of ideas.

### Style

#### (1) Clearness

This sermon contains certain stylistic elements—directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers—which are the means of achieving clearness. Let us consider these techniques in the above order.

As was pointed out in the analysis of ethical proof, Dr.

Je

fe

in

Pe

T

a

a

t

d

r

l

e

é

Jefferson identifies himself with his audience. This promotes a feeling of oneness, as does his use of personal pronouns. The following is a good example of how he seeks to achieve directness by using personal pronouns and creating a common feeling:

We ourselves are quite expert in discussing the weather. . . . And we are adepts in predicting what the weather is going to be. We say with great assurance, "Times will be prosperous through this coming year." We look over the political field and say with bland assurance, "He stands no chance of re-election." We know how to read the face of the sky, but we do not know how to interpret the pulsations of the oceanic current by which the world is being borne onward. . . .

Throughout the sermon, Jefferson uses the personal pronouns of I, we and us. These pronouns enable him to identify himself with his audience, and thus, directness of style is promoted.

This sermon is also characterized by Jefferson's use of familiar and concrete (non-abstract) words. For example, note his description of Columbus' voyage:

In the summer of that year Christopher Columbus with ninety men started to sail westward over an ocean which seemed to have no western shore. For seventy days they have been sailing westward, and the ninety men are badly frightened. Columbus has coaxed them, pleaded with them, threatened them—and now they are on the verge of breaking out in desperate mutiny. In order to quiet them, he offers a reward to the first man who sights land. There have been, as he thinks, indications of land not far away. And so when the sun goes down that Thursday evening, October 20, 1492, ninety pairs of eyes peer wistfully into the twilight, and later on into the darkness, eagerly looking for the longed-for shore. No ninety pairs of eyes ever stared and strained themselves as did those ninety pairs of eyes on that immortal night. It was two o'clock when one of the sailors on the Pinta shouted "Land! Land!!"

Jefferson's words are usually short, that is, one or two syllables, and he is careful to define the terms scholasticism and agnosticism. However, it is at the point of the definition and explanation of certain terms that Jefferson could perhaps achieve greater clarity. For example, he does not define such terms and



phrases as paleontology, transmutation of species, immutability of species, and new psychology. It is open to question as to whether his listeners could understand these words without explanation.

Clarity of style is further enhanced by Jefferson's use of questions and answers. More than one-half of the sermon is concerned with the answering of the questions found within the following quotation:

Let us then this morning ask ourselves this question: What has happened? What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world? If we can find a satisfactory answer to that question, we shall have done a good day's work.

There are other examples of questions and answers, such as the following:

Our little earth, what shall we say of it? It is nothing but a grain of sand lying upon a shore that has no bounds; it is nothing but a tiny bluebell blooming under rich vegetation on one of the lower slopes of the great mountain of God!

What must be the effect of all this? [The study of history] In the first place it is causing the outside world to scrutinize the church with new sincerity. . . . It has caused much heart searching among professing Christians. It has begotten in many hearts a sense of unworthiness, and has taken away from Christians much of the assurance which the church once possessed.

One of the interesting features of this sermon is the number of non-rhetorical questions which Jefferson does not appear to answer. Perhaps he employed these questions in order to gain the attention of his listeners and direct and clarify their thinking. Whatever the reason, these unanswered questions are a striking feature of Jefferson's style. For example:

As soon as men discovered the real nature of the earth, they began to ask themselves, how did it come to be? While the geologists were asking, By what processes were the oceans hollowed and the mountains built up? other men were asking, By what processes did vegetable and animal life assume their present forms?

With men's faces turned toward the future, the question immediately arose: Can a man accept the new facts which he finds? Can he embrace the new truths which he arrives at? Can he confess the new principles which have been revealed to him . . . ?

It appears, therefore, that three techniques enhanced Jefferson's clarity of style--directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers. However, it is possible that his extensive use of rhetorical questions detracted from clarity of style. For example, following each explanation of the four things which have happened because of the work of Columbus and Luther, Jefferson asks several questions which he believes must be answered in light of recent information. After his discussion of the first event he asks ten questions; following his discussion of the second event he again asks ten questions; following his consideration of the third event he asks five questions, and following his discussion of the fourth event he asks two questions. In summarizing these events, Jefferson asks:

If these are the things which have happened, why should anybody be alarmed? What is there in any one of these six facts to cause the slightest uneasiness? Why should we be afraid of astronomy or geology, or biology or research?

The heaping of rhetorical question upon rhetorical question may have made the sermon unclear at particular points. However, it is possible that Jefferson, as a wise rhetorician, aimed at the achieving of force and variety by using these questions, and that he was willing to do so even at the expense of clarity.

Clarity of style is further weakened by the selections of poetry which Jefferson uses. Although Jefferson seems to have used poetry in order to clarify his reasoning, nevertheless, three of the four poetic passages contribute to difficulty of understanding. It may be argued that these quotations were employed by Jefferson only for purposes of force and variety. However, such a position contradicts Jefferson's implied reasons for using them. For example, he says an agnostic is a person who can only say: "I don't know!

I don't know! I don't know!" He then adds, as a means of clarification, "Or as Tennyson has expressed it:

What am I?  
An infant crying in the night;  
An infant crying for the light;  
And with no language but a cry.

It may be argued that clarity of style would have been more effectively achieved by an explication of some of the selections of poetry.

## (2) Coherence

In the analysis of arrangement it was noted that this is a problem-solution type of sermon, with an effect-to-cause ordering of sermon materials in the analysis of the problem. It was concluded that this arrangement of materials promotes clarity and coherence of organization and that coherence is further increased by Jefferson's effective internal summaries and his use of transitions.

Jefferson first points out evidences of uneasiness in the Christian Church. He then asks, "What has happened? What has caused the present mistrust and uncertainty in the religious world?" Jefferson continues by saying, "If we can find a satisfactory answer to that question, we shall have done a good day's work. Six things have happened. Two of them happened long ago, and the remaining four are the results of the first two." Thus, Jefferson indicates the path which his discussion will follow. Each of these six events is discussed and summarized, and effective transitions are used to bind them together.

Coherence of structure and thought is further strengthened in the body of the sermon, for Jefferson summarizes these events and

offers a solution to the problem of uneasiness in the Christian Church.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson concludes the sermon on a note of reassurance. He points out that even in an age of wonderment there is value in the prayers "which our fathers and grandfathers used." Thus, the conclusion is related directly with what precedes.

### (3) Force

If one's reaction to the reading of this sermon is a valid criterion for an evaluation of its oral presentation, then it appears that the devices of repetition, parallel structure, and climax development contribute to a forceful arrangement and presentation of material. It has already been noted that Jefferson often uses several questions in succession, and that he frequently begins successive sentences with the same personal pronoun. The following examples of Jefferson's use of repetition and parallel structure reveal that force is an important element of his style in this sermon:

It may be the dripping of water from one of the faucets, it may be the teeth of a mouse in the wall, it may be the wind toying with one of the blinds; no matter what the noise is, it is not disturbing if you know what it is. It may be that it is the crackling of flames. . . .

Can a man accept the new facts which he finds? Can he embrace the new truths which he arrives at? Can he confess the new principles which have been revealed . . .?

We talk of the new geology, but the rocks are old. We speak of the new biology, but life is old. Men write of the new psychology, but the mind is old. We discuss the new theology, but God is old. We pride ourselves upon the new Biblical interpretations, but the Bible is still old. God is old. The human heart is old.

Men went back to the old things, to the old monuments, the old tombs, the old manuscripts, the old lands.

---

<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed discussion of Jefferson's ordering of materials, internal summaries, and transitions see the previous analysis of arrangement.



The best example of climax development in this sermon appears to be the following. Note how Jefferson's thought reaches a peak of intensity;

Wonderful things had happened. Judah had fallen from her high place under the heel of Rome. The nation was politically dependent, morally degraded, spiritually dead. John the Baptist had come out of the desert with his flaming message. There was a ferment in men's hearts everywhere. A prophet of Nazareth had been doing wonderful deeds, and saying things more marvellous than his deeds. And yet not a man in all this crowd realizes that a crisis is at hand. Every man of them is as blind as a bat at noon. They know how to discuss weather, but they cannot read the mighty movements of the mind of God.

The devices of repetition, parallel structure, and climax development, therefore, presumably contributed to the element of force or strength. However, it may be that the numerous, successive questions detracted from a clarity of style. Perhaps Jefferson intended to impress upon the minds of his listeners the significance of recent scholarship by utilizing successive questions and that he realized that such an impression could be achieved only at the expense of clarity. In other words, perhaps Jefferson purposely subordinated clarity of style in order to "drive home" the relationships between recent scholarship and traditional theology.

#### (4) Variety

Variety is achieved by varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force. It is also achieved by two analogies (see previous discussion of logical proof) and through similes, metaphors, and alliteration. Note the following examples of similes:

. . . a sky that looked like the face of a man who was angry.

The universes lie like islands surrounded by an unmeasured sea.

Jefferson also uses such metaphors as these:

Our newspapers which are cakes of foam blown in from the ruffled surface of the sea. . . .

Our solar system is only a tiny thing; our sun is but a tallow tip. [Our earth] is nothing but a grain of sand lying upon a shore that has no bounds; it is nothing but a tiny bluebell blooming under a rich vegetation on one of the lower slopes of the great mountain of God.

Evidences of alliteration are also found in this sermon:

. . . power is always conditioned on the clearness of concep-  
tions. . . .

The sky was solid, and the stars were brilliants. . . .

Give us something real, substantial, solid.

In addition to the above methods, variety is achieved by the use of poetry. The following verse from Tennyson also provides variety through the repetition of words and phrases:

Flower in the crannied wall,  
I pluck you out of the crannies  
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,  
Little flower; but if I could understand  
What you are, root and all, and all in all,  
I should know what God and man is.

There may have been a lack of variety in those places where Jefferson asked ten questions in succession. However, he apparently did this only twice; and it is possible that his listeners were impressed with the novelty of this device, not its monotony.

#### Summary

The materials of this sermon are arranged according to a problem-solution order. Jefferson considers the problem of mistrust and uncertainty in this Christian Church and then offers a solution to that problem. The materials of the body of the sermon--the second of the tripartite divisions of introduction, body, and conclusion--are arranged and developed according to an effect-to-cause ordering of materials. The six events which have led to the problem of mistrust

and uncertainty are arranged chronologically from past to present, as are materials pertaining to each of these events.

In the introduction, Jefferson seems to aim at two things, (1) gain the attention and good-will of his audience and (2) orient his listeners to the theme and purpose of the sermon.

The conclusion is the shortest of the three major parts of the sermon, and in it Dr. Jefferson states that in an age of miracles one can still find peace in the prayer of his fathers and grandfathers. The prayer which he includes seems to reinforce his solution for the problem of uneasiness in the Christian Church.

Strong transitions bind together the major divisions and main points of this sermon. Internal summaries also contribute to the effective ordering of materials.

In terms of ethical proof it was concluded that Jefferson was considered a credible source by his listeners and that many persons were eager to listen to his interpretations and beliefs regarding Science and Christian Theology. An analysis of this sermon text leads the writer to conclude that it contains means of representing Jefferson as a man of probity, intelligence, and good-will. For example, the text suggests that Jefferson was sincere, honest, and unselfish. He appears to be desirous of finding a solution to the uneasiness in the Christian Church "for it is the duty of every professing Christian to know . . . Christianity must be thought out again. It must be correlated to a universe of which our fathers knew nothing." In his attempt to find a solution, Jefferson displays a broad knowledge of history, geology, paleontology, biology, philosophy, and historical criticism. He "gives credit where credit is



due<sup>n</sup> in discussing ideas, conclusions, and discoveries, and he does not appear to distort facts. Furthermore, Jefferson expresses a concern for the spiritual, physical, mental, and material welfare of his audience.

Jefferson seems to base his emotional proof on appeals to freedom from fear, pain, and death, intellectual and physical power, and love for family friends, and things. Each of these various types of motivational appeals seems to have been used to (1) gain the attention of his listeners and/or (2) suggest that his listeners must revise their theological beliefs in light of recent evidence.

A study of Jefferson's use of motivational appeals by means of poetry leads one to conclude that such appeals are weak. This conclusion is based upon the fact that it appears necessary to read three of the four poetic selections more than once in order to determine their relationship to the context.

Jefferson's logical proof is based, primarily, upon reasoning from example, from causal relationships, and from sign. Upon analysis, the forte of this sermon appears to be its logical proof.

Jefferson's style includes the elements of clearness, coherence, force, and variety. His words tend to be short, as do his sentences. A distinguishing feature of this sermon is the frequent use of rhetorical questions, non-rhetorical questions, and questions and answers. However, there appear to be some shortcomings with regard to style. (1) The extensive use of rhetorical questions seems to detract from clarity of style. (2) The extensive use of rhetorical questions seems to detract from variety of style. (3) Because of a lack of explication, three of the four selections of poetry are difficult to understand upon the first reading.

## The Rhetorical Analysis of Sermon Two

### The Source for the Sermon Text

This sermon, "Introduction," is taken from Charles E. Jefferson's book, The Character of Jesus (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1908). It is based on the New Testament text, "Behold the Man!" (John 19:5).

### Audience, Occasion and Setting

The sermon was the first in a series of twenty-six sermons "delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle on Sunday evenings between January first and Easter of the winters of 1907 and 1908. The congregations were composed largely of young men, not a few of them being college students."<sup>1</sup>

### Synopsis of the Sermon Text

#### Introduction

Let us think these Sunday evenings of the Character of Jesus. You will observe the limitation of the subject. Jesus alone is too great a theme to be dealt with in a course of sermons. There are, for instance, the Ideas of Jesus, but we cannot go into this fascinating field. Nor can we consider the Doctrines, or Person, of Jesus. We must give ourselves undividedly to the Character of Jesus--the sum of the qualities which distinguish Him from other men. If we first become acquainted with Jesus' character, we will more ably appreciate His ideas.

#### Body

We must be scientific if we are to study Jesus' character. I, therefore, will call your attention to definite and clean-cut facts about Him. Not only is this the scientific method, but it is also the New Testament method. It was in this manner that the disciples came to know Jesus. They began simply by coming near Him, looking at Him, and listening to Him. The New Testament reveals that Jesus desires men to come to the Truth by a knowledge of His character.

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Character of Jesus, p. v.

If inviting others to Christ was the method of approach to Christianity in the first century, why is it not the best method today? One reason is that Christianity has taken on so many forms and non-essentials that it confuses people. Professing Christians and the local church body have also given offense. Some persons have been offended by the dogmatic statements of church councils and theologians.

Let me suggest another door to Christianity: the character of Jesus. A man may find that he is neither cynical about Christians nor skeptical about the Church after he has studied Jesus' character. For, after all, to be a Christian is not to be like other Christians, or to accept dogmas, but to aspire to be like Jesus.

This is an opportune time in which to study the character of Jesus because in our day He has appeared with new glory before the eyes of the world. It is possible to know Him better than the Apostles knew Him. This has been made possible by three stupendous pieces of work within the last seventy years. The first of these was the construction of the Palace of Science. This great enterprise has been carried forward by men of genius who had the heroism of prophets and the enthusiasm of apostles. Almost the entire structure of the Palace of Science has been built within the last seventy years, and it holds the attention of the world. The second great achievement is the development of material civilization. The habits of men have been revolutionized by the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and a thousand other inventions. This miracle is also known to all persons. But a third and more wonderful piece of work has been done by a great army of scholars in bringing Jesus of Nazareth out of the shadows in which He has been hidden, and placing Him once more before the world. From the day in 1835 when Strauss published The Life of Jesus, the character of the Man of Galilee has been studied with a new interest and an unabating zeal. The Gospels have been scrutinized, and manuscripts have been dug up and analyzed. The civilization of Jesus' day has been subjected to a scrutiny and an analysis which no other civilization has ever known. The printing presses are flooding the world with information about Jesus. The result of all this is that Jesus looms colossal before the eyes of the world.

There are six channels through which light will come to us in our study of Jesus' character. These are: His words, His deeds, His silences, and the impressions He made upon His friends, foes, and other contemporaries.

#### Conclusion

It awes me to think of the great company to which I ask you to join yourselves in this study. Think of the artists, poets, musicians, philosophers, and unlettered men and women of the last nineteen hundred years who have adored Jesus. Think of the centuries ahead and of the countless generations who will draw inspiration from this matchless figure who compels the heart to cry out: "Master."

ArrangementThe Introduction

## (1) Gaining attention and good-will

Jefferson's opening sentence, "Let us think together on these Sunday evenings of the Character of Jesus," is simple and direct. In beginning his sermon with this sentence, he (a) refers to matters which are probably of special interest to his audience--the sermon and Christ, (b) refers to the occasion--Sunday evening, (c) hints at further sermons, and (d) expresses his oneness with the audience. Jefferson probably maintained attention and good-will by concluding his introduction with the following illustration, for in it he refers directly to the significance of the subject--the character of Jesus:

Before we are rightly prepared to listen to the ideas of Jesus we must know something of what Jesus is. The significance of what a man says depends largely upon what he is. Two men may say precisely the same thing; but if one is known to be a fool, his words make no impression on us; if the other is known to be wise and good, we give him close and sympathetic attention. A man is better able to appreciate the ideas of Jesus if he first of all becomes acquainted with Jesus' character.

Dr. Jefferson, therefore, seems to have aimed at the attention and good-will of his listeners by referring to the sermon theme, the occasion, and identifying himself with them.

## (2) Orienting the audience

Jefferson attempts to orient his audience to his subject by (a) explaining the background of the subject, (b) explaining terms, and (c) explaining how he plans to develop the subject.

In discussing the background of the subject, he states that it has been limited to Jesus' character because "Jesus alone is too great a theme to be dealt with. . . ." He then says: "By 'character' I mean the sum of the qualities by which Jesus is distinguished from

other men. His character is the sum total of his characteristics, his moral traits, the features of his mind and heart and soul." Jefferson continues by explaining how he proposes to develop the subject in the forthcoming sermons. "We are to think about his quality, his temper, his disposition, the stamp of his genius, the notes of his spirit, and the form of his conduct."

It appears, then, that Jefferson sought to orient the audience to his point of view in the introduction. He told his listeners what the subject was about; he defined "character," and suggested what would be discussed on future Sunday evenings.

#### The Organization of the Body of the Sermon

The body of this sermon is clearly separated from the introduction and conclusion, although these major divisions are linked by significant sentences. The linking sentence or transition between the introduction and body is: "To begin with the character of Jesus is to adopt the scientific method of study." Jefferson, therefore, indicates where he has been and where he is going. He also does this in a one-sentence transition between the body and conclusion: "It awes me when I think of the great company that no man can number to which I ask you to join yourselves in this study of the character of Jesus."

This is a problem-solution type of sermon. The problem is that of a scientific study of Jesus' character; the solution is the use of various channels of information. Within the body the materials are arranged according to the classification order, that is, according to major topics or headings. This becomes apparent when one considers the sermon outline below.

- I. We must be scientists if we are to study Jesus' character.
  - A. The scientist insists upon studying phenomena--definite and concrete facts.
  - B. I call your attention to definite and clean-cut facts about Jesus.
- II. The scientific method is also the New Testament method.
  - A. It was in this manner that the disciples came to know Jesus.
  - B. The New Testament indicates that Jesus wanted men to find Truth through a knowledge of his character.
- III. The approach of the early Church--inviting others--is not the best approach for today.
  - A. Christianity has taken on many forms and now bewilders people.
  - B. Christians have been inconsistent and have offended people.
  - C. The Church has lacked sympathy and devotion.
  - D. Dogmatism has also repelled persons.
- IV. Let me suggest another door: the character of Jesus.
  - A. Jesus says: "I am the door."
  - B. The door of Jesus' character rules out the need of dogma, the invitations of Christians, or the witness of the Church.
- V. We can know Jesus better today than ever before.
  - A. Three stupendous achievements have made this possible.
    - 1. A palace of science has been constructed.
    - 2. Material civilization has developed.
    - 3. Scholars have placed Jesus before the world in a new light.
  - B. The first century of our era has been methodically studied.
  - C. There has been a dissemination of information.
- VI. We can gain information about Jesus through six channels.
  - A. His word, deeds, and silences permit us to know Him.
  - B. The impressions he made upon his friends, his foes, and other contemporaries provide channels of information.

It appears, therefore, that Jefferson organizes his content according to six major points. However, point III is supported by a series of causal relations which are briefly stated, as follows:



A. Christianity in the course of its development has taken on many forms and has gathered up into itself many things which are non-essential. The result is that thousands are bewildered, not knowing what to think or do.

B. Many persons have been offended by Christianity because they have attempted to enter it through the ecclesiastical door.

C. Sometimes the local church as a body gives offense.

D. There are others who have attempted to get into Christianity through the dogmatic door. . . . They have been offended.

In summary: the body of the sermon is basically organized by the classifying of materials under main headings, but some material is also arranged according to the causes and results of a condition or situation. Jefferson achieves coherence and clarity of thought by the use of such sign-posts as: "I will call your attention to a few definite and clean-cut facts about Jesus." "There have been three stupendous pieces of work accomplished within the last seventy years. The first magnificent accomplishment. . . . The second great achievement. . . . There is a third piece of work even more wonderful and more far-reaching in its effects than these other two. . . ."

Coherence of thought and clarity of purpose are further strengthened by transitions and internal summaries. However, the sermon manuscript reveals two instances of a lack of transition which may have prevented instant intelligibility for the listeners. These occur between points IV and V, and between points V and VI in the outline above. With the exception of these two instances the sermon body is well organized; the central theme is supported and developed in six main heads or topics; Jefferson's purpose is evident throughout the sermon, and the body is bound to the introduction and conclusion by strong transitions. Although Jefferson does not refer to the New Testament text in the body (or anywhere else), it is obvious that he wants his listeners to "Behold the Man!"



### The Conclusion

The conclusion is the shortest of the three major divisions of the sermon. In terms of the number of sentences it is composed of only four, whereas the introduction has eighteen, and the body seventy-four. However, the conclusion includes the longest sentence of the sermon, a sentence of one hundred and thirty-six words.

In the first sentence Dr. Jefferson restates his theme--the character of Jesus. This restatement is supported in the second sentence (the longest sentence in the sermon) by specific references to "the great company that no man can number" to which Jefferson asks his listeners to join themselves "in this study of the character of Jesus."

There is a type of summary, therefore, in the conclusion, but Jefferson does not clearly relate his statements to particular main points in the body. The most striking feature of the conclusion is his use of visualization. He appeals to his listeners to think of the artists, musicians, philosophers, and unlettered persons who have worshipped Christ in the past, and appeals to his audience to "let your mind run out into the centuries that are coming, . . . and take your place with reverent spirit as once again we attempt to study the character of the man who compels the heart to cry out, 'Master!'"

Thus, through a combination of summary, visualization, appeal, and quotation Jefferson gives final impetus to his proposal that "we think together about the character of Jesus."

### Invention

### Ethical Proof

(1) Exterior to the sermon text

Charles E. Jefferson was apparently widely known in 1907 because

he had accomplished the following: (a) He had relocated the Tabernacle congregation in a new building at Broadway and Fifty-sixth Street. (b) He had founded the New York Peace Society. (c) He had published a volume of sermons entitled Things Fundamental, in which he stated that it was possible to reconcile science and Christian theology.

It is probable that many of the young men to whom this sermon was addressed had been attracted to Jefferson because of these accomplishments, particularly his book. In the opinion of Nichols the audience to whom this sermon was preached regarded Jefferson as highly credible.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Revealed by the sermon text

Jefferson seems to have focused attention upon his probity of character in four ways, the most important of which was by attempting to create an impression of sincerity. In his discussion of the facts about Christ's life he says: ". . . I do not ask you to think about visions or conceptions, principles or relations; I call your attention to a few definite and clear-cut facts. This man Jesus was an historic character." Dr. Jefferson appears to evidence sincerity or understanding in his consideration of the reasons why some persons are repulsed by Christianity. He concludes, for example:

It may be that some man in the congregation who has been made cynical by professing Christians, or skeptical by church dogmas may find he is neither skeptical nor cynical after he has studied the character of Jesus.

It appears that the speaker focused the attention of his listeners on his probity of character in three additional ways. First, Jefferson seems to have associated his theme with what is virtuous

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 156-158.

and elevated by stating that his is to be a scientific study of Jesus' character. To an audience which presumably had confidence in the scientific method, Jefferson adds: "Not only is this the scientific method, it is also the New Testament method." He also bestows tempered praise upon his cause by emphasizing: "In dealing with [Jesus] character we are handling something concrete and comprehensible." Finally, Jefferson seems to attempt to minimize the unfavorable impressions which some of his hearers may have of individual Christians and the Christian Church. He admits that the actions of individual Christians have given offense and that sometimes "the total impression made by the church is disastrous." However, he suggests that these actions should not prevent one from learning of Jesus and becoming a Christian. There is another door to Christianity, says Jefferson; it is the character of Jesus. Thus, Dr. Jefferson seems to minimize unfavorable impressions by emphasizing the goodness of Christ.

A study of this sermon also leads the writer to conclude that in light of rhetorical principles, Jefferson employs those methods that should establish an impression of sagacity by using common sense, by acting with tact and moderation, by revealing a broad familiarity with the interests of the day, and by displaying intellectual integrity.

Perhaps Jefferson's limiting of the subject is the best example of his common sense. Presumably some of his listeners were theological students, and they would probably have realized that the topic "Jesus" is too broad a theme to be dealt with in a series of sermons. These students may have been favorably impressed with the common sense which Jefferson exhibited in limiting his subject to the character of Jesus.

The speaker also seems to act with tact and moderation in discussing why some persons are not Christians. He states that many

persons have been repelled by Christians, the Church, and dogmatic statements; but he appears to reprimand the non-Christians for blaming professing Christians for their lack of belief. However, Jefferson acts with tact and moderation in saying: "Neither professing Christians nor dogmatic statements are the door of the Christian religion. The founder of Christianity says: 'I am the door.'"

Jefferson also reveals a broad familiarity with the interests of the day. He not only discusses science and the scientific method, but speaks of the development of material civilization and recent Biblical scholarship.

The straight-forwardness with which Jefferson proceeds in this sermon may be indicative of his good-will. He seems never to hide his purpose, that of gaining a better understanding of Jesus' character. In other words, he is easy to follow. Note these examples of Jefferson's candor and directness:

Let us think on these Sunday evenings of the Character of Jesus. You will observe the limitation of the subject.

A man is better able to appreciate the ideas of Jesus if he first of all becomes acquainted with Jesus' character.

This is a very opportune time in which to study the character of Jesus because . . . he has appeared with new glory before the eyes of the world.

It is fitting that in these opening years of the new century we should endeavor to gain a clearer appreciation of the range of his mind, and the reach of his heart.

It appears, therefore, that Jefferson's sagacity, intelligence, and good-will are revealed by this sermon. Although it might be argued that he did not use ethical appeals consciously, the following quotation from this sermon reveals that Jefferson was aware of their importance:

The significance of what a man says depends largely upon what he is. Two men may say precisely the same thing; but if one is known to be a fool, his words make no impression on us; if the other is known to be wise and good we give him close and sympathetic attention.

### (3) Speaker's interests and audience interests

Jefferson seeks to build a good impression of himself in this sermon by two methods--the common-ground approach and the "yes, yes method."<sup>1</sup>

In using the common-ground approach, he seems to identify himself with the scientists, the religious skeptics, and the theologians. Although some of these persons may have been in Jefferson's audience, he does not associate himself directly with them. For example, he does not say, "I am a scientist as some of you," or "I too was a religious skeptic." Rather, he only implies an identity of interests or beliefs. He identifies himself with the scientists by discussing the scientific approach to the study of Jesus' character; he states why some persons have been repelled by Christianity; and by discussing Biblical research, he identifies himself with those Biblical scholars who revere Christ.

It is in the introduction of the sermon that Jefferson seems to aim at the creation of a "yes" tendency on the part of his audience. He impresses upon his listeners the necessity of limiting the subject by phrasing a series of statements to which they would tend to respond affirmatively. He also includes some statements to which they might respond negatively. (It might be argued that if the audience responded negatively to these statements, Jefferson would be defeating his purpose. However, it appears that such a response would indicate agree-

---

<sup>1</sup>Minnick, op. cit., p. 127.

ment with the proposition that the subject should be limited.) Note the following statements to which a "yes" or "no" answer is demanded and by which Jefferson apparently seeks to discover a common ground of belief:

Jesus alone is too great a theme to be dealt with in a course of lectures. There are, for instance, the Ideas of Jesus, the principles which he enunciated in his sermons and illustrated in his parables. This is a great field, and fascinating, but into it we cannot at present go.

The Doctrines of Jesus, the things he taught of God and the soul, of life and death, of duty and destiny: this is also another field spacious and rewarding, but into it we cannot enter.

We might think of the Person of Jesus, meditate upon his relations to the Father, and to the Holy Spirit, and to us . . . this is what thoughtful minds have ever loved to do. But upon this vast field of thought we also turn our backs in order that we may give ourselves undividedly to the Character of Jesus.

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Jefferson acted in the best of the classical rhetorical tradition by (1) identifying himself with the interests of his audience and (2) seeking a positive response to his statements.

### Pathetic Proof

In discussing the limitation of his subject, Jefferson points out that it is impossible to consider in this sermon series the Ideas, Doctrines, and Person of Jesus; and in doing so he speaks of Jesus' words regarding life, death, duty, destiny, and of Christ's relationships to God and man. Jefferson does not mention any of "the Ideas of Jesus, the principles which he enunciated in his sermons and illustrated in his parables," but he does suggest that Christ's ideas are honorable. In giving himself "undividedly to the Character of Jesus," Jefferson suggests that because of His character, Christ's words are significant. Jefferson summarizes the introduction by saying: "A man

is better able to appreciate the ideas of Jesus if he first of all becomes acquainted with Jesus' character." It would appear that this summary, as well as Jefferson's limitation of the subject and his definition of terms, would have also served to gain the attention of his listeners.

Jefferson begins the body of the sermon by emphasizing that Christ was an "historic character," who, in "his passage from the cradle to the grave manifested certain traits and dispositions." He then appeals to his listeners to place themselves before Christ, as did His disciples, so that they can see, hear, and feel Him. Dr. Jefferson realizes, however, that although this is an effective method of learning about Jesus, "it is not the best approach for our time." He suggests that the poor reputation of professing Christians gives offense, and that, therefore, the best door to a knowledge of Christ is the door of His character. Jefferson then appeals to the impelling motives of man's desire for (1) freedom from pain, (2) a good reputation, (3) the welfare of others, in explaining that the impression made by Christians is often disastrous, unsympathetic, and unrighteous.

Jefferson continues by appealing to man's desire to possess intellectual strength in supporting his assertion that Jesus "has appeared with new glory before the eyes of the world." He speaks of the scrutinizing of documents, the ransacking of libraries, mounds, and tombs in the search for manuscripts, and the surveying and excavation of "the land in which Jesus lived." Closely allied to the appeal to intellectual strength is the suggestion that moral and physical strength lead to intellectual acumen.

In answering the question, "How are we to get information about Christ?" Jefferson uses the motivational appeals or impelling





motives of reputation and affections. He says:

We may come to know him through the words he spoke, through the deeds he did, and also through his silences. We may know him also by the impression which he made first upon his friends, and secondly upon his foes, and thirdly upon the general body of his contemporaries.

He also brings suggestion to bear, in the above quotation, by hinting that Christ was a man of integrity and good-will--a person we should know more intimately. Thus, he appeals also to man's desire for knowledge.

In the following digest of the conclusion, Jefferson appeals to the affections and the desire for the preservation of life:

It awes me to think of the great company that no man can number to which I ask you to join yourselves in this study of the character of Jesus. Let your mind roam over the last nineteen hundred years, and think of the artists who have stood before him, seeing in him new revelations of beauty; think of the poets who . . . have caught inspiration for their songs; think of the musicians . . . who have worked the impression which he made upon them into tones which lift the heart and set it dreaming. . . . And then let your mind run out into the centuries that are coming and think of the countless generations of men and women who are still to stand before this matchless figure. . . . If you can see in your imagination this great procession . . . you will take your place with reverent spirit as once again we attempt to study the character of the man who compels the heart to cry out, "Master!"

The appeals to the affections and self-preservation, in the above quotation, cannot be clearly distinguished, one from the other, for the two necessarily overlap. However, Jefferson's interest in or affection for others is, perhaps, more apparent than his desire for their self-preservation. The final exclamation, "Master!" is the response Mary Magdalene gave when she first saw the resurrected Christ. (John 20:16) There appears to be no way of determining whether Jefferson was quoting Mary Magdalene, or whether he associated the exclamation with the preservation of life as witnessed

to by the Resurrection. However, due alone to its climactic development the conclusion appeals to the affections and self-preservation.

To summarize: in light of the foregoing analysis of emotional proof, it appears that Jefferson uses the impelling motives of self-preservation, reputation, and the affections. Furthermore, this analysis reveals that there are often successive sentences or lengthy portions of this sermon which include no emotional appeals. On the basis of this finding it might be concluded that Jefferson relies, primarily, upon logical proof in the development and presentation of this sermon.

#### Logical Proof

##### (1) Reasoning from example

Logical proof in this sermon is, primarily, limited to reasoning from example. Jefferson clarifies the reasons why his subject must be limited by citing several examples. He explains that the Ideas of Jesus can be found, for example, in His sermons and parables, and that the Doctrines of Jesus include such things as His teachings about God, the soul, life, and death. Jefferson also gives examples of what might be considered in a study of the Person of Jesus--Christ's relations to the Father, to the Holy Spirit, and to us. Examples, therefore, appear to be used in order to support his assertion that "Jesus alone is too great a theme to be dealt with. . . ."

In the body of the sermon Jefferson asserts that "to begin with the Character of Jesus is to adopt the scientific method of study." He cites examples of "definite and clear-cut facts" which make possible a scientific study of Christ's character:



This man Jesus was an historic character. He lived his life upon this earth. In his passage from the cradle to the grave he manifested certain traits and dispositions. . . . We are handling something concrete and comprehensible.

Jefferson continues by explaining that the scientific method is also the New Testament method. He gives examples of various disciples who felt, saw, and heard Christ.

In discussing the reasons why we can know Jesus better today than did His disciples, Jefferson again uses several examples. For instance, he provides evidence of the development of material civilization by citing such examples as the steamship, railroad, and telegraph. He uses the following examples to support his assertion that since the publication of the Life of Jesus "the world has been studying the character of the Man of Galilee with an interest which has been constantly deepening, and with a zeal that shows no abatement."

The Gospels have been subjected to a scrutiny which has been given to no other writings. The libraries and the mounds and the tombs have been ransacked for manuscripts. The manuscripts have been brought together and carefully compared and each minutest variation has been noted and pondered.

He then asserts, "The amount of labor bestowed upon the New Testament within the last seventy years is amazing and incalculable."

This is supported by the following examples:

[Men] have studied the land in which Jesus lived; they have measured it from north to south and from east to west with a surveyor's chain. They have taken the heights of the hills and the mountains, and the depths of the rivers and seas. With pick and shovel, they have gone down into the earth in search of material to throw additional rays of light upon this man who has made the land "Holy."

Dr. Jefferson continues by giving examples of what first century phenomena have been studied. He mentions the customs of the people, their clothing, houses, social, political, and ecclesiastical



life, what they read, said, and did. He concludes: "The civilization of the first century in Palestine has been subjected to a scrutiny and analysis which no other civilization has ever known."

In the conclusion of the sermon he gives examples of "the great company to which I ask you to join yourselves in this study. . . ." He mentions artists, poets, musicians, philosophers, and such "unlettered men and women" as peasants, plain working people, and shepherds.

Occasionally, in this sermon, Jefferson piles assertion upon assertion. However, his usual pattern is to infer conclusions from specific cases or instances.

## (2) Reasoning by analogy

Jefferson does not appear to reason by analogy in this sermon.

## (3) Causal reasoning

There are many instances of causal reasoning in this sermon.

The following are examples of cause-to-effect reasoning:

[If a man] is known to be a fool, his words make no impression on us; if [a man] is known to be wise and good we give him close and sympathetic attention.

If we were to attempt to deal with all his sayings, we should find many of them hard to understand, and if we should attempt to grapple with his personality, we should find ourselves face to face with mysteries too deep to be fathomed.

Jefferson uses several causal statements in discussing why persons are repelled by Christianity:

Christianity in the course of its development has taken on many forms and has gathered up into itself many things which are non-essential. The result is that thousands are bewildered, not knowing what to think or what to do. Many have been offended by Christianity because they have attempted to enter it through the ecclesiastical door. . . . There are many men who are not Christian today because it was their peculiar misfortune to come at a critical period in their life in contact with a church which was lacking in Christian sympathy and devotion. There are others

who . . . have come to the dogmatic statements of the Christian Church, the doctrines formulated by church councils and theologians, and by these they have been offended.

The speaker lists several effects of the printing-press which has flooded the world with "books about the life and times of Jesus." These are:

[Christ now] looms colossal before the eyes of the world. It is not simply the church that sees him; all men can see him now. He has broken out of ecclesiastical circles; he walks through all cities and lands. All sorts and conditions of men have come to admire him. Those who despise the church respect him; those who deny Christian dogmas bow before him. The great unchurched masses who care nothing for anthems or sermons break into applause at the mention of his name. . . . Everywhere his name is revered.

Jefferson concludes the sermon with this cause-to-effect statement:

If you can see in your imagination this great procession which has been and the greater procession which is yet to be, you will take your places with reverent spirit as once again we attempt to study the character of the man who compels the heart to cry out, "Master!"

In an effect-to-cause statement, Jefferson says, "This is a very opportune time in which to study the character of Jesus because it is in our day and generation that he has appeared with new glory. . . ." This "opportune time" has been caused, he explains, by scientific progress, a detailed study of the first century of our era, and the dissemination of information about Christ.

Causal reasoning, therefore, seems to be an important part of Jefferson's logical proof.

#### (4) Reasoning from sign

Jefferson reasons from sign in discussing the distinguishing features of a Christian:

. . . to be a Christian is not to be like other professing Christians, or to accept ecclesiastical propositions; to be a

Christian is to admire Jesus so sincerely and so fervently that the whole life goes out to him in an aspiration to be like him.

With the exception of this sign, Jefferson reasons from example and causal relationships in this sermon. Logical proof is employed more extensively than is emotional proof. However, a feature of this sermon is Jefferson's use of assertions to support an assertion. This form of logical proof might be considered a weakness of this sermon in view of his very strong use of examples or evidence.

### Style

#### (1) Clearness

Three characteristics of this sermon seem to contribute to clearness of style--directness, familiar and concrete words, questions and answers. Jefferson's apparent attempt to establish a common feeling with his audience and his use of personal pronouns enhance his directness. Note how direct he appears to be in the following examples:

Let us think together on these Sunday evenings of the Character of Jesus.

But upon this vast field of thought we must turn our backs in order that we may give ourselves undividedly to the Character of Jesus.

Before we are rightly prepared to listen to the Ideas of Jesus we must know something of what Jesus said.

It awes me when I think of the great company that no man can number to which I ask you to join yourselves. . . .

Familiar and concrete words and phrases also characterize this sermon. For example: "from the cradle to the grave," "face to face," "eyes," "ears," "hands," "steamship," "railroad," "telegraph," "telephone," "pick and shovel," "flooding the world," and "printing-presses." Jefferson also seeks to achieve clarity of style by explaining and defining such terms as the "Ideas," "Doctrines,"



"Person," and "Character of Jesus," "the scientific method," and "church dogmas." He fails, however, to explain what he means by the "palace of science," although it may be that this structure was well-known.

Clarity of style is further enhanced by two uses of questions and answers. In the body of the sermon, Jefferson asks: "If this [inviting persons to Christ] was the method of approach to Christianity in the first century, why is it not the best approach for our time?" He answers this question by pointing out that Christianity has taken "on many forms and has gathered up into itself many things which are non-essential," therefore, "thousands are bewildered, not knowing what to think or do." He adds that many persons have been offended by inconsistent and unsympathetic Christians, and by church dogmas. In summarizing the body of the sermon, Jefferson asks: "How are we to get our information?" He replies:

There are six channels through which light will come. We may come to know him through the words he spoke, through the deeds he did, and also through his silences. We may know him also by the impression which he made first upon his friends and secondly upon his foes, and thirdly upon the general body of his contemporaries.

Clarity of style is, therefore, achieved by directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers.

## (2) Coherence

This characteristic of Jefferson's style has already been discussed under an analysis of the arrangement of this sermon. It was pointed out that Jefferson's sermon follows a clearly organized and developed pattern, that he uses frequent internal summaries, and that, in general, the various units of the sermon are tied into a whole through effective transitions.

## (3) Force

Force or strength in this sermon seems to be achieved by repetitions, the repetitive linking of words or phrases, and climax development. Let us note some examples of each of these methods. In the following examples, Jefferson repeats the same words in a single sentence:

Let us place ourselves before him and permit him to make upon us whatsoever impression he will.

They did not begin with the mystery of his person, nor did they begin with sayings which were hard for them to understand. They began simply by coming hear him, looking at him with their eyes, listening to him with their ears.

The following are examples of Jefferson's use of the repetitive linking of words and phrases:

His character is the sum total of his characteristics, his moral traits, the features of his mind and heart and soul. We are to think about his quality, his temper, the stamp of his genius, the notes of his spirit, and the form of his conduct.

If we were to attempt to deal with all his sayings, we should find many of them hard to understand, and if we should attempt to grapple with his personality, we should find ourselves face to face with mysteries too deep to be fathomed. . . .

Jefferson's use of climatic development is limited to the conclusion of this sermon:

Let your mind roam over the last nineteen hundred years, and think of the artists who have stood before him, seeing in him new revelations of beauty; think of the poets who have stood before him and have caught inspiration for their songs; think of the musicians who have stood before him and who have worked the impression which he made upon them into tones which lift the heart and set it dreaming; think of the philosophers who have stood before him and meditated on the great ideas which found expression on his lips; think of the unlettered men and women, the great crowd of peasants, plain working people, descendents of the shepherds that heard the angels singing, who have bowed in adoration before him and found rest from their weariness and strength in their weakness. And then let your mind run out into the centuries that are coming and think of the countless generations of men and women who are still to stand before this matchless figure, drinking in inspiration with which to live



their life and do their work. If you can see in your imagination this great procession which has been and the greater procession which is yet to be, you will take your places with reverent spirit as once again we attempt to study the character of the man who compels the heart to cry out, "Master!"

Jefferson appears an adept in the use of repetition and climax development. He might, however, be criticized for using so many sentences in order to create the emotional impact in the conclusion.

#### (4) Variety

Variety, or lack of monotony, is achieved through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force. The conclusion is a good example of a portion of the sermon in which clearness, coherence, and force provide variety. In the conclusion, quoted above under (3), there are examples of directness, familiar and concrete words, the effective ordering of materials, repetitive linking, and climax development.

Variety of style is also accomplished by the occasional quoting of Scripture. For example, in relating the Biblical account of the two young men who met Jesus on the bank of the Jordan River, Jefferson quotes these statements: "Where do you live?" and "Come and see." He also quotes the "beloved apostle," [John] who said: "We handled him with our hands."

Alliteration also contributes to variety of style, as does Jefferson's use of metaphors. The following are examples of alliteration:

The Doctrines of God, the things he taught of God and the soul, of life and death, of duty and destiny.

The printing-presses on both sides the sea. . . .

. . . in dealing with his character we are handling something concrete and comprehensible.

. . . simply one such disastrous experience is sufficient some-  
times to keep a man away. . . .

Jefferson employs a striking metaphor in discussing the general opinion that "Christianity is something very much in the air." He states that some persons consider Christianity as "beautiful as the mist with the morning sun playing on it." In speaking of the scholarly research which has been conducted in order to learn more about Christ he states: "Every paragraph has been sifted and every sentence has been weighed." And in discussing the personality of Christ he says: "If we should attempt to grapple with his personality, we should find ourselves face to face with mysteries too deep to be fathomed."

In summary: variety in this sermon is achieved through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force, and through quotations, alliteration, and metaphors. Although there are several examples of alliteration and metaphors in this sermon, it might be questioned that Jefferson used them consciously. In other words, a careful study of this sermon will probably lead anyone to conclude that Jefferson's alliteration and metaphorical expressions do not "smell of the lamp;" that is, he did not spend an undue amount of time in "thinking up" such figures of speech. In fact, it is possible that the figures of speech in this sermon are similar in kind and number to those which he employed in everyday conversation.<sup>1</sup>

#### Summary

This sermon is arranged according to the three-fold division of introduction, body, and conclusion. In the introduction, Jefferson

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Building of the Church, pp. 282-306.



refers to matters which were probably of special interest to his listeners--the occasion, further sermons, and his oneness with them. He also orients his audience to the subject by explaining its background, defining terms, and explaining how he plans to develop the subject.

Although this is basically a problem-solution type of sermon, the materials in the body are arranged according to two patterns--the classification or topical order, and the cause and effect order.

In the conclusion, the shortest of the three major divisions, Jefferson utilizes a summary, visualization, appeals, and quotations to give final impetus to his proposal that "We think together about the character of Jesus."

In general, Jefferson employs transitions and internal summaries which contribute to his clarity of purpose, organization, and development.

An analysis of this sermon leads us to conclude that Jefferson focuses attention on his probity of character by seeking to create an impression of sincerity, by associating his theme with what is virtuous and elevated, by bestowing tempered praise upon his subject, and by seeking to minimize the unfavorable impression which some of his listeners may have had for Christianity. A study of this sermon also leads us to conclude that it probably revealed a man of intelligence for he seems to use common-sense, he acts with tact and moderation, he reveals a broad knowledge about the interests of the day, and he displays intellectual integrity. The third element of ethical proof, good-will, seems to be revealed by Jefferson's straight-forwardness, candor, and his associating of his interests with those of the audience.

Jefferson employs motivational appeals to man's spiritual, intellectual, moral, and material wants. For example, he uses the impelling motives of freedom from discomfort, property, intellectual and physical power, reputation, the desire for the welfare of others, and the desire to do what is right.

Many of these appeals were probably attention-gaining. Through some of them Jefferson probably brought suggestion to bear upon his listeners, such as when he suggests that Christ was a man of integrity and we should, therefore, become better acquainted with Him.

Reasoning from example and causal reasoning are the primary forms of logical proof in this sermon. Reasoning by analogy is not used, and there is one instance of sign reasoning. Logical proof is employed more extensively than is emotional proof. A weakness of this sermon may have been the piling of assertion upon assertion. It is questionable that the students in Jefferson's congregation were persuaded to agree with him by this form of proof. It is probable that these students, as products of a new, scientific age, were skeptical of anything but facts or evidence, and they may have rejected reasoning which employed the support of a proposition by means of another proposition.

The constituent elements of Jefferson's style include clearness, coherence, force, and variety. Some of the distinguishing features of his style are: personal pronouns, familiar and concrete words, questions and answers, repetition of words, phrases and sounds, climactic development, and metaphors.



## The Rhetorical Analysis of Sermon Three

### The Source for the Sermon Text

This sermon, "Spring," is taken from Charles E. Jefferson's book, Nature Sermons (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1925).

### Audience, Occasion and Setting

This topic sermon was preached on Sunday, May 30, 1920, to the congregation of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. It was one of the series of "Nature" sermons which continued from year to year. (See the previous chapter for a fuller discussion of "Nature" sermons).

### Synopsis of the Sermon Text

#### Introduction

I want to think with you about spring. I have chosen this topic because everybody has been talking about Spring. They have been talking about her in the South, in New England, and as far west as Ohio. The whole nation has made Spring the subject of its daily conversation, not because she is beautiful or wonderful, but because she is late. Spring did not arrive on time and, therefore, upset our plans. Spring has also been peculiar; she came with snowflakes in her hair. But now she is here and we say to her, "All hail!"

#### Body

I ask you to think about Spring, not only talk about her. I ask you to put your thoughts behind your eyes in an honest effort to see her as she really is.

What a mystery it is that we have Spring while other persons do not. Some people have only winter or summer, but we fortunate mortals are permitted to make use of four seasons. We are millionaires when it comes to seasons. No human beings upon this planet have more seasons than you and I enjoy. Indeed, it is difficult to know how we could use more than we have. If a fifth season arrived, what should we call it? What would we do with it? However, there is no likelihood that God will add to the number of the seasons. There are just as many seasons as there are Gospels in the New Testament. The four seasons are so many evangelists, and all of them convey a message from the heart of God.

Spring is a miracle because we cannot account for it by the known forces of nature. Neither the inclination of the earth's axis of rotation to the ecliptic or the angle of the sunbeams

is a sufficient explanation for the cause of Spring. How can you account for green grass? or the color of the trees and bushes? or fragrances and bird notes? Only God can create beautiful things like that. No miracle recorded in the New Testament is half so amazing as the miracle of Spring.

Spring is a miracle of beauty. She has always been associated with the beautiful. Because Spring comes from God, God must be an artist. He is also a poet. Mrs. Browning was right when she said: "God Himself is the great poet, and the real is His song." God teaches the poets to sing just as He teaches the birds. Tennyson says in "In Memoriam:"

I do sing because I must,  
And pipe but as the linnets sing.

God is also a great musician; He plays upon the organ of the universe. He is also an architect. What is Spring but an enchanted palace on whose walls are hung lovely pictures and through whose corridors there flow delicious odours? It is a palace which only the Infinite can build, and the whole world agrees that it is beautiful.

Spring is likewise a miracle of power. In winter the earth dies; it is impossible for us to kindle fires enough to bring it back to life. Then Spring blows her trumpet and the dead earth stands upon its feet and sings. Who could doubt the fact of the Resurrection in the month of May?

Spring is a revelation of God's love. It reminds us of His generosity and eternal mercy. He pours out the beauty of Spring on everyone--the rich and the poor alike. Everyone is permitted to enjoy its fragrance.

Spring also symbolizes God's unchanging love. Unlike the pictures of da Vinci, Titian, Correggio, and Turner, God's pictures do not fade. The colors of Spring in this year are as fresh and beautiful as were the colors of the first Spring. From everlasting to everlasting, God is God. He is always the same.

### Conclusion

I must not close without reminding you of Decoration Day, a day on which we think of our heroic dead. It is fitting that Memorial Day should be in Spring, and that Spring should be located close up to the door of summer. Decoration Day stands at the threshold of summer amid the blossoms and bird notes and fragrances of Spring at her climax. At this time it is easy to say of the dead: "They are not here, they are risen!"

### Arrangement

#### The Introduction

##### (1) Gaining attention and good-will

Jefferson's opening sentence is direct and short: "I want to think with you in this sermon about Spring." He continues by citing examples of how the late arrival of Spring upset people's plans. For instance, he refers to the gardeners and to the farmers who could not work outside due to inclement weather. When one recalls that Jefferson's Sunday audiences included persons of many occupations and interests, perhaps it is safe to conclude that his references to gardening and plowing won a favorable response because of their familiarity. Furthermore, because "Spring" had been a topic of conversation for many weeks, the audience probably had an immediate interest in this sermon; perhaps some persons considered the following statement true, as well as humorous: "We had the disposition of a school-teacher; we treated Spring as though she were our pupil and we were nettled because the pupil was tardy."

To summarize: Jefferson (a) refers to matters of special interest to his listeners, (b) directly refers to the significance of the subject, and (c) includes a touch of humor. It is probable that the concreteness and definiteness of his references gained the attention and interest of his audience.

##### (2) Orienting the audience

Jefferson's methods of orienting his audience to the subject are inextricably related to his methods of gaining attention and good-will. However, for purposes of discussion I shall attempt to separate them.

It seems that he does two things to attempt to orient his audience to his point of view. In the first sentence he states his purpose: "I want to think with you in this sermon about Spring."

He then states his reason for selecting this topic: "I have chosen this topic because everybody for the last three months has been talking about Spring." He defends or supports this assertion by reminding his audience of their behavior, and the behavior of other persons, with regard to the coming of Spring. He concludes that Spring has been late and peculiar but that it has finally arrived.

In a two-sentence transition into the body of the sermon Jefferson repeats his purpose: "I ask you to think about the coming of Spring. We have been talking about it, but possibly we have not thought about it." Thus, it appears that Jefferson is an astute rhetorician for he seeks to orient his audience to the sermon by stating and restating his purpose and theme, and he explains the reasons for, and background of, his decision to preach on "Spring."

#### The Pattern of Organization in the Body of the Sermon

The organizational plan of the body will be more easily understood in light of the following outline.

- I. If we think about Spring, we will see it.
  - A. It is easy to talk about Spring without thinking about it.
  - B. It is easy to look at things without seeing them.
- II. Spring is a mystery.
  - A. It comes to us every year.
  - B. It does not come to some people.
- III. Spring is a Gospel.
  - A. It brings good news.
  - B. It is one of four seasons (There are four gospels).

#### IV. Spring is a miracle.

##### A. It cannot be accounted for by any known forces of nature.

1. The inclination of the earth's axis does not explain it.
2. The angle of the sunbeams does not explain it.
3. It is as amazing as any event in the New Testament.

##### B. It is a miracle of beauty.

1. It is always associated with the beautiful.
2. Poets have sung of its beauty for a thousand years.
3. God is the artist and poet of Spring.

##### C. It is a miracle of power.

1. It exhibits more force than did the Great War.
2. It is the angel of Resurrection.

#### V. Spring reveals God's love.

##### A. It reminds us of His generosity.

##### B. It reminds us of His love.

#### VI. Spring symbolizes God's love.

##### A. His love never changes.

##### B. His love is eternal.

This outline reveals that the sermon is arranged in the classification order. The materials of the sermon are arranged according to three major topics: how to see Spring, (point I), the nature of Spring (points II through IV), and the purpose of Spring (points V and VI). Point I serves as an introduction to the body; however, this does not mean that the introduction to the sermon is unnecessary. Both seem to be necessary in the over-all development of the sermon. The introduction to the sermon as a whole sets forth Jefferson's purpose, whereas, point I provides the method whereby the purpose can be realized. By explaining how his listeners can see Spring, Jefferson makes possible his discussion of the nature of Spring. In a sense he sets the stage for a

"guided tour of Spring" by emphasizing the necessity of putting one's mind behind one's eye. In points II, III, and IV Dr. Jefferson views Spring as a mystery, a gospel, and a miracle.

The capstone of the sermon is provided by points V and VI. It is these points which make this oral discourse a sermon and not a nature talk, for under these points Jefferson answers a question which perhaps every listener wanted to ask: "Why consider Spring in a sermon?" Jefferson replies, in effect: "Because Spring is a revelation and a symbol of God's love for mankind--God speaks through Spring."

This sermon, therefore, follows the classification ordering of materials.

The body of the sermon is also characterized by short introductory and short summary sentences to each main point. Note, for example, the introductory sentence: "Spring is a miracle of beauty" and the summary sentence: "The whole world agrees that Spring is beautiful." Jefferson also uses transitions between main points and occasional internal summaries in order to provide clarity of purpose and coherence of thought. However, occasionally his structure weakens within a discussion of a main topic, apparently due to a lack of one or more transitions. Consider, for example, his discussion of point I: "It is not easy to talk about things without thinking about them." Jefferson says:

It is remarkably easy to talk about things without thinking about them. A great deal of our talk has very little thought in it. It is possible to look at a thing without seeing it. We have looked at Spring; I wonder how many of us have seen her? We never see anything unless we put the mind behind the eye. When we put the mind behind the eye, the mind gives the eye a push toward an object, then we see that object.

The lack of a transition between the second and third sentences may have made it difficult for Jefferson's listeners to follow his development of thought. Although a transition is lacking, what appears to be a form of parallel structure may have facilitated an understanding of the speaker's words. These sentences can be re-arranged in this order:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. It is remarkably easy to talk about things without thinking about them.                                       | 3. It is possible to look at a thing without seeing it.             |
| 2. A great deal of our talk has very little thought in it.   | 4. We have looked at Spring; I wonder how many of us have seen her? |
|  | 5. We never see anything unless we put the mind behind the eye.     |
| 6. When we put the mind behind the eye, the mind gives the eye a push toward an object, then we see that object. |   |

While the relationship between sentences two and three may have been easily understood because of Jefferson's manner of delivering them, in terms of analysis of structure it appears that a transitional word, phrase, or sentence would have strengthened the development of thought.

Dr. Jefferson's organization of the body of this sermon can be summarized as follows: (a) The material is classified according to main topics and main points; (b) the main points are knit together with short, but effective, transitions and summaries; (c) a summary is occasionally included with the discussion of a main point; (d) transitions are sometimes lacking within discussions of main points, and (e) the purpose and theme are always evident.

### The Conclusion

The conclusion of this sermon is very short. In terms of the





number of sentences, for example, the conclusion consists of five sentences, the body of one hundred and sixty-one sentences, and the introduction of twenty-two sentences. In this conclusion Jefferson sums up his main points in a short and unified form; he relates this summary to a national holiday--Decoration Day--and he rounds out his thoughts with a swift stroke: "It is easier to say of the dead now than at any other season of the year: 'They are not here, they are risen!'"

Thus, in his conclusion, Jefferson re-emphasizes his theme--the nature and significance of Spring--by relating thoughts about Spring with thoughts "of our heroic dead."

### Invention

#### Ethical Proof

##### (1) Exterior to the sermon text

This sermon was one of a series on Nature which Jefferson began about 1900--a series which had apparently been well received by the large audience that heard and read it.<sup>1</sup> As a result of his preceding "Nature" sermons, as well as his reading habits, Jefferson became known as a lover and student of nature.<sup>2</sup> He insisted that these sermons were not essays or lectures. Jefferson's goal in preaching these sermons was not to impart facts and observations about nature, but "to move the mind and heart nearer to God."<sup>3</sup> This goal, and Jefferson's awareness of the needs of his audience,

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 166 and 169.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Nature Sermons, p. 11.

is expressed in the following quotation:

I was preaching to a city congregation, and city congregations are in special need of the healing influences of the woods and fields. A great city has a tendency, in generous natures, to enlarge the mind and widen the heart, but in certain ways it has a tendency to dwarf and narrow. While the intellectual faculties are whetted to a keener edge, the physical senses are in danger of becoming atrophied. A city shuts men in behind walls of marble and steel, brick and granite, and these are not a wholesome environment for human nerves. . . . Now and again, one needs to escape from the gloomy canyons of city streets . . . and look upon the world which God has made.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Revealed by the sermon text

Jefferson appears to do three things in order to focus the attention of the audience upon his probity of character. First, he associates his subject with what is hallowed and holy--the New Testament and God:

There are just as many seasons as there are Gospels in the New Testament. . . . The four seasons are so many evangelists and all of them convey a message from the heart of God.

Spring has a beauty which is unique. . . . Where does all this beauty come from? It comes from God. . . .

Second, Jefferson creates the impression of sincerity by his straight-forwardness and frankness. He says:

I ask you to think about the coming of Spring. We have all been talking about it, but, possibly, we have not thought about it. It is remarkably easy to talk about things without thinking about them. . . . What a mystery it is that we have Spring at all. We are surprised that Spring was late. What a surprise we should have had if Spring had stayed away indefinitely.

Third, Jefferson relies upon the authority derived from his personal experience:

I recently attended the funeral service of a dear friend of mine. The day was almost ideal. The windows were open and the air was fragrant. In the chapel and out of it there were flowers. I found myself in the midst of a flower-garden, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson, Nature Sermons, pp. 13-14.

it was easy to say: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

Dr. Jefferson's common sense may have been revealed by his tact and moderation. For example, he does not deride the scientists for declaring that "Spring is due to the angle at which the rays of the sun strike the earth." Rather, he says:

. . . you cannot account for the Spring by measuring the angle at which the sunbeams strike the earth. The sunbeams fall upon the earth at a certain angle and the earth suddenly grows green. Why should it grow green? How do you account for that? You say it is because the angle is what it is. Well, let the angle be what it was, and let the same sunbeams fall upon a tree, the tree grows white, let them fall upon another tree and that tree grows pink, and let them fall upon another tree and that tree grows red. What a miracle it is. . . . What a mystery it is.

He also reveals familiarity with the interests of the day. This is particularly evident in the introduction and conclusion of the sermon. In the introduction, Jefferson discusses the conversations, attitudes, and interests of persons with regard to Spring; and in the conclusion he speaks of the significance of Memorial Day.

The foregoing analysis leads the writer to conclude that Jefferson did things which would have, or should have, revealed him as a man of probity, intelligence, and good-will.

### (3) Speaker's interests and audience's interests

In what appears to be an attempt to establish a feeling of oneness with his audience, Jefferson uses two methods--the common-ground approach and the "yes, yes" method. In the introduction to the sermon he combines these methods:

People have been talking about Spring, not because she is beautiful or wonderful, but because she is so late. We expected the Spring to arrive at a certain date, and when she did not come we were disappointed. We looked at the clock

and saw that Spring was due, but when we looked out of the . windows and saw that Spring had not arrived, we were more or less provoked. We had the disposition of a school-teacher; we treated Spring as though she were our pupil, and we were nettled because the pupil was tardy. We do not like Spring when she is tardy.

Jefferson employs the common-ground approach throughout the sermon as evidenced by these examples:

One of the reasons why we do not love Him more is because we have such narrow notions of Him.

We have no difficulty in believing that God teaches the birds to sing; why should it be difficult for us to believe that it is God who teaches poets to sing?

We are wonderful beings and we are capable of making use of tremendous forces. We can manufacture different kinds of flame, but it is not possible for us to kindle fires enough to create Spring in December.

He seems to use the "yes, yes" method in the conclusion of the sermon:

It is fitting that Memorial Day should be a day in Spring, and it is also fortunate that it should be a Spring day located close up to the door of Summer. Decoration Day has on it the freshness and bloom of Spring.

In summary: Jefferson employs two techniques which are usually designed to persuade an audience that one identifies oneself with them--the common-ground approach and the "yes, yes" method. Such techniques often distinguish the effective from the ineffective speaker. On the basis of phenomena and information exterior and interior to the sermon text, Jefferson was a credible source and a successful speaker.

### Pathetic Proof

The motivational appeals in this sermon are found in the body and conclusion. In the former division, Jefferson speaks of those persons "who have never known what Spring is," and suggests the

feelings which can be aroused by the senses of sight, touch, smell, and hearing:

There are men and women in the Arctic and the Antarctic regions who have never known what Spring is. . . . They have had nothing but ice and snow. . . . There are people in the Tropics who have never known anything but Summer--flowers and birds every day of the year. . . . Think of a summer extending through a million years, fragrant, beautiful, musical all the time.

Jefferson also appeals to the affections in stating that "that is all they have known from babyhood." He makes a similar appeal to the love one usually has for infants in his discussion of the problems which a new season would bring. He says: "The name of a new season would be far more interesting and exciting than naming a new baby." In stating that if our seasons would be stolen, we would cry out in pain and feel like paupers, Jefferson also appeals to man's desire for property and self-preservation.

He also "plays upon" his listener's desire for self-preservation in suggesting that God is not a cruel judge who delights in condemning sinners. Jefferson then appeals to man's love of beauty in discussing God as an artist, a poet, a musician, and an architect. He continues by referring to God's creation, Spring, as a miracle of power. The following condensation of this discussion includes appeals to man's desire for physical strength and life:

Spring is likewise a miracle of power. In none of the battles of the Great War were such tremendous forces exhibited as are exhibited in the Spring. The earth dies every winter. For months it lies stiff and cold. When it is in this condition it is impossible to bring it back to life again. . . .for a long time it lies motionless and silent, and then One who is invisible says? "Come forth!" and the dead earth rises in glory. . . . Spring is the angel of resurrection. When Spring blows her trumpet the dead earth stands upon its feet and sings. . . . I recently attended the funeral service of a dear friend of mine. . . . In the chapel and out of it there were flowers. . . . and it was easy to say: "O death, where is thy sting?"

Utilizing the motivational appeals of property and the affections, he continues by saying:

Spring is a revelation of God's love. It reminds us of the breadth of His generosity. Jesus, one day, in a discourse to Galilean peasants asked them to note how the sunbeams fell on the evil and the good, and how the rain descended upon the just and the unjust. These phenomena of the natural world symbolize the breadth of God's eternal mercy. . . .

Then, through further appeals to the pleasures of sight, Jefferson points out that, unlike the colors of the master painters which fade, the unchangeable colors of Spring symbolize God's unchanging love.

Jefferson concludes the sermon by appealing, primarily, to the preservation of life:

Decoration Day stands at the threshold of Summer amid the blossoms and the bird-notes and the fragrances of Spring at her climax. It is easier to say of the dead now than at any other season of the year: "They are not here, they are risen!"

In light of the foregoing analysis, it appears that Jefferson's pathetic proof is based, primarily, upon appeals to the affections, property, power, and self-preservation. Jefferson seems to be an adept in weaving these appeals into the total sermon so that the attention of the reader is attracted to what he says, not to how he says it.

### Logical Proof

#### (1) Reasoning from example

One method by which Jefferson establishes logical proof is through reasoning from example. In the introduction to the sermon he employs the following examples to support his conclusion that "when Spring comes late, it upsets our plans."

We had made up our mind about when the furnace-fire should go out. Spring did not come and so we had to keep the furnace-

fire in. The gardener got out his implements ready to go to work, waiting for Spring to give a signal, and when Spring gave no signal the gardener had to go in and sit down by the fire again. The farmer got out his plough and wanted to go to work. He waited for Spring to blow her whistle, but the whistle did not blow, and all the farm operations were retarded.

In the body of the sermon, Jefferson often piles assertion upon assertion in order to establish logical proof. However, he also reasons from example, as when he supports his assertion that many persons have never seen Spring:

There are men and women in the Arctic and Antarctic regions who have never known what Spring is. . . . There are people in the Tropics who have never known anything but Summer. . . . There are other human beings who enjoy two seasons, Winter and Summer.

Sometimes Jefferson supports an assertion with only one example, as in the following:

Our mind is so constructed that it does not easily think of what a fifth season would be like. For instance, if the fifth season arrived, what should we call it? (underlining mine).

In the following quotation note how Jefferson places his conclusion between examples:

Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper is a wreck, and so, also is his celebrated Mona Lisa. The most exquisite things which Leonardo da Vinci painted into that face have been scrubbed out by the hands of chemicals. Rembrandt's Night Watch is a wreck, and so, also is Titian's famous Assumption. So, also is Correggios's Holy Night. THE MASTERPIECES OF THE GREAT MASTERS ALL ARE FADED. /assertion--the capitalization is mine/. Titian's reds are becoming dark, and his yellows are becoming white. Even Turner's skies are becoming lemon-yellow and chalky-white. Munkacsy, who painted only yesterday, has left pictures which are already growing rapidly black.

This is another instance of Jefferson's extensive use of reasoning from example. Sometimes his use of this form of reasoning is unusual, as when he places an assertion or conclusion between a series of examples. However, Jefferson might be criticized

for his tendency to use assertions, rather than examples, in the supporting of some of his conclusions.

## (2) Reasoning by analogy

There are a number of analogies in this sermon most of them being figurative in nature. In the first analogy listed below Jefferson compares Spring to an evangelist who brings good news:

There are just as many seasons as there are Gospels in the New Testament. . . . We could not possibly dispense with one of the four. . . . Because we are in possession of all four, our joy is complete. Why should we not think of the seasons as so many Gospels? Why should we not say, sometimes, to ourselves--"the good tidings according to summer!" "the good news of Christ according to Autumn!" "the good news of the heavenly Father according to Winter?" The four seasons are so many evangelists and all of them convey a message from the heart of God.

Jefferson also uses figurative analogies in comparing the universe to an organ, and Spring to a palace:

God is the Great Musician, the universe is an organ with ten thousand keys, and God brings music from every key.

What is Spring but an enchanted palace on whose walls are hung lovely pictures and through whose corridors there flow delicious odours? It is a palace that goes up without the sound of a hammer. It is a palace which only the Infinite can build. It is the Palace Beautiful.

Jefferson employs another analogy in comparing death with winter and life with Spring:

When Lazarus lay within the tomb he made no response to the weeping of his sister Martha, nor did he pay attention to Mary's piteous appeal. It was only when an Omnipotent Voice cried: "Come forth!" that the dead man rose again. In winter this earth of ours dies, and for a long time it lies motionless and silent, and then One who is invisible says: "Come forth!" and the dead earth rises in glory.

He borrows a literal analogy from John Fiske's The Idea of God, in order to point out a contemporary conception of God.

Jefferson explains that many people hold Fiske's idea about God--



they think of Him as a book-keeper who jots down the actions of every person in preparation for a day of accounting.

Analogies, such as those above, appear to have been important means by which Jefferson sought to establish logical proof.

### (3) Causal reasoning

Jefferson begins this sermon by giving the reason behind his decision to preach on the topic of Spring. He says:

I want to think with you in this sermon about Spring. I have chosen this topic because everybody for the last three months has been talking about Spring.

He adds, in an effect-to-cause statement that "people have been talking about Spring, not because she is beautiful or wonderful, but because she is so late." By using effect-to-cause statements, Jefferson proceeds to explain that because Spring did not arrive at a certain date, people were disappointed and more or less provoked.

Throughout the body of this sermon, Jefferson uses causal reasoning in order to make rational appeals to his audience. Note the following examples of this form of logical proof:

When Spring blows her trumpet the dead earth stands upon its feet and sings.

One of the reasons why we do not love Him more is because we have such narrow notions of Him.

When the sunbeams strike the earth quite obliquely we have Winter; when the sunbeams strike the earth quite vertically we have Summer; when the sunbeams strike the earth somewhere between the angle of the sunbeams in Winter and the angle of the sunbeams in Summer, then we have Autumn or Spring.

Corot painted his landscapes because God is a painter, and Turner painted his sunsets because God, from the beginning of the world, had painted sunsets.

It appears, therefore, that causal reasoning is another important method whereby Jefferson seeks to establish logical proof

in this sermon.

#### (4) Sign reasoning

Jefferson does not appear to use sign reasoning in the development of this sermon, nor are there any indications or hints of this form of reasoning.

To summarize: Jefferson relies upon reasoning from example, reasoning from analogy, and causal reasoning in an effort to establish logical proof. However, his piling of assertion upon assertion makes questionable the validity of some of his conclusions. Furthermore, it appears that at some points he may be assuming too much knowledge on the part of his auditors. For example, the reference to John and Botticelli's "use of a girl" to symbolize perfected humanity and Spring might be unclear. That is, Jefferson fails to explain whether these persons, for example, wrote, painted, or sculptured.

It is an interesting fact that John, on Patmos, when he wished to symbolize humanity perfected, transfigured by the indwelling glory of God, made use of a girl dressed for her wedding. It is also interesting that Botticelli, when he wished to symbolize Spring, made use of a girl with blossoms round her neck and in her hair.

Those persons who recognized only John may have concluded that Botticelli was also a writer, rather than a painter. This could have been a confusing comparison.

In the opinion of this writer, the sermon could have been strengthened by (a) a greater use of examples in the support of assertions or conclusions and (b) more clarification of certain statements and ideas. It might be argued that Jefferson was not ambiguous in his discussion of John and Botticelli, for his audience was above average in educational attainments. (See Chapter V).

## Style

### (1) Clearness

In this sermon extensive use is made of the personal pronouns I, we, and us. Through the use of these pronouns, and by the establishing of a common-feeling with his audience, Jefferson may have achieved directness. Note, in the following example, Jefferson's use of personal pronouns and what appears to be an attempt to establish a oneness of feeling with his audience:

We have our ideal as to what Spring ought to be, and when she does not measure up to our expectations, we feel that we have been mistreated. We carry in our mind the pattern of what Spring ought to be, and when she arrives, cut after a different pattern, we fall into a faultfinding mood. We are very free in our criticisms, and we do not hesitate to condemn the seasons. But Spring is here, full-orbed and full-toned, and so to her, "All hail!"

Thus, directness seems to contribute to clarity of style, as does Jefferson's use of familiar words. The words in this sermon are not only familiar and concrete, but short. For example:

Why should it [the earth] grow green? How do you account for that? You say it is because the angle is what it is. Well, let the angle be what it was, and let the same sunbeams fall upon a tree, and the tree grows white, let them fall upon another tree and that tree grows pink, and let them fall upon another tree and that tree grows red. What a miracle that is!

Clarity of style is further enhanced by Jefferson's use of questions and answers. Note how he answers the opening question in the following quotation:

And after we had named the new season, what would we do with it? We have already all the seasons that it is possible for us to use. If God should thrust a fifth season on us it would only be an element of confusion. It would necessitate a reconstruction of our dressmaking establishments, and upset the whole world in innumerable ways.

In discussing the beauty of Spring, he asks: "Where does all this beauty come from?" He replies: "It comes from God, and therefore

God must be an artist. God is the lover of the beautiful and the creator of it."

Although we have commented upon Jefferson's lack of clarity at certain points in this sermon, it is only fair that we draw attention to the conclusion, where Jefferson is particularly explanatory. Jefferson says: "It is fitting that Memorial Day should be a Spring Day located close up to the door of Summer." Then he explains this statement:

Decoration Day has on it the freshness and the bloom of Spring. It stands at the threshold of Summer amid the blossoms and the bird-notes and the fragrances of Spring at her climax. It is easier to say of the dead now than at any other season of the year: "They are not here, they are risen!"

Thus, Jefferson explains why he thinks it is appropriate to observe Memorial Day on a Spring day near the beginning of Summer.

In summary: clarity of style seems to be achieved by at least three methods--directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers.

## (2) Coherence

It was pointed out in the analysis of arrangement that the materials of the body of this sermon are clearly organized according to three major topics: how to see Spring, the nature of Spring, and the purpose of Spring. Through the use of internal summaries and of transitions between topics, Jefferson seeks to achieve clarity of purpose and coherency of thought. Occasionally, however, the lack of a transitional word, phrase, or sentence weakens the discussion of a main topic. However, in general, coherence in style is achieved by the effective ordering of sermon materials, internal summaries, and the appropriate use of transitions.

## (3) Force

Force or strength is achieved by the repetition of words and phrases, climax development, and appeals. Note, for example, the repetition of "we" in the following introductory sentences:

We expected the Spring to arrive at a certain date, and when she did not come we were disappointed. We looked at the clock and saw that Spring was due, but when we looked out of the window and saw that Spring had not arrived, we were more or less provoked. We had the disposition of a school-teacher; we treated Spring as though she were our pupil, and we were nettled because the pupil was tardy. We do not like Spring when she is tardy. . . .

Consider also the repetition of words in the following single sentence:

When the sunbeams strike the earth quite obliquely we have Winter; when the sunbeams strike the earth quite vertically we have Summer; when the sunbeams strike the earth somewhere between the angle of the sunbeams in Winter and the angle of the sunbeams in Summer, then we have Autumn or Spring.

Repetitive linking can also be noted in the above, as well as in the following quotations:

They have had nothing but ice and snow every day, of every week, of every month, of every year.

When you ride along the roads in Spring you pass mansions of the rich, and you also pass little cottages of humble farmers, and you notice that into the front years . . . Spring has found its way.

Jefferson also employs climax development in this sermon.

Note how an emotional peak seems to be reached in the following quotations:

I recently attended the funeral service of a dear friend of mine. The day was almost ideal. The windows were open and the air was fragrant. In the chapel and out of it there were flowers. I found myself in the midst of a flower-garden, and it was easy to say: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Who could doubt the fact of the Resurrection in the month of May!

It is fitting that Memorial Day should be a day in Spring, and

it is also fortunate that it should be a Spring day located close to the door of Summer. Decoration Day has on it the freshness and bloom of Spring. It stands at the threshold of Summer amid the blossoms and the bird-notes and the fragrances of Spring at her climax. It is easier to say of the dead now than at any other season of the year: "They are not here, they are risen!"

Jefferson also seems to make a strong or forceful appeal to his listeners to "think about the coming of Spring. . . . Put your mind behind your eye, and give it a strong push in the direction of Spring. Let us make an honest effort to see Spring."

Jefferson's forceful style appears to be accomplished through such devices as repetition, repetitive linking, climactic development, and emotional appeals.

#### (4) Variety

Jefferson seems to have achieved variety in the arrangement of his sermon materials by combining the elements of clearness, coherence, and force in various ways. For example, in the following quotation there is evidence of directness, familiar and concrete words, rhetorical questions, the effective ordering of materials, transitions, and the repetition of words:

Our mind is so constructed that it does not easily think of what a fifth season would be like. For instance: if the fifth season should arrive, what should we call it? What excitement there would be when all the magazines offered five-hundred-dollar prizes for the best name to be given to the new arrival! The name of a new season would be far more interesting and exciting than naming a new baby. And after we had named the new season, what would we do with it?

Variety is also achieved, in the above quotation, through alliteration--the repetition of initial sounds. The following are other examples of his use of alliteration in this sermon:

Let the same rays fall . . . upon a bush and the bush grows beautiful, but has no fragrance. Let the same rays fall upon another bush and the bush has beauty. . . . Let the same sun-beams fall upon the back of a bird, and the bird sings.

. . . tiny grass-blades, blossoms, fragrances, bird-notes.  
It is indeed wonderful, but it is not a whit more wonderful.  
 . . .

Jefferson also achieves variety through the use of quotations. He uses such Biblical quotations as: "Come forth," and "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" He quotes Mrs. Browning's words: "God Himself is the great poet, and the real is His song." and Alexander Pope's statement: "I lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came." Jefferson also quotes from Tennyson's In Memoriam:

I do but sing because I must,  
 And pipe but as the linnets sing.

As was pointed out in the previous analysis of logical proof, Jefferson employs many analogies in this sermon. These contribute not only to logical proof, but to variety. The following metaphors also add to the element of variety:

We had the disposition of a school-teacher. . . .

/Spring came/ with snowflakes in her hair.

. . . the universe is an organ with ten thousand keys. . .

/Spring is/ an enchanted palace. . . .

Jefferson, therefore, achieves variety in style through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force, as well as by his use of alliteration, rhetorical questions, quotations, analogies, and metaphors.

### Summary

This topical sermon follows the three-fold division of materials--introduction, body, and conclusion. In the introduction Jefferson refers to the significance of his subject, orients his





audience to the topic of "Spring" by stating and re-stating his purpose and theme, and explains his reasons for, and background of, his decision to preach on this subject. Through these methods he probably sought to gain the attention and good-will of his listeners. The materials in the body are arranged according to the classification order, whereby the speech content is organized according to its relationship to main topics. The main topics and main points are knit together with short, but effective, transitions and internal summaries. Occasionally, however, the structure seems to break down due to a lack of transitional material, but this does not seriously affect the over-all patterning of materials. Jefferson's theme and purpose are always evident.

The conclusion is short. In it Jefferson summarizes his main points and re-emphasizes his theme--the nature and significance of Spring--by relating it to Decoration Day and thoughts "of our heroic dead."

Phenomena both external and internal to the sermon text are of a character that normally would represent the speaker as a man of character, intelligence, and good-will.

His emotional proof is based, primarily, on appeals to the tastes, although appeals to self-preservation occupy a vital place in the development of the sermon. There are occasional appeals to property and power.

Logical proof is established through reasoning from example, reasoning by analogy, (particularly figurative analogies), and causal reasoning. There is little evidence of sign reasoning in this sermon. A striking feature of this sermon is Jefferson's use of assertion to support assertions.

The canon of style includes the elements of personal pronouns, (I, we, us), familiar and concrete words, rhetorical questions, the effective ordering of materials, repetition, climax development, alliteration, quotations, analogies, and metaphors.

## The Rhetorical Analysis of Sermon Four

### The Source for the Sermon Text

This sermon, "The Value of the Study of the Hebrew Prophets," is taken from Charles E. Jefferson's Book, Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925). It is based on the Old Testament books, particularly the Book of Isaiah.

### Audience, Occasion, and Setting

Jefferson preached this sermon to his congregation of the Broadway Tabernacle Church on Sunday morning, February 8, 1925. It was the first sermon in a series of ten which were preached on consecutive Sundays.

### Synopsis of the Sermon Text

#### Introduction

It is readily understandable why many people believe that Modern scholarship has taken away our Bible. For when scholars questioned the authorship of various Biblical Books and pointed out Biblical discrepancies many persons felt that the foundation of Christianity had been removed. However, now that we have recovered from our initial panic we realize it was not the scholars, but us, who had treated the Bible disrespectfully. For example, we lost the Prophets because we failed to understand them.

#### Body

You are a fairly representative congregation of Christians. If I should ask, Have you been a diligent student of the Prophets? you would all probably reply, "No!" The Prophets were a Sahara Desert for us until modern scholarship made it blossom with meaning. On the coming Sunday mornings I want to study the prophet Isaiah with you.

I can imagine your immediate reaction to my announcement. Some of you probably wonder why we should study a man who has been dead for 2600 years. This is a natural reaction. However, it is because this man of genius has been dead so long that we should study him--we now have the necessary perspective, and because we will not be distracted from his ideas by his physical features and family connections. Distance then will help us to study this great man.

Another question which someone may be asking is: Why should we study such an insignificant nation as Judah? My answer is

that we can learn all that is necessary about human nature from a small group of people. Judah, although small, was as significant as Greece, therefore, it is worth studying.

A third question may arise in certain minds: How will the study of Isaiah help me? In answer to that question, let me say that Isaiah's world was similar to our world. His world still abides. God's law operates today just as it did then, and the evils of today are the same as in Isaiah's day. It is impossible to study the life of the eighth century before Christ without getting instruction which will help us in living our life and doing our work.

And now let us turn to the question: "Who is a prophet? What is the meaning of the word 'Prophet?'" In current speech a prophet is a predictor--a foreteller--one who tells what is going to happen. This is not the Biblical meaning of the word. According to the Bible a prophet speaks for another, and a religious prophet speaks for God. Therefore, as God's spokesman, Isaiah was concerned with the present, not the future. His spiritual interpretation of his age is worth our study.

The supreme value of studying the Hebrew prophets is that it helps to make the Bible a living book. The reason the Bible exerts so little influence on our conduct is that it is a dead book. We read it as if it were the Arabian Nights; the Bible does not speak to our world, but to a world of the magical and supernatural. The Bible is a dead book because we do not read it in light of our world.

### Conclusion

One of the greatest tasks of the preacher is to make the Bible a living book--a living voice. God is speaking to us today as constantly and effectively as He did in Isaiah's time. If He is not speaking today, He never spoke. Everything depends upon our ears. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

### Arrangement

#### The Introduction

##### (1) Gaining attention and good-will

This sermon opens with a compound-complex sentence: "There is an impression in the minds of many that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible, and one can readily understand why such an idea should get abroad." This sermon is unusual for it is the only one of the five selected for analysis which does not begin with a

simple sentence.<sup>1</sup> Jefferson spoke this statement to an audience which apparently sought instruction regarding the Liberal and Conservative theological positions and, therefore, probably gained their attention.<sup>2</sup> The next sentence is especially attention gaining because of its length and construction--106 words and six uses of the conjunction "and". In this sentence, which is unusually long for Jefferson, he cites several conclusions at which scholars have arrived with regard to the authorship of the books of the Bible.

Jefferson identifies himself with his listeners by adding that in the light of such startling conclusions he can understand why many persons feel "that the very foundations of the Christian religion /have/ been removed."

In summary: Jefferson's introduction includes a topic of interest to his audience. Furthermore, he seems to promote goodwill by including himself among those persons who had neglected the Bible until modern scholarship challenged them to consider it:

The fact is that a considerable portion of the Bible had gotten away from us before modern scholarship had begun its work. We had lost the prophets. We very seldom read them. We did not read them because we did not understand them.

Jefferson, therefore, apparently sought to gain attention by introducing a topic with which the audience was familiar and on which it had opinions. He sought to obtain the good-will of his audience by stating that he could understand why persons objected to the conclusions of the scholars, thus implying that he had sympathy

---

<sup>1</sup>This sermon is composed of 31 compound-complex sentences, 35 compound sentences, 87 complex sentences, and 104 simple sentences.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, pp. 13-17, and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, pp. 19-20.



for such persons, and by including himself among those persons who should be blamed for having neglected the Bible until modern scholarship challenged their indifference.

(2) Orienting the audience

Dr. Jefferson uses two explanatory passages in order to orient his audience to his subject. After asserting that it is easy to understand why many persons believe that "modern scholarship has taken away our Bible," he gives examples of what the scholars have concluded. He summarizes this explanatory passage by saying:

When these scholars insisted on our reading certain sentences in the Pentateuch under the blazing light of scientific discovery, and when they went on to point out contradictions and discrepancies in the historical books . . . it is no wonder that many persons felt that the very foundations of the Christian religion had been removed.

Jefferson then asserts that we have had time to recover from our panic, for we have found that "the Bible has not been taken away from us after all." In a second explanatory passage he says that scholars took the Bible away from us only temporarily and "handed it back to us again more useful and precious than ever."

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Jefferson sought to orient his audience to the necessity of Biblical study by explaining that the "impression . . . that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible" is false, for we are guilty of having neglected the Bible until modern scholarship compelled us to reconsider our theological beliefs. Jefferson then seeks to orient his audience to the purpose of his sermon--the necessity of studying the Bible in light of modern scholarship--by emphasizing that such scholarship has made it possible more easily to understand the Bible.

The Pattern of Organization in the Body of the Sermon

In this sermon Jefferson is faced with the problem of persuading his listeners that they should study the Hebrew Prophets. He seeks to persuade by asking and answering significant questions in the body of the sermon, and by discussing the value of such a study.

The body itself is arranged according to a classification order whereby the sermon content is organized in relationship to main concerns or points. A skeleton outline of the body reveals this classification ordering of materials.

- I. I am speaking to a fairly representative congregation.
  - A. You have been brought up in various communions.
  - B. You come from various sections of the nation.
  - C. You probably have similar notions about the prophets.
- II. Some of you are asking questions about the value of studying Isaiah.
  - A. Why should we study a Jew who lived 2600 years ago?
  - B. Why should we study the problems of Judah?
  - C. How is the study of Isaiah going to help me?
  - D. What is the meaning of the word "prophet?"
- III. There is value in studying the Hebrew Prophet.
  - A. Such a study makes the Bible a living book.
  - B. The Bible becomes a voice.

As mentioned above, the central portion of the body of this sermon is built about certain questions. Points (I) and (III) could be considered an introduction and conclusion, respectively, of the body. The lack of a transition between the introduction to the sermon and the body tends to emphasize point (I) at the expense of Jefferson's opening comments; and because there is no transition between the introduction and body, the latter seems to begin very abruptly. Under point (I) Jefferson discusses the representative nature of his audience, and concludes that it knows very little



about the Prophets. He then repeats what he explained in the introduction to the sermon--the value of modern scholarship. He says: "Modern scholarship has irrigated this desert (the Old Testament) and made it to blossom as the rose."

In a smooth, effective transition, Jefferson then seems to aim at welding his audience into one with him by directing attention to a specific part of the Old Testament:

I want to study a portion of the Old Testament with you on the coming Sunday mornings. I invite you to study with me the prophecies of Isaiah, the son of Amoz.

Jefferson moves from point (I) to point (II) in a single sentence; "I can imagine what reaction you give to such an announcement." He then suggests three reactions or questions which might have been prompted by his invitation to study Isaiah.

(1) What an uninteresting and unprofitable subject. Why should we give our attention to a man who lived and died so many centuries ago?

(2) In a world like ours, crowded with fascinating personalities, why should we give our thought to a Jew who has been in his grave 2600 years?

(3) In an age so bristling with interesting and baffling problems, why should we turn aside to think about this seer of ancient Israel?

Jefferson considers these three questions as one in saying, "I do not wonder that you ask it, and here is my answer to it." He replies that because time gives one perspective, the fact that Isaiah has been dead 2600 years will make the study easier and more meaningful. Dr. Jefferson summarizes his answer in one sentence: "Distance greatly helps one in the study of a great man."

With the transitional phrase, "possibly some one is saying," Jefferson introduces the second question: "Why should we study the

problems of a little nation so insignificant as Judah?" After agreeing that Judah was small and its people poor, Jefferson says: "The answer to that question is that it is not necessary to have a great nation if your purpose is to study human nature." By use of an internal summary he later adds: "We do not need a great stage or millions of people. We do better if the stage is contracted and the population is comparatively small." Following a brief discussion of another ancient people--the Greeks, Dr. Jefferson summarizes his answer, again in one sentence: "It is well worth our while to study ancient Greece, and it is equally worth our while to study ancient Judah."

In a one-sentence transition the speaker moves into a consideration of the third question under point (II): "How is the study of Isaiah going to help me? Of what value will it be to me in my business or in my work?" Jefferson agrees that Americans are practical and therefore would tend to ask such a question, but he adds, "in answer to that question, let me say that while in superficial ways the world of Isaiah is not the world in which we live, nevertheless in other ways the world has not changed at all." He notes the similarities between Isaiah's world and the world of his listeners, and summarizes his answer as follows: "It is impossible to study the life of the eighth century before Christ without getting instruction which will help us in living life and doing our work."

Jefferson's transition from this answer to the fourth question is obvious and short. He says: "And now let us turn to the question, who is a prophet--what is the meaning of that word

'Prophet'?" He discusses common definitions of the term before focusing his attention on the nature of a religious prophet. He summarizes his answer by asserting that Isaiah was one of the greatest of all prophets, and that "his interpretation [of life] is well worth our study."

"The supreme value of a study of the Hebrew Prophets," says Jefferson in a transitional sentence to point (III), "is that it helps to make our Bible a living book." He explains that the Bible is a dead book to many people because they read it as they would Arabian Nights. They "lose themselves for a time in it and find it interesting as a fairy story, and then come back into this prosaic everyday world, to live and act as though they had never seen the Bible."

In reviewing this analysis of the body of the sermon, it appears that Jefferson first places himself in an ideal position to discuss "The Value of the Study of the Hebrew Prophets," for, as in the introduction to the sermon, he identifies himself with those persons who had neglected the Prophets until modern scholarship challenged them to study the Bible. Like a good debater he anticipates and answers the objections of his opponents, and summarizes his answers by emphasizing that the supreme value of the study of the Hebrew Prophets is that it makes the Bible a living book. It is noteworthy that Jefferson follows a rather consistent pattern in discussing each main point and each supporting point. In discussing the questions, for example, he states the question, suggests possible reasons why it might be asked, gives his answer to the question, and summarizes in a single sentence.

The organizational pattern is given further coherence and clarity by short transitional phrases and sentences, internal summaries, and conversational tone.

### The Conclusion

The conclusion of this sermon is tied to the body with a question: "How can we make the Bible a living book?" Jefferson answers this question by summarizing what he said in the body of his sermon:

There is no finer thing that a preacher can do, nor is there a more difficult thing for him to do, than to convert the Bible into a living book, so to deal with it as to make it speak with a living voice. The Bible world and our world are not really different at all. God does not change. He is speaking all the time. He is speaking as distinctly and clearly now as he has ever spoken. He is acting now. . . . It would be absurd to suppose that God spoke in the eighth century and is dumb in the twentieth century. . . . It would be incredible to suppose that he spoke to men in Jerusalem, and that he will not speak to men in New York City. God is speaking and acting every day and every night. He is saying things to us hour by hour.

Then, in an appeal for action, he seems to imply that God would have His people hear what the preacher (Jefferson) has to say about the Prophets:

Everything depends upon our eyes and our ears. Our Lord was in the habit of saying: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." People were deaf in his day. They could not hear what God was saying. People are deaf in our day. They do not catch the accents of the divine voice. In the last book of the New Testament, there is a sentence which occurs again and again like a recurring and haunting refrain, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying--what the Spirit is saying--what the Spirit is saying. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

The conclusion, therefore, is a well-organized condensation of what Jefferson said in the body of his sermon. The final quotation seems to imply that God desires Jefferson's audience to study with him the Hebrew Prophets. Because of its climactic

development and its appeal to the senses, the conclusion may have been an effective motivational appeal.

Jefferson might be questioned for stating that "everything depends upon our eyes and our ears" and discussing only the fact that God "is speaking all the time." In other words, Jefferson mentions the sense of sight but does not explain how "everything depends upon our eyes." But perhaps this is a general way of alluding to the senses. If so, our criticism should not be severe.

#### Invention

#### Ethical Proof

##### (1) Exterior to the speech

When Dr. Jefferson preached this sermon, he had been pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle for nearly twenty-seven years. During these years he had apparently achieved a national and international reputation, for he had presented such lectures as the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at the Divinity School of Yale University; he had published many books and articles; he had travelled and spoken throughout the world, and he had been voted one of the twenty-five most influential preachers in America.

As a consequence of Jefferson's attainments it might be implied that every person who heard this sermon had a preconceived opinion about him. In other words, Jefferson may have achieved credibility as a result of phenomena external to the sermon text. This credibility may have been transferred to the sermon situation, for what he said was seriously considered by his listeners.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., pp. 168-175.

## (2) Revealed by the speech

It appears that Jefferson focused attention upon the probity of his character by creating the impression of being sincere and understanding. He acknowledges, for example, that he "can understand how an American might feel that no advantage could come to him from a study of the Book of Isaiah." In answering the question, "How can we make the Bible a living book?" Jefferson appears to stress his sincerity and to associate himself with what is virtuous and elevated:

That is one of the great tasks of a preacher. There is no finer thing that a preacher can do, nor is there a more difficult thing for him to do, than to convert the Bible into a living book, so to deal with it as to make it speak with a living voice. . . . He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

In stating that it is only natural for his listeners to question the value of studying the Hebrew prophets, Jefferson displays common sense and good taste. His lengthy answers to such questions probably helped to establish an impression of his sagacity, as did his familiarity with Biblical scholarship, the theatre, chemistry, and physics.

It appears that Jefferson also sought to establish good-will by identifying himself with his listeners. Note the following selection, for example:

The fact is that a considerable portion of the Bible had gotten away from us before modern scholarship had begun its work. We had lost the Prophets. We very seldom read them. We did not read them because we did not understand them.

His good-will is further revealed by his tact and straightforwardness. For instance, he does not vehemently rebuke his audience for their ignorance of the Prophets, but states:

. . . I have no doubt that if you were subjected to an examination of the Prophets, you would give substantially the same answers. . . . For a long time a quarter of the Old Testament . . . was little more than a Sahara Desert. . . . Modern scholarship has irrigated this desert and made it to blossom as the rose. I want to study a portion of it with you on the coming Sunday mornings. I invite you to study with me the prophecies of Isaiah, the son of Amoz.

Jefferson seems to offset any selfish reasons he may have for preaching this series of sermons by emphasizing that God speaks today through the Prophets even as He did 2600 years ago. Furthermore, as a wise public speaker he seeks to achieve good-will by implying that he has personal qualities as a messenger of the truth. He asks: "Have you made a specialty of the Prophets, so you can tell what distinctive contributions each one of them made to the religious thought of the world?" He continues: "I presume you would all give the same answer--'No!'"

It appears that Jefferson is a master workman and artist in that he focuses attention upon his probity of character, his intelligence, and his good-will. He does this by (1) saying that he understands why some persons feel that there is no advantage in studying Isaiah, (2) associating himself with a virtuous and elevated task--converting the Bible into a living book, (3) displaying good taste and common sense in stating that it is only natural to question the value of studying the Hebrew prophets, (4) identifying himself with those who had lost and misunderstood a considerable portion of the prophets, (5) emphasizing that he intends to preach on Isaiah, not because of selfish reasons, but because God speaks through the prophets.

### (3) Speaker's interests and audience's interests

It appears that Jefferson believed that his proposal of a

series of sermons on Isaiah might not be welcomed by his audience. He, therefore, attempts to build a good impression of himself before he states his proposal. He does this by the common-ground approach, whereby he focuses attention on experiences and attitudes which he has in common with his audience. In the introduction he says:

There is an impression in the minds of many that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible, and one can readily understand why such an idea should get abroad. When the scholars told us that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and that David wrote hardly any of the Psalms . . . one is not surprised that many people concluded that the Bible had been taken away. When these scholars insisted on our reading certain sentences in the Pentateuch under the blazing light of scientific discovery, and when they went on to point out contradictions and discrepancies in the historical books which no ingenuity can possibly reconcile, it is no wonder that many persons felt that the very foundations of the Christian religion had been removed. But now that we have had time to recover somewhat from our panic, we have come to see that the Bible has not been taken away from us at all. . . . The fact is that a considerable portion of the Bible had gotten away from us before modern scholarship had begun its work.

Jefferson identifies himself with his audience throughout the sermon. Note these examples:

In an age so bristling with interesting and baffling problems, why should we turn aside to think about this seer of ancient Israel?

If we had lived in Jerusalem and had seen Isaiah wearing an old slave's shirt, we should probably have done what many of the citizens of Jerusalem did, put him down as a fanatic or a lunatic. . . .

We Americans are intensely practical people, and we do not want to study anything that we cannot turn to immediate use. I can understand how an American might feel. . . .

To many of us, possibly to the most of us, the Bible is a dead book. That is the reason we read it so little. If it were a living book, we would read it. Being a dead book we neglect it.

Jefferson concludes the sermon with what appears to be the implicative method of leading his audience to accept his proposals.



He does this by emphasizing that God is speaking and acting today as He did in Isaiah's day. Jefferson adds:

He is saying things to us hour by hour. Everything depends upon our eyes and our ears. Our Lord was in the habit of saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." People were deaf in his day. They could not hear what God was saying. People are deaf in our day. They do not catch the accents of the divine voice. . . . He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Jefferson does not say: "Come and study Isaiah for God is speaking through this prophet," but he implies that he who uses his ears will "catch accents of the divine voice" in the series of sermons on the book of Isaiah.

By use of the common-ground approach, Jefferson creates a good impression, and through the implicative method he strengthens this impression by permitting the audience to conclude that a study of Isaiah is of value.

#### Pathetic Proof

Jefferson's opening sentence might be considered an appeal to the sentiments, that is, reverence for the Bible. He says: "There is an impression in the minds of many that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible, and one can readily understand why such an idea should get abroad." In this appeal there is the suggestion that Jefferson sympathizes with those persons who believe that their Bible has been taken away. After citing several examples of what the scholars have concluded regarding the Scriptures, Jefferson again uses the same motivational appeal in saying: "One is not surprised that many people concluded that the Bible had been taken away." Again, Jefferson seems to suggest that he understands, and sympathizes, with such people. He continues this

appeal of reverence for that which is holy by explaining that the Bible has not been taken away at all, and if it was, it has been handed back more useful and precious than before.

Dr. Jefferson begins the body of this sermon by seeming to appeal to his listener's affections for the church and their nation. He reminds them that they are "a fairly typical congregation" because they represent various communions of the Christian Church and various sections of the nation. He also appears to aim at their desire for intellectual power in saying that if they were subjected to an examination on the Prophets, they would give substantially the same answers.

Jefferson again appeals to his listeners' desire for knowledge by inviting them to study, with him, the prophecies of Isaiah, the son of Amoz. Dr. Jefferson then directs his attention to the answering of four questions. (1) Why should we think about this seer of ancient Israel? (2) Why should we study the problems of a little nation so insignificant as Judah? (3) How is the study of Isaiah going to help me? (4) What is meant by the word "Prophet?"

Jefferson answers the initial question by first appealing to the desire for wisdom. He points out that Isaiah was a genius and that one "cannot get close to a man of genius without being quickened and illumined by him." In an appeal to man's interest in life and death he adds: "It is a mistake to suppose that you cannot understand a man who has been dead a long while. It is not until a great man has been dead a long while, that you really see him as he is." Thus, he says, we are too close to Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Ramsay MacDonald properly to



understand them. He adds: "We can see far more distinctly and appreciate far more truly Washington and Lincoln than any of these four men just now named."

In re-emphasizing that because Isaiah "is so far removed from us, we can get very near to him," Jefferson points out that the disappearance of Isaiah's physical body will prevent us from being distracted from his message. "Isaiah," he says, "is nothing but a voice, and that helps us to concentrate our whole mind upon his ideas." He adds that we will also not be distracted by his family and political connections, and by his disagreeable mannerisms.

Jefferson answers the second question by saying that "it is not necessary to have a great nation if your purpose is to study human nature." By analogy he cites the chemist and physicist who need only small amounts of water, not a whole ocean, for their studies. He also gives the example of the small nation of Greece which made amazing contributions to the theatre and European literature. In this answer, therefore, it appears that Jefferson appealed to his listeners' material and intellectual wants. He also brings suggestion to bear upon his audience by comparing Judah and Greece, for he implies that Judah has also made valuable contributions to the world.

In replying to the third question, Jefferson points out that Isaiah's world was not unlike our own. By appealing to man's desire for life and freedom from pain, he says:

Men have changed within 2600 years only in superficial ways. The human heart is now what it has always been. . . . The sins which men commit today are the sins which men committed 2600 years ago. . . . It is impossible to study the life of the eighth century before Christ without getting instruction which will help us in living our life and doing our work.

Jefferson says, in effect, that a study of Isaiah will enable his listeners to live happier lives--lives free of those evils which lead to punishment, both now and in the hereafter.

Dr. Jefferson bases his fourth answer on man's desire to possess wisdom. He discusses the term "prophet" according to its current meaning, its Biblical meaning, and its religious meaning.

The speaker concludes the body of the sermon by appealing again to man's reverence for the Bible. He states that the supreme value of studying the Hebrew prophets is that it helps make the Bible a living book. Jefferson says:

To many of us, possibly to most of us, the Bible is a dead book. If it were a living book we would read it. Being a dead book we neglect it. The Bible is a voice, but to many it is a dead voice. It is a voice that comes up out of the tomb. . . . There are many people who read the Bible just as they read the "Arabian Nights." The Bible is a different world to the world in which they live.

Jefferson finishes the sermon with a motivational appeal to self-preservation. This appeal to the preservation of life, now and in the future, is built around two quotations:

Our Lord was in the habit of saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." People were deaf in his day. . . . People are deaf in our day. They do not catch the accents of the divine voice. In the last book of the New Testament, there is a sentence which occurs again and again like a recurring and haunting refrain, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying--what the Spirit is saying. He that hath ears to hear let him hear, let him hear!"

In summary: Jefferson relies upon pathetic proof in apparently seeking to gain the attention of his audience, bringing suggesting to bear upon his listeners, and motivating his audience to action. The motivational appeal to his listener's high regard for the Bible receives the greatest emphasis throughout the sermon. Jefferson

also appeals to their desire for the preservation of life both here and in the hereafter, their appreciation for intellectual power, and their affections for the Church and nation. The conclusion of the sermon is particularly interesting because of its climactic development. In it Jefferson reaches a point of emotional intensity with an appeal to self-preservation.

### Logical Proof

#### (1) Reasoning from example

Reasoning from example seems to be the characteristic method by which Jefferson appeals to man's rationality in this sermon. He begins with this assertion: "There is an impression in the minds of many that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible, and one can readily understand why such an idea should get abroad." This is supported by several examples of conclusions reached by modern scholarship:

. . . the scholars told us that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and that David wrote hardly any of the Psalms, perhaps none, and that Isaiah, the son of Amoz, did not write half of the book which bears his name, and that the Book of Job is a dramatic poem, and that the Song of Solomon is a love poem, and that the Book of Jonah is an allegory, and that the Book of Daniel is a specimen of apocalyptic literature, full of glowing symbolism but destitute of historic value.

In the body of the sermon Jefferson contends that one cannot see a man as he really is if he has been dead only a short time. He defends this contention by citing examples of men we cannot properly understand because we "stand too close to them"—Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Ramsay MacDonald. In emphasizing the value of studying Isaiah, who has been dead 2600 years, Jefferson says: "The physical part of the man has entirely disappeared." He then gives examples of what he

means. He says: "We do not know anything of the color of his eyes or the shape of his nose or his chin. We know nothing of his beard or his moustache or his hair. We know nothing of his girth or his stature." Jefferson also cites examples of Isaiah's family connections which have vanished: "We know nothing of his father or his mother, his brothers and sisters, his uncles and aunts, his wife and his children." He then gives an example of Isaiah's mannerisms which "no doubt would have offended us:"

At one period in his life he walked for three years through the streets of Jerusalem clad in an old shirt, the sort of shirt which slaves wore, in order to symbolize to the eyes of his countrymen that they, unless they changed their course, would some day wear the shirts of slaves.

In implying that Judah has influenced the world as much as has Greece, Jefferson asserts: "When you go to the theatre, all the words in use there are from Greece." He gives these examples: theatre, drama, comedy, tragedy, prologue, dialogue, epilogue, orchestra, chorus, scenery, and characters.

Jefferson also cites examples of how the term "prophet" is currently used. He says it is used with regard to "men who predict the weather" and "the man who tells you when the end of the world is coming."

Sometimes Jefferson uses only one example to support an assertion. In supporting his statement that the people of Christ's day could not discern the signs of the times, he says:

For instance, they kept talking about the return of Elijah and yet John the Baptist stood before them, and they did not know that Elijah had come; that is, they could not recognize the reappearance of old forces, when the old forces showed themselves under new forms.

Jefferson continues by pointing out the danger of reading the

Bible as if it were the Arabian Nights. He states that such an approach to the Bible will prevent it from affecting our lives because we will consider it irrelevant to the world in which we live. He uses the following examples:

Many businessmen read the Bible, but the Bible does not influence their business policy. Many politicians read the Scriptures, but the Scriptures do not modify or control their platform or their program. . . . Men lose themselves for a time in it and find it interesting as a fairy story, and then come back into this prosaic everyday world, to live and act as though they had never seen the Bible.

In the conclusion, Jefferson asserts that "God does not change." He supports this assertion with these examples:

He is speaking all the time. He is speaking as distinctly and clearly now as he has ever spoken. He is acting now. He is acting as constantly and effectively now as he has ever acted.

It appears that the outstanding characteristic of Jefferson's logical proof is his inferring of conclusions from specific instances or cases. Jefferson is especially adept in his ability to reason from example.

## (2) Reasoning by analogy

Jefferson uses a figurative analogy in comparing the Books of the Prophets with the Sahara Desert:

For a long time a quarter of the Old Testament--the prophetic portion--was little more than a Sahara Desert. To be sure there was an oasis here and there on which green things were growing, and where we could find food and refreshing. There were isolated paragraphs, scattered sentences which gave us strength and inspiration, but for the most part, the whole region extending from Isaiah to Malachi, was little more than sand. Modern scholarship has irrigated this desert and made it blossom as the rose.

He employs another figurative analogy in showing that one must study great men as one studies "portraits painted in oil."

In the study of great men, it is as with the study of portraits painted in oil. You have no doubt had this experience.





You have stood within a few inches of an oil portrait of some man, and you have not been able to see the man at all. All that you could see was some pigment smeared upon a piece of canvas. You could see paint and nothing more. But now stand back . . . . You notice that at every step backward, the man comes out to meet you. He comes up out of the paint, and after you have gone back far enough, you can see his features. . . . Just so it is in the study of great men—stand too close to them and you cannot see them.

Jefferson again relies upon figurative analogies in supporting his contention that "if you are interested in the operation of political ideas, and wish to analyze political combinations and movements, you do not need an empire of a hundred million people."

He says:

When a chemist wants to learn something about water, he does not need the Atlantic Ocean. If he desires to get the constituent elements of water, and to know how oxygen and hydrogen behave, all he asks for is a cup of water. A physicist in his study of water does not ask for an ocean in order to find out what happens when water boils, and what happens when water freezes. A pail of water is enough.

Jefferson continues by discussing the similarity between our world and Isaiah's world. He reasons by literal analogy to support his assertion that "men have changed within 2600 years only in superficial ways," and "the sins which men commit today are the sins which men committed 2600 years ago."

Jefferson, therefore, makes frequent comparisons between two cases. Sometimes the comparison is figurative, sometimes it is literal, but in both instances they are directed at man's reasoning process. They successfully support and clarify his contentions.

### (3) Causal reasoning

With the exception of the introduction and conclusion, Jefferson relies heavily upon causal reasoning in the development

of this sermon. Some of the effect-to-cause statements which he employs are as follows:

To many of us, possibly to most of us, the Bible is a dead book. That is the reason we read it so little. If it were a living book we would read it. Being a dead book we neglect it. . . . If it were a living voice we would pay attention to it.

The people of Galilee were handicapped in their dealing with Jesus, because they knew his father and mother, his brothers and sisters.

Isaiah is called a prophet because he spoke for God.

The Bible is a voice, but to many of us it is a dead voice. It is a voice that comes up out of the tomb. . . . It is lamentable how little influence the Bible exerts on the conduct of the average Christian. This is because the Bible is a dead book, and not a living book.

In speaking of the advantages of viewing an oil portrait from a distance Jefferson uses the following cause-to-effect statement:

But now stand back, stand back still farther, and you get something more than his features, you get the spiritual expression of his soul.

He also uses this form of causal reasoning in discussing the results of reading the Bible as if it were the Arabian Nights. He says:

Many business men read the Bible, but the Bible does not influence their business policy. Many politicians read the Scriptures, but the Scriptures do not modify or control their platform or their program. . . . Men lose themselves in it and find it interesting as a fairy story, and then come back into this prosaic everyday world, to live and act as though they had never seen the Bible.

In summary: causal reasoning is an important method by which logical proof is established in this sermon. Jefferson appears to be a master craftsman in his use of causal reasoning to reinforce and explain his contentions.

Style

## (1) Clearness

Clarity of style is achieved by three methods--directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers. Let us consider these methods in the above order.

Directness is accomplished by Jefferson's use of personal pronouns and by his focusing of attention on the experiences and attitudes which he has in common with his audience. These techniques have been discussed under the analysis of ethical proof, but note also the following examples of Jefferson's use of personal pronouns, and his ability to identify himself with his listeners:

The fact is that a considerable portion of the Bible had gotten away from us before modern scholarship had begun its work. We had lost the Prophets. We very seldom read them. We did not read them because we did not understand them.

It does us good now and then to get away from this old prosaic, mechanical world. . . .

And now let us turn to the question, Who is a Prophet--what is the meaning of that word "Prophet?" We all know its meaning in our current speech. We never use it except in one sense. We always mean a predictor. . . .

Jefferson also uses familiar and concrete words in this sermon. The above quotations reveal this, as does the following analogy. (For a fuller discussion of Jefferson's use of analogies see the previous analysis of Logical Proof).

When a chemist wants to learn something about water, he does not need the Atlantic Ocean. If he desires to get the constituent elements of water, and to know how oxygen and hydrogen behave, all he asks for is a cup of water. A physicist in his study of water does not ask for an ocean in order to find out what happens when water boils, and what happens when water freezes. A pail of water is enough. He can tell from a pail of water far more successfully than he can from the ocean.

As was pointed out in the analysis of Arrangement, the bulk of the sermon is concerned with the answering of these four questions:

Why should we study a Jew who lived 2600 years ago? Why should we study the problems of Judah? How is the study of Isaiah going to help me? What is the meaning of the word "Prophet?" These questions and answers occupy an important place in the development of this sermon and contribute to clarity of style. As will be discussed later, the questions and answers also contribute to coherence, force, and variety in style.

The use of directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers, therefore, enhances Jefferson's clarity of style. However, there are portions of this sermon which may have been unclear to some of Jefferson's listeners. For example, Jefferson speaks of the "Pentateuch," "apocalyptic literature," and "the world of Aladdin," without explication or clarification. Apparently he presupposes an understanding of these terms by his audience. However, it is possible that a communication break-down occurred between Jefferson and some of his hearers because of their unfamiliarity with such terms.

Jefferson can also be criticized for failing to answer directly the question: "How can we make the Bible a living book?"

Note his reply:

That is one of the great tasks of the preacher. There is no finer thing that a preacher can do, nor is there a more difficult thing for him to do, than to convert the Bible into a living book, so to deal with it as to make it speak with a living voice.

It is evident that his reply is concerned with a preacher's task, not with the methods by which "we can make the Bible a living book." (underlining mine).

Thus, in the light of our critical rationale, it appears that portions of this sermon could have been made clearer by

(1) an explanation of those terms which may not have been easily understood by the audience, (2) a direct answer to the question: "How can we make the Bible a living book?" and, as was discussed under Arrangement, (3) an explanation of the phrase in the conclusion: "Everything depends upon our eyes."

## (2) Coherence

As was concluded in the rhetorical analysis of Arrangement, this sermon can be divided into three main parts--introduction, body, and conclusion. The introduction consists of two explanatory sections in which Jefferson discusses the belief that "modern scholarship has taken away our Bible," and that because of modern scholarship the Bible is "more useful than ever."

The body of the sermon is organized in relation to certain main points, particularly questions. It is clearly organized, achieving coherence through introductory and transitional sentences, questions and answers, and internal summaries.

Although the conclusion is short, it is, in general, a well-organized condensation of the body of the sermon. It is tied to the body with this transitional question: "How can we make the Bible a living book?"

Thus, coherence is effected by the effective ordering of materials, internal summaries, and strong transitional statements. The only apparent weakness in structure occurs between the introduction and the body; a transitional phrase or sentence would have strengthened the relationship between these parts.

## (3) Force

One of the primary means by which force or strength seems to

be achieved is through the repetition of questions. In one instance Jefferson asks four questions in succession; in another instance he asks three, and in another instance he asks two. The following is an example of his use of questions. Note how they also reveal Jefferson's repetition of the same word:

If I should ask you, Have you been a diligent student of the Prophets? Have you taken great interest in the Prophets? Have you experienced delight in the reading of the Prophets? Have you made a specialty of the Prophets, so you can tell what distinctive contribution each one of them made to the religious thought of the world? I presume you would all give the same answer—"No!"

The following are further examples of Jefferson's use of repetition:

The Bible is a voice, but to many it is a dead voice. It is a voice that comes up out of the tomb. If it were a living voice we would pay attention to it.

He is speaking all the time. He is speaking as distinctly and clearly now as he has ever spoken. He is acting now. He is acting as constantly and effectively today as he has every acted.

Climactic development also seems to contribute to force of style. This is particularly true in the conclusion to the sermon:

He is saying things to us hour by hour. Everything depends upon our eyes and our ears. Our Lord was in the habit of saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." People were deaf in his day. They could not hear what God was saying. People are deaf in our day. They do not catch the accents of the divine voice. In the last book of the New Testament, there is a sentence which occurs again and again like a recurring and haunting refrain, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit is saying--what the Spirit is saying--what the Spirit is saying. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

The element of force is also achieved through the use of literal and figurative analogies. While these analogies have been discussed under logical proof, they are also a characteristic of Jefferson's style in this sermon.

Thus, the repetition of words, phrases, and sentences, climactic development, and reasoning by analogy, appear to be the ingredients of force in this sermon.

#### (4) Variety

Variety in this sermon is achieved through a combination of the stylistic elements of clearness, coherence, and force. Note, for example, the following quotation in which Jefferson employs (1) personal pronouns, (2) familiar and concrete words, (3) questions and answers, (4) internal summaries and transitions, and (5) word repetition:

There is a third question which may arise in certain minds. I can imagine I hear some one saying, "How is the study of Isaiah going to help me? Of what value will it be to me in my business or in my work? We Americans are intensely practical people, and we do not want to study anything that we cannot turn to immediate use. I can understand how an American might feel that no advantage could come to him from a study of the Book of Isaiah. In answer to that question, let me say that while in superficial ways the world of Isaiah is not the world we live in, nevertheless, in other ways the world has not changed at all. The material civilization of the eighth century before Christ was in marked contrast with the material civilization which we know. When we look upon Isaiah's world, and then look upon our world, we say, "Heaven and earth have passed away, and all things have become new." And yet when we look more deeply, we can see that Isaiah's world still abides.

The use of only one rhetorical question also adds variety to this sermon. It is strategically located in the center of Jefferson's discussion of the value of studying "the problems of a little nation so insignificant as Judah." In emphasizing that the small nation of Judah should be studied, he says:

There was another ancient people, very small and politically insignificant—the Greek. It played its part on a small stage, and yet who would say that it is not worth our while to study it?



In addition to Jefferson's use of analogies, discussed previously, variety is also achieved through the use of occasional metaphors and of alliteration. The following are examples of Jefferson's use of metaphors:

. . . the Old Testament--the prophetic portion--was little more than a Sahara Desert.

. . . the whole region extending from Isaiah to Malachi was little more than sand. Modern scholarship has irrigated this desert and made it to blossom as the rose.

. . . the blazing light of scientific discovery.

The following are examples of alliteration:

There is the impression in the minds of many that modern scholarship has taken away our Bible.

. . . the Bible world and the world in which we live.

In summary: variety in style is accomplished through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force, and by rhetorical questions, analogies, metaphors, and alliteration.

### Summary

This is a problem-solution type of sermon in which Jefferson is faced with the problem of persuading his listeners to study the Hebrew Prophets. As a good debater, he seeks to accomplish this by anticipating the objections of his opponents, by answering these objections, and by discussing the value of such a study.

The sermon is organized according to three divisions--introduction, body, and conclusion. In the introduction, Jefferson suggests a oneness with his audience through the use of the personal pronouns "we" and "us." He also orients his listeners to his subject--the value of studying the Hebrew prophets--by explaining that modern scholarship has not destroyed the Bible, but rather has made

it "more useful and precious than ever."

The body of this sermon is arranged according to topics--in this instance, questions. Jefferson follows a rather consistent pattern in discussing each main point and each supporting point. In discussing the questions, for example, he states the question, suggests why it might be asked by his listeners, answers the question, and summarizes in a single sentence. The organization pattern is given further coherence, unity, and clarity by short, transitional phrases and sentences, and by interal summaries. The only apparent structural weakness occurs between the introduction and the body. A transition would have probably strengthened this relationship.

In the conclusion, Jefferson summarizes his main points, and through two Scriptural quotations, implies that God would have His people hear what he (Jefferson) has to say about the Hebrew Prophets.

Phenomena both exterior and interior to the sermon text contribute to ethical proof for they reveal Jefferson as a man of integrity, intelligence, and good-will.

His pathetic proof includes appeals to man's (1) desire for self-preservation, (2) reverence for the Bible, (3) affections for the Church and nation, and (4) desire for knowledge. These motivational appeals effectively clarify and support Jefferson's contentions. Furthermore, they also bring suggestion to bear upon the audience. For example, Jefferson implies that if one agrees that the small nation of Greece is worthy of study, then one must also agree that the small nation of Judah is worthy of study.

Reasoning from example, reasoning by analogy, and causal reasoning are the primary means by which Jefferson seeks to establish logical proof. Jefferson appears to be unusually capable in supporting assertions by means of examples or specific instances. A distinguishing feature of each division of this sermon is reasoning by example.

Jefferson's style contains the elements of clearness, coherence, force, and variety. Variety is the most inclusive element, being achieved through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force, as well as through analogies, a rhetorical question, metaphors, and alliteration.

The most obvious weaknesses in this sermon appear to be (1) a structural weakness between the introduction and the conclusion, (2) a failure to explain such words as "Pentateuch" and "apocalyptic literature," (3) an unanswered question-- "How can we make the Bible a living book?" (4) the lack of an apparent relationship between the phrase "Everything depends on our eyes" and what precedes and follows. However, these weaknesses do not seriously detract from Jefferson's workmanship which, in terms of our rationale for criticism, is very good.

## The Rhetorical Analysis of Sermon Five

### The Source for the Sermon Text

This sermon, "Talking Peace and Thinking War," is taken from Great Themes of the Christian Faith, (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930), edited by Charles W. Ferguson. It is based on a text from the Old Testament: "They have healed the hurt of my people slightly, saying Peace, Peace; when there is no peace." (Jeremiah 6:14).

### Audience, Occasion, and Setting

Jefferson preached this sermon to the congregation of the Broadway Tabernacle Church on Sunday, May 18, 1930.

### Synopsis of the Sermon Text

#### Introduction

"They have healed the hurt of my people slightly, saying, Peace, Peace; when there is no peace." Who said that? Jeremiah was sure that God was saying these words. Of whom is God speaking? The worthless surgeons of Israel. These surgeons, the prophets, priests, anointed leaders and ordained teachers of religion, have healed the hurt of God's people only slightly. They have spoken beautiful phrases to a sick nation. They have made light of its illness by saying "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." Our theme today is Talking Peace and Thinking War.

#### Body

This is the eighteenth day of May, the thirty-first anniversary of the First Hague Peace Conference called by the Czar of Russia. On this anniversary boys and girls are usually instructed in the duty and grace of international good will. It is fitting this year that a peace sermon should be preached in May because the recent London Naval Conference is uppermost in our minds.

The purpose of this sermon is to clarify our minds in regard to the achievements of this conference and to call attention to certain revelations which the conference has made. Let us begin with the question, what did the conference fail to do? First, it failed to secure a five-power treaty on the reduction in naval armaments. The second disappointment was its failure to reduce cruiser tonnage. It also failed to reduce the number of aircraft carriers, abolish battleships, and the submarine.

However, the conference was not a complete failure. It extended the naval holiday; it reduced the battleships of the three contracting nations; it reduced submarine and destroyer tonnage, and it helped to establish more firmly the habit of the discussion of international affairs.

The London Conference illuminated two facts which we ought to ponder. It showed us the limitations of the power of our political officials. The delegations of every country but Italy had to move slowly because they represented democratic forms of government. Every delegation had to keep its eye on its government, and every government had to keep its eye on the people. Without the consent of the people nothing of importance could be accomplished. This brings us face to face with the size of our problem. The people of each nation must be educated to think peace. It is a herculean task for the wound is deep and cannot be healed in a day.

A second fact emerged from the conference. We saw how difficult it is to change the thought habits of men. It is comparatively easy to change the phrases on men's lips; it is well nigh impossible to change the habits of their thinking. Everybody talks peace but it is possible to talk peace and think war. That is what the Naval Conference did. The five nations had talked peace but when they came together they showed that they were all thinking war. The cardinal subject of discussion, therefore, was parity in war. The nations had renounced war in the Pact of Paris but they spent all their time in measuring and comparing the instruments of war. The London Conference revealed that the world's wound is deep and it cannot be healed slightly.

What shall we do now that the conference is over? Let me suggest two bits of advice. First of all watch! Keep your eyes open. Pay attention to the agencies which educate men to think war, for it is the habit of thinking war which must be broken. Be aware of war games, naval exhibitions, and military training in our schools. The second bit of advice is that we must educate. We must plant the seed of peace in the hearts of boys and girls and young people. We are not going to win the cause of peace by spectacular methods, but by quiet, continuous, enthusiastic work. It is not by thunder and lightning but by the still small voice of mothers and teachers that the world will at last come to think peace.

### Conclusion

Let us not then be deceived by the superficial talk of those who imagine that because men use the word "peace" the cause of war has been abolished. The wound is deep. The root of the problem is in the heart. The problem is primarily a religious one. If the problem is ever settled it will be settled by the Christian Church.

The root of the problem is spiritual. It is suspicion which paralyzed the London Conference. It is because of our fear that we cannot come together. The wound is deep. Only God in Christ can heal it. Only God in Christ on the cross. What does

that mean? It means that only sacrificial love can heal it. The cross was not visible in the London Conference. An idol was set up--an idol called Parity--and the nations bowed down before it.

### Arrangement

#### The Introduction

(1) Gaining attention and good-will.

The introduction to this sermon, which is given below, is short:

Who said that? Jeremiah was sure God said it. These words he dares put into the mouth of God. Of whom is God speaking? The prophets and priests of Israel, the anointed leaders of the Church, the ordained teachers of religion, the official spiritual guides of the nation. It is they who have healed the hurt of God's people slightly. They have been worthless surgeons. They have not examined the wound carefully nor probed it thoroughly. They have not gone deep enough. They have not found out how dangerous the wound is. They have spoken smooth words to make everybody feel comfortable. With beautiful phrases they covered over ugly facts. The nation is sick and they have made light of its illness. They have said, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. Our theme today is Talking Peace and Thinking war.

Jefferson does three things in this introduction in attempting to gain attention and good-will. (a) He begins by quoting the text from Jeremiah. (The question, "Who said that?" reveals this.) (b) He refers to matters of special interest to his listeners: Jeremiah, God, Israel, the Church, Peace, and his theme for the day. (c) He refers to the sermon and the Sunday church service in saying, "Our theme today is Talking Peace and Thinking War."

#### (2) Orienting the Audience

Dr. Jefferson seeks to orient the audience to the subject and purpose of the sermon by (a) answering the questions ("who said that?" and "of whom is God speaking?") and thus explaining the background of the text, and (b) by relating the title of his theme to the text.

### The Pattern of Organization in the Body of the Sermon

The content of the body is clearly organized according to the classification order, that is, according to major topics. As one reads the sermon, the topics of discussion are obvious; and it is apparent that they are bound together by summary statements and short transitions. The following outline, although not detailed, shows the pattern of organization.

- I. This day, May 18th, is significant.
  - A. It is the thirty-first anniversary of the Hague Peace Conference.
  - B. It is a good time to appraise the recent London Naval Conference.
- II. What did the London Naval Conference fail to do?
  - A. It failed to secure a five-power treaty on naval reduction.
  - B. It failed to reduce cruiser tonnage.
  - C. It failed to reduce the number of aircraft carriers.
  - D. It failed to abolish battleships.
  - E. It failed to abolish the submarine.
- III. What did the Conference achieve?
  - A. It extended the naval holiday.
  - B. It reduced the battleships of the contracting nations.
  - C. It reduced submarine tonnage.
  - D. It reduced destroyer tonnage.
  - E. It promoted mutual understanding.
- IV. The Conference illuminated two facts.
  - A. It showed the limitation of the power of politicians.
  - B. It showed how difficult it is to change men's thoughts.
- V. What shall we do now that the Conference is over?
  - A. We should be aware of education for war.
  - B. We must educate for peace.

Jefferson follows an identical pattern in the development of each topic. He first states the point of emphasis or concern in a topic sentence; this is followed by an explanation, and then he

summarizes. The following discussion under the heading, "What did the Conference achieve?" is an example of this procedure:

In the first place the conference extended what is called the naval holiday. This means a period in which no additional battleships can be built. By the Washington Conference this period was made ten years. Since the Washington Conference not a new battleship has been built by any of the five nations participating in that conference. This time has now been extended five years. It is not a long extension but it is encouraging.

The topic sentence usually does two things; it serves as a transition, and it introduces the specific point for discussion. For example, "The second disappointment was the failure of the conference to reduce cruiser tonnage," and "The fifth achievement of the conference was in the world of the spirit." The unity of purpose and thought, and the coherence of the body are strengthened by internal summaries which conclude the five major divisions of this part of the sermon.

Thus, the body of the sermon is clearly organized according to the topical ordering of materials; its major topics are united by short, effective transitions; the theme of the sermon is recognizable throughout, and Jefferson's purpose is repeatedly implied and stated. In terms of the overall development of the body, this can be termed a problem-solution sermon. Jefferson suggests that the solution to the problem of "Talking Peace and Thinking War" is education for peace.

### The Conclusion

Charles E. Jefferson does two things in the conclusion of this sermon. (a) He challenges his audience to act in ways which he has discussed in the body, and (b) in a short paragraph he summarizes all that has been said. His challenges are evident in these statements:



Let us not then be deceived by superficial talk of those who imagine that because men use the word "peace" the curse of war has been abolished. The wound is deep. . . . If the problem is settled, it will be settled by the Christian Church. Christian men and women must face this problem and never allow their eyes to wander away from it. . . we must work for peace and make sacrifices for it.

Jefferson summarizes by re-emphasizing that the failures of the London Naval Conference were due to the substitution of parity in war for parity in peace. He adds that only sacrificial love can bring peace.

The minister, therefore, challenges his Christian audience to educate and sacrifice for peace, and he summarizes by emphasizing: "The root of the problem is spiritual . . . only sacrificial love can heal it."

### Invention

#### Ethical Proof

##### (1) Exterior to the speech

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson was nearly seventy years of age when he preached this sermon. He was within four months of completing his pastorate at the Broadway Tabernacle, a pastorate in which he had distinguished himself as a champion of religious freedom and an outspoken advocate of international harmony. His reputation as a preacher, scholar, pacifist, and humanitarian probably combined to provide a source of high credibility to his audience before he spoke them.

##### (2) Revealed by the speech

Jefferson apparently focused attention upon the probity of his character in three ways. Let us note these methods and examples of each.

First, Jefferson appears to associate his message with what is virtuous and elevated. He says:

It is only fitting . . . that a peace sermon should be preached in the month of May in all our churches because the recent Naval Conference in London is uppermost in our minds. . . . It is fitting that in the House of Prayer we should on the Lord's Day think carefully and reverently about one of the outstanding events of our generation.

Jefferson identifies the cause of peace with the cause of Christ in concluding:

If the problem of war is ever settled it will be settled by the Christian Church. . . . If we are indeed the followers of the Prince of Peace, then we must work for peace and make sacrifices for it. . . . The wound is deep. Only God can heal it. Only God in Christ can heal it. Only God in Christ on the cross. . . . Only sacrificial love can heal it.

Second, he bestows tempered praise upon himself and his cause in the following striking example:

A preacher is never nearer to the center of the Gospel than when he is urging men to think peace and he is never more faithful to his mission as an ambassador of the Son of God than when he is exhorting men to work with their might against the genius and schemes of those who in blindness are endeavoring to perpetrate the reign of Caesar.

Finally, Jefferson seeks to create impressions of sincerity, earnestness, and straightforwardness in discussing the significance of the London Naval Conference. For example, he says:

The purpose of this sermon is to clarify our minds in regard to the achievements of this conference and to call attention to certain revelations which the conference has made. . . . While the conference did not accomplish all that had been hoped for, there were several things attained which should not be overlooked.

Jefferson's familiarity with history is unmistakable and, therefore, might be considered an indication of intellectual acumen. For example, he appears to be conversant with the First Hague Peace Conference in 1899, the Washington Conference of 1922, and

the recent London Naval Conference. He speaks with familiarity of the problems faced in the London Conference by President Hoover, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, and Monsieur Briand, and of the peculiarities of government in Italy, France, England, Japan, and the United States. Jefferson's intimate acquaintance with the events and interests of the day is strikingly revealed by the following quotations:

The brigadier-generals and rear admirals are popular guests at banquets. . . . It is amazing how frequently these men speak and how zealous they are. . . . Their literary output is immense. . . . The army and navy play war games. They play them every year. . . . They used to play them on land and sea and now they play them also in the air. . . . Recently we have had warnings written on the sky, calling our attention to our defenceless condition.

Every year the navy is put on exhibition. It is truly an imposing spectacle. . . . The Sunday papers take delight in spreading before the nation pictures of the war vessels and of their officers, of the airplanes and of their latest stunts.

Jefferson's ability to act with tact, moderation, and good taste is best revealed by the manner in which he politely disagrees with Mr. Stimson. It is unlikely that the following statement alienated listeners who were pro-Stimson:

. . . our Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, is justified I think in his optimism. He told the boys and girls of this country over the radio the other day that the conference was a long step toward world peace. If you wonder how he could make a statement so cheery you must remember that he understands the situation better than we do. He knows the obstacles to be grappled with, and the difficulties to be conquered, and the tremendous forces working against world peace. . . . He sees that the path to peace is "a series of successive steps" and he rejoices that another step in the series has been taken. There is only one word in his statement which I should care to change and that is the word "long." A step has indeed been taken but it is hardly a long step. And yet though short it is not to be sneered at.

Jefferson's ability to reprimand or criticize without harshness is one of the distinguishing features of this sermon.

Another feature of this sermon is Jefferson's identification with his audience. Through this oneness he reveals good-will, an important element of ethical proof. Note the following examples of what the audience probably regarded as expressions of good-will:

The purpose of this sermon is to clarify our minds in regard to the achievements of this conference and to call attention to certain revelations which the conference has made.

I presume we all have practically the same experience when we come to grapple with intricate problems which stir up controversy. We find it difficult to ascertain the facts and we find it still more difficult to arrive at satisfying conclusions.

The conference is over, and now what shall we do? Let me suggest two bits of advice.

Let us not then be deceived by the superficial talk of those who imagine that because men use the word "peace" the curse of war has been abolished.

Jefferson again uses tact and consideration when rebuking the nations for their failures at the London Conference. He does not blame particular nations or national representatives, but says:

All five nations signed the Pact of Paris, but no one of them believed that the others would keep their word. We did not trust Great Britain, nor did Great Britain trust us, France did not trust Italy and Italy did not trust France, none of them trusted Japan and Japan is distrustful of us all.

This sermon text contains evidences of Jefferson's integrity, his intelligence, and his good-will. His integrity is related to those items which associate his message and himself with what is virtuous, elevated, and praise-worthy. Furthermore, his probity of character is related to those factors which suggest him to be a man of sincerity, straightforwardness, and earnestness. One of the most striking features of the sermon is Jefferson's use of suggestion to imply that because his theme and Christ's concerns are similar, he is a man of integrity.

This sermon text also reveals that Jefferson was a competent historian and intimately acquainted with the events of his day. His ability to act with tact and moderation, even when he is critical, is another example of his skill in persuasion.

Another evidence of Jefferson's ethical proof is revealed by his expressions of good-will to the audience and to nations. He expresses a concern for their spiritual, physical, mental, and material welfare.

Thus, the three elements of ethos--integrity, intelligence, good-will--appear to be revealed throughout this sermon.

### (3) Speaker's interests and audience's interests

The following quotation is a good example of how Jefferson uses the common-ground method of identifying his interests and experiences with those of his audience:

I presume we all have practically the same experience when we come to grapple with intricate problems which stir up controversy. We find it difficult to ascertain the facts and we find it still more difficult to arrive at satisfying conclusions. There are so many papers and magazines and books, each one telling us a different story, there are so many reporters and editors and interpreters and commentators and experts and they present us such clashing opinions that we find ourselves wandering in a fog. The most of us have little time for reading and still less time for thinking, and all we can do is snatch up the odds and ends of other men's opinions, leaving us at last with no definite convictions of our own.

In concluding the body of the sermon, he employs the implicative method of leading his listeners to formulate conclusions which might otherwise be repugnant to them. In the following examples Jefferson implies that "war games" are not games, and that army and navy budgets should be cut:

The army and navy play war games. . . . They play them in the eyes of the public. . . . The games are spectacular. They are

sometimes thrilling. They are played for the purpose of training us to think war. Every game played demonstrates our need for stronger defense.

The nation is systematically and continuously and effectively trained to think war. No wonder the navy appropriations remain high. We spend more money every year on our army and navy than any other nation under heaven.

In summary: Jefferson evidently seeks to establish ethical proof by identifying himself with his listeners and by suggesting conclusions and courses of action.

### Pathetic Proof

Jefferson begins this sermon by quoting these words from the Book of Jeremiah: "They have healed the hurt of my people slightly, saying, Peace, Peace, when there is no peace." This should be an attention-gaining statement, for it suggests that Jefferson's listeners should seriously consider the applicability of the words to their day. With renewed appeals to the preservation of life and health, Jefferson continues by explaining that the spiritual guides of Israel had made light of their nation's illness. He implies that just as these guides spoke of peace when there was no peace, so too are the leaders of their nation speaking of peace when there is no peace. He then adds: "Our theme today is Talking Peace and Thinking War."

Jefferson begins the body of this sermon by discussing the significance of the day on which he is speaking. It cannot be said that there are any motivational appeals in this discussion of the anniversary of the First Hague Peace Conference, unless it be a vague appeal to self-preservation.

Jefferson then appeals to the sentiments--the desire to do what is right--by summarizing: "It is fitting that in the House of

Prayer we should on the Lord's Day think carefully of our generation."

He continues by discussing five failures of the London Conference.

His primary motivational appeal throughout the discussion of the failures is the appeal to self-preservation. Jefferson states that the nations were morally weak and, therefore, they acquiesced on matters pertaining to the limitation of physical strength. He implies that moral weakness, rather than limited armaments, leads to national decay and death.

Jefferson then discusses the achievements of the Conference which, he says, "should not be overlooked." The motives of freedom from injury, pain, and death are appealed to as Jefferson states that the naval holiday has been extended, and that the total tonnage of certain ships has been reduced. He adds: the "Conference helped to establish more firmly the habit of nations to gather around a table for the discussion of international affairs. . . . No man returned from that conference without a heightened estimate of the people of the other nations . . ." By pointing out the foolishness of war and the value of meeting "face to face" he appeals to the desire for the welfare of other persons, and the desire to do what is fair, honorable, and noble.

In agreeing that Mr. Stimson is justified in his optimism about the results of the London Conference, Jefferson again appeals to self-preservation. He says that the Conference was a short, but important, step on the path to peace. By use of suggestion, however, he reminds his listeners that much energy must yet be expended before a lasting peace is accomplished.

Jefferson continues by explaining that the London Conference

"showed us the limitations of our political officials." He states that "the delegations sent to the conference were made up of able and noble men," but that "they had to keep their eye on the governments behind them" and, therefore, could not secure all the results which they desired. In this explanation, Jefferson uses motivational appeals to self-preservation and to power, for he emphasizes that in a democracy the people are more powerful than their representatives and, therefore, determine their destiny.

Dr. Jefferson then suggests "two bits of advice" now that the Conference is over. He commands his audience to: "First of all watch! Keep your eyes open. Pay attention to the agencies which work day and night to train men to think war." Jefferson emphasizes that the habit of thinking war can be broken only by watchfulness, thus appealing to his listener's affections--their desire for the nation's welfare. In presenting statistics with regard to the number of persons affected by summer military training camps, Jefferson again appeals to the affections; but on a more personal scale. He speaks of the thousands of fathers, mothers, sweethearts, grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, and friends who are trained to think war because of the boys who receive summer military training.

In giving his second bit of advice, Jefferson appeals to self-preservation, as well as to the affections. He suggests that if we are to be spared the tragedies of war the seed of peace must be planted in the hearts of young people in colleges, boys and girls in high school, grammar school, primary school, kindergarten, and homes. He adds, in an appeal to the parent-child relationship,



that "it is not by thunder and lightning but by the still small voice of mothers . . . that the world will at last come to think peace."

In concluding his sermon, Jefferson uses the motivational appeals of self-preservation, property, and the affections. He says that freedom from fear of war can be accomplished only through self-sacrifice, and that Christian men and women must face the problem of peace for it will be settled only by the Christian Church. Jefferson, therefore, insists that happiness will, in part, depend upon his listeners' "sacrificial love," a love which will radiate the spirit of "God in Christ on the cross."

In summary: Dr. Jefferson made rather consistent use of motivational appeals in this sermon. He utilized several types of motivational appeals, apparently to gain the attention of his listeners and/or to suggest that leaders of the nations are talking peace, but thinking war. The most effective use of appeals seems to be those appeals to self-preservation and the affections. Throughout the sermon he emphasizes that armament races lead to the destruction of property and life and that such races can be halted only by "the followers of the Prince of Peace." Thus, it appears that this sermon contains means of motivating Jefferson's listeners toward a predetermined objective by appealing to their spiritual, intellectual, moral, and material desires.

### Logical Proof

#### (1) Reasoning from example

One of the distinguishing features of this sermon is Jefferson's extensive use of assertions, particularly in the introduction. Reasoning from example, however, is occasionally used to support

assertions in the body and conclusion.

In directing the attention of his audience to the features of a democratic government, Jefferson asserts, "England is a democracy, a democracy in a more flexible form than our own." He then cites this example:

We cannot get rid of a cabinet which we do not like in less than four years, whereas England can get rid of an unpopular cabinet in a night.

Jefferson supports his assertion that "the newspapers give glad and powerful assistance" to education for war with this example: "The Sunday papers take delight in spreading before the nation pictures of the war vessels and of their officers, of the airplanes and of their latest stunts."

An interesting feature of Jefferson's logical proof is the use of statistics as examples in his discussion of military preparedness:

It costs hundreds of millions of dollars . . . and six million people are eager to enjoy the exhibition.

. . . 226,000 boys are not the only ones to be drilled this summer. There are 7,463 of the R.O.T.C. and 17,190 in the Officer's Reserve, and 57,000 of the C.M.T.C. and 163,780 of the National Guard. Here are an additional host of a quarter of a million men all being trained to think war. . . .

In the conclusion, Jefferson says: "All five nations signed the Pact of Paris, but no one of them believed that the others would keep their word."

[For example], we did not trust Great Britain, nor did Great Britain trust us, France did not trust Italy and Italy did not trust France, none of them trusted Japan and Japan is distrustful of us all.

As was previously indicated, Jefferson seldom reasons from example in this sermon. Such reasoning is limited to the body and

conclusion; there is no evidence of reasoning from example in the introduction. On the contrary, however, the sermon is characterized by the use of assertions as a form of logical proof. The following quotations are typical of this mode of proof:

It is they who have healed the hurt of God's people slightly. They have been worthless surgeons. They have not examined the wound carefully nor probed it thoroughly. They have not gone deep enough. They have not found out how dangerous the wound is. They have spoken smooth words to make everybody feel comfortable. With beautiful phrases they have covered over ugly facts.

These three men more than any others were responsible for calling the London Conference. They created an atmosphere in which it seemed inevitable that the conference should prove a success. The delegations sent to the conference were made up of able and noble men, men who believe in peace and are willing to work hard to obtain it. Our own delegation was one of which every American had reason to be proud. All seven members were men of great ability and wide experience and high ideals. It would have been difficult to select a group of seven Americans superior in calibre and nobility and devotion to peace than the seven men who were sent to London.

Perhaps the historical-factual nature of this sermon led Jefferson to pile assertion upon assertion in the establishing of particular points. It is doubtful that a greater use of reasoning from example would have contributed to a more effective ordering of materials, or to the persuasiveness of his arguments.

## (2) Reasoning by analogy

Dr. Jefferson repeatedly compares the fear among nations to a deep wound which only God can heal. By using a figurative analogy, he concludes: "The London Arms Conference has shown us more clearly than ever that the world's wound is deep and that it cannot be healed slightly." In speaking of the annual naval exhibition, Jefferson uses another figurative analogy to compare this imposing spectacle with a bright toy which attracts children:

The lights are bright and we gaze on them with the naivete of little children. A child always likes something bright. You can amuse it for a long time by dangling bright objects before its eyes. So does the navy dangle its illumined battleships before us. . . .

Jefferson also uses a figurative analogy in concluding the sermon. He says: ". . . an idol was set up--an idol called Parity--and the nations bowed down before it!"

It appears, therefore, that Jefferson tends to use figurative analogies in appealing to man's reasoning process. They seem effectively to reinforce and make more vivid Jefferson's thesis that national leaders are talking peace and thinking war.

### (3) Causal reasoning

Jefferson uses causal reasoning in this sermon to a rather high degree. One of his most important causal arguments--an argument extending over about one-third of the body--is that the failures of the London Conference have led to skepticism, cynicism, and pessimism on the part of many persons. He also argues that another effect of the London Conference is that it "helped to establish more firmly the habit of nations to gather around a table for the discussion of international affairs."

Cause-to-effect statements are used to direct the thinking of his audience toward his predetermined objective, that of convincing them that armament build-ups can be halted only through education for peace:

So long as we think war the army and navy appropriations will never go down. . . .

. . . by the still small voice of mothers and teachers . . . the world will at last come to think peace.

They are afraid of one another and that is why they feel they must walk encased in armor. It is because of our fear that we cannot come together.

The probable value of Jefferson's extensive use of causal reasoning is that it gave the listener a strong sense of progression. In other words, the sermon seemed to "move along," thus making it easy to follow and understand.

#### (4) Reasoning from sign

There are two evidences of sign reasoning in this sermon; one is subtle, the other is more obvious.

Jefferson reasons from sign throughout his sermon by pointing out that military preparations and expenditures are indicative of the fact that nations are talking peace and thinking war. This reasoning is not evident in any particular portion of the sermon, but seems to permeate the sermon as a whole.

The following quotation is a more obvious instance of reasoning from sign. In it Jefferson states that the best sign of a Gospel-centered preacher is his exhortation against war. This statement carries the implication that Jefferson is such a preacher:

A preacher is never nearer to the center of the Gospel than when he is urging men to think peace and he is never more faithful to his mission as an ambassador of the Son of God than when he is exhorting men to work with their might against the genius and schemes of those who in blindness are endeavoring to perpetrate the reign of Caesar.

Jefferson's sign reasoning is strikingly employed in this sermon. On the one hand such reasoning pervades the complete sermon, for he suggests that grandiose armament programs indicate that nations are saying one thing and thinking another, that is, they are talking peace and thinking war. On the other hand, Jefferson skillfully employs sign reasoning to clarify the heart of Gospel preaching. In doing so, he adds to his integrity by

suggesting that he is "faithful to his mission as an ambassador of the Son of God."

In summary: the logical proof in this sermon includes reasoning from example, reasoning by analogy, causal reasoning, and reasoning from sign. Although reasoning from example is limited, especially when compared with reasoning by assertion, it is evidence of Jefferson's attempt to be clear and logical. Perhaps this spirit is best illustrated by Jefferson's widespread use of causal reasoning in order to show the logical cause or effect of such events as the London Conference. An interesting feature of this sermon is his subtle use of sign reasoning to suggest, through the sermon, that armanent programs indicate that nations are talking peace, but thinking war.

### Style

#### (1) Clearness

This sermon contains such stylistic elements as directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers. Let us consider these elements which contribute to clarity of style.

As was discussed in the analysis of ethos, Jefferson identifies his interests and experiences with those of his audience. This promotes a feeling of oneness with his listeners, as does his frequent use of the personal pronouns, I, we, and us. The following quotation is representative of those parts of the sermon where Jefferson identifies himself with his listeners and uses personal pronouns:

And therefore we must educate for peace. We must plant the seed of peace. We must plant it in the hearts of our young people in our colleges, and in the hearts of our boys and girls. . . . We are not going to win the cause of peace by

any methods which are spectacular or any measures which make a noise.

Jefferson's use of familiar and concrete words also characterizes this sermon. They contribute to clarity of style because they are short--usually one to three syllables--and widely used. For example, consider the following descriptions of President Hoover, Mr. MacDonald, and Monsieur Briand:

We have a President who is a Quaker. He is a sincere lover of peace. He works always in favor of peace. He was not content with a limitation of armaments; he wanted a reduction in armaments. His most emphatic word was "reduction." But Mr. Hoover is not a stronger friend of peace than is the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. He has for years been one of the outstanding peace workers of the world. He is ready at all times to make large sacrifices for peace. It was he and Mr. Hoover who created the London Conference. One other man ought to be added, Monsieur Briand. In devotion to peace no man can be placed above this illustrious Frenchman. He is one of the greatest men now alive. With him the love of peace is a passion. He burns with fervent heat. These three men more than any others were responsible for calling the London Conference.

Clarity of style also seems to be enhanced by the speaker's explanation of terms. For example:

And so the cardinal subject of discussion was parity. This is a Latin word which means equality. Equality is also a Latin word. We grew weary of the word "equality" and took up the shorter word "parity."

However, with regard to the definition and explanation of terms, Dr. Jefferson could perhaps be clearer. For example, he does not explain the term "summum bonum" or the abbreviations "R.O.T.C." and "C.M.T.C." It is open to question as to whether his audience understood such terms. If it did, then it is doubtful that they needed a definition or explication of "parity." However, in Jefferson's defense it might be suggested that the term "parity" was not as familiar to his audience as were the other terms.

Such devices as rhetorical questions, and questions and answers, add to clearness of style, as well as to force and variety.

The following rhetorical questions seem to reflect Jefferson's attempts to direct and clarify the thinking of his listeners:

What must God think of a world like this, a world in which sensible and honorable men talk peace and think war?

It costs hundreds of millions of dollars and why should it not be shown off? It is ours, why should we not enjoy it?

Dr. Jefferson's striking use of questions and answers is further illustrated by the following:

Who said that? Jeremiah was sure God said it. . . . Of whom is God speaking? The prophets and priests of Israel.

. . . what did the Conference fail to do? . . . It failed to. . . .

Parity in what? In peace? No, not in peace.

The Conference is over, and now what shall we do? Let me suggest two bits of advice.

What does this mean? Only sacrificial love can heal it.

Thus, it appears that clarity of style was enhanced by these three elements--directness, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers. Furthermore, Jefferson seems to have been a wise rhetorician, for he is careful to explain or define terms which may have been unfamiliar to his audience. In the light of his attempts to achieve clarity of style, it is improbable that he felt any need to define the term "summum bonum," or such abbreviations as "C.M.T.C."

## (2) Coherence

As was pointed out in the analysis of arrangement, this sermon is clearly organized according to major topics or headings; these topics are united by short, effective transitions; the topics



are frequently summarized, and throughout the sermon Jefferson's purpose and theme are evident. These characteristics contribute to the understandability of this sermon. Let us consider them in more detail with the stylistic element of coherence in mind.

In the introduction, Dr. Jefferson seeks to orient the audience to his subject and the purpose of the sermon. He does this by explaining the historical background of the text from Jeremiah, and by relating his subject and purpose to this text. Thus, he directs the thinking of his audience toward a predetermined goal.

The content of the body is also coherently organized. Jefferson first points out the significance of May 18th. He then considers the question, "What did the London Naval Conference fail to do?" He discusses and summarizes five answers to this question and through an effective transition introduces the question, "What did the Conference achieve?" This question is also discussed and summarized according to five answers. Coherence of structure and thought is further reinforced by his consideration of the value of such conferences and his summary statement that there must be education for peace.

In the conclusion, Jefferson summarizes the entire sermon and challenges his audience not to be deceived by superficial talk about peace. Thus, the conclusion is related clearly and logically to what precedes.

### (3) Force

The devices of repetition, the repetitive linking of words and phrases, climax development, and appeal and command contribute to the element of force or strength in this sermon. As has already

been noted, Jefferson frequently begins successive sentences with the same word and repeats the same word or phrase within a sentence. The following examples of his uses of repetition and repetitive linking reveal the stylistic element of force:

They have been worthless surgeons. They have not examined the wound carefully nor probed it thoroughly. They have not gone deep enough. They have not found out how dangerous the wound is. They have spoken smooth words to make everybody feel comfortable.

Everybody now believes in peace and wants it. Everybody talks about it. Everybody abhors war.

America must be educated, so must Great Britain, so must France, so must Italy, and so must Japan.

Not parity in generosity, in trustfulness, in sympathy, or in mutual helpfulness, or in good will. . . .

If the reading of a sermon is a valid criterion for judging its oral impact, then it must also be concluded that Jefferson achieved a forceful development and delivery of his material by bombarding his audience with assertions. The heaping of assertion upon assertion is an important stylistic feature of this sermon.

The conclusion of the sermon includes the most obvious example of climax development. Note how Jefferson's thoughts become increasingly intense and forceful:

The wound is deep. Only God can heal it. Only God in Christ can heal it. Only God in Christ on the cross. What does this mean? Only sacrificial love can heal it. The cross was not visible in the London Conference. There was no thought of sacrificial love. Christ was not lifted up. But an idol was set-up—an idol called Parity—and the nations bowed down before it.

The use of appeal and commands also contribute to the element of force or strength. In these examples Dr. Jefferson commands his listeners to be observant and alert:

First of all watch! Keep your eyes open. Pay attention. . . .  
We must educate. We must plant the seed of peace. . . .

Let us not then be deceived by the superficial talk of those who imagine that because men use the word "peace" the curse of war has been abolished.

The devices of repetition, repetitive linking, climax development, and appeal and command, therefore, presumably contributed to the stylistic element of force.

#### (4) Variety

The foregoing quotations provide good examples of how Jefferson apparently seeks to avoid monotony of sermon content and organization through varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force. Variety is also achieved by rhetorical questions and questions and answers. The following quotations illustrate his ability to provide a "change of pace" or variety through the use of rhetorical questions and questions and answers:

Every year the navy is put on exhibition. It is truly an imposing spectacle. It costs hundreds of millions of dollars and why should it not be shown off? It is ours, why should we not enjoy it? The Hudson River furnishes a magnificent stage, and six million people are eager to enjoy the exhibition.

The nations had renounced war but they spent all their time in measuring and comparing the instruments of war. . . . It would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic. It would be laughable if it were not so heart-breaking. What must God think of a world like this, a world in which sensible and honorable men talk peace and think war?

"They have healed the hurt of my people slightly, saying, Peace, Peace; when there is no peace." Who said that? Jeremiah was sure God said it. These words he dares to put into the mouth of God. Of whom is God speaking? The prophets and priests of Israel. . . .

Parity was the supreme end aimed at. Parity in what? In peace? No, not in peace, parity in war. Not parity in generosity, in trustfulness, in sympathy, or in mutual helpfulness, or in good will, but parity in the instruments of war.

Dr. Jefferson's use of analogies, discussed in detail under logical proof, supports and clarifies his thesis that the

nations are talking peace and thinking war. Note how this striking use of an analogy adds to the element of variety:

The naval exhibition is beautiful in the day but even more beautiful at night. The playing of the searchlights on the city is dramatic and entrancing. That is an excellent way of educating a whole city to think war. The lights are bright and we gaze on them with the naivete of little children. A child always likes something bright. You can amuse it for a long time by dangling bright objects before its eyes. So does the navy dangle its illuminated battleships before us. . . .

The following metaphors also add to the element of variety:

. . . it is necessary to keep the fighting edge.

The Hudson River furnishes a magnificent stage.

. . . war is a school of virtue.

He burns with fervent heat.

Occasionally, Jefferson quotes the Bible, the Pact of Paris, and other persons. Such quotations contribute to the stylistic element of variety, as evidenced by the following examples:

A prophet long ago represented God as saying to a foolish nation, "You worship Me with your mouth but your heart is far from Me."

The Pact of Paris is this: "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

The cynics are all saying, "I told you so. You never can get anywhere by disarmament conferences. The nations have always fought and they will fight to the last day."

Jefferson, therefore, achieves variety of style through varying combinations of the elements of clearness, coherence, and force, and by rhetorical questions, questions and answers, analogies, metaphors, and quotations.

### Summary

This problem-solution sermon is divided into three main divisions--introduction, body, and conclusion. In the introduction, Jefferson orients his listeners to the subject and purpose of the sermon by explaining the historical context of the text from Jeremiah. He also relates the title of the sermon--Talking Peace and Thinking War--to this Bible text.

The materials of the body of the sermon are clearly organized according to major topics; however, in terms of the overall development of the body this can be termed a problem-solution sermon. Jefferson suggests that the solution to the problem of "Talking Peace and Thinking War" is an awareness of the methods whereby war and peace are promoted. The main topics and main points are tied together by short, but effective, transitions and internal summaries.

In the conclusion, Dr. Jefferson commands his audience to educate for peace; and he summarizes by emphasizing: "The root of the problem is spiritual." Strong transitions bind together the tripartite divisions into a well-organized whole. Furthermore, Jefferson's theme and purpose are always evident.

In terms of ethical proof it was concluded that Jefferson's audience probably looked upon him as a credible source because of his reputation as a preacher, scholar, pacifist, and humanitarian. An analysis of the sermon content leads the writer to conclude that it contains means of representing Jefferson as a man of integrity, intelligence, and good-will. For example, the text suggests that he was virtuous, honest, and sincere. He appears to



be desirous of clarifying "our minds in regard to the achievements of this conference and to call attention to certain revelations which the conference has made. . . .for if the problem of war is ever settled it will be settled by the Christian Church. . . ."

In his discussion of the London Conference, Dr. Jefferson displays tact, moderation, good taste, and a broad knowledge of history. He also expresses a concern for his audience's spiritual, physical, mental, and material welfare.

Jefferson's emotional proof appears to be based on appeals to material possessions, freedom from fear, pain, and death, intellectual and physical power, and love for other persons. Each of these types of motivational appeals seems to have been used to gain the attention of the audience and/or suggest that the nations are talking peace, but thinking war.

Logical proof is established through reasoning from example, reasoning by analogy, (particularly figurative analogies), causal reasoning, and sign reasoning. Two striking features of this form of proof are (a) the piling of assertion upon assertion and (b) the subtle use of sign reasoning to suggest, throughout the sermon, that armament build-ups indicate that the nations are talking peace and thinking war.

Jefferson's style includes the elements of clearness, coherence, force, and variety. His words tend to be short, that is, one to three syllables long. Distinguishing features of this sermon are the strategic uses of rhetorical questions, questions and answers, and quotations. It is particularly interesting to note that the body of the sermon is organized around two questions

pertaining to the failures and achievements of the London Naval Conference.

An analysis of this sermon leads the writer to conclude that Jefferson used the best of classical rhetorical theory in the preparation of his sermons.



## CHAPTER VIII

### RESPONSES TO JEFFERSON'S PREACHING

#### Introduction

In Chapter I an attempt was made to distinguish between Jefferson as a person, and Jefferson as a preacher. Jefferson was considered in terms of his physical appearance, his mental ability, and his main concerns or interests. It is the purpose of this chapter to note the type, or types, of response elicited by Jefferson's preaching, as revealed by the recorded reactions of persons who heard him preach.<sup>1</sup> These responses should give some indication of Jefferson's success as a preacher, and may permit us to conclude that he was, or was not, one of America's greatest preachers.

#### Indications of Possible Favorable Responses

The following interesting details may imply that Jefferson obtained favorable responses to his preaching and may lead one to conclude that he was a successful preacher: he labored longer on Broadway than any other minister; the Tabernacle membership increased from about 600 members in 1898<sup>2</sup> to 1615 members in 1928; the Taber-

---

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson will be considered as a preacher, although some attention will be given to his administrative abilities. It is questionable that these can be separated, for it seems that successful preaching is dependent upon successful administration. Because of their close association, or friendship, with Jefferson, some of these persons may be prejudiced in his favor.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, op. cit., p. 141.

nacle average budget during those years was over \$70,000,<sup>1</sup> and in 1905 the modern Broadway Tabernacle building was completed. The new facilities seated 1500 persons;<sup>2</sup> and according to a Tabernacle historian<sup>3</sup> and a minister<sup>4</sup> it was often filled when Jefferson spoke.

Perhaps Jefferson's annual salary of \$10,000 also indicates the high regard that persons had for his preaching and administrative abilities. The New York Times reported that "his salary of \$10,000 a year was one of the highest paid Congregational ministers in the country, [sic.] and when he was offered an increase of \$2,500 he refused to accept it."<sup>5</sup> Robert Hume states that this increase in salary was "voted to him by the church as an expression of their appreciation of his wonderful preaching and his high administrative success."<sup>6</sup> In 1930 Jefferson retired with an annual pension of \$3,000.<sup>7</sup>

Further evidence of Jefferson's abilities is reflected in the report that:

In 1902 he was elected to be a fellow of Yale University, where for several years he was one of the university preachers, it was

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis S. Judd, The Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1901-1915, a Historical Sketch Commemorative of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Church (Lancaster, The New Era Printing Co., 1917), p. 8..

<sup>3</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 168. Nichols adds that following World War I the center of the parish moved to over one mile away from the Tabernacle and that as a result the church never again had "steadily filled galleries."

<sup>4</sup>Frank W. Murtfeldt in a letter to the writer dated June 4, 1958.

<sup>5</sup>New York Times, September 13, 1927, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup>Hume, "Charles E. Jefferson," The Presbyterian Tribune, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>New York Times, August 30, 1930, p. 6.

the first time in the history of the institution that a clerical trustee had been taken from outside the state.<sup>1</sup>

#### Comments by Tabernacle Historians

In commenting upon Jefferson's preaching ability as a young man, one historian wrote:

[He is] a master of English, and an artist in words. He has a keen incisive style, and he holds his audience to the last word. In a quiet way, without haste, without rest, he carried on the work before him, the cure of souls.<sup>2</sup>

Another writer remarks that "that was fine praise coming . . . from one who had done so much editorial work. . . and who knew what it was to be an artist in words."<sup>3</sup> The following was also written with regard to Jefferson's preaching:

. . . the young preacher who came to us eighteen years ago has through the years quickened his people with a deeper spiritual life and energized them with a strong and virile intellectual life by means of the powerful discourses which came from the Tabernacle pulpit. In New York, through the country, and in foreign lands he has become known and everywhere his great power and ability as a preacher are recognized.<sup>4</sup>

In a discussion of responses to Jefferson's doctrinal preaching Nichols writes:

There was a simplicity of life in Dr. Jefferson that characterized his confident mind, a persistent study of ethical sources and also a clarity of English in his speech that made it easy to listen and understand what he was explaining. People were not thrilled with his oratory or pulpit presence. . . . They listened and were interested in what he said. And they became confident of two things:

---

<sup>1</sup>New York Times, September 13, 1927, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 137. He quotes from Susan Hayes Ward, The History of the Broadway Tabernacle Church from its Organization in 1840 to the close of 1900, Including Factors Influencing its Formation (New York, The Trow Print, 1901).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 137-138.

<sup>4</sup>Judd, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

first, that Jefferson was a brave man to defy ignorance in religion; and second, willingly or not, the listener believed that Jefferson was telling great truths in a simple way.<sup>1</sup>

Nichols again comments on responses to Jefferson's preaching in the History of the Broadway Tabernacle, 1840-1940:

When so many weak minds were throwing over the values in Christian doctrines, and so many others falling back upon unscientific explanations to bolster up their crumbling walls, Jefferson was saying the bravest things in connection with the worship service. He kept the love of God and the affection of Jesus clearly before us while he tore down the old walls of ignorance. He had a strong following in this leadership of the spirit that he was taking. But the multitude would not listen. They were throwing over religion in order to worship a science, or throwing over science in order to worship a religion.<sup>2</sup>

#### Eulogy upon Jefferson's Retirement

When Charles E. Jefferson retired in 1930, a Committee on Resolutions summed up what it apparently believed was the feeling of the Tabernacle congregation. These resolutions read in part, as follows:

. . . we desire to place on record our profound sense of the significance of a life work which by every test of the Christian ministry must be regarded as one of the most distinguished pastorates in our generation.

For thirty-two years Dr. Jefferson has held forth the Word of Life from his conspicuous post on Broadway. He has been a Christian leader to whom men of all faiths have looked for guidance, courage and hope. During all these years he has never retreated, never compromised, never bated one jot of what he conceived to be the whole gospel of God.

He has been an unfaltering and inspired builder of his Church. . . After the fashion of his vision, Broadway Tabernacle has become a genuine brotherhood in which all members rejoice, a hospitable home for Christians from every rank and class, from every state and nation. . .

---

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 146. When Nichols remarks that "people were not thrilled" he may have meant that their emotions were not appealed to. In other words, Jefferson directed his sermons at man's rational powers.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 152. Dr. Jefferson's son states, in a questionnaire returned to the writer in November, 1959, that "there were those who thought his sermons too long and others who were irked by his frequent denunciations of militarism."

Dr. Jefferson has been a brother beloved in all his relations to his fellow ministers and to the sisterhood of churches. His example of industry, of concentration on his task, of free self-giving, of winsome testimony to the Christian experience by word and life has been our constant inspiration. . . .

As a preacher our brother has conferred lasting distinction upon the ministerial office. His pulpit utterances reveal a vital unity between his regenerative experience and his theology. The best elements of his intellectual and spiritual powers are happily blended in those memorable sermons which have been heard and heeded not only by the members of his flock, but by the Christian world at large. Simplicity, strength, appositeness of allusion, and the sense of the inevitable word or telling phrase characterize his expositions of life's major values. Those who have been blessed and unraised by Dr. Jefferson's ministry of the truth were never out of touch with the Risen and Living Christ. . . . The investment of his preaching life in the souls of men has already borne abundant fruit and will be his chief compensation in the eternities to come.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing quotations are indicative of the high regard which Jefferson's parishioners had for his preaching and administrative abilities. But what did Dr. Jefferson's ministerial and professorial contemporaries say about these abilities?

#### Responses by Ministers and Professors

Allan Knight Chalmers praised Jefferson as a man "recognized internationally as one of the greatest preachers in the world. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Chalmers also said that Jefferson was "content to build slowly and surely . . . without sensationalism [he] had one of the most sensational ministries in [New York's] history."<sup>3</sup>

Joseph Fort Newton's opinion of Jefferson is similar to that of Chalmers. In Some Living Masters of the Pulpit he writes:

<sup>1</sup>Documents of Special Interest to the Members and Friends of Broadway Tabernacle Church and Society, pp. 5-8.

<sup>2</sup>Nichols, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>3</sup>Allan Knight Chalmers, The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings, XXXIII, No. 1 (October, 1930), p. 4416.

. . . I heard Dr. Jefferson preach just after I had read his four golden books of counsel and guidance in the matter of preaching. Newton states that these books are, The Minister as Shepherd, The Minister as Prophet, The Building of the Church, and Quiet Hints to Growing Preachers.<sup>1</sup> It was an interesting experience, like listening to a master painter lecture on painting, and then watching him paint a picture; and never did practice fulfill precept more perfectly. . . .

If Emerson was right when he said that every institution is the lengthened shadow of a man, the Tabernacle with its modern appointments and equipment, and still more the noble Christian community, whose gracious, wholesome, creative activities take so many forms of fruitful service, is the incarnation of the spirit, personality and constructive vision of its minister. Such a ministry, so wisely and quietly wrought, rich in insight and enterprise, deserves to be celebrated with gratitude and joy by the whole church of every name. . . .

Not alone as a builder of faith and character but equally in behalf of social justice, the fraternity of classes and the comity of nations, Dr. Jefferson has been a seer-like leader. No preacher in this land has been a more relentless enemy of war, using fact, reason, satire--every weapon in his bright armory--to fight the fiend. . . .

Truly it is a great ministry, worthy of honour in all the churches, its influence more wide-ranging than the minister himself knows, and in ways no art can trace. To his younger brethren--some of whom toil alone in far places--it is a comfort and joy just to know that he is there, keeping the light of God aglow amid the glare of Broadway. His genius as preacher and pastor is only equalled by his wealth of friendship, his brotherly kindness, his sagacity in counsel, and his leadership in all Christian enterprise. Every man of us knows that whoever else may lose heart, let go of faith, or lower the ideal of the minister of Christ, that will Dr. Jefferson never!<sup>1</sup>

The minister of the Marble Collegiate Reformed Church in New York City, Daniel A. Poling, agrees with Chalmers and Newton when he writes:

To me Charles E. Jefferson was of all the clergymen in New York the foremost pastor-preacher, and his sermons always reflect that quality of his ministry. I last heard him when he preached a Children's Day sermon, and his voice was vibrant with his love

---

<sup>1</sup>Newton, op. cit., pp. 69-86.



for boys and girls. . . . To him always and forever Jesus Christ was the Man for the hour and for every human need.<sup>1</sup>

Grenville Kleiser, a former member of the Yale Divinity School faculty, states that Jefferson came to public attention by the effectiveness of his preaching;<sup>2</sup> and he testifies to the success of Jefferson's preaching by including one of his sermons in a ten volume work, The World's Great Sermons.<sup>3</sup>

Two professors of elocution and oratory agree that Jefferson was "possessed of marked qualities as a speaker, [that he was] highly intellectual, and [had] commendable energy and enthusiasm." They added that Jefferson preached "with a clear, forceful, and winsome eloquence."<sup>4</sup>

The Rev. Edgar DeWitt Jones believed that, while there were more brilliant pulpit orators and possibly more magnetic personalities than Jefferson, he was "the most envied of living preachers." By "envied," Jones meant that quality of intense longing to do what Jefferson had so nobly done. "Why do ministers envy Jefferson?" he asked. The cause, he replied, is that "for thirty years in the nation's metropolis Dr. Jefferson has maintained the finest ideals of pulpit decorum, dignity, sermonic standards, and has never once sought to pander to the populace. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Eighteen years later Jones wrote the following in his survey and appreciation of the Lyman

---

<sup>1</sup>Daniel A. Poling, (ed.), A Treasury of the World's Great Sermons (New York: Greenberg, Publisher, 1944), p. 138.

<sup>2</sup>Kleiser, op. cit., X, 158.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., X, 159-185.

<sup>4</sup>Fulton and Trueblood, op. cit., p. 355.

<sup>5</sup>Jones, American Preachers of To-Day, p. 57.



### Beecher Lectures on Preaching:

Some years ago in writing an estimate of Dr. Jefferson, who was living at that time, I expressed the opinion that he was the most envied of American preachers by the preaching fraternity generally. I stand by that opinion although Dr. Jefferson has now gone to his long home. I hasten to explain that in using the word "envied" in this connection I would drain the word of all sinister implications. What I meant to convey was that a great cloud of witnesses, ministers of all denominations, in high and lowly parishes throughout America, looked upon Dr. Jefferson with awe and admiration; perhaps Wonderment is the fitting word to describe what was in his mind.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the greatest testimony to Jefferson's success as a preacher came in 1925, when the Christian Century asked about 90,000 American clergymen to "designate from among their colleagues those they regarded as their greatest leaders. . . ." <sup>2</sup> The editor of Christian Century explained that "the entire Protestant ministry of the United States was polled [in order to determine] the most influential and representative living preachers of our time."<sup>3</sup> Twenty-five thousand ministers voted to include Jefferson as one of the twenty-five most influential American preachers.<sup>4</sup>

In commenting about Jefferson, in a book containing a representative sermon from each of these twenty-five clergymen, Morrison said:

To be for twenty-seven years pastor of a church on Broadway, New York, in the midst of the bright lights of theatres and commercial advertisements--tokens of the hilarity and pleasure madness of our generation--and to have preached a simple gospel of reality

---

<sup>1</sup>Jones, Royalty of the Pulpit, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Morrison, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Morrison, Great Themes of the Christian Faith (New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1930), p. 76.

without executing a single stroke of sensationalism for the purpose of catching the attention of itching ears, and to have succeeded, from whatever point of view success may be estimated--institutional, numerical, spiritual--makes the ministry of Dr. Jefferson at Broadway Tabernacle a monumental thing.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson was represented not only by Protestant ministers, but also by his own denomination. In 1913 he was appointed to preach to the National Council of Congregational Churches in Kansas City, Missouri.<sup>2</sup> The prestige associated with this appointment is reflected by Atkins and Fagley, who made the following statement with regard to National Council preachers from 1865 to 1940:

A writer who would undertake to catalogue and classify the Congregational preachers of the last seventy-five years as major and minor prophets would be seeming "to discriminate between the Lord's anointed." At any rate the evaluation of preaching is an affair of subtle and subjective difficulties. There is a "rule of thumb" test. Any denomination assigns its most distinguished clergymen to stellar roles in its stellar meetings.<sup>3</sup>

#### Responses by Reporters of Secular Publications

An interesting statement about Jefferson's preaching is contained in Great Preachers as Seen by a Journalist. The author of this book said that he heard Jefferson preach "more than once." He added:

He was as great an orator as I had ever heard. That was a dozen years ago. I have since then heard some famous statesmen deliver orations on some mighty themes--Lord Kitchener, in the British Parliament; Lloyd George, at the Paris Peace Conference; Clemenceau, the hurler of polished steel words; Woodrow Wilson, in the Clock Room at the Quai D'Orsay, in Paris, at the highest moment, perhaps, of his life, when he delivered to the world the covenant of the League of Nations in an oration never to be forgotten.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>This sermon: The Need of the World and Christianity's Response, has been referred to previously.

<sup>3</sup>Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1942), p. 382.

And yet of all the orators I have ever heard, expounding the vastest themes, I can not remember one who has thrilled me more than this sturdy man who used to speak on the theme of how to live rightly. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In a memorial service for Jefferson, Dr. John H. Finley, of the New York Times, expressed his appreciation for Jefferson in this eulogy:

Broadway was better for his having stood here year after year proclaiming ever the acceptable year of the Lord. I wish that his figure in bronze might stand here beside the street in his enduring memory, as that of Phillips Brooks in Boston and that of Father Duffy on this same Broadway. . . . I had a letter in his own hand under date of July 3, 1930, in which he said "I should like to employ you to write my obituary twenty years from now." I wish that I might be here to write it. I should choose for its title "A Half Century on the Great White Way and its Patron Saint, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson."<sup>2</sup>

#### Summary

If church statistics, newspaper reports, the estimations, comments and observations of laymen and ministers are indicative of Jefferson's preaching abilities, then it seems that on the basis of these responses it must be concluded that he was one of the greatest of American preachers.

---

<sup>1</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. John H. Finley, op. cit., p. 4960. The Year Book of the Broadway Tabernacle Church 1937 (New York: no publisher, 1938), p. 44 states that Jefferson ". . . had planned his life to the ninetieth year."

## CHAPTER IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the life and public address of the Reverend Doctor Charles Edward Jefferson, and to formulate certain conclusions about his preaching characteristics and abilities. This chapter will be divided into three sections: Jefferson: His Life and Time, Theology, and Preaching; A Rhetorical Analysis of Five Sermons; Suggestions for Further Study.

#### Jefferson: His Life and Time, Theology, and Preaching

Charles Edward Jefferson was born in 1860 at Cambridge, Ohio. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, where he excelled as a writer and an orator. From 1882 to 1884 Jefferson served as Superintendent of Schools of Worthington, Ohio. During these years he also taught elocution and studied law. In the autumn of 1884 he entered the Law School of Boston University. However, due largely to the influence of Phillips Brooks he gave up the study of law to study theology. Upon his graduation from the Boston University School of Theology, he became pastor of the Central Congregational Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Here he apparently gained public attention by the effectiveness of his preaching. In 1898 Jefferson accepted a call from the Broadway Tabernacle and served there until his retirement in 1930. During this pastorate his driving purpose was to build in New York City a church that would witness to Christ as man's Savior. He is remembered as one whose preaching was instrumental

in building this witnessing church.

Jefferson's preaching was clearly related to the historical climate in which he lived. That is, his sermons grew out of, and were addressed to, clearly discernible trends and events. For example, his sermons reflect and/or deal specifically with such topics as, imperialism, reform, labor-management relations, racial problems, self-indulgence, the Social Gospel, theological controversies, the new trends in church activities, architecture, worship, and denominationalism. Dr. Jefferson's sermons reveal, therefore, that he was cognizant of their social, political, economic, and theological settings.

An analysis of Jefferson's sermons reveals that he was both Liberal and Conservative in his theology. He was a product of his time in that he was influenced by, and believed in, the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures. For example, he believed in the Progressive Revelation of God and in Biblical inaccuracies. Jefferson argued that as a result of Higher Criticism - he preferred the term "historical scholarship" - the Bible is more clearly understood. Although he believed that the Bible contains errors, it was the basis for all his preaching. He summed up the character of his preaching in the word: "Biblical," and on several occasions stated that the Bible was the only source for his sermon ideas, texts, and content. In relating Biblical preaching to his historical context, he said:

The Book has been extolled as unique, the Book of Books, a lamp unto our feet and a light to our path. It has been consulted as a voice from heaven. It has been prized as a practical treatise on the art of living. The principles announced by prophets and apostles have been applied to present day problems. The ideals of Jesus have been made to flash light on modern situations. The signs of the times have been interpreted by the help which the Bible has given. It has been used as a medium of divine

revelation from the living God to the present generation, and it is because the Bible has been a living Book in the Tabernacle that the Church is today aggressively alive.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson, therefore, saw God in Christ. He believed that this God-Christ relationship was the only authoritative message of the Bible, thus expressing the traditional or orthodox Christian position. In his opinion the Church was a practical instrument, as well as a divine institution, composed of persons who believed in Jesus Christ as the Son of God. It was not only a worshipping body, but a teaching and working body, dedicated to meeting the devotional, instructional, and practical needs of its members. Through the sermon, Jefferson attempted to fulfill the second obligation of the Church, that of instruction or teaching. The devotional and practical needs of his congregation were met by hymn singing, Bible reading, prayer, and by the humanitarian services of Tabernacle organizations.

Thus, Jefferson's theology included both Liberal and Conservative positions. As a Liberal he interpreted the Scriptures in the light of Higher Criticism; he took a traditional or orthodox view of Christ, a somewhat evangelical or Conservative view of the Church, and a Liberal interpretation of the applicability of the Christian religion to such problems as war.

It has been noted that Jefferson was a student of oratory and elocution, that he was a studious person, and that he analyzed the time in which he lived and the persons to whom he spoke. Let us now consider, in more detail, sermon preparation, delivery, audience, occasion, and setting.

Dr. Jefferson apparently planned his sermons months and even

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, Thirty Years on Broadway, p. 13.

years ahead of the time when they would be delivered. This is not to imply that he planned them in detail, but that he at least selected the subject or topic and perhaps sketched an outline. Although he used the Christian holy seasons and events as the basis for scheduling and preaching sermons, Jefferson did believe in flexibility and adaptability. He said:

No man's plans can be carried out entirely as he framed them, for we are under the government of God who also makes plans, and when our plans conflict with His plans, it is our plans which must be broken.<sup>1</sup>

Our study of two hundred and sixty-eight sermons which Jefferson prepared while at the Tabernacle also reveals that he dealt with five major themes - the Bible, Jesus Christ, the Church, Social Christianity, and the Church Year.

His major sources for sermon material, in addition to the Bible and the needs of his people, were his travels, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and more especially books on theology, history, biography, and poetry. A knowledge of the latter four areas of study he termed "indispensable to a man who wishes to be a master-teacher of men."<sup>2</sup> Jefferson told his friend, Edgar DeWitt Jones, that he prepared his sermons by preparing himself. That is, he meditated upon and studied the Bible, and prayed.<sup>3</sup> He, therefore, believed that the sermon was the man, that the sermon and the man cannot be separated. Jefferson felt that his competence and integrity were not limited to the sermon itself, but that they were revealed in and through his actions and appearance. In this respect he is in accord

---

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Building of the Church, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>3</sup>Jones, American Preachers of Today, p. 59.

with the Roman rhetoricians, as well as later students of rhetoric and homiletics.

Jefferson considered the sermon as a growing organism, not a manufactured product. His sermons were "flowers which grew and unfolded" as he prepared himself. Jefferson lamented:

The tragedy of a preacher's life is that so many of his sermons must be picked too soon. Sundays come so close together and the preacher has so many things to do that often he cannot find those nooks of leisure in which lovely things come to blossom.<sup>1</sup>

He never separated the sermon from the audience, occasion, and setting, but saw the sermon as part of that larger fellowship, the Church. Thus, the factors of setting, occasion, audience, and message distinguished his sermons from other forms of speaking.

Apparently Jefferson was not a "pulpit orator," that is, he did not use spectacular vocal effects, embellished language, and dramatic bodily movements. Rather, he spoke quietly, in simple language and short sentences, and with few gestures. Although a former teacher of elocution, with its emphasis upon the techniques and devices of delivery, Jefferson did not give delivery a place of prominence. However, he was concerned how delivery was taught in the theological seminaries, as evidenced by these words to the students at Bangor Theological Seminary:

A man who studies voice and gesture just long enough to be conscious of them cuts a sorry figure when he comes before the people. Elocution is a curse unless studied so long and patiently that all its scaffolding disappears. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In speaking quietly and with few gestures, Jefferson upheld his theory that it is not "an artful use of the voice, or a crafty

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson, The Minister as Prophet, p. 134.



combination of gestures,"<sup>1</sup> which leads to effective preaching, but "it is the character of the preacher."<sup>2</sup>

The audience to which Jefferson preached each week was largely drawn from New York City. During his thirty-two years at the Tabernacle, Dr. Jefferson saw many changes in this city - electrically operated elevated trains, subways, thousands of automobiles, skyscrapers. Furthermore, a rapid increase in the population due to immigration and the American birth-rate led to crowded and uncomfortable living, noise, crime, and a movement of the population to the suburbs. Because of this population shift to the suburbs, Jefferson's parish covered many square miles. Some of his parishioners commuted fifty miles to the Tabernacle for church services. The fact that persons commuted such distances probably testifies to Jefferson's preaching ability, as does the fact that the Tabernacle, seating 1500 persons, was always filled when he preached. It was not uncommon for the men, many of them theological students, to outnumber the women at the Tabernacle services. The usual Sunday audience also included many visitors. In his Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon Jefferson said: "It is my reward to know that in nearly every state of the Union there are men and women who, whenever they visit New York, always seek a place in our congregation."<sup>3</sup>

The occupations represented in Jefferson's audience were varied - nurses, medical doctors, teachers, professors, ministers, librarians, carpenters, secretaries, engineers, social workers,

<sup>1</sup>Jefferson, The Building of the Church, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson, Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon, p. 22.

lawyers, musicians, actors and actresses, architects, authors and editors, dressmakers, bookkeepers, janitors, elevator operators, cooks, wash-women, housewives, telephone operators.

The Tabernacle congregation was not wealthy; it was cosmopolitan in that it included Chinese, Japanese, and American Negroes in its membership, and it drew its adherents from various denominations, including the Roman Catholic.

Throughout his pastorate Jefferson and his assistants kept aware of various trends and situations in their congregation and city, sometimes conducting studies in order to do so.

It appears, therefore, that Jefferson's success as a preacher can be partly traced to his knowledge about his listeners and his ability to make the church service a meaningful occasion in their experiences. Apparently nothing was permitted to destroy the Sunday service of worship, meditation, and instruction. Thus, in a setting which was not conducive to church building - Broadway at Fifty-sixth street with its night clubs, theatres, saloons, automobile sales rooms - Jefferson "welded an audience into a congregation."<sup>1</sup>

#### A Rhetorical Analysis of Five Sermons

##### (1) Arrangement

Each of the sermons studied is composed of three distinguishable divisions - introduction, body, and conclusion. The introductions contain means of gaining the immediate attention of the audience and establishing good will between the speaker and audience. In addition, Jefferson seeks to orient the audience to such features of the sermon as the title, the text, the theme, and the purpose.

---

<sup>1</sup>Newton, op. cit., p. 73.

Usually his methods of orienting the audience to the subject are inextricably related to his methods of gaining attention and goodwill. Four of these sermons are based on Biblical texts, suggesting that Jefferson usually preached textual sermons, as opposed to topical, or expository sermons. It is interesting to note that he begins two sermons by quoting the text.

The body of each sermon is longer than the introduction, or the conclusion, and it is usually organized according to major topics. However, in terms of the over-all arrangement of materials, four sermons can be classified as problem-solution sermons. Jefferson employs several methods in order to develop the major topics in a given sermon, such as, (a) a chronological development of materials, (b) an effect-to-cause, or cause-to-effect, ordering of materials, and (c) the use of questions and answers. Such procedures contribute to a coherent and lucid development of materials.

In the conclusions, Jefferson does one or more of the following: (a) he summarizes the main points of his sermon; (b) he appeals for, or commands, specific actions; (c) he motivates to action through appeals to self-preservation, property, reputation, affections, and sentiments; (d) he reinforces the theme by a quotation, and (e) he visualizes the future in order to suggest what will happen if his proposals are accepted or rejected.

In the light of our rhetorical analysis of five representative sermons, it can be concluded that Jefferson's sermons are characterized by a logical or rational development of materials. This is accomplished by an orderly presentation of materials and the use of transitions and internal summaries which knit together the main

divisions and points of each sermon. Occasionally, Jefferson's development of thought appears to be weak due to a lack of a transitional word, phrase, or sentence; however, such weaknesses are uncommon. Furthermore, Jefferson's theme and purpose are always evident. Like a good debater, Jefferson frequently anticipates and answers objections to his positions and defines terms, contributing to clarity of expression.

In the light of an extremely rational development of materials, conversational tone, and explication of terms, it is logical to conclude that Jefferson's sermons were intelligible—easily followed and understood. His emphasis upon clearly reasoned and developed materials places him in the main-stream of classical rhetorical scholarship.

## (2) Invention

This study reveals that phenomena both exterior and interior to Jefferson's sermons contributed to his ethical proof. In other words, Jefferson's ability to influence can be attributed to sources external and internal to the sermon texts.

Jefferson was pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City for thirty-two years. This was one of the most influential churches in the United States and probably the most significant Congregational church. During this pastorate Jefferson achieved a national and international reputation by relocating the Tabernacle in the heart of the "Great White Way," building a dynamic congregation, founding the New York Peace Society, presenting the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at the Divinity School of Yale University, travelling and speaking throughout the world on behalf of



international harmony, and publishing many books and articles.

As a result of these accomplishments it might be concluded that he was generally regarded as a credible source and that persons were eager to hear what he believed. It is probable that this credibility was often transferred to the sermon situation, thus making it easier for Jefferson to gain his desired response from the audience.

An analysis of the sermon texts discloses that Jefferson apparently focused attention upon his probity of character in several ways: (a) by associating himself and/or his sermon with what is virtuous or elevated, (b) by bestowing tempered praise upon himself, and (c) by creating the impression of being completely sincere in his task. It also appears that, as a wise rhetorician, Jefferson sought to establish an impression of sagacity through the use of tact, moderation, good-taste, integrity, and a broad familiarity with the interests of the day. Finally, by (a) speaking with candor and straightforwardness, (b) offsetting any selfish reasons which he may have for preaching a given sermon, and (c) identifying himself with the needs and interests of his audience, Jefferson revealed the attributes of an effective public speaker.

These methods, by which Jefferson apparently sought to establish ethical proof, are indicative of those speakers who subscribe to the classical rhetorical teachings of Aristotle and Cicero, and to the majority of contemporaries, such as Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird. Furthermore, the close harmony between Jefferson's sermon content and his life is evidence of his position that the sermon is the man. Thus, Jefferson's preaching and other activities support the conclusion that he was a man of integrity, character, and

good-will. There can be little doubt that these constituents of ethical proof contributed to his effectiveness as a preacher, and that, as a rhetorical scholar, he consciously employed the best rhetorical techniques.

Dr. Jefferson also makes rather consistent use of pathetic proof or motivational appeals in his sermons. These include appeals to self-preservation, property, power, reputation, affections, sentiments, and aesthetic desires. His sermons contain many examples of motivating an audience toward predetermined goals by such appeals to spiritual, intellectual, moral, and material wants. A reading of Jefferson's sermons reveals that he was an excellent rhetorical scholar in his ability to weave these appeals into the total sermon so that the reader's attention is attracted to what is said, not how it is said. On the basis of this study, as well as on the basis of reports by persons who heard him preach, it appears that Dr. Jefferson successfully used motivational appeals to gain the attention of his audience, suggest courses of action, and motivate his listeners toward predetermined objectives.

The most effective use of these appeals are those related to self-preservation and intellectual power. These emphases are in harmony with Jefferson's pastoral interests in the "fullness of life," both here and in the hereafter, and in his insistence that his listeners be thinking and informed listeners. Jefferson's uses of motivational appeals is a further reflection of his position that the effective preacher must have a knowledge of his auditor's emotional behavior.

Thus, it appears that Jefferson's success as a public speaker

can be partially traced to his awareness of the interests, needs, and wants of individuals within his audience. His interest in, and ability to use, motive appeals suggests that he is consistent with his rhetorical theories and those of classical rhetoric.

An analysis of Jefferson's sermons and other writings reveals that he is particularly concerned about a rational approach to Christianity. One of the distinguishing features of his sermons is his logical or rational appeals - appeals aimed primarily at man's reasoning process. Such forms of logical proof as reasoning from example and by analogy, causal reasoning, and sign reasoning are in harmony with his concern for practical persuasion - a rational approach to religion. So insistent was he in this regard that he advocated that a successful lawyer lecture theological students in the art of rational persuasion. Jefferson's belief in clearly reasoned sermon material, and his belief that students should be trained in logic and debate, are evidently outgrowths of his interest in law.

As implied above, Jefferson practiced what he advocated, with respect to logical proof. The distinguishing feature of his workmanship is an extremely rational or logical development of materials. His sermons are characterized by the use of good examples to support assertions, and sound cause-to-effect or effect-to-cause reasoning. Although reasoning by analogy and reasoning from sign are less often used, nevertheless, they add to clarity of expression and the logical development of his sermons. A striking feature of Jefferson's logical proof is his occasional use of assertions to support assertions. This form of logical proof might be considered a weakness in view of his very strong use of examples or evidence; however, perhaps it is



evidence of Jefferson's desire to persuade by appealing to man's rationality. In fact, Jefferson seems to be quite outstanding in his ability to employ various forms of logical proof. These characteristics of sermon construction and development exemplify the kind of spirit which he often emphasized -- "let us be logical," "let us be rational," "let us be clear," and "let us use the scientific method." In this respect, Jefferson is in harmony with such classical rhetorical scholars as Bishop Whately, who emphasized a rational approach to religion.

An analysis of Jefferson's style reveals that it is characterized by clearness, coherence, force, and variety. Clearness is typically achieved by personal pronouns, identification with the audience, familiar and concrete words, and questions and answers. Occasionally Jefferson appears to be unclear in his use of poetry to support an assertion, or to clarify his reasoning. It might be argued that in such instances clarity of style would have been enhanced by an explication of the poetic selections. With regard to word choice, it is interesting to note that Jefferson's words are usually short, that is, from one to three syllables in length. Short and familiar words, as well as simple sentences, give Jefferson's style a conversational quality. This quality undoubtedly contributed to the effectiveness of his preaching.

As indicated in the analysis of arrangement, a strong feature of Jefferson's style is coherence or clarity of organization and development. This is achieved, in part, by frequent internal summaries and by short, but effective, transitions between various units and main points of the sermons.

One of Jefferson's stylistic features is the use of repetition. The frequent repetition of words, phrases, and questions contributes to the element of force or strength sometimes at the expense of clarity and variety. Force is also achieved by the employment of climax development. The conclusions of the sermons frequently seem to reach such a point of emotional intensity.

Varying combinations of clearness, coherence, and force contribute to variety or lack of monotony in Jefferson's sermons. Variety is also achieved by the use of quotations, alliteration, analogies, similes, and metaphors. A careful study of Jefferson's sermons leads the writer to conclude that Jefferson's style does not "smell of the lamp;" that is, he did not spend an undue amount of time in attempting to achieve a particular pattern of clothing his new ideas with words. On the contrary, a thorough study of Jefferson as a preacher and a man discloses that his pulpit style was not unlike that in his everyday conversation.

Thus, Jefferson upheld his belief, and that of classical rhetoricians, that the best style is that which is "unseen." Not only did he advocate clarity and simplicity of style; but his sermons reveal that he achieved these stylistic features.

An over-all appraisal of Charles Edward Jefferson as a preacher leads the writer to conclude that he was one of the most effective American preachers. He spoke to the needs of his day and his words were listened to and appreciated. His volumes of sermons and persons who heard him preach testify to his ability and success as a practicing preacher. A rhetorical analysis of his sermon texts reveals that his preaching was consistent with the best in classical rhetorical theory.

Suggestions for Further Study

(1) A rhetorical analysis of Jefferson's sermons pertaining to war and peace in order to determine if Jefferson maintained a consistent pacifistic position.

(2) A content analysis of Jefferson's sermons in order to obtain more information about his invention and style. Such a study, for example, would affirm or negate the belief of this writer that Jefferson used more figurative than literal analogies.

(3) A rhetorical analysis of the two-hundred and sixty-eight extant sermons by Jefferson in order to determine the validity of the conclusions of this case study.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books and Pamphlets

- Allen, Frederick Lewis. Only Yesterday. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Great Pierpont Morgan. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1949.
- Aristotle. Rhetoric. Lane Cooper (trans.). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932.
- Atkins, Gavis Glenn, and Fagley, Frederick L. History of American Congregationalism. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1942.
- Baird, A. Craig (ed.). American Public Addresses, 1740-1952. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956.
- Barton, William E. A Pocket Congregational Manual. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910.
- Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R. America in Midpassage. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939.
- Biographical Sketch of Charles Edward Jefferson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle. New York: No publisher, 1922.
- Brigance, William Norwood (ed.). A History and Criticism of American Public Address. Vol. I. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1943.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Speech Composition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Speech: Its Techniques and Disciplines in a Free Society. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952.
- Commager, Henry Steele. The American Mind. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Commemorative of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Church, October 1915. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Press of the New Era Printing Co., 1917.

Couch, William T. (ed.). Collier's Encyclopedia. Vol. 5 New York: P. E. Collier and Son, 1955.

Documents of Special Interest to the Members and Friends of Broadway Tabernacle Church and Society. New York: No publisher, 1930.

Encyclopedia Americana. Vols. 7 and 16. New York: American Corporation, 1957.

Fagley, Frederick L. The Congregational Churches. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1925.

Fulton, Robert I., and Trueblood, Thomas (comps.). Patriotic Eloquence Relating to the Spanish-American War and Its Issues. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

Furniss, Norman F. The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

Gates, A. A. My Belief In Immortality. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1928.

Genung, John Franklin. The Working Principles of Rhetoric. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1900.

Gladden, Washington. Social Salvation. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1902.

Heffner, Richard D. A Documentary History of the United States. New York: The New American Library, 1952.

Jefferson, Charles Edward. A Fire in the Snow. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1916.

\_\_\_\_\_. Ambition. New York: No publisher, 1913.

\_\_\_\_\_. All Saint's Day Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1922.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Message to the Perplexed. New York: No publisher, 1913.

\_\_\_\_\_. A New Year's Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. A New Year's Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1921.

\_\_\_\_\_. An Open Door. New York: No publisher, 1925.

\_\_\_\_\_. An Original Year. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Thanksgiving Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1905.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Thanksgiving Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1917.

- \_\_\_\_\_. At the End of Thirty-Two Years. New York: No publisher, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Beer and Light Wines. New York: No publisher, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bible Study. New York: No publisher, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Building up the Church. New York: No publisher, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Cardinal Ideas of Isaiah. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Cardinal Ideas of Jeremiah. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Christianity and International Peace. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Christianizing a Nation. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Concerning Protestants and Roman Catholics. Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Disarmament. New York: No publisher, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Doctrine and Deed: Expounded and Illustrated in Seventeen Sermons. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Essentials: An Address on the Fundamentals of Christian Faith and Service. New York: YMCA Press, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Expectancy. New York: No publisher, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Facing the Future. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Faith and Life. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Faith in a Storm. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Five Present-Day Controversies. New York: Revell Publishing Co., 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Five World Problems. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Forefather's Day Sermons. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Forty Years in the Wilderness. New York: No publisher, 1922.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Fun. New York: No publisher, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. How to Become a Christian. New York: No publisher, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. How to Keep Holy Week. New York: No publisher, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. How to Observe Lent. New York: No publisher, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. How to Pray. Chicago: Methodist Episcopal Church, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. I Don't Know What to Believe. New York: No publisher, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Liberty and Prohibition. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Like a Trumpet. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Militarism and the Christian Church. New York: No publisher, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Nature Sermons. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. My Father's Business. New York: Crowell and Co., 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_. New Men and New Year. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Obedience to Law. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Old Truths and New Facts: Christian Life and Thinking as Modified by the Great War. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Other Nature Sermons. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Peter Delivered From Prison. New York: No publisher, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pilgrim Tercentary Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Political Duties. New York: No publisher, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Praying in Public. New York: No publisher, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Quiet Hints to Growing Preachers in My Study. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Quiet Talks With Earnest People in My Study. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1898.



- \_\_\_\_\_. Quiet Talks With the Family. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Religion as a Form of Power. New York: No publisher, 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Seeds of War. New York: No publisher, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Soldiers of the Prince: A Story of Missions and Peace. West Medford, Massachusetts: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Talking Peace and Thinking War. New York: No publisher, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Talks on High Themes for Young Christians. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tenth Anniversary Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Appeal of the Christian Ministry. New York: Norman C. Lynch Co., Inc., Printers and Stationers, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Building of the Church. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Broadway Tabernacle of the Past and Future. New York: No publisher, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Cause of the War. New York: The Church Peace Union, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Character of Jesus. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Character of Paul. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Church Social. New York: No publisher, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Common Sense of Jesus. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Devotional Reading of the Bible. New York: No publisher, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Duty of Thinking. New York: No publisher, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Eighteenth Amendment. New York: No publisher, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Friendship Indispensable. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Heavenly Vision. New York: No publisher, 1922.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Land of Enough: A Christmas Story. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Many-Sided Christ. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Minister as Prophet. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Minister as Shepherd. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Need of the World and Christianity's Response. New York: No publisher, 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Nemesis of Armaments. New York: New York Peace Society, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The New Crusade: Occasional Sermons and Addresses. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Next Step. New York: World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Old Year and The New. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The One Foundation. New York: No publisher, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Puritan. New York: No publisher, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Question Which Answers Itself. New York: No publisher, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The World's Christmas Tree. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Things Fundamental. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thirtieth Anniversary Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thirty Years on Broadway. New York: The Libien Press, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. This Do in Remembrance of Me. New York: No publisher, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thoughtfulness in Religion. New York: No publisher, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Three Men Behind the Guns. New York: American Association for International Conciliation, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Twentieth Anniversary Discourse. New York: No publisher, 1918.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Sermon. New York: No publisher, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Under Seventeen: Sermons to Boys and Girls. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Varieties of Pacifism. New York: World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. What About the Church? New York: The Association Press, 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. What the War Has Taught Us. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. What the War is Teaching. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Why Go to Church? New York: No publisher, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Why Join the Church? New York: No publisher, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Why We May Believe in Life After Death. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1911.
- Jones, Edgar DeWitt. American Preachers of To-Day. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Royalty of the Pulpit. New York: Harner and Brothers, 1951.
- Judd, Lewis S. The Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1901-1915, a Historical Sketch Commemorative of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Church, October, 1915. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Press of the New Era Printing Co., 1917.
- Karraker, William A. The American Churches and the Spanish-American War. Chicago: No publisher, 1943.
- Kleiser, Grenville (comp.). The World's Great Sermons. Vol. 10. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1908.
- Leuchtenberg, William E. The Perils of Prosperity. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Lewis, Sinclair. Babbitt. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922.
- Mather, Thomas Bradley. Voices of Living Prophets. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press, 1933.

- McBurney, James H., and Wrage, Ernest J. The Art of Good Speech. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1953.
- McBurney, James H., and Hance, Kenneth G. Discussion in Human Affairs. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- McKeehan, J. F. Great Modern Sermons. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1923.
- Minnick, Wayne C. The Art of Persuasion. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1957.
- Morrison, Charles Clayton (ed.). Great Themes of the Christian Faith. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). The American Pulpit. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925.
- Newton, Joseph Fort. Some Living Masters of the Pulpit: Studies in Religious Personality. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923.
- Nichols, L. Nelson. History of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Co., 1940.
- Peabody, F. G. Jesus Christ and the Social Question: An Examination of the Teachings in its Relation to Some of the Problems of Modern Social Life. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900.
- Peterson, Houston (ed.). A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1954.
- Phillips, Arthur E. Effective Speaking. Chicago: The Newton Co., 1909.
- Phillips, David C. Oral Communication In Business. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955.
- Poling, Daniel A. (comp.). A Treasury of Great Sermons. New York: Greenberg Publishing Co., 1944.
- Pringle, Henry F. Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. A Theology for the Social Gospel. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Christianity and the Social Crisis. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Christianizing the Social Order. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912.

Sandford, William Phillips and Yeager, William Hayes. Principles of Effective Speaking. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937.

Sarett, Lew. and Foster, W. T. Basic Principles of Speech. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946.

Selected Books in the Broadway Tabernacle Library. New York: No publisher, 1916.

Sermons in the International Sunday School Lessons for 1910. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1909.

Sermons in the International Sunday School Lessons for 1921. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1920.

Sermons in the International Sunday School Lessons for 1924. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1923.

Sheldon, Charles Monroe. In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do? Chicago: Advance Publishing Co., 1896.

Shephard, William G. Great Preachers as Seen by a Journalist. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1924.

Sixtieth Anniversary Celebration of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1840-1900. New York: No publisher, 1900

Stamm, Frederick Keller. So You Want to Preach? New York: Abingdon Press, 1940.

\_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). The Best of Charles Edward Jefferson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960.

Stelzle, Charles (ed.). If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927.

Stidger, W. L. (ed.). If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

Strong, Josiah. Religious Movements for Social Betterment. New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1900.

The Bible in Our Day. No author. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1935.

The New Age and Its Creed. Introduction by Herbert Welch. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906.

Thonssen, Lester (comp.). Selected Readings in Rhetoric and Public Speaking. New York: N. W. Wilson Co., 1942.

Thonssen, Lester, and Baird, A. Craig. Speech Criticism. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948.

Twelve Modern Apostles and Their Creeds. No author. New York: Duffield and Co., 1926.

Walker, Peter. Sermons for the Times. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1924.

Ward, Susan Hayes. The History of the Broadway Tabernacle Church From its Organization in 1840 to the Close of 1900, Including Factors Influencing its Formation. New York: The Trow Print, 1901.

Webber, F. R. A History of Preaching in Britain and America. Part Three. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1957.

Wish, Harvey. Society and Thought in Modern America. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952.

Wishart, Charles Frederick, et. al. The Bible in Our Day. New York: The Oxford University Press, 1935.

#### Articles and Periodicals

Broadway Tabernacle Church Bulletin, September 19, 1937.

"Dr. Charles E. Jefferson," Church Federation, Vol. III, No. 6 (August, 1930).

"Dr. Jefferson Leaves the Broadway Tabernacle," The Christian Century, Vol. 47, (June 25, 1930), p. 804.

"Dr. Jefferson's Voice Still Lingers," The Christian Century, Vol. 54, (September 22, 1937), p. 1157.

Hume, Robert E. "Charles Edward Jefferson," The Presbyterian Tribune, Vol. 53, No. 2 (October 28, 1937), p. 9.

Jefferson, Charles Edward. "New Commandment," The Christian Century, Vol. 42, (May 28, 1925), pp. 694-697.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Our Pagan War Creed," The Christian Century, Vol. 41, (February 28, 1924), pp. 267-270.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Why I Am a Christian," The Congregationalist, Vol. III, (September 23, 1926), p. 401.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Why I Have Found Life Worth Living," The Christian Century, Vol. 45, (January 26, 1928), pp. 106-108.

New York Herald Tribune. September 13, 1937.

New York Times. February 3, 1898.

\_\_\_\_\_. March 7, 1898.

\_\_\_\_\_. September 13, 1927.

\_\_\_\_\_. March 5, 1928.

\_\_\_\_\_. April 19, 1929.

\_\_\_\_\_. April 20, 1929.

\_\_\_\_\_. April 30, 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_. September 30, 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_. September 13, 1937.

The Broadway Tabernacle Tidings. 1898-1940.

The Sun. November 8, 1915.

\_\_\_\_\_. November 22, 1915.

White, Anna Louise. "Memorable Ministers," Conference Trails,  
Vol. 4, (February, 1954), pp. 6-11.

#### Reports

Broadway Tabernacle Church. Year Book of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1897. New York 1898.

Broadway Tabernacle Church. Year Book of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1930. New York. 1931.

Broadway Tabernacle Church. Year Book of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, 1937. New York. 1938.

Congregational Churches of the United States. Stenographic Record of the First Industrial Seminar: Convened Under the Auspices of the Department of Social Relations. New York. 1927.

#### Unpublished Materials

Bucher, Chester C. "Charles Jefferson the Preacher." Unpublished B.D. thesis, Chicago Theological Seminary, 1913.

- Downs, Calvin Wharton. "A Rhetorical Analysis of Nine Segregation Speeches by Orval E. Faubus." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Speech, Michigan State University, 1959.
- Hewgill, Murray Agar. "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Campaign Speeches of G. Mennen Williams with Emphasis on the 1956 Campaign." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Michigan, 1959.
- Hance, Kenneth G. "The Rhetorical Theory of Phillips Brooks." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Michigan, 1937.
- Hume, Robert E. "Charles E. Jefferson, In Memoriam, 1860-1937." Typed manuscript presented to Union Theological Seminary by D. Rockwell, June 9, 1943.
- Mall, David John. "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Principal Speeches of Carlos P. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Speech, Michigan State University, 1959.
- Shaw, Horace John. "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Speaking of Mrs. Ellen G. White: A Pioneer Leader and Spokeswoman of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Michigan State University, 1959.
- Sleeth, Ronald E. "The Preaching Theories of Charles E. Jefferson." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, 1952.
- Umble, Roy H. "Mennonite Preaching, 1864-1944." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Northwestern University, 1949.
- Vandine, Ross Ellsworth. "Charles E. Jefferson as Preacher." Unpublished B.D. thesis, School of Religion, Butler University, 1957.

#### Other Sources

- Letter from Frank W. Murtfeldt dated June 4, 1958.
- Letter from Mrs. Gladys M. Wilkins dated February 7, 1958.
- Letter from Allan Knight Chalmers dated February 11, 1958.
- Letter from Chester S. Bucher dated February 12, 1958.
- Letter from Charles Frederic Jefferson dated May 19, 1958.



Letter from Frank W. Murtfeldt dated November 30, 1959.

Letter from Frederick K. Stamm dated January 5, 1960.

Letter from Charles Frederic Jefferson dated January 18, 1960.

Letter from Linley V. Gordon dated July 7, 1960.

Letter from Charles Edward Jefferson to L. Nelson Nichols.  
Undated. In possession of Mrs. L. Nelson Nichols.

Letter from Roger Eddy Treat. Undated.

Letter from Howard E. Strauch, Secretary of the Alumni  
Association, Ohio Wesleyan University. Undated.

Personal interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Frederic  
Jefferson. Rochester, New York. December 4, 1959.

Personal interview with Miss Anna L. White. New York,  
New York. December 9, 1959.

Personal interview with Roy L. Minich. New York, New York.  
December 9, 1959.

Personal interview with Mrs. L. Nelson Nichols. New York,  
New York. December 10, 1959.

Questionnaire answered by Charles Frederic Jefferson and  
returned to the writer in November, 1959.



ROOM USE ONLY

~~JUN 20 1963~~

~~NOV 5 1963~~

~~MAR 0~~

~~MAY 22 1963~~

JUL 9 1963

~~DEC 2 1963~~

FEB 6 1964

~~APR 22 1964~~

~~APR 27 1964~~

JAN 4 1964 ENAG 12-5-69 (50)

~~JAN 8 1970~~

ROOM USE ONLY

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03175 2037