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Main Street Jesus: Small-City Revivalism, Chautauqua, and the Birth of Religious Conservatism, 1880–1930

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Abstract

This dissertation is a history of religious conservatism between 1880 and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Its main argument is that conservative religion in America, rather than being defined by fundamentalism, theological disputes, or cultural antipathy towards pluralism, was an outgrowth of a profound faith in capitalism and individual competition. Conservatives firm belief that everyone could "get ahead" in the United States led them to profoundly distrust poverty and social work as government interference in the natural, sanctified order of salvation and damnation. By the 1910s, this culture evolved into a political movement set against reform, government regulation, immigration, and liberalism, creating the context of the culture wars that would continue to shape and dictate American religious and political contexts for the next century.

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Introduction

The largest annual religious festival of the Gilded Age was conjured into being when Presbyterian minister Solomon Dickey met a dairy entrepreneur named John Beyer in the back of a Pullman train car in Indiana in 1895. Dickey dreamed of opening a "religious" Chautauqua in Indiana that would counter the unsettling secularism of the "Mother Chautauqua" in upstate New York, the rural education movement that was sweeping the nation. Dickey wanted to take the educational message of Chautauqua, shed it of its most reformist impulses, and combine it with an explicitly evangelistic environment for attendees. Beyer was so taken with Dickey's plan that he offered the minister a check and a lease on a defunct fair ground in Winona Lake that abutted Beyer's dairy plant. Beyer connected Dickey with other Indiana business backers, including the soon-to-be automobile mogul John Studebaker, who donated generously to the plan. By 1896, the Winona Lake Chautauqua had been born.

Dickey set to work redecorating his new fair site with scenes of the life of Christ and advertised the new Winona Lake site as the nation's only "religious Chautauqua." The meetings were organized around a large Bible conference with deliberations open to the public, who could purchase tickets to attend. To make the conference lively, Dickey populated the proceedings with famous evangelists and celebrities like William Jennings Bryan, Russell Conwell, and Billy Sunday. To keep the fair profitable, Dickey kept the grounds open on Sundays, inviting the local evangelists and ministers to hold all-day services of prayer and music.

The Winona Lake fair grew so popular in the 1900s and 1910s it continually expanded until the Chautauqua meetings lasted two months across July and August and attracted more than 250,000 annual visitors, making it the second largest recreational fair in the nation after the New York meetings. Many of the annual speakers became so associated with the meetings that they established

permanent residents in Winona Lake. Billy Sunday moved to the fair grounds in 1901 and remained for the rest of his life. Sunday's staff was drawn from the Chautauqua and his campaigns were planned from the fairgrounds. The fair became so entwined with Sunday's popularity that the new 7,500-seat structure built to house the Winona Bible Conference in 1919 was named the Billy Sunday Tabernacle, advertised correctly as "the largest Bible Conference in the world."[1]

Winona Lake became a site for the cultural reformation of American Protestantism and conservatism in the 1910s and 1920s. Scholars identified elite spaces like the Niagara Conference and schools like Fuller Seminary and the Moody Bible Institute (MBI) as the cradle of a "fundamentalist" movement led by ministers and theologians to combat liberals in the American church.[2] However, Fuller and the MBI never, in print or public address, spoke to an audience that was a fraction of the size of a typical summer crowd at Winona Lake. The Chautauqua crowds that gathered in Indiana represented a less theological but more popular ethos in American religion, business, and politics that has been neglected by scholars of American religion.

Recent scholarship in the history of capitalism has explored how American businesses shaped conservative Protestantism into a social movement that connected faith in consumer capitalism to a traditional and patriotic Protestant morality. Many of these studies have highlighted connections between late-stage capitalism and distinct regions of the United States known for their religiosity, such as the Appalachians, the American South and Southwest, and Orange County in California. While these connections are tantalizing, the links between revivalist Protestants, business, capitalism, consumerism, and politics are far more tangled and deeply set into American culture than much of this work suggests. Most of this literature has emphasized a marriage of convenience between American corporations and fundamentalists in the 1940s and '50s as part of a concerted attempt to roll back the New Deal, particularly in its secular policies. The sense that business interests and corporations "invented" religious conservatism, to quote the title of a recent popular work,

profoundly underestimates and misunderstands the history and power of religious conservatism in the United States and its longstanding influence in American politics and culture.[3] Sites like Winona Lake reveal that a politicized and ardently pro-business religious movement existed and wielded power in the United States by the 1910s.[4] This movement was not solely defined in opposition to liberalism; instead it adhered to a booster-revivalist ideology that envisioned America as an extension of a small-city Main Street where individual opportunity was limitless. Rather than a late century alliance between businessmen and fundamentalists to overthrow the New Deal, modern capitalism and American conservative religion grew together as political and cultural allies with a common faith in a stark and uncompromising economic-political philosophy rooted in revivalist Protestantism.

American religious conservatism is best understood as rooted in ideas of poverty and opportunity that took form in the nineteenth century. As early as the 1850s, born-again American Christians interpreted the industrial development of the nation as arising solely from the personal industry of consecrated entrepreneurs who had accepted Jesus Christ as their savior and lived according to the Protestant religious tradition established in nineteenth-century revivalism. All social impediments to progress, especially the increasing presence of poverty in America's cities, were attributed to the failure of Christ's message to penetrate urban spaces and convert workers in the cities into the gospel of work and prosperity. This was the gospel message taught in the revivals of 1857, the Moody revivals of the 1870s, and the increasingly anti-liberal and fundamentalist meetings of the 1890s and 1900s.

In the 1900s and 1910s, a new generation of evangelists spearheaded by the Iowa-born Billy Sunday merged the born-again capitalism of the nineteenth century with a new political nativism aimed at countering what they saw as a rising liberal agenda in American politics and religion. Sunday attacked immigrants, reform-minded ministers, the liquor industry, and the urban poor as

"knockers" and drags on American progress. Sunday attributed American development to an entrepreneurial/religious zeal that was most visible in American businessmen and entrepreneurs. Attempts to criticize or regulate this success threatened to handicap American prosperity, while the growing presence of groups that opposed the booster vision of development endangered the continued success of the nation. Sunday responded by forging his meetings into a grassroots army for the protection of American prosperity that over time became increasingly aligned against urban progressives and with the national Republican Party. The social conflicts of the late 1920s and 1930s pushed the Sunday-led religious conservative movement into a more openly political stance, setting the groundwork for the postwar revivalism that would create the new Religious Right.

I. The "Gospel of Boost," Entrepreneurial-Religious Values, and the Midwest

While many born-again Americans around the country supported the revival movement, the entrepreneurial-religious ideals of the Gilded Age and Progressive era were deeply connected with the American Midwest and its urban history. Urban cultural critics in the 1910s and 1920s like Sinclair Lewis and H.L. Mencken feared and lambasted a religious and commercial culture they associated closely with the small-city Midwest. This was the "Gospel of Boost," a simple-minded, crassly commercial world of Main Streets where intellectual complication and social criticism were paved over in the name of rapid development. Caricatures of the region identified its vapid Chautauquas and business-man revivals as extensions of its core culture of thoughtless, mean-spirited commercialism and indifference to poverty.[5]

What these critics understood but is often forgotten today is that religion and ideas of entrepreneurship and commercial growth were synonymous in the minds of small-town Midwestern boosters. Winona Lake, the Sunday camp meetings, the Redpath Chautauqua circuits, and self-help

gurus like Ralph Parlette all took as self-evident that Protestant evangelical values were the foundation of all capitalist success. Ministers, evangelists, Chautauqua performers, business boosters, and self-help authors could freely intermingle in the region (and indeed were often the same person) because they were allied to the same purpose of championing the values that created success.

In the Midwest in this period, religion and entrepreneurship could not be distinguished in a meaningful way. The Bible and the revival had created industrialization by inspiring the minds and feeding the ambition of nineteenth-century Americans; God had wrought American prosperity.[6] Territorial expansion, commercial development, and evangelistic worship were bound together in the hearts and minds of the revivalists and churchgoers who saw America's growth as a byproduct of their sanctification to Christ. While Progressive-era Midwestern boosters were less likely than their grandparents to interrupt the work day to weep and gnash their teeth in camp meetings, they continued to fervently believe that capitalism, prosperity, and progress expressed the truth of the revival. Entrepreneurship succeeded only when it was guided and fed by the spiritual power of a living Christ and died in His absence.

This was the core gospel of Chicago-based Dwight Moody from the 1850s until his death in 1899. Moody's Chicago of the 1860s was rooted in wealthy urban churches that richly funded his dream of a mass conversion of the working class. However, Moody's constituency extended to millions of Americans, the largest body rooted in the greater Midwest, who admired his simple explanation for success in adherence to "Holy Spirit Power" and sweeping condemnation of poverty as sin. Moody's gradual alienation from Chicago's tenement districts did not dim his popularity across the Midwest, visible in the fortune he earned in book and hymn sales.

The small-city Midwestern booster's obsession with development and investment as the cure for all social ills blunted the social critiques of capitalism that by the 1900s had impacted theologians and churches in much of the urban United States. While established ministers in urban congregations like Walter Rauschenbusch preached reform, the Chautauqua preachers of the 1910s taught that the answer to growing inequality was to stoke the fires of entrepreneurial zeal. In the nineteenth century, Midwesterners had conjured cities and wealth out of the wilderness. The Midwestern spirit of boost contained a frontier energy and understanding of capitalist potential that had since dissipated in the East. No less a luminary than Frederick Jackson Turner suggested in 1909 that the salvation of the nation lay in the Midwest with its spirit-soaked zeal for money making.

Critical to this Midwestern booster sensibility were "Main Street Values." Chautauqua meetings and ministers like Russell Conwell championed the ideal American community as a town built around a "Main Street" where millionaires and workers lived side by side in houses lined by white picket fences. However fantastical, adherents to the entrepreneurial-religious ideal believed that many of the social conflicts of the age could be attributed to the abstraction of work and profit. In small cities, success could still be reduced to a single persons' ingenuity and work ethic, while everyone knew the town drunk's fate was self-imposed. Chautauqua preachers like Russell Conwell suggested that nearly all of America's millionaires had been born and reared in small towns, making these communities the soil of American capitalism. In large cities, evangelists advocated destitute young men break out into the country to learn the values that would make them rich. In small cities, evangelists and Chautauqua speakers promised that the answer to America's problems was to export the values of Main Street to the nation.

The uniquely Midwestern booster spirit fed the creation of the Billy Sunday revivals in the 1910s and their politicization of religion. Sunday's genius was in his ability to market Midwestern booster identity as a religious brand and tonic to middle and professional classes across the United

States. He championed his Midwesternism as the source of his authority as a cultural critic and lifted the Midwest up as the city on a hill that could provoke the festering urban spaces of the United States into a new regeneration. However, the cultural conflicts of the 1920s only served to reify the political differences between small-city Midwestern Billy Sunday supporters and the rest of the nation. Wounded by this rejection, in the 1920s Sunday sought new audiences and supporters in the American South, beginning to bind together the regions that in the 1940s would became the foundation of the new Religious Right.

II. Evangelicalism as Narrative and Business History

This work avoids using the common label "evangelical" to label or interpret the Midwestern Chautauqua attendees, Moody readers, Billy Sunday supporters, and small-city boosters who encompassed Midwestern religious conservatism between the 1880s and the 1930s. The problem with "evangelicalism" as a label is that it reflects a religious narrative in American history that was constructed in the 1950s and 60s as a counter to the older "Fundamentalism," with its accusations of extremism, racism, and violent sectarianism. In this reading, fundamentalism was an aberration of the 1920s–1940s, while evangelicalism represented a much longer, consistent history of religious invention and folk identity in the United States.

As constructed by scholars like George Marsden, David Bebbington, Mark Noll, and Randy Balmer among many others, evangelicalism has become the dominant lens for interpreting and categorizing any American Protestant between the Puritan migrations of the 1640s to the cultural conflicts of the twenty-first century. The label of evangelicalism has expanded to include virtually all non-mainline Protestant denominations across the United States, most Pentecostals, and even some Mormons, representing "America's folk religion."[7] The largeness of the evangelical identity has

grown to encompass any Protestant who adheres to the centrality of the Bible as the source of religion, the necessity of a personal conversion experience (to be "born again"), and the need to work to convert others to the evangelical Christian identity.[8]

One immediate problem with the evangelical label is that it emphasizes intellectual categories and identities over cultural, regional, political and economic meanings. While a twenty-first century New York Presbyterian and a nineteenth-century Virginia Baptist may both adhered to a Biblio-centric, born again, conversionary idea of religion, the social/cultural worlds they inhabit are so vastly different that the "evangelical" category becomes effectively useless. While "evangelicalism" may be useful as a tool for tracing religious continuity in ideas of eschatology or soteriology across centuries, the attempt to impose stable, transhistorical topologies on groups removed in place, time, and culture creates more problems than it solves. Arguments that "evangelicalism" should be defined by a near-endless diversity around the pillars of personal salvation, evangelism, and Biblio-centrism are admirable in their inclusivity. However, they continue to enforce the tripartite definition of evangelicalism as the only legitimate organizing theme of American Protestant conservatism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, displacing other lenses such as economics, race, class, or regionalism.

A second problem with evangelicalism lies in the cultural battles of the 1920s and 30s. In the 1920s, the term "evangelical" did not exist in its current form. "Evangelical" referred to a specific German religious movement in the nineteenth century and the orientation of particular churches towards an emphasis on missionary work. Born-again religious movements like Billy Sunday's simply referred to themselves as Christians, even after the Moody Bible Institute published the labyrinthine and esoteric defenses of faith entitled "The Fundamentalists." The label "Fundamentalist" originated with urban critics of the conservative movement, especially H.L. Mencken's scathing, incendiary attacks on camp meetings and Chautauqua in the early 1920s. As the

1920s advanced, "Fundamentalism" gained cache as a slur against reactionary Protestants—especially in the Midwest and South—who opposed common-sense social progress. The Scopes Trial helped cement the image of the fundamentalist as a Protestant Christian, usually with a Midwestern or Southern accent, who opposed basic advances in science and education in the name of a medieval understanding of religion.

While some Christians embraced the term "Fundamentalist" in the 1920s as an expression of faith, by the early 1930s "fundamentalism" had been satirized and lampooned by a wide body of American writers and journalists into the image of the ignorant moral crusader. The term "evangelical" first came to prominence as an attempt to distance mainstream leaders in the 1940s like Billy Graham from controversial organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, which also claimed a Protestant and revivalist identity. The cleaned-up, intellectually respectable image of evangelicalism championed by Billy Graham later seeped into mainstream academic literature. By the 1970s, it became common to use "evangelical" as a label for the social reform movements of the 1830s–1860s, the revival movements of the 1740s and 1790s–1820s, and the contemporary religious movements such as Billy Graham's revivals. Conspicuously absent in the new evangelical history was the 1910s–1930s, or the "Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy" which was rendered into an interregnum between modern and premodern evangelical history.

So successful was this rebranding that divisive and extreme groups that claimed a Protestant, born-again identity—such as the Klan, Jack Chick, the John Birch Society—are rarely marked as part of evangelical history or grouped with "mainstream" evangelical churches or movements. While Dwight Moody and Billy Sunday have since been reclaimed as evangelical revival leaders, the literature on these evangelists has consistently downplayed their attitudes towards poverty, capitalism, and politics. The structure of evangelical history has left little room for movements and orientations that fall outside of the imposed mainstream. The legacy of this evangelical narrative and

its marginalization of actors that fail to fit its mold makes "evangelicalism" deeply unsuitable as a label for a study of religious conservatism, particularly in the early twentieth century. Evangelicalism as a historical category obscures and misdirects readers from the jagged edges of American Protestant identity, especially the callousness towards poverty, racial exclusions, and nativism that dominated much of American Protestant culture from the Civil War until the 1940s.[9]

For these reasons, this study avoids invoking the term evangelical and its associated baggage and assumptions. To even invoke the word "evangelical" implies a level of continuity and theological consistency that distracts from some of the most pressing and important characteristics of American conservative Protestantism between 1870–1930. As a religious history of Protestant conservatism focused on the Midwest, this study is less concerned with ecclesiology than with the specific discursive organizations, cultural movements, and identities that led some American Christians to embrace capitalism as a sign of salvation but mark poverty as depravity between the Gilded Age and the Progressive era. However rooted some of these ideas may be in larger and older theological, cultural, and intellectual systems, they are also historically rooted in the particular experiences of the generation of Midwesterners who experienced the industrial transformations of the late nineteenth century and interpreted in light of their own booster culture and faith in the future of America.

As a necessary label, this study uses the terms "born again" and "consecrated" to refer to people who adhered to the revival notion of personal rebirth in the spirit as a precondition to prosperity and salvation. When possible, more specific terms are used, such as boosters for people who promoted Chautauquas and revivalists for those who attended and promoted Dwight Moody's and Billy Sunday's meetings. Rooted in historical specificity, these terms shed more light on the participants of these meetings, what they perceived there, and their hopes and dreams for the future of the United States.

III. Tracing a History of Religious Conservatism in the Midwest

To understand the prevalence and power of capitalist-infused Protestant religiosity in the United States requires a far deeper and more meaningful engagement with a centuries long tradition of American conservatism, evangelistic fervor, and shifting regional and urban identities. To trace this history requires a deeper engagement with the regional identity of the Midwest and an awareness of how Midwest-based evangelists used the region as a launching point to reach national audiences in the 1910s. It also requires a special attention to the religious-cultural saliences of the Chautauqua movement, which served as the premier public expression of American small-city culture from the 1890s to the 1930s.[10]

The first chapter of this dissertation charts the evolution of the Dwight Moody revival movement and the growing disenchantment with urban revivalism that marked Moody and the wider revival movement in the 1890s. The factory-style revivals of the 1850s–1870s that sought mass urban conversion collapsed in the face of indifference from urban Catholics and withering criticism from urban ministers. In response, Moody and a coterie of newer evangelists shifted their markets away from large cities towards audiences and readerships in smaller cities. Rather than declining in popularity, these evangelists amassed wealth and resources by preaching a message of endless personal opportunity to small-city Midwestern audiences.

Chapter 2 explores the rising popularity of the Midwestern Chautauqua circuits of the 1890s–1930s as the site of an intellectual movement organized around the inspirational lecture and entrepreneurial zeal. The Chautauqua roster, consisting of men like Ralph Parlette, Russell Conwell, Sam Jones, and Frank Gunsaulus blended revival Christianity with business boosterism and reduced national problems to the level of a small-town Main Street, where individuals and neighbors decided

their fates through work and personal ingenuity. Wealth and success were the premier signs of virtue on the circuits, to be emulated rather than criticized. Evangelists who worked their way through the Chautauqua blended secular pronouncements about society with the message of personal regeneration, and increasingly marked the Midwest and the Midwestern Main Street as the idyllic American dream that could guide the nation to a new conversion.

Chapters 3 and 4 chart the rise of Billy Sunday. Billy Sunday was the premier apostle and prophet of the Chautauqua revival and the figure who most directly connected Protestant American revivalism with an openly partisan political orientation. Sunday converted the message of the Chautauqua revivals into a national call to mobilize as Christian consumers. Sunday's booster gospel promised prosperity and wealth if Americans adhered to a consecrated consumer ideal rooted in the values of Main Street. As Sunday's popularity expanded, it was linked into an increasingly vitriolic nativism that blamed immigrants and outsiders for urban violence and poverty. Early attempts to appeal to African Americans were gradually abandoned in favor of a white nativist platform that marked black people as outside "American identity" whose very presence threatened the prosperity of the nation.

By the 1920s, Billy Sunday's gospel movement had evolved into the first modern American political conservative movement when he endorsed Calvin Coolidge, toyed with running for the presidency, and ultimately threw his support behind Herbert Hoover. Sunday's eventual decline and death in the 1930s left behind a complete template for a conservative revival gospel that would be lifted up and reimplemented by his successors within a few years. The success and power of the new Religious Right of the 1940s and '50s came in part from the organizing and leadership of the earlier conservatives who sought to bring the nation under the banner of Main Street.

Chapter I
From Businessmen's Meetings to Consumer Revivals

The evangelistic revivals that regularly flared up from 1857 to the waning years of the Gilded Age promised to pour the Spirit down upon the nation with the power of modern industry. It was no coincidence that onlookers labelled the revival meetings of 1857–1858 the "Businessmen's Revival." Most of the leading evangelists and their close supporters in the second half of the nineteenth century arose not from seminaries but from the world of commerce. Dwight Moody arrived in Chicago as a shoe salesman in 1856 determined to earn $100,000. Jeremiah Lanphier, the organizer of the Fulton Street meetings that sparked the revival outbursts of 1857–1858, was a 49-year old stock trader with no religious training of any kind. The closest supporters of the revivals were neither ordained ministers nor fringe charismatics, but the wealthy, established urban elite who populated congregations like Chicago's Plymouth congregation.

To supporters, the compelling power of this new religious movement was precisely these ties with the American business community. The presence of backers like John Wannamaker, John Farwell, and Cyrus McCormick were lauded by evangelists as the source of the revival's legitimacy. Dwight Moody seated his business backers directly behind him onstage during revival meetings so that they would at all times be visible to the audience. The message was clear; entrepreneurs endorsed the revival because evangelistic Protestantism was the religion that brought success in the industrial age. Their presence at the revival also promised that the new churches of the Gilded Age possessed the tenacity and genius to revolutionize faith, just as these same men had revolutionized industry. To a community of believers who retained an absolute faith in the power of the individual, the presence of successful men in the meetings suggested an industrial revolution of the spirit.

Yet behind the optimism of these meetings was a growing unease that the greatness of American industry and religion was being swamped by the twinned morasses of poverty and

unbelief. To American evangelists and their followers in the nineteenth century, urban poverty was not an economic problem. Tenement overcrowding, homelessness, and unemployment were symptoms not of disparity but sin and Godlessness. The slums were the sum of the countless corrupted boys, dissolute fathers, and fallen girls whose sins plagued their lives with self-inflicted misfortunes. The presence of pernicious and growing sin around them was damning to urban Christians because it revealed the face of the Devil in the very heart of America's cities and the urban Church movement.

The only true, lasting cure for urban poverty was a revival that could grasp and hold the poor with the everlasting values of Jesus Christ. As such, the revivals of the second half of the nineteenth century were motivated by a simple formula, to attract and transform the impoverished into productive members of society with the values of evangelistic Protestantism.[11] The success and failure of these meetings would be measured by their number of new converts drawn from the urban, unsaved masses.

Urban revival meetings from the early nineteenth century up until the 1870s were, in the eyes of their participants, a series of tremendous and unbroken successes marked by thousands of conversions and rising church memberships.[12] Yet in the 1880s many of the same children of the revival began to experience a profound of wave of pessimism. The blood and treasure of the nineteenth century revival movement had been poured into an ocean of urban poverty that only seemed to be growing larger and more fetid. This was demonstrated dramatically by the worst decade of urban violence in American history. Haymarket, Homestead, and Pullman together represented a cataclysm in the eyes of the revival devout. American innovation and potential were being blighted by a wave of unbelief, indolence, entitlement, and the creeping power of an insidious, unspeakable socialism that masqueraded under the label of “reform.”

The violence of the 1880s kindled a new revival movement from the ashes of the old one. Evangelistic businessmen like Moody, Sam Jones, Russell Conwell, and Frank Gunsaulus repurposed revivals away from the belligerent poor towards the upwardly mobile, ambitious, and professional classes. Instead of saving cities and reducing poverty through conversions, revivalists would seek to awaken, radicalize, and embolden the faithful. It was no coincidence that apocalypticism surged in popularity after 1880, with its teachings that Christians needed to separate themselves from sinners in preparation for Christ's return. The new revivals promised that Christians could best influence the nation by turning inward, redoubling efforts into their own success, and preserving their faith from the corruptive influences of socialism, reform, and "modernist" liberal Christianity. Living successful, prosperous lives separating themselves from the worldly would underline the differences between salvation and damnation in American life and preserve the holy Christian community from the wicked in the twentieth century.

The new orientation of American revivalism was put on display in New York City in the winter of 1897, when Dwight Moody began a short series of church meetings in Manhattan. Eschewing tabernacle preaching, Moody focused his message on small crowds of the devout in the Cooper’s Union in Lower Manhattan, where audiences consisted wholly of devout churchgoers. Moody brought a guest evangelist with him—a younger, more controversial preacher from Atlanta named Sam Jones. In his crumpled alpaca suit with a drooping mustache and balding head, Jones was a fuming symbol of the Chautauqua stump and the New South, famous for his gender-baiting attacks on "sissy" ministers, defense of lynching, and occasional threats to give hypocrites in his crowds a "lickin." Earlier that year, Jones held his largest revival—and the largest revival in the United States in the 1890s—in Atlanta, where 150,000 Southerners had crushed into downtown to hear him, an audience twice the size of the population of the city.[13]

Together, Moody and Jones blamed their audience of well-dressed churchgoers for the urban violence and unbelief that had marred the last decade, not because they failed to help but because they had not presented a strong enough example to sinners. Moody blasted Christians for adhering to a “religion of negation" that was defined by denial and absence rather than the joy and self-possession that defined "apostolic times."[14] Christians instead needed to revel in and showcase the happiness and rewards brought by the spirit-infused lifestyle. Jones was more succinct and alliterative, proclaiming that "infidelities flourish only in soils which are fructified by the unfaithful, Godless members of the church," meaning reform-minded Christians, and never in the lives and hearts of the devout.[15] Missions and social work were useless; only the example of the faithful and flourishing in Christ could attract real converts. The prosperity of the consecrated few against the poverty of the masses would be the new terrain of the revival and its quest to confront and defeat sin.

I. Three Currents of Revivalism

This chapter charts three major currents within the American revival movement between the 1850s and 1890s. Each of these currents were supersessive, but older movements and ethoses always continued to exist within and as part of newer ones. Yet an underlying change in the attitude of American evangelists to modern capitalism and urban life occurred. While Billy Graham would later credit the tradition of Dwight Moody as his progenitor, he owed as much or more to Sam Jones and the Chautauqua circuit. Twentieth-century evangelicalism was created out of the multiple transformations in revival culture that occurred from the optimism of the citywide revivals of the 1850s to the separation and ardent individualism of the 1890s. Each of these moments of reinvention occurred over the same insolvable problems: the difficulty of religious work in modern urban spaces and the intractability of the new working class.

The first current developed in the urban revival craze of 1857 and dominated American revival culture until the early 1880s. The "Spirit of 1857" grew out of the idealism of prewar voluntary societies, the perfectionist impulses of Charles Finney, and a new confidence in the power of industrial spectacle to toughen urban revivalism. The Revival of 1857–1858, spearheaded by urban businessmen, fed speculation that a well-funded, laymen-led revival movement could convert the urban population of the United States within one generation. World-wise businessmen, supported by a moral urban press and unified urban churches, would consecrate the great cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, creating Protestant citadels that would pour the Spirit down upon the nation. Dwight Moody's gigantic tabernacle campaigns of the 1870s were conducted in the spirit of 1857. Citywide campaigns were organized like Christian factories, with neighborhoods divided into grids where the unchurched were calculated, numerated, and contacted by volunteers to bring them to assembly-line meetings where they would be induced to sign conversion cards and attend a church.

The urban crises between 1878 and 1885 fatally cracked the idealism behind this revival philosophy, although shards of the old evangelistic idealism continued to linger for decades. The growing hostility of the working class—especially among Catholics and foreign-born workers—to Protestant religion and revival culture made a mockery of the citywide revival movement and brought its costs into question by both its enemies and supporters. By the 1880s, it was increasingly obvious that the vast industrial expenditures of tabernacle campaigns had produced few concrete results.

Confronted with this failure, Dwight Moody helped to spearhead a new current in revivalism in the 1880s. Newly pessimistic about prospects with the working class, the latest Moody revivals downplayed outreach to the working class and focused on meetings for devout Christians, especially in mid-sized cities safely removed from troublesome urban metropolises. A new interest in

millennialism and Holiness fed expectations that Christians could best reach unbelievers not through direct evangelism but through separation and the example of Godliness. By living diligent, hard-working, prosperous lives, American Christians would demonstrate the superiority of the born-again life to the indolent and unregenerated. As Moody and other evangelists preached separation and the distinction between the worldly and unworldly life, material comfort became a key, visible distinction between American Christians and the unchurched.

These first two currents both originated in the urban revival movements of the 1850s and their aftermath. The third evolved out of the small cities and tent meetings of the greater Midwest. The Southerner Sam Jones rocketed onto the national revival scene in the 1890s by holding tent meetings on the nascent Chautauqua circuits, educational fairs that began to spread across the Midwest in the last years of the nineteenth century. The preachers of the small-town Chautauqua meetings and tent revivals were even more ebullient about capitalism and commercialism than big-city evangelists like Moody. They presented their own small urban worlds as idyllic paradises where capital and labor were united in a common quest for development and improvement. In small cities, the wealthy and poor alike lived close together and rubbed shoulders on Main Street. Great men—even vast corporations—were distinguished from others by their "commonness," meaning their ability to recognize the general needs of others and create products to help them. The trouble with society, small-town preachers declared, was that religion had failed to keep pace with business. Led first by Sam Jones, Chautauqua preachers began to advocate for a commercial folk religion shed of the sentimentality of the nineteenth century.

II. Modern Religion, Gender, Capitalism, and the Spirit of 1857

The revivals linked together as the "Second Great Awakening " accompanied the largest expansions of territory, communication, and economic power in human history up to that time, which left its mark on American religion. American revivalism, more than its European variants, was defined by a sense of separation from the limits of the past and an unabashed confidence in the future, whether it be the immanency of the Second Coming or the perfectibility of all men within a generation or two. While the early revivals of the 1800s featured weeping ascetics and itinerant preachers, their influence has been romanticized and overestimated.[16] For most Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, the Awakening represented the displacement of the educated clergy in favor of lay people and organizations, whose authority derived not from a church hierarchy but from their popular appeal to generally accepted values. The revivals fed the rise of a set of virtues and ethics that would in time be identified with an "American" identity, for good or ill: self-reliance, entrepreneurial zeal, individual responsibility, and equality of rights and ability.[17]

It is of little surprise that many of the children of the Second Great Awakening linked the power of rebirth to the material transformation of the world around them. Human energy, guided by the Holy Spirit, seemed able to overwhelm any boundary save those enshrined by God in the Holy Scriptures. The very natural laws of distance and scale were rewritten in ways that opened opportunities for Americans to inhabit new territory and wring new sources of wealth from the earth, while their enemies shrank before them. Many devout accepted, with good reason, that they lived in an age of miracles.

The lingering problems of poverty and inequality that bubbled in the wake of the market revolution attracted this sense of idealism and limitless transformation. The mission movement that grew from the 1830s onward championed urban revival as the solution to poverty and unbelief. Towering masculine figures from Jonathan Edwards to Charles Finney and finally Dwight Moody faced down urban decay with the naked power of the Scriptures and the vernacular call to a personal

conversion to Jesus Christ. In the 1770s, 1830s, and 1850s, largescale revivals seemed to halt or roll back urban decay by creating multiplying churches and converts in the hearts of America's urban sprawl. The narrative of revivals became so engrained that newspapers declared the success of revivals the same day evangelists set foot in the city, in anticipation of the thousands of converts who would soon throng churches, shops, and factories.

The revivals of 1857–1858 and afterwards declared the compatibility of Protestant religion, evangelism, and modern capitalism as a sign of the continued power and relevance of religion in the new age of economic power. They did so partly by marking modern religion as a rejection of the perceived "domesticity" of an earlier, more feminized ministry. While women had outnumbered men in most American churches since the eighteenth century, fears of male irreligiousness became much more prevalent in the early nineteenth century as the market economy expanded. As middle-class American men began to work away from their homes in large numbers, a new system of gender distinctions took hold and divided the “sacred” world of the family and hearth for the profane and public world of business. By mid-century, respectable Protestant religious practice was increasingly perceived to belong to the domesticated sphere of women. As competition and entrepreneurship were raised up as the ideals of modern American development, submissiveness and sentimentalism became signifiers of women and the church, in the eyes of both critics and ministers fearful of a loss of status.[18]

Henry Ward Beecher’s controversies in the early 1870s best dramatize the mid-century tension between evangelism, masculinity, and religious feeling in the nineteenth century. Beecher had experimented with new forms of intimacy and religious experience in his confused, and ultimately disastrous, relationship with Elizabeth and Theodore Tilton. Beecher’s “spiritual investigations” rested on an attempt to expand the “breadth of sensibility” in how men and women could interact within religion. Beecher's long hair, penchant for poetry, and warm relationships with

female followers were hallmarks of a model of Victorian pastoral manliness that embraced the sensual and emotional and sought to reduce the discursive space between men and women.

However, Beecher's model of emotional vulnerability and cohabitation between the sexes was viewed as poisonous by a growing segment of American evangelists as early as the 1840s. Popular writers, preachers, and ministers regularly connected a perceived absence of young men in the pews to a poisonous "traditionalism" in American churches. Travel-writer Harriet Martineau suggested in 1837 that American men regarded ministers as a third sex: "the clergy are looked upon by all grown men as a sort of people between men and women."[19] Attacks on the perceived lack of manly qualities among ministers/evangelists and their closeness with women became a standard and clichéd criticism of religion by the 1850s.[20] Many of these criticisms suggested that minister's exclusion from commerce had essentially removed them from the world of men and male interests. Charles Finney, who was much leerier of the power of business in American life then later evangelists, showcased this concern in the 1840s when he admitted that men's fixation on business was a major barrier to future religious work. [21]

Henry Ward Beecher hoped to discover a romantic spirituality that would overcome human gender distinctions. Whatever popularity this view enjoyed at mid-century, it was seriously undermined when the exposure of Beecher's unconventional relationship with Elizabeth Tilton in 1873 brought a renewed scrutiny to the relationship between preachers and devoted women and furthered the perception that ministers had grown too domesticated and otherworldly.[22] While Beecher always maintained the support of his congregation and readers, the sex scandal eclipsed his reputation among many conservative Christians at the precise moment that Dwight Moody emerged onto the scene. Beecher's liberal experiments with theology and gender contrasted sharply with Moody's new emphasis on strict adherence to Biblical orthodoxy, conventional manliness in dress and comportment, and separation between ministers and women.

The new evangelists of the 1850s were bent on eroding the prevalence of women and domestic ideals within Protestant culture to reaffirm the relevance of religion to men. They did so by appealing to the transformative power of capital and business. The byword of the new revivals was "efficiency."[23] The conduct of meetings departed notably even from the "new measures" revival meetings developed by Charles Finney in the 1820s. Conversions were systematized and simplified into an almost assembly-line efficiency, while any hint of doctrinal controversy was eliminated in favor of mass appeal. "Anxious benches" and public testimony, the controversial cornerstone of Finney's revivals, were eliminated. Potential converts were simply asked to stand or form a line at the end of meetings. Ushers then distributed "conversion cards" to each person, with space to fill-in their name, address, and preferred denomination. Conversion cards were later counted and distributed to local churches. To allow for easy scheduling, meetings were organized to last between an hour and 90 minutes and to begin and end promptly to allow for precise scheduling. Weekday meetings were organized from noon to 1 PM, so that business men could use their lunchbreaks to attend without missing work. The new revivals, far from being "prayed down" from heaven, sanctified the industrial virtues of the new American economy and male entrepreneurship.[24]

Dwight Moody's public persona was a calculated response to the perception of the emasculated minister or liberal preacher like Henry Ward Beecher. In stark contrast to Beecher, Moody dressed in drab, dark suits with no ministerial association and sported a heavy beard. His background and education were in money-making rather than theology. Moody had moved to Chicago in 1856 at the age of 19 to earn $100,000, having declared for Christ the previous summer in Boston. Moody joined a downtown prayer meeting as soon as he reached Chicago and alternated between business and church work. To reach the poor, Moody rented four pews at the stately Plymouth Congregational Church, already one of the wealthiest churches in the city, and spent his Sunday mornings convincing idle young men to attend a service.

When the 1857–1858 revivals broke out, Moody was inspired to quit business and open his own Sunday school that catered to boys in Chicago's northside slums. He enticed reluctant students into meetings with packets of maple sugar. Moody's flamboyant conversions of young men made him an instant sensation among Chicago's Protestant elite, why by 1860 had bought him a house and a permanent church on the north side.[25] Volunteering with the fledgling Y.M.C.A., Moody linked his evangelism in the 1860s with the "muscular Christianity" movement of the period that emphasized physical fitness and community-building among young Christian men afloat in cities with few family connections.[26] Moody's Chicago fans praised him for his "artless" and "unstudied" approach as proof of his appeal to men over regular ministers. They took special joy in his grammatical failures and rough diction, especially his habit of replacing "doesn't" or "does not" with "don't:" "[The Spirit] don't tell a man how noble and how great he is. …The Holy Spirit don't throw light on that."[27] Moody's uneducated brogue established his credentials as a "men's" preacher, and Moody embraced the image by attacking ministers who were "empty professors" and spent their time at "ice-cream socials."[28]

Moody also used his background in commerce to establish his legitimacy as an effective evangelist. In one popular anecdote, the businessman-turned-evangelist recounted calling out and asking a man on the street in Chicago if he was a Christian. "Mind your own business," replied the man, only for Moody to respond, "it is my business." The amused spectator jauntily retorted "then you must be D.L. Moody!"[29] Moody was so protective of his male-focused image that he was extremely wary of women's participation in meetings. Moody's services ejected audience members, typically women, who were "struck by the spirit," drowning out their displays with a hastily called hymn as ushers shooed them from the meetings. Moody was so averse to perceptions of impropriety or domesticity he even refused to speak with female converts. On several occasions, women approached Moody after a meeting to shake his hand and share their support for his work. Moody

asked them to wait, grabbed his hat, and fled out the back door of the hall. In Louisville, the female attendees were so offended by Moody's escape that they swore to never again attend the meetings.[30]

II. **Dwight Moody, Consecrated Capitalism, and the Factory Revival**

As his fame skyrocketed in the early 1870s, Moody left Chicago and formulated a new nationwide plan of citywide evangelism. His new revivals were modeled on the example of the grand campaigns of the 1850s. Large cities with huge populations of unchurched men were the targets, which placed every major city in the United States in the target of the evangelistic organization. By 1880, Moody and his committees had held a revival in every city in America with a population more than 250,000.

To be effective on such a scale, the Moody revivals were organized and regulated to unfold like vast industrial endeavors. Meetings would last for six to eight weeks, far longer than most earlier urban revivals, and were to be preceded by a massive advertising campaign consisting of thousands of volunteers recruited and circulars printed. With a spirit of scientific management, cities were divided into equally-sized territories, with each district worked by volunteers who handed out circulars door-to-door and organized local prayer meetings. During Moody's experimental first large revival in London, thousands of church volunteers were sent out to deliver tracts to every single dwelling in the city. This model was imported to the United States. In Boston, volunteers delivered tracts to 75,000 homes, while in Brooklyn they papered the streets with 7,000 placards a day for three weeks.[31] Moody sold religion with the sophistication of a cutting-edge product in the Gilded Age.

Moody favored the spectacle of a single, central meeting site for the revivals, even though this would necessitate overcrowding. Since no church could accommodate the numbers, theatres and other public spaces were rented for the event. In Philadelphia, John Wanamaker converted the

recently bought Pennsylvania Railroad depot into a tabernacle that could seat 10,000. A few months later, the site re-opened as the first Wannamaker's Department Store. To help ensure that every seat was filled, railway companies offered daily discounted fares to shuttle visitors to the meetings. The choice of a single, huge venue helped give the revivals a theatrical atmosphere. Tickets were even distributed to gain entry, blending the meetings with other forms of mass entertainment like the circus.[32] The meetings seemed to relish confusing secular entertainment and spiritual renewal. In New York, the campaign rented P.T. Barnum's "Great Roman Hippodrome," where devout Christians rarely tread, to house the meetings.

Moody's new revivals downplayed qualitative urban work in favor of mass conversions. Moody's sermons were highly anecdotal and repeated a simple message: all personal hardship, family suffering, dissatisfaction, failure, and pain could be banished by a full and complete consecration to Jesus Christ and absolute faith in the power of God and the Holy Spirit. The world was slipping away from God, but an immediate reversal was possible if those present simply became aware of how sin had poisoned their lives and potential. Music was far more central to the services than in earlier revivals. A gigantic choir, often numbering in the hundreds, dotted services with numerous hymns that reinforced the message of a simple, immediate dedication. Moody presented consecration as a straightforward, satisfying choice to reject failure and suffering in favor of happiness and personal satisfaction. Lengthy spiritual turmoil was downplayed and replaced with a simple awareness of the necessity of a new birth and its boundless rewards.

The very scale of the meetings—involving thousands of volunteers, vast sums of money, and downtown real estate—was itself a message to audiences. The full, united power of the Christian and business community was put on display for urban citizens and newspaper readers around the country.[33] The material support of the movers and shakers of modern business demonstrated that evangelistic Protestantism was the religion of the great and successful in American society. The men

who had built the department stores, railway depots, and industrial conglomerates were the most devout supporters of the meetings. This meant that if the average worker wanted access to the tantalizing power and prosperity that the new industrial capitalism offered, they would need to emulate the moral education that had produced this great wealth and genius. Stripped of domestic artifice, the revivals proclaimed true, relevant Christianity to be the religion of modern commerce and prosperity in the newly industrialized United States.

This context helps to explain why Moody invited local celebrities like Cyrus McCormick—soon famous for his role in the Haymarket Strike—and John Wannamaker and John Farwell, both future department store moguls, to sit on stage with him during the meetings alongside secular leaders. During the Philadelphia meetings of 1876, Moody even convinced the scandal-ridden President Grant and his entire cabinet to sit on stage during a service. A few observers privately worried that the influence of businessmen would lead Moody to "compromise his convictions" and alienate the working class.[34] Yet Moody never appeared to perceive any conflict. The McCormicks and Wannamakers of America represented the pinnacle of the successful businessman, and their support was meant to demonstrate that the revivals offered tangible happiness and success to converts.

As these observers feared, where the meetings faltered was in whether they converted the right people. Moody was unequivocal this his goal was to reach unchurched men in America's largest cities. To this end, tickets were distributed in working-class neighborhoods and near tenements, to discourage church members from occupying all the seats. On a few occasions, Moody even asked the converted to get up and leave services to make room for the "hundreds of sinners" waiting outside.[35] When these sinners failed to materialize, Moody led dramatic processions into local taverns in Chicago and Philadelphia, playing hymns to the befuddled patrons on a portable organ.[36]

But from the very beginning of Moody's career, few onlookers could seriously contend that he had made much of an impact on working-class neighborhoods. One of Moody's early assistants estimated that at least two-thirds of a typical audience were professed Christians who attended meetings regularly. At one Chicago prayer meeting for new converts, only three out of 150 attendees admitted to needing salvation, as the rest were already church members hoping to experience a deeper rebirth.[37] The failure of revivalism to impact working men was dramatically demonstrated when worried ministers conducted a census in Chicago in 1885. The poll revealed that, after a decade of furious revival work, only 10% of nominally Protestant workers—not including growing numbers of Jews and Catholics—regularly attended church services.

The fundamental barrier to the success of the revivals was the distinction between Moody's "businessman" persona and the "workingman" audiences he sought to reach. The post–Civil War urban working class in America was not so much agnostic about "domesticated" Protestantism as it was hostile to middle-class revivalism. Since at least the 1860s, laborers in Chicago had criticized local Protestant churches for their support of capital and united opposition to any kind of trade unionism. The custom of pew rents, where seats in the front of churches were rented and reserved at a considerable annual cost, was especially derided as an insult to the dignity of workers and a violation of Christian teaching.[38] Many workers clung to an image of Christ as a champion of the poor and dignified laborer. This model of social Christianity may have been modest in its demands, but its association with socialist ideas of unionism and worker's collective rights terrified middle-class Christians into banding together against any compromise, and in turn reinforced revivalism's conservative, business-centered character.[39]

While Moody was willing to abandon pew rentals for converts, his business-backed men's gospel would not accommodate the values of unionists because it categorically denied that a distinct set of working-class values even existed. Moody never perceived himself as a "middle-class"

evangelist and his entire persona and career was built on a general appeal to a shared culture of all working men who desired success and riches and admired business leaders. Class distinctions and interests were anathema to his revivals. However, by the 1880s the growing distance between middle class and working-class notions of true Christianity undermined the power of this appeal.

An even more intractable problem was that many ordinary workers were no longer native-born or even nominal Protestants. By 1890, America's six largest cities were 66% foreign born or second-generation immigrants, a number that rose to 80% in Chicago and New York. The largest group of newcomers were Irish and Germans, with a growing minority of Italians and Jews. Predominantly Catholic, these newcomers were unfamiliar or hostile to the emotional resonances of Protestant revival culture and unreceptive to the message of regimented work, abstinence, and individualism it represented.

At times, Moody showed remarkable ignorance of these facts in his mission efforts towards Catholics. In his early days in Chicago, Moody was nearly injured when he blundered into a Catholic family's home to convince their children to attend his Sunday school service. A male relative rushed at him with a club, forcing Moody to beat a hasty retreat out the door.[40] Moody's aggressive street tactics seemed daring in his early years, but by the 1880s had produced few genuine conversions and seemed increasingly out of touch with reality. Ethnic and religious differences could not be overcome by a call to a gendered solidarity between men when so many working-class men were clearly hostile to this kind of unity. Renewed attempts to enter largely Catholic tenement neighborhoods in the 1800s would lead to humiliation.[41]

The low point came in 1884, when Moody accepted an invitation to hold a month of services in the "Godless Mile" of the Lower-East Side in Manhattan, a neighborhood that was nearly entirely inhabited by Catholic and Jewish immigrant workers. Local Protestant missionaries had collected

money to build a special tabernacle on Broome Street in the heart of the district, with Moody brought in to kickstart the mass conversion. The first morning service drew 1,000 people, but only 25 stayed for the prayer meeting. The service was further undermined by a red-haired drunk who sat in the front row and interrupted the evangelist repeatedly. Attendance dropped off in the afternoon, with Moody unsuccessfully sending volunteers into the street to cajole idlers to come in. While crowds turned up the next day, most were clearly churchgoers from other parts of the city. Moody cancelled the revival on the third day and beat an ignoble retreat to City Hall Square to finish out the month on more favorable terrain.[42]

It was the worst embarrassment of Moody's career and resulted in a new cynicism about urban work. In 1885, Moody conducted a fresh revival in Chicago to quell labor trouble in the city. Still wincing from his earlier defeat, Moody kept the campaign small. Even this humble effort brought a new disgrace when the Haymarket bombing interrupted services in April. Rather than stay and try to quell the conflict, Moody immediately cancelled the campaign and left the city, warning that "the leaven of communism and infidelity" were going to "break out into a reign of terror" in Chicago.[43] After 1885, he would never again attempt a major campaign to convert working-class men or expose himself and his meetings to opposition in a working-class neighborhood.

Moody's male business persona had grown out of the fears of male irreligiousness and was phenomenally successful with middle-class men and business leaders from the 1850s until his death in 1899, making Moody a wealthy and famous religious celebrity. Moody's support among this group never flagged; in 1890, he remained so popular that he drew a personal annual salary of more than $100,000 from donations alone.[44] However, by the mid-1880s, it was undeniable that Moody's revivals could never bring about a more general conversion of working men. The very model of the "factory" revival that would suck up unbelievers and churn out an army of the urban born-again was irrevocably wrecked by the chaos of events like Haymarket. Rather than be awed by Moody's grand

displays of industrial power, workers had responded with indifference, derision, and outright hostility.

Moody admitted as much himself in 1896, declaring that "the church and the working-men are separated. There is a gulf between them that has been growing deeper and darker every year. Praying alone will not close it up."[45] Yet Moody never considered altering his message to broaden his appeal. While Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch adapted to urban spaces in the 1880s and '90s by abandoning immediate conversion in favor of a social welfare gospel, Moody and his backers considered this a dilution of the revival message. To accept that the business and working class had essentially different interests would have collapsed the logic of Moody's revivalism and the entire social philosophy that underpinned the middle-class revival movement. Faced with a choice between compromise and the abandonment of the entire revival model of the nineteenth century, Moody chose the latter.

Yet suggestions that Moody abandoned revival work after 1885 to focus on institution building are contradicted by events. The Chicago Evangelization Institute—later renamed the Moody Bible Institute—was the pet project of Christian activist Emma Dryer, who in 1886 raised $250,000 in Moody's name to build a school in Chicago to train new urban evangelists equipped to reach the working class. Moody was so indifferent to the project that Dryer could not even convince him to set foot in Chicago to support it, leading the financial backers to drop out. In 1889, Dryer founded the school with a much smaller endowment.[46] Even decades later, Dryer remained bitter about Moody's attitude to the school, declaring Moody's opposition had been caused by the influence of the Devil. Instead of building schools or training urban workers, Moody devoted the last fifteen years of his life to a reformulation of the revival message that would have deep and lasting consequences in the twentieth century.

II. Sanctified Consumerism and Spirit Power

Dwight Moody spent the 1880s and '90s furiously working to initiate a new speaking circuit.[47] Factory revivalism was replaced by a new, more focused gospel message that preached the virtuous power of capital to separate the chaff from the wheat in the new America. Since workers would not accept the message of prosperity and salvation, Moody would devote his energy to reinforcing and strengthening the already consecrated who could serve as an example of regenerated success to the nation.

In terms of organization, Moody's new services abandoned attempts to interrupt the daily life of cities. Meetings were redesigned to avoid the dramatic embarrassments that had plagued the later Chicago and New York revivals. Revival services were now usually held in the early morning or evening to not compete with local churches or potentially interrupt the work day. Advertising budgets were greatly reduced, limited to classified ads in the church section of local newspapers, and no longer were there armies of volunteers to put up placards or canvass poor neighborhoods. No effort was made to cultivate the sense of spectacle that had been the cornerstone of revivals for the previous forty-plus years.

The geography of Moody's revivalism reflected the new organization. Smaller cities were favored over large ones. The urban northeast became less central to the revival circuit and Chicago was abandoned; instead, cities like Cincinnati and Kansas City became the heart of the new circuit. These urban spaces possessed less of the crushing labor problems and dense tenement neighborhoods that had caused such difficulties for the revival movement in Chicago and New York. They also retained large populations of churchgoers who remained optimistic about the future of revivalism and American capitalism. In Cincinnati in 1897, so many Christians thronged Sinton Hall to hear

Moody that the seats were full an hour before services began. In Saginaw, Moody had to plead with the morning crowd to leave so that the crowd waiting outside could have seats for the afternoon service.[48] As Moody moved to smaller cities and filled services with churchgoers, renewed triumphs replaced defeat and embarrassment.

Any real pretense that Moody was preaching to unbelievers was gone by the late 1880s. His sermons were now often interspersed with murmurs of support and cries of "hear hear" from crowds.[49] In the Kansas City service for the "unconverted," Moody began by asking everyone who believed that Christ taught the truth to raise their hand. Nearly every hand in the hall went up. To reflect this new reality, conversion cards were retired in favor of asking audiences at evening services whether they "had the spirit" or would trust in the Lord.[50] A journalist for the *New York Times* noted that Moody's 1896 audience at the Cooper's Union in New York (a rare return to Gotham) was "well-clad, comfortable, happy" and "Christian-looking," and that Moody "understood that perfectly. He wasn't preaching to the unconverted. He was seeking to arouse the saved."[51] Looking over that crowd, Moody jested that the audience was so well-dressed that it was proof that the 1890s Depression must be lifting. He went on to suggest that everyone present could afford to buy the new hymn books offered for sale by ushers in the aisles.[52]

Moody preached on many subjects in the 1890s, but his general message for the last fifteen years of his life centered firmly on the idea of "spirit power." Moody's version of Holiness figured the Holy Spirit as a force that could grant miraculous success to Christians, reflected in every aspect of their lives. The failure of urban churches to create a meaningful revival, Moody somewhat-hypocritically declared, was because their members cultivated "intellectual power"—meaning reforms and compromised theology—to fill the pews.[53] While the churches sought reform and reorganization, spirit power was a personal, individual act of faith that created a "light" that could convert and influence others. If each Christian were "to light up the country for ten miles around,"

Moody claimed, “those about us would soon be reached.”[54] “Where one man reads the Bible, one hundred reads you and me.”[55] Where urban evangelism failed, the power of individual influence and example could stand as a light in the darkness.

Ideas of the personality of the Holy Spirit were widespread in the 1880s, but Moody was unusual in directly linking his faith in spirit power to economics and unbelief.[56] In Moody's construction, work and profit served as an external sign of the working out of spirit power; “Work like a man, and you will have more influence than if you are trying to lecture,” Moody told audiences.[57] Despite their obstinance, unbelievers were marked by a hollowness and dissatisfaction that was both spiritual and material. “Deep down in their hearts,” Moody preached, the unchurched knew that: “The world don’t satisfy them, and if we can show the world that Jesus Christ does satisfy us in our present life, it will be more powerful than the eloquent words of professional reformers.”[58] The “quiet and silent power” of the Christian life of prosperity was the new evangelism that by indirect means could convert unbelievers without the compromises of reform work.

Moody’s deeply-held beliefs about poverty and class came to the fore of his spiritual ideas in the 1880s, but moral judgments about wealth and dearth had guided most of his career and left him, even in his youth, deeply suspicious of the poor.[59] As a president of the Chicago Y.M.C.A. in the 1860s, Moody ordered chords of wood to be placed in an empty lot during the winter. When impoverished men came to ask for food and money, he directed them to saw the wood into planks for a few cents an hour. Since few Chicagoans were desperate enough to hew wood in the winter cold, Moody concluded that charity work was a leading cause of poverty. “If you are always showering money on these men, and giving them clothing and raiment,” Moody explained to audiences in Boston, “they will live in idleness and not only ruin themselves, but their children.…If a man will not work, let him starve. They never die.”[60]

Moody only grew more inflexible as his new sense of the power of the Holy Spirit coalesced. By the 1890s, he considered that the ability to "earn one's own bread" came from the spirit alone. "I never saw the man who put Christ first that hasn't succeeded," Moody insisted before 12,000 in Kansas City in 1899, "that sort of man always comes right."[61] If a pauper claimed to be saved but asked for food, they were surely "not whole in the root" and "had not been born of God."[62] Sinners who acquired or inherited wealth might enjoy it for a time, but in the end, it always eroded into poverty. "Where are the sons of liquor dealers?" Moody asked in Kansas City. "To whom are their daughters married?" [63] He answered with a story of a liquor dealer whose brother had committed suicide and left seven orphaned children, now destitute. The ability to make and retain wealth and pass it on was a reliable marker of a life truly in the spirit.

Moody's stark view of poverty was typical of middle-class Christian thought in the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, the greatest point of difference between prominent religious modernists like Washington Gladden or Walter Rauschenbusch and conservatives was over the relationship between inequality, rebirth, and the new industrial order. Modernists and reformers had begun to view urban inequality not as a mark of personal sin, but as a symptom of a structural weakness within capitalism itself. Gladden especially attacked evangelism among the poor and began to advocate a flexible holiness theology based on the principles of a "brotherhood of man" that transcended religious affiliation and constructed true evangelism in selfless advocacy for the poor.[64]

Moody's idea of spirit power allowed him to both reject the social model of evangelism as a worldly dilution of true spiritual force and bring his harsh condemnation of the poor to the forefront of his gospel. To aid the poor without creating personal responsibility would perpetuate the godlessness that was the ultimate cause of all suffering and sap the evangelistic power of the Christian. Real spirit power, expressed in a look, a walk, and by one's relationship with family, home, or business, was a truer compassion for the poor because it confronted them with the

consequences of poverty by contrasting it with the joy and comfort of the Christian life. Spirit power drew an immovable distinction between poverty/sin and godliness/prosperity and made empathy or direct action to aid the poor a challenge to God's divine promise to reward virtue with success.

While the "Social Gospel" movement would deeply impact later social policy and urban reform, its actual influence among middle-class American Protestants in the 1890s and 1900s was limited compared to Dwight Moody's revival movement.[65] To the many American middle-class Christians, their own experiences of economic advancement demonstrated beyond a doubt that hard work and discipline offered rewards while dissoluteness created dearth. Far from harsh or cruel, Moody's construction of the Holy Spirit was a reflection of the reality that middle-class Christians accepted reflexively. Other kinds of reform were dangerous because, as Moody noted, "trying to fight the devil with theories and pet ideas" allowed those in desperate need of Christ to "rest in unbelief."[66] Moody did not represent a fundamentalist fringe of anti-poverty extremism but expressed what remained a mainstream and extremely popular view of the causes of poverty among American Christians at the turn of the century.

Moody's growing admiration for prosperity as a marker that divided Christians from unbelievers led him to take it increasingly for granted that local audiences could afford to make generous offerings. In the 1870s, the issue of hymn book sales had caused a scandal when Moody was accused of buying a racehorse from the royalties.[67] To avoid the appearance of personal gain, Moody and Sankey agreed to establish a trust to divest the hymn royalties to religious work, especially the schools at Northfield. Yet Moody and Sankey continued not to provide free copies of hymns at services, a significant breach with earlier revivals, and encouraged everyone present to buy their own. Despite the cheap price of sheets—only about 30 cents—sales were large enough to inflate the size of the hymn-book trust, from $350,000 in 1885 to $1,125,000 in 1899.[68] The money

was doled out to Moody's pet causes, such as a plan to provide every prison inmate in America a copy of Moody's *Secret Power*.

By the 1890s, Moody was far less hesitant about canvassing for funds and donations. The amount of donations began, tentatively, to reflect the religious devotion of crowds. In 1896, Moody chastised audiences for the low collections. When he noticed a man in the audience writing a check, he told him to double it to make up for his absence the previous Sunday.[69] The donations rose as a result. As success became a defining feature of revival audiences, generous financial donations became an expectation of the revivalists as an expression of the audiences support of the revival message.

The new tone of American revivalism was put on display when Moody decided to hold a revival during the Colombian Exhibition in 1893. His first return to Chicago in nearly a decade, the 56-year-old evangelist made a conscious effort to focus his meetings on churchgoing vacationers rather than Chicagoans.[70] Roving meetings were held near the fairgrounds and in the near northside, with none anywhere near the Back of the Yards or northside districts where most working-class Chicagoans lived. 85% of the advertising budget was reserved for the *Herald*, *Tribune*, *Evening Post*, and *Inter-Ocean* newspapers. Of these four, only the *Evening Post* published a penny edition, and the rest were conservative Republican papers with heavily middle-class readerships.[71] No money was spent on ads in Chicago's fast-growing German-language or Yiddish journals. Funds for streetcar advertisements also revealed a clear geographic bias, with only $275 out of $1,225 going to advertise on the heavily working-class west side.[72]

Moody did organize a few revival meetings in German, and fewer still in Swedish and Polish.[73] Sporadic meetings for Jews were badly undermined when Moody invited the Lutheran minister Adolph Stoecker to conduct German-language services. Stoecker was famous in Europe for

his vehement opposition to civil rights for German Jews. The most serious attempt to use the World's Fair as a means of working-class evangelism came from Moody's fledgling Chicago Evangelization Institute, which organized two "Gospel Wagons" to roam tenement streets on the northside and deliver five-minute sermons on street corners to advertise the meetings. Nicknamed the "flying artillery of the evangelistic forces," the wagons were pelted with rocks, heckled by gangs of young men, on one occasion nearly tipped over by a crowd, and on another blasted with a water hose.[74] While riding in the wagons must have taken courage, their rapid-fire and confrontational method seemed more geared to test the fortitude of the volunteer evangelists than an earnest attempt to convince idlers to come to a service.[75]

Advertisement for the meetings was conducted by 220 volunteers who fanned out across the fairgrounds daily to distribute free tickets to services. The ticket system had been introduced in the 1870s to preserve room for the poor and unchurched and prevent overcrowding, but in Chicago it ensured that only fairgoers were likely to gain entrance. Tickets were distributed on trains, streetcars, in stores, hotels, and on the fairgrounds, all sites most likely to be popular with middle-class vacationers.[76] On weekends, twenty of the male volunteers decided to shift to the "back parts of the city" to distribute tickets in saloons, but these lively encounters were in the minority.

The results were predictable. When one volunteer conducted a census of two Moody meetings, he found that 95% of attendees were visitors to the city.[77] Most of these were churchgoers, a fact made evident when in one service a comment against Sunday newspapers led cries of "Amen!" to erupt throughout the audience.[78] Despite haphazard efforts to the contrary, the World's Fair revival was designed to appeal to Christian tourists rather than locals. By 1893, Moody's intended audience had become so reflexively Christian and middle class that their presence in the revival was heralded as a success while serious efforts to preach to the urban unchurched were dismissed as a waste of energy.

The new revivals offered attendees a spirit power that championed the middle-class lifestyle and derided poverty as the primary external mark of unregeneration. Whatever form the future struggle against unbelief would take, it would not be won by compromising urban missionaries. The message of Christ would be carried forward in the lifestyles of the devout and their displays of Christian economic power that showcased how to be successful in modern America.

III. Fleming Revell and the Revivalist Press

In 1869, Fleming Revell was a twenty-year-old Christian businessman in Chicago whose primary claim to fame was that his sister, Emma Revell, had married the Chicago evangelist Dwight Moody. That year, Revell's famous brother-in-law faced a financial short fall and asked Revell to buy a small newspaper press that Moody had purchased for religious work. Revell took to the idea. The next year, Revell rebranded the press into a Christian publisher of books for the devout. Moody's need for thousands of religious books as part of his citywide campaigns gave Revell a lucrative contract in the 1870s that helped his fledgling press grow. By the 1930s, Revell had developed into the largest privately-owned religious press in the United States, with a readership in the tens of millions.[79]

Moody decided to use Revell to publish authorized copies of his latest sermons as a response to the bootlegs of his work that had circulated for years without royalty payments. The experiment was a success, with *Twelve Sermons* selling 130,000 copies by 1885, making Revell the mouthpiece of Moody's gospel. Revell defined the Moody canon, turning Moody books like *The Secret Power* and *The Overcoming Life* into the works that most American Christians would associate with Dwight Moody from the 1890s until today.

Revell also signaled a change in the direction of Protestant print culture in America. In the 1870s, most large Protestant publishers were affiliated with a denomination or tied to missionary and

colporteur work aimed at converting unbelievers.[80] Revell was an independent company with no allegiance to any institution, church, or missionary society. It was funded entirely by investors and dependent on book sales to middle-class readers for its survival. It less resembled a denominational publisher than one of the new "subscription-book" companies that marketed catalogues of non-fiction books to aspiring middle-class readers and rural audiences.[81] As an independent company, Revell was free to adapt its message to the taste of audiences and embrace new trends in revivalism without the moderating control or oversight of a church or denominational body.

With titles like *Secret Power: The Secret of Success in Christian Life and Christian Work and The Way to God and How to Find It*, Moody's books for Revell owed a clear influence to the nineteenth-century self-improvement genre that had been defined by Samuel Smiles in the 1830s.[82] Nineteenth-century success manuals emphasized the cultivation of personal "character" as the ultimate "capital" of the new era, far more important than inherited wealth. They rarely offered practical "how to" advice, and instead focused on the cultivation of values rooted in the morality of the Early Republic: industry, ambition, frugality, and honesty.[83] Books were often advertised as containing "secrets" or the "key to success" and were marketed especially to the sons of middle-class and rural families.

Self-help authors from the 1830s to the 1920s were collectively adamant that the entrepreneurial ideals of self-reliance and independence had been enhanced—not eclipsed—by industrial development. The challenge of modern industrial concentration was not a loss of opportunity for advancement but higher standards of intelligence and ambition to prosper. Great men still continued to find fortunes because they had been steeped in the same simple culture and education of their forebearers, and if fewer found their way to success it was a sign that these simple values were practiced less frequently. The "secret" of success—preached from P.T. Barnum to Russell Conwell—was to strip away the complications of modern life and recapture the simple,

practical values of an earlier time. The connections between self-help books and the revival Gospel were hardly subtle; a third of popular self-help manuals in the nineteenth century were written by ministers and evangelists.[84]

Dwight Moody's Revell books resembled religious self-help books that taught that rebirth in Christ was the simple answer to renewed happiness and prosperity in a seemingly complicated America. Moody's Revell booklets contained no discussions of how to reach or evangelize the unchurched. Instead, they called for a rejection of modern "fashions," innovations, and worldly habits in favor a return to the simple "graces of Jesus Christ."[85] The trouble with the modern world was that life had grown too complicated and Christians were too eager to please others rather than devote themselves to the simple teaching of the Bible. The basic tenants of the Bible represented a code that could heal every family, solve every crisis, and create comfort and success. "Intellectual" and "worldly" people who doubted faith suffered from their self-imposed worries and burdens. Faith was simple, childlike, and uncomplicated, as well as the source of all happiness and success.[86]

Other Revell authors aped a similar message. Hannah Whitall Smith's *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life* was reprinted without the chapters describing her universalist faith. The material that remained emphasized personal growth in prayer and revelation, comparing the church to a machine fed by the steam engine of personal faith.[87] Revell even expanded into a line of semi-secular books, such as John T. Dale's *The Secret of Success*, which misattributed a common quote to the will of Patrick Henry: "there is one thing more I wish I could give them, and that is the Christian Religion. If they had that and I had not given them one shilling they would have been rich; and if they had not that and I had given them all the world, they would be poor."[88] Revell adapted the success manual into popular religious booklets that presented revivals, religion, and the Bible as the ultimate get-rich book and the source of all joy and worldly prosperity.

Revell's most important legacy in Christian publishing was its choice to champion pre-millennialism. In 1878, Revell published the first edition of William Blackstone's *Jesus is Coming*, an ardent, nondenominational tract that insisted that all Christians embrace an apocalyptic view of Christian prophecy.[89] Blackstone's evidence was the growth of "willful unbelief" among "nominal Christians" who had compromised their standards to appeal to sinners. The only real salvation would come not from outreach to unbelievers but a reversion to the "separation and holiness" of the early Church to await the coming separation of the "wheat" of the faithful from the chaff of the world.[90] God's coming judgment meant the time of evangelism was passing and the responsibility for seizing salvation now rested with sinners. While only decades earlier premillennialism had been considered fanatical, *Jesus is Coming* was a smash hit among American middle-class audiences in the 1880s and '90s, selling a million copies by 1900.[91]

IV. Sam Jones and Folk Capitalism

While Moody remained the most famous evangelist in America in the 1890s, in the South he played second fiddle to the newcomer Sam Jones. A reformed drunk and itinerant lawyer from Georgia, Jones' caustic wit and bellicose persona challenged the very image of the conventional preacher. He relished discussing politics in his sermons, damning Republicans, Democrats—his nominal party—and Populists altogether as "papsuckers" and thieves with their hands in the pockets of Americans.[92] From his weekly column in the *Atlanta Constitution*, he commented on the price of cotton and advised readers when to sell. But it was his pulpit persona that most impressed audiences. Jones swore, joked, and even threatened crowds to embrace the born-again life and kick "manuscript" preachers out of the churches.

Jones did not preach the values of the old-time religion. He sang the praises of the new commercial order. Industrial capitalism was the tonic that would save effeminized, worn-out churches from the challenges of reform and sin. Discomfort with money and business was a sign that the church needed to be purged of overeducated, sissified clerics. Instead tough, no-nonsense Christian businessmen and entrepreneurs were needed—men who understood the old-time Christian values that had created American success but were not tainted by the liberal education and passivity of the clergy. With a ferocity that far exceeded the Moody revivals, Jones taught that businessmen were better examples of the value of the Christian life than religious professionals, whose uncompetitive, comfortable lifestyles left them unable to communicate with ordinary men. The solution to the problems of Christianity was to run the church like a business with brawny demonstrations of the benefits of salvation geared to convert the ordinary, commerce-minded man.[93]

Ten years younger than Moody, Jones was woven from the very fabric of the New South. Underdeveloped and starved for investment, the South of the 1880s lacked the industrial labor force and immigrants that perplexed Moody and the northern middle class. The reactionary violence of Reconstruction had nearly finished disfranchising blacks and linking white supremacy with progress, while the collapse of the radical wing of the Republican party led to a new optimism about reintegrating the nation. The mythology of the "New South," borne out of the virtual erasure of African Americans, presented the former Confederacy as a land of homogenous, deeply religious, hardworking whites who had singlehandedly built a new prosperity out of the ashes of Northern Aggression. All the region lacked to erupt into a new golden age was the investment dollars and industry that the North took for granted. Jones' popular identity rested on a formula of plain-folk populism, racialized masculinity, and naked admiration of corporate power that the Iowan evangelist Billy Sunday would reconstitute a decade later.[94]

Historian Edward Ayers characterized Sam Jones as a Jeremiad who lashed sin to ease the conscience of the South to the changes wrought by modernity.[95] Jones' traditional Protestant bromides, in Ayers view, helped the South adjust to the dislocations of capitalism by providing a traditional gospel narrative at a time of great upheaval. Yet he remained a figure of the past, whose sin-soaked gospel was a testament to the archaic blend of traditions that gave the New South its distinctive character. This interpretation fails to grasp Jones' support for the business culture of the New South or his fervent optimism about American capitalism however. Jones was scathingly critical of high society, liquor, and crony politics, but he had a resounding faith in the morality and common sense of average Americans. He was careful to differentiate between the "dirty cesspool" of government and the future wealth that rested "upon the honesty, integrity, sobriety, and industry of this great American people."[96] In the depths of the 1893 depression, Jones preached that "we are getting better.…The era of brighter and greater prosperity shall come again to our country…as sure as the stars shine at night."[97] Jones was no doomsayer. He combined the industrial optimism of Southern journalists like Henry Grady with the revival tradition, insisting that white Southerners represented a Christian capitalist folk who could enrich the nation with their labor.

Jones effect on the South was sensational, but his lasting influence on American revivalism was greatest in the North. Jones was the first postbellum Southern preacher to overcome lingering sectional animosity to travel and speak widely above the Mason-Dixon line. Far from being a liability, Jones' vitriolic persona and business creed cemented his ties with Midwestern audiences. Jones always highlighted the connections, not the differences, between northern and southern audiences. He did so by constructing all (white) American Christians as a homogenous tribe rooted in a common, heavily masculinized Anglo-Saxon identity.

Violence in defense of male privilege was a key element of Jones' sense of populism. In the North, Jones defended lynching as an emotional response to violations of the color line that every

Christian male naturally understood. Critics of lynching lacked the stomach to understand this kind of collective, masculine honor: “My my! How Yankee Doodle does howl when Dixie cuts up. But Dixie proceeds to do it again when the provocation presents itself.”[98] The common bonds of racialized violence knit white men together in the struggle to preserve the race and foster a new prosperity. In a packed Evansville, Indiana, meeting, Jones preached to applause that “Anglo-Saxon blood is the same everywhere.…When the brother in black crosses the dead-line they will get him every pop.”[99] White supremacy, secured by masculine violence, was a precondition for the new era of greater prosperity and national unity that Jones envisioned.

This racialized masculinity was the source of Jones' authority to reform the church. Moody's masculinity and sense of business continued to emphasize self-control of men as part of the domesticated Christian family, where women and mothers represented the pinnacle of religious devotion.[100] Jones’ revivals turned this spiritual hierarchy upside down and made men the redeemers of women and a feminized church. “Fight them till you die!,” Jones declared on stage. “That little timeserving, peripatetic dude in the pulpit! My! My! Do you call him a preacher?”[101] Women were “decollates” or "old sisters," who Jones mocked as too sensitive for his sermons, suggesting they try to get their husbands to give Jones' a "lickin'."[102] Manhood would be the cleansing force that would revive religion:

> I WANT to be a true man…if I were to become satisfied to-morrow that the pulpit was absolutely shaking the foundations of my manhood I would come out of it.…If a man believes he is right the next thing he wants is courage that will dare to do right.…I get disgusted with some little fellows who are always talking that they preach Christ…[but] are laying feather-beds for fallen Christians to light on.…Too much of a gentleman.…A Christian in [Hell] that can’t find sinners. Ain’t you a dandy?[103]

Jones’ supporters could not resist tarring Moody with the same suggestion that, compared to Jones, he was too mild to really preach. One witness to a Los Angeles meeting where both evangelists had recently preached, wrote that “Moody came here and sprinkled cologne over the people.…Sam Jones

came along and gives them a dose of carbolic acid and rubs it in."[104] Roughness and ferocity, qualities that a generation earlier had been anathema to the Christian gentleman, were now the virtues of the true Christian man who set out to 'lick' sin.[105]

Violence and vitriol in a Jones revival were tools towards his ultimate message of development and renewal. Manhood was a code in the Jones revival for the energy of America's corporate capitalist culture, which needed to be fully merged into American religion. Jones bemoaned that "religion is the cheapest thing in the world. There isn't an entertainment on earth as cheap as a religious entertainment."[106] The destructive sentiment that religion was separate from the marketplace made religion incompatible with real manhood, the latter of which represented a public, self-interested force for personal improvement. The sentimentality of religion gave men an excuse to take faith less seriously than they took business. "If you were to run your business like you run your religion," Jones often quipped, "I would see in the morning papers in less than three months from today that the whole concern had been turned over to a receiver."[107] Jones repeated the same sentiment in Boston, when he shouted the simple refrain "give me a religion that means business!"[108] It was not just money and industry that was needed to save religion, but the acquisitive spirit of capitalism itself.

Jones' underlying faith in the industrial economy as the basis of democracy and prosperity are a form of what Bethany Moreton has labelled "corporate populism." Yet Jones was no champion of agrarianism, nor did he have patience for populist reformers who sought to regulate business or retard consumer freedom.[109] In fact, Jones was near fanatical in his opposition to all forms of taxation. He opposed pensions for veterans and widows, especially in the North where the federal government footed the bill, and even advocated against public schools: "first free schools, then free stores."[110] Yet when it came to trusts, Jones had no qualms with the concentration of wealth. Trusts were useful because they brought the benefits of industrial progress to the average consumer: "I

won't kick on the Standard Oil Company as long as I get oil at 10 cents, and the flour combine as long as I get good flour at $3 per barrel."[111] Jones' Anglo-Saxon capitalist populism led him to figure corporations as reflections of the popular will, while government was a drain on the competitive wealth of the people.[112]

Jones was a figure ahead of his time. His pugilistic revivals remained scandalous in many Northern circles in the 1890s, although in the budding towns of the Midwest he was hailed as a celebrity. The death of Sam Jones in 1906 at the age of fifty-eight put an early end to his career, but his legacy would live on. More than Moody, Jones represented the new direction in American evangelism and its captivation with the power of consecrated industry to redeem the church. It would take a new generation to smooth Jones' violent edges for a more general American audience, but Jones' message of capitalist salvation would be the clarion call of the twentieth century.

V. Conclusion

When Moody died in 1899, the old guard of the Revivals of 1857–1858 gathered for the Northfield funeral service with an air of defeat.[113] John Wannamaker described how the last time he had met Moody, the aged evangelist had "tears in his eyes," and "said to me with a sigh: "If I could only hold one great city in the East before I die, I think it might help other cities to do the same.'…It was too much for him."[114] Another old minister complimented the service with a backhanded acknowledgment of the revival that had never come: "If it had been possible to repeat that [funeral] service with all its attending circumstances and surroundings in all the cities of the land, D. L. Moody would have been greater in his death than in his life."[115] The grey-haired remnant of the generation of the 1850s used the funeral to mourn the failure of the imagined revival that was meant

to arouse urban America into a new Christian Republic. For the survivors of the nineteenth-century revival, the promised Day of Jubilee had never come.

The younger crowd at Northfield, raised on an ethos of spirit power and populist capitalism, shared none of that despair. Reuben Torrey, the new head of Moody's Chicago Evangelization institute and an avid Revell reader, described the sense of empowerment he felt as he watched Moody be buried. "Our leader has fallen," Torrey wrote afterwards, but his death was the signal to "move forward…go in and possess the land."[116] The children of the new century, infused with a faith in the transformative power of the industrial order, were ready to take the reins of the revival movement. Torrey was more prescient than he knew when he wrote in 1901 that "Revival is in the air.…The important question is, what kind of revival will it be?"[117]

Chapter II

Chautauqua Revivals

"There are now over 500 evangelists in this country," wrote the editor of *The Record of Christian Work* in 1895, "probably twenty times the number of evangelists" than were in "the work in 1877."[118] *The Record* backed up this bold number with a partial directory of addresses for sixty-eight preachers who were currently accepting new invitations to conduct revivals.[119] Even more notable than the multiplication of preachers was the shift in the geographical heartland of revival work. Only a quarter of evangelists listed in *The Record* lived in New England or New York, the old burned-over district that had produced Lorenzo Dow, Charles Finney, and finally Dwight Moody. Thirty-eight of the evangelists, more than half, were now campaigning in the Midwest. Out of these, only seven were in Chicago. The largest group of preachers identified by *The Record of Christian Work* were reviving the small railroad cities of the Corn Belt between the Ohio River and Iowa.

One of the reasons why scholars have underrepresented the intense evangelistic activity of the early 1900s is because many of the new Midwestern evangelists performed under the umbrella of the new Chautauqua movement. By the early 1910s, Chautauqua circuits had become the face of public culture in the small-town Midwest. What started in the 1870s as a handful of elite, middle-class resorts had grown by 1913 to more than 500 fairs in the Midwest alone. Centrally organized and funded by regional corporations like the Redpath Bureau, the Chautauqua circuits were forums where local city boosters competed to advertise wealth, industry, and educational advancement. While the first Chautauqua in New York had been a haven for liberal-minded ministers and reformers, the new circuits were often marked by a moralistic atmosphere, compulsory religious attendance, and a cheerful championing of free enterprise as a cure for America's ills.

While the circuits housed mostly non-minister/evangelist speakers and performers, they provided a platform to a new generation of brazen, masculine evangelists, the most famous of whom would become known as “Billy” Sunday. Chautauquas were steeped in Christian culture and morality, creating space for revivalists to hold meetings within the fairs. Yet since Chautauqua lectures did not feature calls to sudden conversions, emotional breakdowns, or deep theological content, their format and social message influenced the development of revival culture. The 1890s meetings of Dwight Moody and Sam Jones—himself a product of the earliest Chautauqua meetings—had already helped to dislodge revivals from the nineteenth-century model of a campaign to convert working-class, worldly men. The Chautauquas of the 1900s and 1910s provided a further venue where the nascent values of spirit power and consecrated prosperity could metamorphize into a new revival ethos closely linked with social and economic conservatism.

The presence of evangelists in small-town Chautauqua fairs has been interpreted by scholars through a lens of inevitable secularization. It has been argued that Chautauqua meetings fostered a “social Christianity” that advocated for education rather than soul-saving, with one historian going so far as to claim that the Chautauqua circuits of the 1880s were “born out of a rejection of revivalism.”[120] Since the Chautauqua meetings advocated a movement of rational—if simplistic—self-improvement, it was distinct from the revival ethos of individual rebirth in Jesus Christ. The presence of “fundamentalists” within meetings was an “an oddity of old-time religion” that, despite its popularity, “made a farce of the camp meeting tradition and confirmed the turn to social Christianity…[by] exhibiting its absurd extreme.”[121] While this analysis may accurately describe meetings like the "Mother Chautauqua" in upstate New York, scholars of the Midwestern Chautauqua circuits have almost completely discounted the presence of revivalist evangelists and religion within the fairs as a simple hangover of the past.[122]

This dismissal is made possible by a misunderstanding of the evolution of revivalist Protestantism in the Gilded Age and Progressive era. As the previous chapter demonstrates, leading evangelists were already developing a gospel of personal success that sacralized the industrial capitalist order as the basis of Christian power in the nation. Ideas of Holiness and "Spirit Power" helped to bridge the gap between revival meetings and the Midwestern Chautauqua message of small-town values and free enterprise. After Dwight Moody died in 1899, the small towns of the Midwest became the radial point for the development of evangelistic culture in the United States. The Chautauqua meetings are the connective tissue that links the Moody revivalism of the 1890s with the national campaigns of Billy Sunday in the 1910s. The circuits continued the process of redefining revivalism from a quest to convert unbelievers into a demonstration of the power of a lasting prosperity through a true consecration to Christ.

The booster culture of Chautauqua circuits combined a "plain folk" hyper-masculinized performance with the sacralization of Main Street values. Chautauqua bureaus insisted that performers embody the small-town businessmen, even regulating their height and weight along with their oratorical style. The visual presence and embodiment of the speaker as an authoritative representation of the businessman demonstrated a set of small-town values that offered a map to success in industrialized America. This template had been set as early as the 1880s by the ministers Russell Conwell and Sam Jones, who both linked faith in Christ with economic success and development.[123] Since the largest cities were temporarily closed to them by the failure of citywide revivals, it was natural that the younger generation of evangelists would perform in and be shaped by Chautauqua circuits. The evangelists that emerged spoke a new populist language as representatives of an interior, small-town, homogenous American culture rooted in individual prosperity through rebirth and salvation.

This new movement occurred in a period when many Americans had begun to think and write about the "Middle Westerner" as a unique American type. While Chicago was the urban heart of the Midwest, it was not the cultural locus that most observers identified with the Midwesterner. "The city of Broad Shoulders" retained a whiff of the Midwestern work ethic, but its vast tenement districts and volatile labor problems were all too familiar to Northeasterners. The new Midwestern ethos that was being marked and debated at the end of the century lay in the belt of interior towns and cities that had sprung into existence with the industrialization of the west.[124]

In economic terms, these cities were the "hinterland" that fed the metropole of Chicago with raw resources.[125] Yet while these towns depended on metropolitan markets for their existence, they retained—or were believed by supporters to retain—some of the opportunities, local democracy, and entrepreneurial ideals that had been eroded by urban society. "The ideals of equality, freedom of opportunity, faith in the common man are deep rooted in all the Middle West," wrote Frederick Jackson Turner in 1901,

> the task of the Middle West is that of adapting democracy to the vast economic organization of the present. … Its training has produced the power to reconcile popular government and culture with the huge industrial society of the modern world."[126]

As recent inheritors of the pioneer tradition, the fearsome productivity, competitive toughness, and democratic ethos of Midwesterners could bridge the values of the frontier past with the new industrial order.

The new popular evangelists of the Midwest internalized the idealistic hubris of writers like Turner as they praised Midwestern values. Chautauqua championed "bootstrap" free enterprise, where faith and work could overcome any obstacle to create prosperity and development. Midwesterners still possessed spirit power, evangelists within the Chautauqua taught, because they believed in an idealized social system based on equality of station and the development of individual genius. They alone had worked out a solution to the woes of an industrialized nation. The values of

nineteenth-century revivalism, they taught, had been muscularized and toughened by small-town capitalism. The flourishing towns of the interior had become, in the imagination of new evangelists, the cradle of a revived American Christianity that would guide the nation into a new era of prosperity.

The myth of a revivalist folk culture in the interior necessitated the erasure of ethnic and religious minorities. In reality, boosterism was one culture among many in the small-city Midwest, where economic growth had produced significant working-class immigrant and African-American communities by the 1910s. These communities were in turn excluded from the social clubs and organizations that championed the revival, as well as from the collective memory they produced. The denial of the reality of race, ethnic difference, and class were foundational to the Chautauqua gospel of personal success. To maintain their belief in a society marked by social equality and equal opportunity, Chautauqua circuits and lecturers needed to display a homogenous, united, white Christian republic where slavery, Catholic immigration, and an exploited working class had never existed. In Chautauqua rituals, Anglo-Saxon lecturers ripped away artifice and complication to expose and reduce all problems into simple extensions of a Midwestern, small-city Main Street.

This chapter explores the booster culture of the small-town Midwest that dominated social life between the 1870s and the 1920s. The Chautauqua represented a serious intellectual system that, while it seems crude to us, was well thought out and presented a tantalizing vision of American development and prosperity that remained enormously popular into the 1930s. A greater understanding of the social vision and narrative production of Chautauqua lecturers can help explain the template that American religious conservatism would follow for the next century.

I. Small-Town Worlds and the Gospel of Boost

To understand the social world of the Chautauqua circuits and the common ground they shared with evangelists requires an understanding of the "booster" mentality. "Boosterism" was synonymous with the Midwest in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, often as a slur against the chicanery and narrowmindedness of local businessmen. Kentucky Congressman J. Proctor Knott made boosterism infamous when in 1871 he savagely lampooned a proposed railway bill that would pass through Duluth, Minnesota. To gales of laughter, Knott cherrypicked phrases out of the Minnesota legislature's report on Duluth, which claimed that the northern city was "3,990 miles from Liverpool," and halfway between the longitude of Paris and Rome. Minnesotan boosters, Knott claimed, had dishonestly portrayed Duluth as a "fabled Atlantis" to attract investment dollars, a willfully absurd, cheerfully dishonest pretension to urban greatness that would be caricatured by urban critics in the next century.[127]

The condescension of men like Knott obscures the fact many Midwesterners saw boosterism, with all its embellishments, as a sincere attempt to develop local communities. Boosterism was in many ways the folk culture of the small-town Midwest, a gospel of development that championed personal drive and ambition as the solution to any obstacle. In the 1840s and '50s, Midwestern pioneers had conjured cities out of prairies and forests. Their children would now summon modern 'burbs' out of backwater towns. Natural resources were important, but more crucial was a citizenry imbued with the energy of "get-up-and-go." Development could only be wrought by entrepreneurial locals with "courage, energy, eloquence, ambitions, boldness, and business zeal."[128] The tremendous industrial growth of the nineteenth century had already proven that great men, when properly motivated, could accomplish anything. As writer Rollinn Hartt put it, boosters had "made the Middle West. They have not ceased making it:"

> What passes for smugness [to us] is an incitement to further exertion. For "Halleluiah!" read "Giddap!" In Middle Western parlance it is the outward sign of an inward grace. They grace they call "boost." [129]

Hyperbole was acceptable if it served the cause of upward growth. “Taught by his Chamber of Commerce," Hartt continued, “thinking in italics, talking in capitals, he knows only cosmic superlatives.” What men like Knott read as exaggeration, Midwesterners regarded as the visualization of a future greatness that would be wrought from faith and work.

To its supporters, boosterism represented a cheerful, fake-it-until-you-make-it bravado that repressed negative facts beneath a single-minded faith that entrepreneurship could overcome all barriers. To be a realist or a critic of progress, no matter how well founded in fact, was to be a "knocker." Knockers used facts and problems to block development, hold back investment, and stymie progress. While boosters sped over problems, knockers fixated on the wrong and carped. An anonymous booster poet captured the sentiment perfectly in their 1912 poem "Be a Booster:"

> Do you know there's lots o' people
> Settin' round in every town,
> Growlin' like a broody chicken,
> Knockin' every good thing down?
> Don't you be that kind of cattle,
> 'Cause they ain't no use on earth
> You just be a booster rooster,
> Crow and boost for all you're worth. …
> If things just don't seem to suit you
> And the world seems kinder wrong,
> What's the matter with a-boostin'
> Just to help the thing along?[130]

This spirit of relentless positivity as fuel for development dominated the business culture of the Midwest and the leading citizens of every small town. Booster manuals, Chautauqua stages, voluntary societies, and local histories "crowed" the local prosperity, riches, work, and every kind of advantage of the small-city Midwest to the nation.

The stakes for success were high. Fredrick Jackson Turner concluded by the 1900s that the Midwest would either guide the United States into a new covenant with capitalism or the republic would decline beneath industrial abstractions. “Seated amidst a wealth of material advantages, and breeding individualism, energetic competition, inventiveness, and spaciousness of design" ... “The task of the Middle West...was that of adapting democracy to the vast economic organization of the present.” With their frontier values, Midwesterners alone understood how to bring democracy and individualism into twentieth-century capitalism.[131] They alone could reconfigure an industrialized society into a new competitive democracy:

> [The Midwest] may yet show that its training has produced the power to reconcile popular government and culture with the huge industrial society of the modern world. … If the ideals of the pioneers shall survive the inundation of material success, we may expect to see in the Middle West the rise of a highly intelligent society where culture shall be reconciled with democracy in the large.

No less than any small-city booster, Turner articulated a millennial optimism that small-city, Midwestern capitalism could redeem the nation from the intractable problems of modernity.

This booster mentality was widespread from hamlets up to some of the largest cities in the Midwest and was reflected in nearly every document or cultural artefact they produced. In the 1870s, counties west of the Ohio River began to publish a vast array of local histories that traced their personal journey from frontier to modern township. This conscious memorialization of the recent past occurred in a moment when many towns were transitioning from rural communities to cities integrated into modern economic networks.[132] The histories they produced both made sense of this transformation and championed their special role in the making of a modern America where old pioneer values could remain intact.

Regional chauvinism was an integral part of the project of these histories. Small-town Midwesterners, local histories claimed, possessed a simplemindedness of purpose, unbridled ambition, and ferocious work ethic that had become rare commodities in a highly industrialized

America. Midwesterners were defined by their faith in opportunity and a democratic, egalitarian culture where individual genius and personal drive were still rewarded. While the glory days of the frontier had eroded and the blood of the pioneers had grown thin, the young towns of the new century possessed the glimmer of the frontier needed to keep opportunity and individual ambition alive within modern capitalism.

While these county histories traded in obfuscation and exaggeration, they were correct in contrasting the economy of the small-town Midwest with the more developed Northeast. The prevalence of family farms in most counties meant that self-employment remained the dominant form of labor throughout the Corn Belt until the Great Depression. In 1910, when only 20% of Americans were self-employed nationwide, most Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio counties hovered around 50%.[133] Industrial work forces were growing, but, outside of a few counties in the Ohio Valley and sites like Des Moines, they remained in the minority. The most powerful desire of established citizens across many Midwestern counties was increased access to markets, improved infrastructure, and higher property values. For the families that saw the value of their lots soar thanks to the arrival of rail lines and the paving of streets, industrialization retained its luster as the answer to most social problems.[134] The chief interest of small-town Midwesterners was to quicken development by any means possible to gain a greater share of the spoils of the new economy.

The published *History of Black Hawk County*, Iowa, demonstrated the values of boosterism in small-town culture. Waterloo, the largest city in Black Hawk County, had been founded in the 1850s, still within living memory in 1915. The early days of Waterloo were the time of "the true American pioneer," and modern visitors could still "feel the hardy handclasp of the true American" in Waterloo and hear "tales of hardships and sturdy deeds" on its streets. The Black Hawk County of the 1850s was comparable to "More's *Utopia* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*;" all inhabitants had been "brothers...prompted by the same motives" of wealth and akin in means. The

social equality and herculean efforts of these first pioneers brought the railway in 1870, initiating an era of "remarkable expansion and development." While the Golden Age of a perfect equality of opportunity had passed, the legacy of "really enterprising men...the kind of men who make cities," was still tangible in Black Hawk County. Even in 1915, Waterloo remained "undoubtedly the fastest growing city in the Middle West" thanks to the lingering influence of pioneer values. The children of pioneers in Waterloo could still look forward to generations of expansion that would provide access to opportunity and rewards.[135]

As the threads of the industrial web spread across the Midwest, the initial pioneer families who built Waterloo had emerged as stewards of the local economy. George Hanna bought up lots around Waterloo in the 1850s. Hanna had given free land to early newcomers who promised to open businesses in Waterloo, and in return Hanna had made a fortune on rising real estate prices. By the 1870s, a new Board of Trade and Commercial club, led by families like the Hannas, was raising money for infrastructure projects, $400,000 annually by 1891. Under the stewardship of a few wealthy families, cement walks were paved, a streetcar line was developed, factories were funded, and a brand-new Y.M.C.A was built. Costs were repaid by rising land prices. By 1906, Waterloo's collective property value topped 15 million dollars, triple what it had been twenty years earlier, creating fortunes for anyone who had invested their wealth in Waterloo's real estate. Local government continued to be dominated by civic clubs, of which there were nineteen by 1910, including a Chautauqua club.[136] The clubs in essence elected all local officials; George Hanna was elected as town bailiff six times along with his brother-in-law. This small body of leaders continued to dominate Waterloo's civic culture in the 1920s, overseeing a steadily increasing prosperity reflected in ever-rising property values.

Booster culture's lionization of the ideal small-town citizen was matched by its callousness towards those who failed to fit their sense of local identity. The collected *History of Black Hawk*

County, published in 1915, omitted any mention of Waterloo's small black population. By 1903, a small black community, numbering a dozen or more families, had settled in Waterloo. In September of that year, a rumor spread throughout Iowa that the "Conservative Citizens" of Waterloo had published a notice that all black residents were to leave town immediately to restore the "all-white city." The local *Waterloo Courier* denied the story, but it signaled a rising strain in local race relations.[137] In 1910, Waterloo laborers on the Illinois Central Railway went on strike. In response, the railway imported several hundred black strikebreakers from the South, most of whom were settled in Waterloo. A new wave of racial violence followed, marked by stories of kidnappings and harassment against blacks that would continue to register in the oral history of Waterloo's black community for generations.[138] Waterloo's white citizens lost the battle for racial uniformity, and by 1920 Waterloo possessed the second largest black ghetto in Iowa, after Des Moines.[139]

None of this history found its way into the *History of Black Hawk County*, which presented Waterloo as an idyllic, homogenous community populated by an egalitarian, hard-working white population. The very existence of the black locals, or the growing presence of a small foreign-born workforce, were written out of the history of Waterloo. The exclusion of black people from Waterloo's civic clubs and its real estate market eased this process by keeping black workers on the fringes of Waterloo society. Instead, the narrative of Black Hawk history devoted significant attention to the earlier Depression of 1893, when locals had rallied to protect themselves by sending forty-three white residents to a "poor farm" where they were permitted to grow gardens to feed themselves until the markets recovered. This individualistic, ad hoc approach to poverty was preserved in the history as a mark of the kind of the "get-up-and-go" booster values that still defined the county. A tacit white supremacy that erased blacks as outsiders informed the local sense of booster culture. The mythic racial uniformity of Black Hawk County sanctioned its continued lip service to the ideal of an individualistic, egalitarian society.

The Lynd's later study of Muncie, Indiana, in their 1925 work *Middletown* noted this cohesion of the business class around the concept of "boosting" the town, an ethos that separated them from groups they considered anti-progress. "The multiplication" of civic clubs in Muncie effectively turned the blanket clichés and symbols of booster culture into the main social distinction of urban life. The mantra of the town was to be "a booster, not a knocker" and to "sit steady in the boat." If someone dissented—or if their identity failed to fit the booster's image of society—it threatened to wreck the collective hopes for development and a rising standard of living in the community. Nonconformities like religious unbelief, membership in the Progressive party, or Socialism were "frowned upon" for disparaging the dual sense of moral superiority and unshakeable confidence in the future. The Lynds suggested that this attitude led to absurd extremes in logic, such as one local club claiming that Christ was "the first Rotarian" or that if George Washington were alive in the 1920s, he would be a realtor in Indiana.[140]

Ironically, the Lynds own perception that black people were not "average" Americans led them to exclude black people from their study, for much the same reason that Muncie's boosters excluded them from the local social life.[141] The Lynds did note that Muncie's public entertainment was strictly segregated, and that the minority of foreign-born and black laborers did not mingle with the rest of the community. Jews and Catholics were excluded from the Rotary and many of the most prominent social clubs.[142] Yet many white residents seemed only vaguely aware that these barriers existed and spoke as if their community lacked any minorities at all. Some white residents boasted of the "democratic" nature of the town, with wealthy residents living alongside and socializing as neighbors with the humble on a level of relative social equality. The Ku Klux Klan had swept Muncie in 1923, building stronger bonds between club members—where sympathy for the Klan was present—and ordinary white workers.[143] Yet the local Klan seemed less interested in targeting Muncie's Catholics and Jews—of which there were few—than in delivering abstract threats to a

distant Catholic power represented by the Pope and Catholic dioceses on the East Coast. Some locals even promised the Lynds that Catholics were perfectly welcome in Muncie even as the Klan fumed against foreign contamination. The racial attitude of Muncie merged a reflexive prejudice against all outsiders with an obliviousness to local racial, religious, or ethnic differences.

Sinclair Lewis presented an equally critical view of Midwestern boosterism and racial or ethnic differences in his 1922 novel *Babbitt*. George Babbitt is a real estate agent in fictional "Zenith," a midsized city in the Midwest, who cherishes his status as a "Solid Citizen" and member of the "Booster's Club." Lewis depicted Babbitt and the other boosters as vapid conformists who communicated in bland generalities. Zenith's commercial community was united around a relentless optimism that Zenith would become a great city, a development that could only be slowed by malefactors, complainers, or outsiders. While the boosters could calculate the exact value of property and daily industrial production of the city, they were unaware of prison conditions, sanitation, or wages.

Lewis mocked the ignorance, barely-concealed xenophobia, and internal contradictions that dominated the Booster's Club. "We ought to get together and show the black man, yes, and the yellow man, his place," one Zenith booster mused: "I haven't got one particle of race prejudice. I'm the first to be glad when a nigger succeeds—so long as he stays where he belongs." Willful hypocrisy allowed Zenith's business leaders to deny any sense of bias while still accepting that blacks and foreigners—or for that matter unions and socialists—existed outside the true Zenith community, which was defined by "decent, well-balanced, Christian, go-ahead fellows."[144] By rendering all discordant or heterogeneous elements as foreign, the boosters were able to believe themselves to be the champions of the real Zenith.[145]

The dismissal of intractable problems like race or perpetual poverty in favor of optimism about what "solid citizens" could accomplish was the glue that held boosterism together. The preternatural power of the inheritors of the pioneer tradition could harness America's capitalist past to bring about a new prosperity that, in the hopes of men like Turner, could transform the entire culture of the nation. Racial or ethnic diversity complicated this booster narrative of an ideal small-town citizenry. To preserve this image of the small-town American entrepreneur, minority populations were simply written out of local histories and relegated as foreign elements, even after decades of habitation in towns like Waterloo. This exclusion was so effective that many locals could forget that it had occurred at all. The social world of boosters, marked by optimism about the future and a disregard for outsiders, continued to dominate small-towns in the early twentieth century, and in turn defined the culture of the new Chautauqua circuits of the 1900s.

II. Chautauqua Circuits and Main Street Boosters

In 1903, Hawkeye businessman Keith Vawter bought a majority stake in the failing Redpath Lyceum Bureau, with the intention of founding a vast new circuit of Chautauqua meetings in the small-town Midwest. Vawter was the son of a Methodist minister who had settled in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, before becoming interested in the business prospects of a rural education movement. The earliest Chautauqua fairs had been lakeside retreats for affluent summer vacationers from cities like New York. Organized as educational fairs, they drew literary and political speakers from the older lyceum circuits. The new Redpath bureau would dispense with this expensive model and instead create a series of small, locally organized meetings that emphasized speakers drawn from the region where the meeting was conducted. Rather than importing a sophisticated urban culture into the west,

Redpath would provide a forum for urban Midwesterners to broadcast the advantages of their communities.

Headquartered in Cedar Rapids, the Redpath circuits were heavily concentrated in the Corn Belt of the lower Midwest, from western Ohio to Iowa. Even in the 1920s, Iowa would possess more fairs than any other state in the nation by a ratio of nearly 2:1. As Redpath grew, Vawter targeted towns with a population between five and ten thousand. Cities larger than 30,000 lacked the "community spirit" that Vawter considered necessary for a successful fair, while smaller towns could not sustain a proper meeting.[146] The bureau contracted speakers and provided building materials to construct the fair, but the underlying financing was guaranteed by the local community. The Redpath bureau was so successful at organizing Chautauqua fairs that it quickly attracted competitors. By the 1910s, the presence of a Chautauqua had become a *sin qua non* of small-town American life, so ubiquitous that it was satirized by urban critics who rarely paid attention to life west of the Appalachians. H.L. Mencken devoted the third issue of his irreverent *American Mercury Magazine* to an exposé of the fairs, which concluded that the Chautauqua meeting had become "the poetry of the American peasant."[147]

The success of Chautauqua bureaus rested on their ability to connect with and earn the endorsement of small-town boosters. To form new meetings, Redpath dispatched contract agents to travel from town to town in search of local "solid citizens." These desirable locals included ministers, business owners, club members, and anyone with a significant reputation or financial stake in a community.[148] The solid citizens would be courted by the agents, and if several could be convinced to endorse the Chautauqua plan, a more formal pitch to the town would be prepared. The agents, with the backing of local luminaries, would then promise a Chautauqua meeting that would glorify local culture and values to the greater region and state. Commercial imperatives were presented as secondary to these morals, a point reinforced when Vawter hired two ministers to act as

full-time contract agents. The fair did not belong to Redpath but to the community itself, which would be counted on to support their Chautauqua:

> all I have to do is look into the intelligent faces of this audience to know that this is a real Chautauqua town.…Do you know that the managers…considers your city—yes, sir, this splendid city—the key town of this circuit? Yes, indeed, this fair city is a leader…and I know we can depend on you.[149]

In exchange for furnishing speakers and materials, Redpath asked that a local committee of leading citizens guarantee all the expenses and a minimum profit to the bureau, to be compensated through ticket sales. Freed from the need to protect their bottom line, Vawter and his bureau could then provide a platform for the small town to reach and impress the world.

The synergy between Redpath and the mission of boosters was obvious. Chautauqua advertisements and press booklets marketed their towns more than their actual fairs. Visitors to the meeting at Fairfield, Iowa were promised “a progressive, wide-awake little city” made up of "many elegant homes," “fine stretches of lawn,” and “paved, well-lighted streets.” [150] Forty miles away, the town of Columbus boasted that its local Chautauqua was the “pioneer association” of the region, and that “others have copied and followed its methods.”[151] Redpath took advantage of the competition between towns to drive the growth of meetings, as the presence of a fair became a mark of development and its absence signaled irrelevance. Iowa went from less than a dozen Chautauqua fairs in 1900 to more than 120 by the early 1910s.

Chautauqua meetings were organized into day-long fairs that integrated entertainment and education into a celebration of small-town life. Visitors would begin to arrive in the morning, which sometimes featured a Bible study or choir service. Mid-morning and mid-afternoons were devoted to serious lectures, while evenings were usually given over to music and plays. On a typical day, lectures and entertainment would alternate from 8 A.M. until about 7 in the evening, with numerous breaks to allow for socializing and eating. Special outings were organized for children, to allow their

parents freedom to attend lectures. Typical Chautauquas were defined by a festive but moralistic atmosphere. Serious lectures were marketed as "fun" and "lively," while light entertainments like operattas were presented as dignified and at-least-superficially educational.[152] One magician on the circuits was forced by local committees to add an aside about the dangers of smoking into his act, to keep with the aura of moral improvement.

While the meetings were didactic, they were also unpretentious. Dress codes for tent lectures were extremely relaxed and etiquette was informal, resembling a picnic rather than a formal church service or lyceum.[153] Performers and audiences ate together and mingled between shows. One visitor from New York was horrified when he joined a Chautauqua audience for lunch to discover that napkins were collectively shared by being affixed by a rope to each table.[154]

Instead of importing famous speakers to their meetings, as had been common in the nineteenth-century lyceum, Vawter and Redpath believed it was better (and cheaper) to identify gifted locals who “toiled in obscurity.”[155] Relatability was more important than talent in making a successful act, and even high credentials could fail to impress an audience. Vice-President Calvin Coolidge was hissed off of a Chautauqua stage in Minnesota for going over time and boring the crowd.[156] Many Easterners faltered on the circuits. The Chautauqua actress Gay Maclaren noted how many journalists and academics, tempted by a quick paycheck, signed up to tour the circuits for a summer season, only to receive a cold reception from audiences unimpressed with their high-handed demeanor. “Disgusted and mosquito-bitten,” these urban tourists retreated East to pen derisive exposes on the intellectual bankruptcy of the Chautauqua movement.[157]

Localness and regionality were some of the greatest assets a speaker could possess in the circuits. Publicity bills never failed to mention who was a former Hoosier or Iowan, who owned a farm in Illinois, or had run a business in Ohio, credentials which vouched for the performer's ability

to speak sense to audiences. Illinois minister James Batten was advertised not as a brilliant speaker, but as a man who had held three successful pastorates in his state. "In Peoria and East Peoria" and Macomb, his Chautauqua pamphlet proclaimed, "THEY KNOW HIM," an endorsement that gave him credentials all over the state.[158] Vawter insisted that his speakers go "roaming at will about the streets" before and after performances, to rub shoulders with residents and demonstrate interests in their concerns.[159] The Chautauqua celebrity Ralph Parlette had his appeal parsed down into the simplest possible declaration of what made a successful Chautauqua speaker. "I like you because I am like you," Parlette's pamphlet promised, "I believe in you because I believe in myself."[160] A sense that a speaker was "just like you" was the ultimate mark of authority on the circuits, a preference that ensured that Midwesterners made up the backbone of performers.

Ideas of relatability and authority on the circuits were structured by signifiers of gender and race that were represented in the ideal of the "plain-spoken" man. Gendered authority on the Chautauqua was intertwined with the "virile masculinity" ethos that structured power and authority in Progressive-era politics and literature.[161] Yet the performative masculinity of the circuits was less concerned with urban issues like over-civilization or race suicide than with contrasting small-town authenticity with other less vital and counterfeit forms of authority. The two greatest credentials of a successful Chautauqua lecturer—the qualities that established his relatability—were his "simplicity" and his facility for "plain talk." Chautauqua performances displayed their aura of localness by contrasting the culture of "real" townsfolk with outsiders and counterfeits. A "real man" on the circuits proved his worth by the embodiment of unpolished candor, independent mindedness, and simple aphorisms rooted in an ancient American and Christian culture reared in the pioneer worlds of the Midwest.

The bodies and physical presentation of performers were crucial in whether they would be accepted by local audiences. Women, with rare exceptions, were excluded as lecturers and confined

to costume shows and musical choruses. As lecturers, Redpath preferred men who were approaching middle age, and eschewed anyone below the age of forty. Younger men could not demand deference from crowds because they had not yet "made it" or established themselves and rarely possessed the self-assurance that resonated with spectators.[162] Lecturers also needed to be physically large. One promotion agent told journalist Henry Pringle that he was too slender for the circuits, as "they needed heavy, brawny fellows for this work."[163] Even height was a factor. Evangelist J. Franklin Babb's press notices felt the need to reassure audiences that Babb's diminutive stature belied his forceful style of speaking and compared him to the "Little Giant" Stephen Douglass. Real small-town identity in a lecturer could only be fully conveyed by the image of a burly, tall, middle-aged, and self-assured masculinity.

A successful Chautauqua speaker needed to demonstrate his ability to overcome artifice and complication to arrive at the basic truth of a subject. Advertisements for speakers promised lecturers who spoke "straight from the shoulder," "always hit the bulls eye," and were "plain dealers" in the truth. These colloquial phrases promised that a lecturer would be "plain" and "straight," a language that invoked the image of farmers and business people reared in the individualistic rationalism of the nineteenth century.[164] Speakers invoked the image of a shrewd, self-employed man too wary and homespun to be cheated by "crooked" dealers or the "flim flam" of insincere talk. These "honest dealers" in the truth opposed the insincere talk of outside swindlers and grandstanders who used "artful" language to conceal their intentions to deceive. In a world full of counterfeits and "twaddle," the Chautauqua speaker would reflect the transparent honesty of an earlier age through his image as a homespun American.[165]

Outside of the lectures, some of the most popular entertainments on the circuits were "costume shows," many of which relied on "rural" archetypes that dispensed plain-folk truths that cut through the artifice of modern problems. C. Lawrence Abbott won popularity for his cross-

dressing performance as the literary character "Aunt Jane of Kentucky," an elderly quilt-maker who regaled the audience with folk-wisdom in the form of aphorisms. The world's gettin' wiser every day," Abbott-as-Jane would muse, "but there haint nobody wise enough to tell what sort of a husband a man's goin' to make…nor how a weddin's comin' out."[166] Circuits even put up productions of *Carmen* where the setting was shifted from Paris to rural Indiana, with Carmen transformed from a worker in a cigarette factory into a dairy maid, replete with a milk bucket as a prop.

Some costume shows engaged in racial and ethnic play, with white performers embodying ethnic minorities for the entertainment and education of audiences. Yet these costume shows lacked the elements of transgression and caricature that defined the vaudeville comic act or the circus show.[167] Urban vaudeville shows were intended to shock and amuse audiences by placing white performers behind a racial pantomime, which in turn allowed them license to experiment with crude and risqué humor. Chautauqua shows purged themselves of any hint of satire or transgressive humor, policed by committees that were liable to cancel a show that diverged from "wholesome" values. Blackface was banned from the circuits, not because it was offensive to blacks but because it retained a lingering disorderliness from its earlier reputation for bawdy humor.

Chautauqua costume plays instead presented racial impersonations as transparent windows into the behavior of racial and ethnic others. British explorer Julian Arnold would don an Arab keffiyeh for his Chautauqua travelogues on Arab customs.[168] Other performers presented entire sketches in racial pantomime, such as Fern Casford's "quaint little Chinese maiden" and "vivid Italian peasant girl" for audiences in Indiana and Michigan. Audiences sometimes seemed unaware that these performers were not actually foreign. Gay Maclaren joked about Hawkeye and Hoosier boys donning lederhosen to become a Bohemian Orchestra or "Swedes" who spoke with Wisconsin accents.[169] The audiences never suspected the forgery and accepted the performances as authentic

reflections of foreign peoples. The shows helped render minorities as foreign subjects while reinforcing the division between racial others and true, plain-spoken Midwestern folk.

III. Chautauqua Inspirationals and Revivalism

The most popular performances on the circuits were not stage shows or travelogues but the "inspirational lecture," which both supporters and detractors nicknamed the "mother, home, and heaven" talk. Vawter maintained that inspirational lectures were the backbone of Redpath's circuits and, at his insistence, were included in every fair.[170] Inspirationals were so ubiquitous that the *American Mercury* concluded bluntly that "the Mother, Home, and Heaven lecture is Chautauqua."[171] Another critical witness broke down inspirationals as

> a kind of monologue, put together of sayings that are expected to please without offending against any of the Chautauqua conventionalities, delivered month after month with the same shadings of voice, the same accusing point of a finger, and altered from year to year only as new phrases can be tried without disturbing the tested success of the whole.[172]

Sinclair Lewis, always a critic of small-town life, mocked inspirationals in *Main Street* as little more than trite stories about how rich men had grown up extremely poor.[173] Even supporters cheerfully described the lectures as "a coupled-up series of platitudes about the desirability of truth and virtue, given in an earnest, simple style, and with a touch of sentiment whenever possible," messages that held "the enduring charm of old songs."[174] Crowds, everyone agreed, attended inspirations not to learn new things, but to be reminded of what they already knew.

Inspirational lectures reinforced the underlying "plain talk" morality that small-town boosters sold as among the chief assets of their local communities. They also articulated a serious worldview that insisted on individualism and religious morality, rather than progressive regulation,

as the basis of the American economy and society. Lecturers presented the age-old moral values of locals as the foundation for future American wealth and prosperity, values that were being forgotten and obscured by the abstractions, integrations, and mass organization of the twentieth century. While the texts of many lectures have not survived, their titles gave a sense of their content, such as "The Religion of Lincoln's Parents," "Mr. Average American," and "Don't Stare up the Stairs of Success, Just Step up the Stairs."[175] Inspirationals were phenomenally popular; Russell Conwell's "Acres of Diamonds," the archetypal and most-performed inspirational lecture, was delivered 6,000 times between the 1880s and 1925, at a rate of 150 performances a year.[176] The "mother, home, and heaven" was a spoken version of the nineteenth-century success manual, a blueprint for how to be successful that rested on a faith in the independent, pioneer values of the past.

The Chautauqua circuits provided a broad platform to many different performers who practiced the "plain talk" inspirational success lecture, but over time a group of luminaries rose to become leaders on the circuits. These lecturers all turned their platform performances into successful publishing careers. While many of these authors have since faded into relative obscurity, in the 1910s they were among the most well-known celebrities in the country, measured in terms of book sales, fair tickets, and press releases. This group of Inspirational lecturers came to represent the intellectual tradition and message of Chautauqua as their messages and lectures became shorthand for the inspirational, moral goals of the meetings themselves.

The success of these Chautauqua intellectuals was measured less in their ability to craft unique or original ideas than in their creative ability to repackage the old values of the inspirational. One of the luminaries of the Chautauqua economic philosophy was Ralph Parlette. Ralph Parlette's "University of Hard Knocks" lecture originated as a Chautauqua play for children that grew so popular that he adapted it into a feature inspirational. Parlette's lectures began with him filling a jar with navy beans and a few walnuts. When he poured water into the jar, the walnuts rose to the top

and the navy beans sank to the bottom. “Help me! Help me! I am so unfortunate and low down,” the navy beans would cry: “I never had no chance like them big ones up there. Help me up.” Parlette would pick up one of the navy beans and drop it among the floating walnuts, but when he shook the jar the bean would sink again. Repeating the process, eventually the little bean would cry out, “'Well, if I cannot get to the top, you make them big ones come down. Give every one an equal chance.” Parlette would oblige, only to shake the jar and watch the walnuts rise once again. The message of the jar was transparently simple. Life was a competition where character determined destiny.

Parlette's self-help philosophy merged the idea of simplicity, a value on the circuits, with a Darwinian notion of competition that rewarded greatness. The answer to failure was not recriminations against the system but self-transformation; to make oneself a walnut light enough to float above lesser beans. Parlette’s illustrations were an archetypal example of the inspirational message and helped him launch a career as a best-selling author. By 1930, Parlette had sold more than a million self-help books in the United States, making him one of the most popular authors of the entire first half of the twentieth century.[177]

Another luminary of the Chautauqua philosophy was the Chicago minister Frank Gunsaulus. Gunsaulus rose to fame in the 1880s for his idea of the "million-dollar sermon." Gunsaulus' plan was to raise money, "a million dollars," to transport the young tough and idle men of Chicago to a rural school in the Midwest where they would be surrounded by the entrepreneurial values of the small town. The schools would be paid for entirely by a single millionaire drawn from Chicago's wealthiest citizens, themselves children of the small-town Midwest. These urban delinquents would then return to Chicago reformed by the moral environment of small-city life and become prosperous citizens. Chicago millionaire Philip D. Armour answered Gunsaulus' call in 1890. The Armour Institute of Technology became an immediate success, later rebranding as the Illinois Institute of Technology.[178]

While Gunsaulus was a hero to upper-class Chicago congregations, he pursued a secondary career as a Chautauqua speaker. Gunsaulus travelled the circuits giving lectures on the million-dollar sermon and the virtues of his rural school, complete with tales of transformed youths. Gunsaulus praised hardships and popularized the phrase "the harder you're thrown, the higher you bounce" in his "Gates of the Soul" Chautauqua sermon.[179] Gunsaulus' simple praise for the virtues of small-city life contrasted with his presentation of urban poverty in Chicago. The central message was clear; the cure for urban poverty lay both in the generosity of the rich and the unflinching moral example of Chautauqua-type cities that could transform and redeem even the most-hardened urban sinners.[180]

The inspirational message of personal transformation as a path to success linked Chautauqua meetings to the new revivalism of the 1890s. While fairs were nominally secular, Redpath went to great lengths to emphasize Christianity as the basis of the meetings. The promotion agent Henry Pringle argued that Redpath was “an institution dedicated, if not actually to God, at least to the furtherance of His work.”[181] Local committees were encouraged to mandate a camp-meeting atmosphere, forbidding swearing, drinking, and Sabbath-breaking on fairgrounds. In Osage County, the Chautauqua committee even organized Bible talks every morning.[182] All speakers and performers were expected to be active Christians. Albert Allen was fired as a lecturer for offhandedly suggesting that a public park in one small town might fit a stage for dancing. The horrified local committee canceled his contract immediately, realizing he was not a born-again Christian.[183]

The famous lecturer and author Charles Sheldon insisted that platform speakers understood that they were viewed as subjects of religious adoration by their audiences. Lecturers were as influential and closely watched as ministers, with their personal habits and behavior held to the same standard as missionaries.[184] Gay MacLaren learned this lesson when she was once approached and kissed by a woman after a play, who mistook her for a missionary and thanked her for preaching God's word. MacLaren ran afoul of her committee when she attempted to sneak away on Sunday

afternoons to swim, only to be caught and forced to attend gospel song services. [185] To prevent scandals, Vawter banned the use of cigarettes, card playing, drinking, cussing, and late nights among his performers to maintain the ruse that all performers were devout Christians.[186]

Given this environment, it is hardly surprising that many successful lecturers were practicing ministers and evangelists. Preachers and evangelists at the meetings presented themselves as men rather than parsons who spoke in plain, uneducated language that other men could understand. Rather than rejecting the theology of the revival, they sought to purge it of the aura of liberalism and urbane sophistication associated with city ministers and replace it with the practical gospel of small-town boosters.

Sam Jones was among the first stars of the rural Chautauquas in the 1890s, and his example influenced every evangelist and minister who followed. Jones' entire public persona was built around distancing himself from any hint of a regular minister. Instead of dark, collared suits—the style favored by Victorian evangelists like Moody—Jones wore alpaca coats with no cuffs, claiming he despised starch of all kinds.[187] Even though he was from the South, he mastered the aura of Midwestern plain talk as well as any lecturer. Jones presented himself as a plain man with little patience for abstract theories of educated sophistry: "A.B.'s, Ph.D's, D.D.'s, LL.D's and A.S.S.'s."[188] His jokes could be self-effacing: "I never could preach…but I can talk a little."[189] One reporter noted that he had forgotten the text from a Jones sermon, but that it was all right since Jones had forgotten it himself: "he said he followed the crowd rather than the text."[190]

Jones' persona was a calculated rebuke to the decorum of urban religion. While Chautauqua lecturers inspired acts and built cities, urban ministers doted on their female parishioners and attended ice cream socials. Jones embraced the image of the Chautauqua speaker so thoroughly that he concluded that as an "evangelist, revivalist, ecclesiastical tramp he was "more or less in the

lecture business."[191] Jones' Chautauqua speeches were not advertised as sermons, but casual talks with titles like "philosophy, facts, and fun." His punchy delivery championed a model of evangelism rooted in Chautauqua boost and more sophisticated and effete forms of education: "When you educate a fellow it is a chance whether he keeps out of the penitentiary. I would rather have my boy in heaven reading his A B C's than to be in hell reading Greek.…What does a dairyman need with Greek?"[192] Jones' public lectures set the tone of future Chautauqua revivalists and pioneered a new kind of Chautauqua revivalism rooted in the rejection of the urban ministry and education.[193]

Jones helped set the tone for the new generation of evangelists who moved through the circuits in the 1900s. Chautauqua preacher E.W. Bowers performed lectures on the "apocalyptic vision" of the Bible with the aid of two hundred feet of cartoons and "pulpit paintings" depicting the *Book of Revelation*, a topic that reminded listeners that they lived in a prophetic age.[194] Minister George Balles held magic shows on religious topics for children, where he used dolls of the devil to demonstrate the power of sin over children's lives. None of these new performers presented their talks as sermons, but instead used the lecture and theatre format to present discussions of sin, prophecy, and salvation. Jones remained so popular that even his ghost continued to shape Chautauqua preachers. In 1907, Ohioan impressionist Denton Crowl began to lecture under the deceased Jones' name, gradually adding other impersonations like Davy Crockett into his repertoire, beginning a thirty-year career as a popular Chautauqua lecturer.[195]

The ministers and evangelists who passed through the circuits were "Chautauqized" by the bureaus. The label "minister" became an obloquy to be downplayed at any cost, and even the middle-class dignity that men like Moody cultivated was eschewed. Ordained ministers were introduced on the circuits with the prefix "Mr." or "Dr.," rather than the more distinguished "Rev.," and advertisements avoided words like "sermon." "[Minister] Franklin Babbitt…actually ENTERTAINS" one press booklet claimed, "No one need fear that Mr. Babbitt's fun will become

foolishness, or his message "preachy." Babbitt "is a minister—or rather an administrator of helpful thoughts, apt words, and good deeds."[196]

Press pamphlets likewise promised ministers who were local to the Midwest (true or not) and seasoned by Midwestern common sense. The Iowan "Singing Evangelist" Harold Holbrook had "nothing of the sissy about him," his press promised, and was a former ball player.[197] The minister "Bob" Burdette lived in Los Angeles, but Redpath assured audiences that he was "Iowa born" and the only man present "who could stand in the shoes of the gentle Hawkeye humorist."[198] The fearsome "Cowboy Evangelist" Milan Williams was sold as "a scientist, a linguist, a medical man, a stock grower, a hunter, a traveler, and over and above all a whole-souled and enthusiastic Christian gentleman."[199] "The inclination is to call him a lecturer rather than a preacher. But his lectures count."[200] Preachers on the circuits, regardless of their origin, were retooled by Redpath into straight-talking, practical men who salvaged a simple, true Christianity from ecclesiastical artifice for the benefit of small-town audiences.

The link between Biblical literalism and the plain-man credentials of a Chautauqua speaker is testified to by the popularity of William Jennings Bryan on the circuits. In the early 1900s, advertisers felt obligated to assure largely Republican towns in the Midwest that Bryan, reputed as a radical Democrat, would not be partisan in his speeches.[201] Bryan's liabilities as a Democrat were not fully overcome until he became a champion of Christian orthodoxy against reforming liberals after 1909. Bryan's fervent appeals to Christ and home gave him a common ground with audiences in counties that never voted for him, and Bryan's "Prince of Peace" lecture became a favorite on the circuits.[202]

In "Prince of Peace," Bryan attacked "liberals" and "materialists" for their attempts to reform Christianity and proclaimed that "Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the

group of individuals."[203] His central message was the inerrancy of the Bible, the absolute necessity of belief in Christ's immortality, and the fatal danger of unbelief to American democracy. Only in the places where religious orthodoxy remained absolute, such as the small-town Chautauqua, was the American system safe. Far more than his controversial economic policies, "Prince of Peace" cemented Bryan's status as a popular, "common-man" performer who defended the values of small-town Americans against urban elites. For performers like Bryan, the values of old-time Christianity were the sources of their lasting authority as a public speaker in the small-town Midwest.

While inspirational lectures did not call on attendees to stand up and be saved by dramatic conversions, by the 1890s even conventional evangelists like Moody rarely incorporated such displays into meetings. The brazen faith in the moral power of individuals created an opportunity for revivalists reared on the idea of spirit power and prosperity through personal transformation. The five hundred evangelists working in the turn-of-the-century United States found a new audience and a revised gospel on the circuits. Chautauqua created an evangelist for the modern age; not a preacher to the urban working-class, but a representative of a small-town folk constituency ready to argue for the values of Main Street as the secret to national progress and salvation.

IV. Russell Conwell and the Gospel of Money

Chautauqua inspirationals sought above all else to answer the question of how to be successful in the new America. They concluded that modern American capitalism still offered endless potential rewards, but only to those who possessed the values and character to take advantage of them. The spirit needed to get-ahead in the new America, they promised, was best cultivated in small towns. Small cities had avoided the illusionary abstractions of the modern world that separated bosses from workers and substituted capital for personal character. The people of the Chautauqua continued to

inhabit a realm of stable, Christian communities made up of humble homes, busy neighbors, and industrious commerce. Small-town Americans possessed the secret of how to make and spend money freely, a culture deeply embedded in the booster dream of endless development and prosperity.

Russell Conwell was a twice-wounded Civil War veteran from Pennsylvania who, like Sam Jones, transitioned from a law career to evangelism in his late thirties. Conwell won lasting fame for his inspirational lecture "Acres of Diamonds," a rambling series of anecdotes that Conwell delivered with remarkable consistency for forty years between 1885 and his death in 1925. By the 1910s, urban editorialists routinely mocked Conwell as a practitioner of "Pollyanna economics and saccharine sentiments," the ultimate symbol of the excess and torpidity of the former Gilded Age.[204] But on the new Chautauqua circuits, Conwell's message was so popular that even the urban journal *The New Republic* recognized that Conwell was the "ideal to which all inspirational lecturers strive."[205]

The central theme of "Acres of Diamonds," and of the many inspirational lectures that aped it, was that small towns were the cradle of American prosperity. Conwell claimed, truthfully, that sixty-seven out of the 107 millionaires in America had made their fortunes in cities with a population of less than 3,500. Only seven made their money in New York.[206] If young people found it difficult to make a break in big cities, smaller worlds remained in which they could still find prospects: "it is the smaller city that furnishes the great opportunity to make the millions."[207] The cause of the falling opportunities in the metropolises was moral, rather than material. Young people in large cities had acquired a new sense of entitlement. Instead of working hard, they daydreamed and complained that they lacked capital. In small cities, the poor still made their own capital and discovered their own opportunities. In Hingham, Massachusetts, a near-homeless young father had sat on Main Street each day, watching the kinds of toys children bought. Assessing market demand, he began whittling toys and selling them at a local boot-and-shoe store. Years later, he had become a millionaire in the toy industry. "'Didn't he have any capital?" Conwell mockingly asked, "Yes, a penknife, but I don't

know that he had paid for that."[208] "Never in the history of the world did a poor man without capital have such an opportunity to get rich quickly and honestly," Conwell concluded, than in the small American cities of the twentieth century.[209]

The greatest asset of these American towns, and the quality that marked them for moral leadership in the new economy, was that they reduced the abstractions and misunderstandings bred by modern industrial concentration. Small cities possessed industries and manufacturers, but they still brought economic relations back down to a personal level. In a small city, locals realized that the rich—Carnegies and Rockefellers—were simple, relatable men. In fact, successful men were wealthy because they possessed a plain-spoken nature that allowed them to relate to common people and assess their needs. As Conwell put it,

> the greater the man the more simple the man. His ways are so simple, so common, so plain that you think anyone could do what he is doing. … If you know a really great man, a neighbor of yours, you can go right up to him and say, "How are you, Jim, good morning, Sam." … They are ever the simple, plain everyday people who see the need and set about to supply it.[210]

Great men understood that that the complex and inscrutable worlds of modern finance were still defined by relationships between individuals, and that all economies were just macrocosms of a nineteenth-century Main Street. Ambitious, practical men staked out Main Street to learn what locals needed. With the power of their own sweat and ambition, they invented a better hatpin and sold their products to discerning locals. The concentration of wealth and industry into fewer hands could always be answered by the spirit of invention, as the younger generation discovered and addressed the needs that blossomed in the wake of new prosperity. If these opportunities seemed to be lacking in the Back of the Yards, cities like Cedar Falls or Waterloo cried out for young innovators to come and make themselves rich.

Conwell extended his small-town model to suggest that America should be directed and governed by its business class. Just as local boosters populated civic clubs and led the struggle for

development, it was natural that the national economy be dominated by a handful of successful businessmen and the corporations they founded. The simple gifts that had made men like Carnegie into an economic giant now qualified them to serve as stewards of the nation. The myth that the wealthy were immoral or selfish was a pernicious lie. "Ninety-eight out of one hundred of the rich men of America are honest," Conwell preached, "that is why they carry on great enterprises and find plenty of people to work with them." The common-men millionaires of America had created jobs and opportunities for others, making them the true populists of the United States. The rise of a new class of super-wealthy Americans did not signal a decline in opportunity for the rest of the nation, but the wonderful possibilities the new economy had opened to those with the ambition and drive to follow in their path.

The great trouble with modern American life was that young Americans no longer saw millionaires as their friends and neighbors but as distant, sinister figures. The worst offenders were reforming Christians who misinterpreted Godliness as a renunciation of money making. Real Christians needed to realize that "to make money honestly is to preach the gospel. The men who get rich may be the most honest men you find."[211] By demonstrating the plain-sense truth of how to get ahead, small-town millionaires were better Christians than ministerial renouncers who advocated self-denial. Millionaires understood that, in a society where industry had unlocked unlimited human potential for self-advancement, "money is power, and you ought to be reasonably ambitious to have it.…The man who gets the largest salary can do the most good with the power that is furnished to him." "I say then that you ought to have money.…It is your Christian and godly duty to do so."[212] The primary division in American society was not between workers and industrialists but between those who understood this truth and those who fetishized failure. By practicing success real Christians improved society around them, made opportunities for others, and showcased how success could be achieved.

Conwell's idyllic view of small-town American life structured how he and many other inspirational lecturers understood Christianity. "Acres of Diamonds" taught that to make and spend money was a Christian act, possibly the defining Christian act of the twentieth century. "A man is not really a true man until he owns his own home, and they that own their homes are made more honorable and honest and pure."[213] The restraints that marked Dwight Moody's gospel of spirit-powered prosperity were cast off in Conwell's consecrated ideal of Main Street millionaires. Moody had suggested that material comfort was an outward sign of inner consecration, but he never went so far as to mark money as a source of virtue. Conwell shed any lingering discomfort with profit and directly tied acquisitiveness to Christian power. In an offhand comment during one "Acres of Diamonds" speech, Conwell stated, "if you are not rich, you are not righteous.…Don't say that religion and business are at variance, for it isn't true. The royal road to business is along the line of righteousness."[214] The plain-spoken world of small-town America was proof to inspirational lecturers that modern capitalism was an extension of the quest for a born-again sanctification, with money dividing sinners and saved.

V. Chautauqua Gospels and Small-Town Conservatism

The social philosophy of the Chautauqua circuits and its association with an emerging form of conservative religion was recognized by urban liberals and progressives in the 1910s and 1920s, who responded with a mix of fear and condescension. To progressives, Chautauqua circuits were not just an example of "low culture" or a half-baked education movement.[215] The world of the fairs was a repudiation of urban values in favor of a regressive and moralistic philosophy rooted in an outdated ideal of cutthroat capitalism and a scarcely concealed religious fanaticism.

Sociologist Albert Allen was tempted by the money to become a part-time Chautauqua lecturer in the 1900s and ended up spending eight years on the circuits before he was fired for his suggestion that a fair might allow dancing. He afterwards summed up his experiences in *Scribner's*. Allen estimated that one fifth of the American public passed through the Chautauqua meetings, a bloc he labelled "the American home guard." "This fifth, away from the cities…revere [Theodore] Roosevelt—and support the local bosses," Allen warned, and "attach the greatest significance to the possession of property. …Money is more easily raised among them for their churches than for any other objectives," especially public spending.[216] Allen feared that urban progressives were not taking the power of the Chautauqua seriously enough. While he hoped that the nation was moving "away from the political philosophy of the Ohio valley," the obliviousness of reformers led them to grossly overestimate their power in the nation. "In the brassy glare of the Sunday newspaper or the elaborate sameness of the country club," Allen warned, "you have forgotten that all Americans do not dance, that millions of them keep Sunday as something other than a play-day."[217] Under the noses of progressives, the Chautauqua was "organizing itself intuitively into ranks of conservatism," a development that ought to fill liberals with dread.[218]

The sense of a coming conflict between urban liberals and the Chautauqua was also visible to anthropologist and naturalist Mary Austin. Austin hoped that her beloved city of Santa Fe would organize "an expeditionary advance against the banners of Main Street" in favor of the "freedom of the creative spirit."[219] She was ecstatic when local artists and Latinos represented in the *Centro de Cultura* successfully blocked the local women's club from organizing a Chautauqua fair because it would erase the artistic diversity of the city. Austin believed that a conflict between the "creative type" minority and a parochial "Chautauqua-minded" majority was being played out in every corner of the nation. Austin hoped that culture producers—by which she meant educated urban writers, painters, scientists, and others dedicated to a cosmopolitanism ideal of society—would band together

with immigrants and non-Protestants to defeat the prejudices and mental lethargy of the Chautauqua religion.

Writers for H.L. Mencken's *American Mercury* were equally alarmed about the prospects of Chautauqua and identified it with the creeping power of a "yokel" conservatism. Mencken initially defined Chautauqua, with his usual sarcasm, as "a place in which persons who are not worth talking to listen to those not worth hearing," and by 1919 used "Chautauquan," as a verb for self-important, empty speech.[220] But by 1921, Mencken was despairing about the spreading power of the circuits, writing that even the "old aristocracy" of Virginia intellect was "fallen to the bombastic trivialities of the camp-meeting and the Chautauqua."[221] The *Mercury* correspondent Henry Pringle was more hopeful. Pringle considered the Chautauqua fair as the symbol of a church-and-Chamber-of-Commerce culture that would gradually be undermined by better roads, jazz, and the radio. Authors differed on whether they believed Chautauqua was ascendant or declining, but they all agreed that it represented a social philosophy dangerously opposed to progress.

The dark promulgations of critics were stoked by a sense of powerlessness in the face of the mass popularity of Chautauqua. The commercial influence of the circuits was so great that even many of their critics worked on them for a paycheck. The irascible Clarence Darrow, cash strapped due to jury tampering allegations, delivered bowdlerized civic lectures on the circuits in 1913, earning $150 a night.[222] *American Mercury* writer Gregory Mason likewise moonlighted as a lecturer, until he was blacklisted in 1924 for criticizing the Volstead Act.[223] While some of these reluctant participants hoped to use the circuits to preach on civic reform, they were forced to adapt their messages into the simple, inspirational Christian style expected by audiences, bureaus, and committees. When Albert Allen played the circuits, his publicity booklet was careful to note that the East Coast journalist and labor advocate owned a farm in Illinois, had played football in college, and

"loved the simple homely life the best" with his wife and children.[224] The economic power of the meetings was so great that even urban critics were forced to pay homage to the booster gospel.

The underlying fears of most critics was that the Chautauqua circuits did not represent a culture passing from the nation, but the threat of a future dominated by Midwestern conservatism. Small-town boosterism, simple-minded individualism, and Christian supremacy might come to define the political and cultural life of the nation, or at least grow powerful enough to stifle urban reform and artistic freedom. In a nation where commercial appeal ruled, modernity and progress might become Midwesternized.

VI. Conclusion

The decline of the circuits beginning in the mid-1920s, tied to the growing popularity of radio and easy travel on paved highways, was accompanied by a collective sigh of relief from urban critics like *American Mercury Magazine*. Writing in 1927, *American Mercury* confidently declared that the new season of fairs was only "pathetic reminders of the flourishing state of that noble institution in the Gilded Age," conveniently forgetting their disquiet about the popularity of Chautauqua only three years earlier.[225] With the circuits safely in decline, the history of Chautauqua was quickly recast and rewritten. A golden era in the Gilded Age had been followed by a crass commercialization that reduced the fairs into second-rate book clubs and tent shows. The political culture and social implications of the later Chautauqua movement were dismissed and then forgotten. In a moment when the forces of moral regulation seemed everywhere in abeyance, it seemed safe to dismiss old nightmares of a Main Street dystopia.

The optimism of the *American Mercury* was overstated. By the time Chautauqua declined in the late 1920s, the values and social philosophy of the circuits had become permanently embedded into American evangelism. At sites like Winona Lake and hundreds of revival meetings,

conservative ministers and evangelists preached the social message of the booster gospel. The history of how twentieth-century American evangelicalism was impacted by the Chautauqua circuits has scarcely been realized, especially regarding their changing attitude towards money and capitalism. Well before Chautauqua went into its final decline, the circuits would produce a Christian celebrity whose booster gospel of small-town values would radically influence the history of Christian conservatism in the United States, setting the stage for a new conflict between Main Street and urban liberalism.

Chapter III

The Making of Billy Sunday

Between bouts on his fiddle, Charles Ross Taggart, the famous Chautauqua comedian, regaled audiences with the story of conversion at a Billy Sunday tabernacle in the Midwest around 1900. Taggart had slipped into the backrow of the meeting, only to be called out by the young evangelist "as a miserable old hypocrite" and reprobate. Furious, Taggart had to be held back from charging the podium and decking Sunday. Yet after the service ended, Taggart was overcome with emotion. "I never heard nobody talk so plain to me 'afore," Taggart recounted to audiences. "He whacked me in my face an' in my soul. … Billy used words, lots of them, that every man, woman and child knew exactly what they meant."[226] It was Sunday's aura and personality that won Taggart to the revival. Taggart had not attended a church since he was a child in Vermont, but after his one encounter with Billy Sunday, he declared for Christ and spent the rest of his career preaching the virtues of the confrontational Iowa evangelist.[227]

Sixty years later, Everett Mitchell, in his eighties, was interviewed in Wheaton, Illinois, about his time at the Sunday revival. Mitchell described how he had been converted not by Sunday's sermons, but by his "straight language."[228] Sunday called things "by their right names" and "never pulled any punches." Shed of the vagueness of otherworldly speech, Sunday's words grabbed Mitchell by the cuff and pulled him into the Christian life. Just like Taggart, Mitchell was unable to describe Sunday's theology or what he taught; it was Sunday's aura and ferocity that he remembered and praised. Sunday's first biographer put this sentiment bluntly: "he gave no heed to glittering generalities, but loaded up with buckshot and tried to shoot to kill."[229] Sunday's converts across the decades were awed most of all by the evangelist's "commonness" as a man. Sunday's outlandish performances served to reinforce his relatability as a plain, real, and above-all "straight" man who could reach out and touch listeners because he was just like them.

To men like Taggart and Mitchell, Billy Sunday also symbolized the lean efficiency of a modern, common-sense religion removed from the hidebound formalism and euphemistic mawkishness of the old churches. Sunday's ability to "speak plain" brought both men into a relationship with a religion that was marked less by a systemic theology than a lifestyle of personal honesty, integrity, and hard work. Taggart and Mitchell both became radio hosts in the 1930s and led long and successful careers in the public limelight. Yet despite growing criticism of Sunday's methods in liberal circles, both remained determinedly loyal to his memory. "He did not gild the lily," Mitchell insisted in 1980, echoing Sunday's vernacular: "he spoke to the common people. He did not speak down, but he spoke their language."[230]

Billy Sunday is best remembered today as a flash-in-the-pan fundamentalist whose popularity was intertwined with the anti-German nativism that swept the nation during the First World War and quickly faded into marginalization and eventual irrelevancy in the 1920s.[231] Of the scholars who have emphasized Sunday's career, many have linked his support of big business with either the growing acceptance of consumerism or "new thought" precepts into evangelical religion.[232] In this argument, Sunday's materialism and enthusiastic support for corporate power eventually drained his movement of social relevance and led to a decline in audiences in the 1920s.[233] Sunday's opposition to labor, tacit support for white supremacy, crude masculinity, and anti-intellectualism marginalized him and his supporters in urban America as more liberal and modern values took root. The conflicts and weaknesses of evangelicalism in the 1910s would be hashed out and transcended by a later and more serious generation of intellectuals and theologians who in turn would create the basis of modern evangelicalism in the 1940s. [234] Sunday's antiquated bromides, outlandish performances, and seemingly rapid decline in the 1920s have contributed to a sense that Sunday's historical legacy pales in comparison to later figures like Billy Graham.

This chapter argues for a different interpretation of Sunday's career and legacy. Billy Sunday was the first nationally popular American evangelist to fully integrate the American revival with the values of twentieth-century industrial capitalism and the modern consumer economy. Despite their early consecration of success, urban evangelists like Dwight Moody maintained a reticence about materialism and personal profit that prevented them from fully embracing the culture of consumerism and celebrity. Turn-of-the-century Chautauqua preachers and intellectuals helped to break down evangelistic aversions to materialism by linking religion with urban development and the commercial values of Main Street. Sam Jones' roughnecked corporate populism and Russell Conwell's small-town idealism created the basic template that Sunday would follow. Jones associated true Christianity with the buying power of ordinary Christians, whose interests were aligned with corporations against the regulatory power of the state and taxation. Russell Conwell constructed the American economy as an extension of Main Street, where millionaires excelled because they were the most common. The Chautauqua circuits gave Sunday the basic social, economic, and religious philosophy that he would adhere to throughout his career.

Sunday's genius was that he adapted the regional philosophy of the Chautauqua into a national movement and brand. Sunday's personal magnetism blended Main Street populism, polished glitter, and old-time citywide revival methods into a public persona that combined rural nostalgia with the cutting-edge efficiency of the consumer-industrial state. Sunday's success in tempering Chautauqua inspirationals with urban revivalism and vaudeville antics helped to lift the values of the Chautauqua circuit into a national creed popular with a broad swath of the American population, from the department store employees of New York to the officer workers of San Francisco. By 1908, Sunday spoke to an America of clerks, skilled workers, salaried employees, self-employed business people, and upwardly-mobile Americans who shared his vision of a nation where hard work, a Christian identity, and faith in the American system allowed anyone to get ahead.

Beginning his career as an evangelist in 1896, Billy Sunday sacralized the modern American economy by linking it to the values of the nineteenth-century pioneers, small-town boosterism, and a deeply conservative idea of evangelical religion defined by a literal interpretation of the Bible, a rejection of liberalism and evolution, and the necessity of personal conversion and a personal relationship with Christ. By linking industrial capitalism with the power of conversion and old-time religion, Sunday marked a definitive break with urban reformers, whose attempts to restrain and regulate the economy attacked the profound idealism about limitless opportunity that marked Sunday's movement. Sunday also cemented a relationship between modern capitalism and fundamentalism that would long outlive his popularity, as he merged the defense of the traditional Protestant religion with the defense of an unregulated economy.

I. Judging Billy Sunday

With remarkable consistency, Billy Sunday's biographers have constructed Sunday as an earnest but naïve Christian crusader whose persona and calls to piety attempted to preserve nineteenth-century evangelicalism in a rapidly modernizing nation.[235] Sunday brought modern business techniques and showmanship to evangelism and a reformist mindset that comforted Americans undergoing the shocks and dislocations of industrialization.[236] However, his simple religion of personal conversion was rooted in a mythology of heroic individualism that by the First World War was already obsolete. Even scholars who acknowledge Sunday's contribution to modern ideas of religion and consumerism frame him as American Protestantism's stepping stone to the secular "New Thought" movement.[237]

In this reading, Sunday's materialism and clichéd analysis of social and economic issues were borne out of his small-town upbringing and limited his power to address social change or build a lasting movement. Sunday "lacked the will or ability to disassociate himself from the culture in

which he had been steeped," claimed biographer Robert Martin. "He could not or would not question the dominant economic, social, or political assumptions of the day.…[He] was seduced by materialism, equating prosperity with the rewards due to the righteous."[238] Sunday's traditional bromides served as a "bridge between tradition and modernity" that comforted middle-class Christians caught in the transition, but his bland support for consumerism and refusal to confront inequality dulled his prophetic voice. The heavy emphasis on Sunday's largest revivals between 1914 and 1919 have reinforced the sense of a rapid and cataclysmic decline. Sunday's ruralism, fundamentalism, and economic philosophy ensured that he faded into irrelevance in the 1920s as his simplistic, individualistic, sin-soaked gospel was rendered obsolete by a changing society.

Sunday has also attracted a gendered analysis from scholars who have marked his movement as an important moment in the development of a fundamentalist masculinity. In these analyses, Sunday is often figured as reconstructing the ideal of the Victorian home in opposition to the urban reality of the New Woman, associating male authority with religious vitality and power. [239] While this analysis has merit, expansive ideas of masculinity in some of these studies have neglected the intersected reality of what manhood meant in the small-city worlds of the Midwest. Sunday's pantomime of masculinity was also a classed and racialized appeal to a mythic "common people" identity rooted in the economic values of booster culture. Sunday's embodied performances were contrasting the authenticity and efficiency of small-town life with the effete sophistication and artificiality of sentimental religion and the urban middle class.[240] Helen Sunday, who ran the business side of the revivals and was an author and evangelist in her own right, helped shape an attitude towards womanhood that appropriated much of the idea of the New Woman into the revivals, supporting women's employment and sexual education. Evangelism to businesswomen, as well as businesswomen's councils, would eventually become a feature of the meetings. As both consumers and guardians of the family, women's participation became a focus of the revival, leading

to the women-only meetings and frank discussions of sexuality that were a controversial novelty of the Sunday campaigns.

What many of Sunday's biographers and scholars have underappreciated is that Sunday's folk persona concealed values that were radically modern. Sunday's fiery dogma and chauvinistic swagger were the vehicle for a social message that advocated for the role of individual consumers as the engine of the American economy. While radical populists and socialists in the South and West cultivated a "producerist" politics based on the economic rights of farmers, Sunday preached a "consumerist" morality predicated on ever-expanding access to capital and material goods. The power of the American people lay less in their labor than in how they directed their dollars, which in turn created wealth and jobs. The regular targets of the Sunday revivals were either people who were too conservative to embrace the consumer ideal, namely ministers, or urban sinners whose selfish spending sapped their potential as individuals to contribute to an ever-growing economy.

By punching from the shoulder and "speakin' plain," Sunday shocked and cajoled audiences into an awareness of their moral responsibility to consume wisely. Like Conwell, Sunday preached that America was a land where opportunity was not limited by abstract industrial forces but by the limits of human virtue. Revivals and rebirth in the blood of Christ provided the moral armor and discipline necessary to navigate and prosper in a world of endless choices and pitfalls. Like Jones, Sunday sought to strip away sentimentality in religion by appealing to a mythic, small-town religion free from the artifice and hidebound ritual of the old Protestant churches. The new ministers would be guided by the simple virtues of Main Street, where competition, shrewdness, and hands-on action spoke louder than meekness or self-denial. Sunday spoke for a mythic public of industrious, honest, plain-spoken Midwesterners who, if they stuck by the God of their fathers, were fated to rise to the top of the economic order and work a new revival.

II. Making 'Billy' Sunday

William Ashley Sunday was born in a rundown log cabin outside of Ames, Iowa, in 1862. His father was a day laborer and occasional brick mason who was nearly penniless when he enlisted in the Union Army in the second year of the war. He died of pneumonia as soon as he set foot in Missouri, leaving his wife Jennie with four young children and no means of support. The family moved from town to town in Iowa seeking a new start. Eventually hunger compelled Jennie Sunday to send her three sons to a soldier's orphanage. She later remarried and had no connection with her children until they were adults. Sunday spent the rest of his childhood moving between orphanages and his grandfather's backwoods cabin. At the age of sixteen, he broke out on his own, doing odd jobs in various Hawkeye towns, without much success. At twenty, Sunday joined an amateur baseball team in Marshalltown, where he was working as a handyman. Marshalltown was the hometown of Chicago Whitestockings coach Adrian "Cap" Anson, who soon heard about Sunday's base running and offered to try him out for the national league. By the time he was twenty-one, Sunday was a professional baseball player in Chicago, a rags-to-riches story that would make any inspirational lecturer proud.[241]

Sunday showed no interest in religion until he was spontaneously converted at a Y.M.C.A. prayer meeting in 1887. He quit baseball three years later to accept a low-paying position with the Y.M.C.A. as a men's evangelist. In 1893, Sunday was hired by J. Wilbur Chapman as an advance man for a series of revivals in central Indiana. Chapman was a Yale Divinity School graduate and Presbyterian minister who had left a comfortable pastorate in Indiana to pursue full-time evangelism. Chapman had been converted by Moody in the 1870s and modeled his persona on his mentor. His sermons were forceful, informal, and humorous, but decorous and un-theatrical. The team of

Chapman and Sunday was not a great success, attracting scant press attention and marginal offerings and conversions. After two-and-a-half years on the road together, Chapman suddenly quit evangelism and accepted a new pastorate. Broke and unemployed, Sunday decided to carry on alone. He and his wife Nell accepted an invitation on Chapman's behalf to hold a revival in an "opera house"—really a converted room above the general store—in Garner, Iowa, a town with a population of about 1,000. The collections barely paid for meals and a train ticket out of town, but Sunday continued to receive invitations from other small Iowa towns and stuck to the meetings.

Sunday's earliest religious performances relied heavily on his identity as a former ball player and were saturated with baseball puns. Audiences were called to "take up the bat of truth and slug the out-curves of Satan."[242] While his approach was novel, it did not catch on in Iowa or Illinois. The religious market was already saturated with novelty acts, including numerous reformed drunkards, 'gypsy' revivalists, and several cowboy preachers who held revivals from Cincinnati to Des Moines. Sunday's ballplayer performances soon dropped out of local newspapers, leaving him one among hundreds of small-town preachers.

Sunday began to reinvent his stage identity after 1896. He dropped most of the baseball lingo, although he continued to pantomime the occasional umpire or base stealer. That year, he partnered with the "cowboy evangelist" Milan Williams. Williams grew up in Atlanta but preached across the small towns of central Iowa in the 1890s, alternating between revivals and Chautauqua lectures until he retired in 1902 to become a Congressman in Kansas. Sunday toured with Williams in Iowa and held the older preacher in high esteem for the rest of his life, later describing him as "the biggest man on the American platform."[243] Williams' specialty was "roasting" towns. In Racine, Wisconsin, he annoyed the local newspaper by declaring the only difference between hell and Racine was that Racine had a railroad and people could leave.[244] Williams borrowed the idea from Sam Jones of holding exclusive meetings for "men only," for discussing carnal sins so vulgar women or children

would faint. He also began insisting that local churches build him a fixed "tabernacle" structure for his meetings, with sawdust sprinkled on the floor to muffle noise.[245] More comfortable than a tent, tabernacles advertised the revival for weeks in advance as they were constructed, building excitement for the services. They also allowed meetings to take place even in storms and foul weather. Williams "scoring" language and willingness to talk "straight" no matter whom he offended made him a minor celebrity and Hawkeyes seemed unable to resist the publicity that followed him.

One such debacle occurred when Sunday joined Williams for a joint revival of Waterloo, Iowa, a growing rail town of 8,000, a few months after the Garner meeting. Early in the revival a local newspaper man printed that Williams' sermons were obscene. Williams responded by calling him a "black-hearted liar." The Congregational and Methodist ministers promised a boycott if Williams did not apologize. The next night's meeting was so large that it required a tent to hold an overflow audience of 1,000 people. A reporter from the *Chicago Tribune* even came to hear Williams' answer. Williams' refusal to back down drove the Congregational minister to storm out of the service. Sunday bought a pistol for the meeting and showed it off to the *Tribune* reporter, warning that "if anyone assaulted him he would get hurt."[246] Despite the alienation of the Congregationalists, the meetings were declared a great success. 1,000 attendees—many already church members—walked up the aisles to shake hands with Williams and declare their re-conversion. The town of 8,000 raised $2,000 on the last day of the meeting for Williams' personal salary, a princely sum that represented three times the annual wage of a skilled machinist.[247] Waterloo got Sunday's name into a syndicated newspaper for the first time in six years, demonstrating that controversy and confrontational language attracted crowds and converts better than baseball puns.[248]

By 1900, there was a new Billy Sunday, crafted to appeal to audiences in small-town Iowa and Illinois. More than a "base stealer" for Christ, Hawkeyes were introduced to a vindictive angel

whose razor wit and rough manners skewered hypocrites and back benchers. Colloquial sermons were nothing new—Moody had been accused of making Webster turn in his grave—but Sunday built entire sermons around western adages and phrasings popular in the small-town Midwest. His emphasis on sin and willingness to attack locals with his "plain talk" built his legitimacy with local audiences. While most ministers were florid, Sunday was hard and straight and spoke to a plainer truth captured in the local vernacular of towns. He rarely wrote out sermons, but carefully copied down turns of phrase and local slang into notebooks that he used repeatedly on stage. Common idioms included "horse sense," "straight shooting," "weasel-eyed," "hog-jowled," "black-hearted," "white-livered," and "stand without hitching." The *New York Times* would later complain that these "derangement of polysyllables and compound words" were unconnected to the subject of the sermon and seemed to be placed almost at random: "some of the passages…were obviously inserted for their own sake and not for any relation which they bore to the topic."[249] Yet it was the "Sundayisms" rather than the sermon topics that audiences turned out for and remembered after Sunday departed.

Sunday did not only skewer sin, but also offered the old common-sense solutions and inspirational axioms of the Chautauqua circuits, delivered in a brogue that was at once novel and old-fashioned. Sunday's new persona combined the confidence of a circuit performer, the invective of a barnstorming evangelist, and the blunt wit of a country poet. His hurled insults and summations gestured towards a reality that Midwesterners knew to be true but were too polite and refined to acknowledge out loud: that sin was the cause of all poverty and suffering and that only self-help and personal accountability could create happy homes. Sunday's reformed persona became a hit on and near the Chautauqua circuits. He began to schedule meetings immediately after Chautauqua fairs, taking advantage of the crowds. As he grew more popular, Sunday started receiving pay to lecture on the circuits as well. The Shelbyville, Illinois, Chautauqua of 1908 paid Sunday $1,855 for two

lectures, a fifth of the revenue for the entire fair, and more than Russell Conwell and a former Illinois Governor earned at the same meeting.[250]

Sunday's new revivals format was shaped by his exposure to the Chautauqua meetings. These had demonstrated a voracious demand for musical entertainment, and Sunday responded by integrating choirs into his services to an extent unseen in the nineteenth century. Moody had made the novel choice of appointing a permanent song leader in his meetings, uncommon at the time, along with regular musical interludes at his services. But Sunday turned musical services into a virtual fête. Prior to 1908, the size of choirs at Moody revivals were set at 1/10th the scale of the maximum audience of the service. This meant that if a tabernacle seated 1,500, a common size, they required a choir of 150. By 1910, Sunday commanded a choir of 1,200 at every revival he conducted. Talent was collected from across the Midwest, with candidates selected for their musical ability and even appearance. Everett Mitchell was selected because he looked younger than his 15 years. He was instructed to wear the short pants of a young boy, making his talent as a soloist more striking. The choir warmed up audiences and even took requests for hymns from committees as they brought up donations, becoming an integral part of the entertainment at services.

Despite Sunday's fiery attacks on sin, much of his rhetoric reflected the sunny inspirational lectures of the circuits. Sunday romanticized the spirit of local boosterism and the tangibility of success that came to those who worked. He claimed he was a self-made man who had passed through the "school of hard knocks," because he had the sense that belonged to those "bred and borne…in old Iowa. I am a rube of the rubes. I am a hayseed of the hayseeds, and the malodors of the barnyard are on me yet, and it beats Pinaud and Colgate, too."[251] By invoking the newly popular shaving cream and toothpaste, Sunday demonstrated that his connection to an older small-town America was the source of his wisdom and authority. "You can find as much Christianity and Americanism in a dug-out on the plains as you can on Fifth avenue," Sunday insisted, and it was "out from the plains

came Oliver and the chilled steel plow.…And so with the locomotive with its steel rails and magnificent engine."[252] Instead of writhing on an anguish bench, sinners were invited to "walk down the sawdust trail" and clasp hands with Sunday, who leaped down through a trap door in the podium to greet the first penitents. Moody's mystical emphasis on Holy Spirit Power was dropped in favor of a simple formula: choose to do right, live well, and be saved. Converted Christians as well as penitents were welcomed as they streamed forward to shake Sunday's hand, marking conversion with the homey simplicity of a firm masculine greeting.

Sunday's vernacular was cobbled together from the colloquialisms of the late-nineteenth-century west, already slightly anachronistic in 1900. "Straight shooter," one of Sunday's most popular phrases, originated as a railroad term "air-line," which referred to rails that followed the straightest and most direct overhead line over the prairies, without curves or circumlocutions.[253] In the Sunday revivals, "horse sense" was a synonym for the innate ability that allowed men to sense opportunity, "to see when the clock struck twelve" and seize chances. The term dated back to the 1860s west, where it was a synonym for practical wisdom—the rural alternative of street smarts—that was more useful than school learning.[254] The "Sundayisms" were not natural borrowings, but a conscious affectation of nostalgic phrases that conjured a simpler, more-rustic time marked by the pioneer virtues that had conjured cities out of wildernesses. Even Sunday's pet name for his revival territory, "the kerosene circuit," invoked a world of kerosene lamps and farm houses that belonged more to the 1880s than the 1900s.

In both format and rhetoric, Sunday's new meetings owed as much to the Chautauqua fairs and small-town boosterism as they did to the nineteenth-century revival. One of the more notable departures of the Sunday revivals from previous largescale meetings was the emphasis on collections and "freewill offerings." While personal offerings had been part of revival meetings for centuries, famous evangelists like Moody and Spurgeon had scrupulously avoided personally profiting from

donations and donated all proceeds to publishing and charity work. Moody was so horrified with any hint of scandal in his evangelistic work that he even publicly refuted a charge that he had bought a racehorse with his book royalties, insisting it had only been a workhorse. [255] Chautauqua meetings were always less sensitive to charges of profiteering and encouraged donations as a display of the generosity and civic-mindedness from all attendees. Sunday adopted the Chautauqua model. Audiences, he insisted, owed a debt to the church and revival as binding as a grocery bill.[256] The last day "freewill offerings" of Sunday meetings were organized into a massive spectacle of spending. A gigantic bucket was placed on stage, and audience members were encouraged to publicly compete to cast cash into the bin. Far from distancing himself from personal profit, Sunday openly accepted gifts on stage, even trying on clothing and testing out products, naming and thanking the giver.

The spectacle helped democratize the fundraising of campaigns by weakening the power of committees in favor of individual donations. While citizen committees and business backers were required to guarantee Sunday's expenses before he agreed to hold meetings, these guarantees became effectively meaningless because of Sunday's success with offerings. The financial dependence of Moody on businessmen like John Wannamaker and Cyrus McCormick was rendered largely moot by Sunday's ability to raise huge sums of cash from ordinary attendees, often consisting of change and low-denomination currency. Sunday owed his livelihood not to a small group of respectable backers, but to the crowds who soaked in his Sundayisms.

Sunday's revivals marked a new comfort with money among American evangelists as well as the greater power of mass audiences to support and potentially direct the nature of revival performances. The full consequences of the commercialization of revival meetings were not to be felt until much later in the century, when the radio and television would give form to a new, widely disseminated format for mass evangelism. By weakening ties between church organizations and the revival meetings, Sunday made his services heavily dependent on the tastes and desires of his

audience of ordinary churchgoers and curious onlookers. Sunday would succeed or fail based on his ability to resonate with Christians across a wide spectrum of American Protestant churches, who would in turn demonstrate their support in hard cash.

III. Sunday's Small-town Stories: Formulas for Success in Modern America

Sunday's social and economic message were conveyed less through rigorous theology than parables that demonstrated the entrepreneurial ethos of the Midwest and the pitfalls that assailed it. Sunday's social and religious vision was conveyed through family dramas that divided good and bad consumption, with a special emphasis on generational divides. When young people partook in alcohol or nightlife, they sapped their future potential and sowed the seeds of their own poverty. When families practiced a Christian lifestyle based on work, attentiveness to family, and personal discipline, they prospered and participated in the fruits of the new economy. This simple formula for success was retold endlessly in the revivals. Sunday's stories taught and embodied a millennial faith in development and consumption along with a deep distrust of the urban culture that the new industrial economy had helped create.[257] They both articulated the tensions over modern life that concerned Chautauqua audiences and offered a solution in a re-commitment to the values of the revival and the inspirational lecture.

Sunday's stories often retold Biblical narratives in the context of contemporary American life and families. In Sunday's telling, Samson's father was a commodity trader in a small town. Business was good, and husband and wife showered their son with the benefits of their prosperity. Samson was raised on roller-skates, bicycles, and lollipops, rather than chores and Bible reading. As a result, "Samson was spoiled before he left off knee pants." Now a young adult, Samson "breezed in one day in his father's office" wearing a purple-banded panama hat over one ear and sporting a "dinky bamboo stick" and a cigarette, making "him look like a real man of the world" to his father's blonde

stenographer. Interrupting his father at work— "it was the rush season in the cattle-trading market"—Samson informed him that he planned to marry a "dizzy" blonde named Delilah with a "gasoline gaze" and a "Come Hither smile," who lived in the big Philistine city. Delilah had a voracious taste for candy, and Samson had "bought out the candy store" to get her affection.

Samson's parents preferred he marry a local girl, but Samson wanted a woman "with some style," and was used to getting his way. They finally consented, even though deep down they knew the marriage would end in disaster. Samson was a garish buffoon, but his parents had failed him as a child and again as an adult. Samson's parents had neglected to impart the simple values of Christianity and entrepreneurship into their boy, giving him no appreciation of work nor the discipline to succeed on his own. If they had spoken "the truth of their own hearts they would stop a lot of this fool chasing of their sons and daughters down the Taxicab trail and the Primrose path and would cheat the devil out thousands of the victims they are deliberately sending him."[258]

Discomfort over the impact of the modern urban "pleasure" culture on young Americans in the 1910s has been widely noted and studied by scholars.[259] Sunday's stories emphasized the destructive independence that urban pleasures offered to young people. Sampson's desire for garish clothing and Delilah's hunger for candy led both to unchaperoned taxi cab rides, alcohol, and dancing. The indulgence of Samson's Christian parents, who underestimated the dangers of modern urban life, set the stage for his downfall. Samson had been cast into the modern world with too much power and too little training in the morality and values that had made his parents wealthy. He was unprepared for the manifest temptations of the new economy and was ultimately destroyed as a result.

Prosperity itself was not the problem but the attitudes that individuals brought to consumption. Jacob had made his fortune in the corn belt of Canaan and ventured to town one day

with “real money in his jeans.” While window shopping, he found an expensive rainbow coat for sale at the “classiest clothing store in the burg.” The clerk informed him it was “the newest advance style from Jerusalem.” Jacob had twelve boys, and he knew the flashy coat was a foolish gift for a farmer’s son. He bought it anyway and gave it to his son "Joe." Joe slicked his hair back and strutted in his new coat like he possessed "all Broadway worth owning." As soon as he was alone, Joe’s jealous brothers sold him to slavers for twenty silver pieces.[260] Newly humbled, Joe developed diligence in captivity and patiently climbed “the ladder of success” in Egypt. His prophetic dreams helped Pharaoh “to weather a famine without having to make a government loan.” As a reward, Joe was given his own office, a rolltop desk, a dozen new suits, a silk hat, and a gold-headed cane. Eventually, Joe forgave his brothers and rented them furnished apartments in Egypt, “with all modern improvements, in the most fashionable block of town.”[261] While Jacob's foolish splurge had set his family into discord, Joe's diligent acquisitiveness left him and his brothers in a life of material luxury.

The specific signifiers that Sunday marked as sinful or virtuous turned on their association with youth culture. Roller skates, chocolate, taxicabs, and gaudy clothing cut the bonds between young people and the home and led to a "fast life" where eternal pleasure replaced the drive to work and excel. The urban dandy, leisured gentleman, and ingenue represented young people whose connection to the home and the moral world of hard work and discipline had been permanently severed. Positive consumption instead strengthened the bonds of family and kept parents and children bound together. An overflowing larder, full closet, modern appliances, and a writing desk reinforced the centrality of the home in American life and deepened the connection between husbands, wives, and children. Positive consumption also encouraged further productivity, again within the context of the family unit. A suit and a Stetson could get a newly-married young man a

job, allowing him to buy and furnish a house with an electric stove and a pantry full of flour from Marshall Field's.[262]

Even if a family was strong, the wrong environment spelled ruin. The ideal example to follow was Abraham and Sarah. Abraham had been "the principle depositor at the bank and the leading cattle trader in Haran," a town that would be "called today a live burg." Despite his wealth, Sarah was still an old-fashioned wife who served baked beans and apple pie for dinner. However, Haran was a bad city. Haran's Chamber of Commerce had sponsored few factories, and instead built its wealth on its modern hotels and railroad stations. The result was that it had too much of the wrong kind of prosperity. The cabarets ran all night in Haran's Bowery and Chinatown, where "money came too easy to last long." Since Haran was no place to raise children, God spoke to Abraham and told him to sell out and leave town. When Abraham hesitated to abandon his comfortable life, Sarah threw her arms around him and declared "Brace up, Daddy! …We'll come through on top yet!" Yet even in exile in the desert, Abraham and Sarah lived in comfort. Abraham had a business manager to oversee his affairs, and Sarah served a home-cooked meal every night with a maid to help with the dishes. Growing up in the country saved their son Isaac from the Haran nightlife, and he was raised without "dolling up" or joy-riding, although Sunday pointed out that he wasn't "gun shy" with girls.[263] Safely removed from the big city with their wealth and comfort, Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac built a happy home. The final message of the story was simple: "it pays to trust God."[264]

Sunday's narrative was as timeless as it was modern. Sunday loved to recreate stories of American entrepreneurs to prove that beneath every success was the tough spirit of a family-raised Christian. Ben Franklin had walked the streets of Philadelphia gnawing a hard loaf of bread to make his fortune. Thomas Edison started at a telegraph desk earning $40 a month. Abraham Lincoln clerked all day in a country store and solved math problems at night with a hickory stick and ash for ink. Moral discipline gave each of them the patience to build their genius into greatness. Poor

children had been corrupted not by a lack of opportunity, but by a life of convenience. Street boys read “Deadwood Dick” novels in the afternoon and held up streetcars in the evening for candy and cigarette money. They were “pink tea and ice cream nonentities” who lived lives of appetite without any concern for the future.[265] The formula for success was built on the discipline of family and physical removal from the temptations to this kind of idleness in modern city life.

IV. Nell Sunday and Modern Womanhood

The dialectic between good and bad consumption is most clearly revealed in how the Sunday revivals constructed the roles of women and girls. While boys and men represented earning potential, the cultivation of women represented the future of the family. This was most visible in the gospel stories of Billy’s wife and coworker Helen Sunday. Known by her nickname “Nell” or the moniker “Ma,” Nell Sunday ran the finances of the Sunday campaigns and was Billy’s manager, controlling all access to the evangelist. When the socialist journalist John Reed attempted to interview Billy Sunday in 1915, it was Nell who blocked his path with the question, “are you a Christian?”[266] Nell Sunday was also a speaker in her own right, filling in at meetings when Sunday was overworked, and leading the choir when the flow of converts seemed slow to materialize at the end of services. She collected information on towns for her husband to pepper into his sermons, though she denied a rumor about hiring private detectives to root out local scandals. During the First World War she also published a syndicated column where she answered letters from and told stories about women. On the issue of girls, "Ma" Sunday was the final authority.[267]

Despite Nell’s emphasis on the family, her gospel stories did not simply champion a Victorian model of domesticity. Like advocates of the “New Woman” and “Gibson Girl,” Nell preached that young women needed to be active, self-fashioning citizens with autonomy over their

time and personal finances.[268] The churches, Nell preached, had failed to keep pace with the evolution of young American women. Too many young women were treated as property by their parents and refused the right to work for wages or keep their own money. The result was that they became dependent on men and embraced the "butterfly" lifestyle of the socialite.[269] Their mothers were useless because they had "as little knowledge of the world as a child" and thought that a wife was a glorified housekeeper.[270] Just as Billy attacked traditional ministers for their prudishness and conservatism, Nell attacked women who adhered to an ideal of religion defined by an "artificial, shallow, often hypercritical and unnatural prudery" that encouraged women to be "gay, frivolous, and stupid."[271] Young women should participate in the economy through work and by spending their money. They needed to be taught how to spend responsibly. Even marriage was no excuse to retreat into a life of total domesticity. Nell endorsed wives working outside of the home, writing that if a marriage was based on mutual service, a working wife would not threaten it, and if it was not, her remaining in the home could not save it.[272]

The reason for the necessity of an active, educated womanhood was that modern American life had thrust girls into a consumer marketplace where they possessed a frightening power. Nell insisted that young women held a form of currency in their bodies that, if allowed to bloom, threatened to grant them a destructive and irreversible independence from their families. Young women, Nell Sunday taught, were intoxicated by this possibility despite its ruinous implications. In her criticism of "joyriding," Nell Sunday noted that a girl who experienced "the rush of the pure air" for the first time felt "the sense of moving freely through a world where worry, need of money, and work have ceased to exist." In that moment she realized "that she can purchase the world with the perfume of her exquisite young body."[273] These fears were not fantastical. Numerous observers as early as the 1890s chronicled the growing number of young women being "treated" by men in the "taxi-cab" culture at urban pleasure sites like Coney Island, where money was exchanged for sexual

favors. Nell's critique in the context of the revival added an alarmist tone to this kind of entertainment.[274] If young women became aware of their power to merchandize their sexuality without a proper education into their responsibilities, the temptation to use it would become irresistible. Outdated illusions of young women's innocence were unsustainable in a world where the alienation of women from the home was a frightening and immediate possibility.

Nell Sunday's columns chronicled the results of this ruinous independence for both women and the future of the family. Gladys was a beautiful teenager whose banker father and charitable society mother remained oblivious to her passion for dance. As her lips drooped and her eyes filled in the embrace of men on the dance floor, she was overcome with a passion that eventually consumed all her time. Eventually she severed connections with her family and became a professional dancer in New York, noted for her particularly lewd act.[275]

In another cautionary tale, Eleanor read magazines with her mother's permission, who had no idea that they contained lurid stories of affairs between men and women. She began to fantasize about visiting "immoral resorts" where she could have exciting adventures with men. Eleanor disappeared one day, and her parents never heard from her again. Both girls came from good, middle-class Christian families. The naïve trust of their parents and a general ignorance of the modern world led them to experiment with pleasure without being prepared for its consequences. The result was the loss of the women and the severance of their family bonds.

The corruption of womanhood threatened not only women but the future. Both Bill and Nell Sunday preached that women remained the central force of the home and family. A fear of women's sexuality and independence was critical to Billy Sunday's revivals. Billy Sunday was vitriolic in his attacks on the "pug woman," who bought and cuddled small dogs as a replacement for motherhood. [276] Mothers who snuck off to matinees or attended brandy parties were tarnishing womanhood and

feeding the crisis of character that afflicted the young.[277] The Sundays' revered mothers as the wellspring of Christian education in the home, which made the education and preparation of young women for the new economy especially important. The final, unthinkable consequence of bad consumerism was that women would outright reject the commission of Christian motherhood. This fear was already becoming a reality in the fledgling birth control movement. Confronting a woman who advocated family planning, Nell Sunday once asked "Dare you destroy life?" ... "The woman who does that is a murderess."[278] Nell later described the family planner she rebuked as prematurely aged and nervous, diseased by her repudiation of the maternal instinct: "unrepentant, with her hands dyed in the blood of her unborn children, she is tottering to her grave."[279] The specter of birth control represented the final emancipation of women from maternity that would destroy the foundation of the Christian family and snuff out the future of Christian civilization. Christianity could bear wicked boys for a time, but the loss of women spelled a disaster that would obliterate the future.

Because of the Sundays' firm insistence on the centrality of the home, women were directly involved in the revivals on an equal footing with men. To the horror of many ministers, Sunday insisted that women attend his sermon on "Amusements," which contained frank descriptions of prostitution and venereal disease. To capitalize on the controversy and allay some fears, Sunday began to organize "women-only" services to deliver it, characterized by carnivalesque expulsions of men from the tabernacle.[280] Even though the sexual segregation of meetings was a nod to convention, it still dismayed the Congregationalist Rev. Frederick Betts enough for him to pen a formal rebuke of Sunday's impact on womanhood. To see "tens of thousands of women and girls crowded in the tabernacle" to hear sermons that "appealed to the morbid, even the sensual," Betts wrote, cultivated a frightening knowledge in women that could not be reversed.[281] The Sundays' decision to revive women on an equal footing with men attacked Victorian sentimentalism around domesticity and shifted the culture of the revival towards a form of gender reciprocity.[282] The

opportunities and dangers of the new economy required that women be enlisted as full Christian citizens in the revival.

Nell Sunday's influence as the business manager of the revivals led to a greater emphasis on evangelism to women than had been common in the nineteenth century. Nell Sunday hired the first two female Bible teachers for the campaign, and in 1911 invited Virginia and William Asher to join the revivals. A Catholic convert, Virginia Asher had become famous in the 1900s for her songs and evangelistic sermons to Catholics and bar patrons. She and her husband dragged portable organs into taverns in Chicago, regaling patrons with hymns and short orations. After she was hired by Nell Sunday, Virginia Asher immediately became an evangelist to "businesswomen," especially female department store employees, secretaries, and stenographers. Meetings for working women became a mainstay of the revivals from 1911 until the end of the 1920s. As the services grew larger, Asher organized "businesswomen's councils" at the close of meetings to continue the work among women, which by 1922 had organized into a national organization that continued to operate into the 1950s.[283] While the revivals presumed that most young businesswomen were in a transition state that would eventually lead to marriage and motherhood, the meetings for women acknowledged the legitimacy and power of women who worked outside of the home and the need to create services that appealed to their tastes and needs.

V. "Sunday-Mania" and the Urban Media, 1908-1918

In 1913, Bruce Barton was a young journalist and correspondent for *The Congregationalist* commissioned to write an article on the Billy Sunday phenomenon. The son of a Congregational minister from Oak Park, Illinois, Barton had a reputation as a progressive reporter, known for his even-handed coverage of the I.W.W. Barton was initially skeptical of Sunday's theology and

simplistic view of poverty, writing that he was “scarcely two-thirds a Christian.” A mere few months later Barton had become electrified by the campaigns, championing Sunday to a national audience in the pages of *The Congregationalist*.

Dismissing criticisms that Sunday's conversions were skin deep, Barton emphasized the impact of the meetings on select groups of prominent Midwesterners. The Sunday revivals worked not because they converted everyone, Barton argued, but because they awakened leading citizens to a new awareness of their role in the social life of their communities:

> Go into any Middle-West city or hamlet where he has been and ask who are the Sunday converts. You will find them, a few who have stood fast, a leading merchant, a lawyer, a physician, perhaps the chief of police or the local editor—men whose contribution…means better living conditions, a finder idealism and—if you would measure it so—an actual increase in property values.[284]

Barton drew no distinction between the spiritual and economic effects of the revival, which he compared favorably to secular reforms. Progressives thought “by laws and ordinances…to hedge the people in and mold them so that they must be good in spite of themselves.” Their condescension and misunderstanding of American culture led them to “hand improvement down, like old clothes, from above.” Sunday's revival instead transformed society "from below" by awakening the idealism that lived within the spirit of the best Americans: "[The reformer] seeks the millennium from on high: and behold, at his very feet, the millennium is slowly working itself into being.” Barton's would later mark his encounter with Sunday as the beginning of his awakening into an "ex-reformer" and an ardent champion of capitalism. [285]

By 1917, Barton had developed a new literary identity as an inspirational prophet for corporate America. While he had early on chided Sunday for his lack of charity, Barton now wrote that “there is not a single man, woman, or child in America who can not save some money.…If circumstances dictate your life…you will not succeed anyway: you do not count.” “*In America*

success is not the exception—it is the rule.[286] Barton simply adapted into print the social philosophy he encountered in the revival, aping Sunday's pulpit message in his own voice.

Barton finally collected his thoughts on Christianity and capitalism into the 1925 bestseller *The Man Nobody Knows*, a non fiction self-help book that described Jesus Christ as an ancient businessman and Christianity as a joint-stock company. Christ had built up the Christian "brand" through diligence, careful marketing, and a skilled clerical staff. Barton acknowledged Sunday's influence on his career and politics, seeing Sunday as a kindred spirit to his own message of sanctifying corporate power. *The Man Nobody Knows* would go on to become one of the top selling American books of the decade.[287]

The Sundays succeeded by extending the Chautauqua Main Street message into a national boosterism of American consumerism. In his sermons, Sunday constructed positive consumption not as a reward but as the duty of all citizens. Americans were members of a consuming republic, who possessed a civic duty to feed the economy in the way they spent their paychecks. Yet the transformation of Billy Sunday from a regional celebrity into a national star only came to pass because syndicated newspapers and periodicals seized on Sunday's message around 1913 and championed him across the nation for the next six years. The phenomenal growth of Sunday's following is only comprehensible in relation to his close relationship with print media and journalists, who marketed Sunday's persona as an answer to the perceived problems of urban decay and cultural decline that obsessed many middle-class Americans in the 1910s.

The secular press of the 1910s had a long history of covering revivals, although most had neglected religious coverage since at least the 1890s. The classic "revival narrative" of nineteenth-century newspaper coverage presented meetings as spontaneous responses to citywide problems like unemployment, youth crime, and the growth of vice industries. [288] This narrative had been most

recently established by Moody's Chicago revival of 1875 and its follow-ups. The Chicago revival saved the *Chicago Post* from bankruptcy due to a massive increase in circulation for the duration of the campaign.[289] Evangelists and journalists often depended on one another for mutual profit and attention. *The Revival Times* newspapers event went so far as to advise any prospective evangelist that a good relationship with local journalists was more important than a strong voice: "nationwide campaigns are no longer conducted by oratory. The speaker is but a supplementary aid to the printed message."[290] Editors of middle-class newspapers in the 1910s still remembered the windfalls that had accompanied Moody's coverage, and remained on the lookout for any figure that could recapture the attention and sensational profits of the last century.

The challenge was that newspaper writing had evolved between the 1870s and the 1910s. Although changing newspaper standards were not necessarily a process of secularization, a broadening readership and changing culture created new markets for sensational reading. A fascination with primitive masculinity popularized "savage" stories such as *Tarzan*, the bestselling book of the decade. Many self-help authors and experts now warned that "over civilization"—code for the refinement and passivity of the middle-class—was contributing to "race suicide" by robbing white families of the vitality to reproduce.[291] Traditional revivals, with their calls to return to an otherworldly religion of the hearth, were ill-suited to audiences worried they were already too meek for the challenges of modern life.

Newspapers responded not by jettisoning religious coverage, but by searching for new adaptations of the revival model. Revivals were increasingly endowed with sex appeal, especially in coverage of Pentecostalism. The teenage Uldine Utley, who preached at Madison Square Garden at the age of fourteen in 1926, was a target of both devotion and voyeurism when she was referred to by journalists as the "Greta Garbo of the pulpit."[292] A few years earlier Aimee Semple McPherson had electrified journalists with her combination of Hollywood glamor, Jeremiads, and faith healing.

McPherson attracted mostly positive coverage until the “kidnapping scandal” of 1926 brought the lure of illicit sex into the mix. The press shifted from reverence to scandal nearly overnight, nearly destroying McPherson's popular profile and limiting the future appeal of her movement.

Billy Sunday provided a more conventional mold for an urban media hungry for novel innovations on stories of revival. Sam Jones had been a major success in the 1890s, but his early death in 1906 removed him from the equation just as his hyper-masculine, small-town persona was catching on nationally. Jones’ Southern roughness and controversial opinions had also led some syndicated newspapers, including the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, to snub him with passing coverage. Despite his equally fiery rhetoric, Sunday was at this stage careful to avoid controversial public positions or specific comments on political issues, a pattern he would only break later in his career. Neatly dressed, Presbyterian, and a Hawkeye, Sunday threatened little of the scandal that followed a fire-eating Methodist from Georgia or a faith-healing Pentecostal in California.

Yet no one could accuse Billy Sunday of being over-refined. Sunday offered newspapers a thrilling, barnstorming Midwestern persona that was less civilized and adroit than metropolitan America. Sunday possessed a roll-up-his-sleeves masculinity that invoked scuffed collars and raised fists. The hint of violence tempered by a message of Christian morality was the perfect concoction for newspapers interested in a sensuous but ultimately benign story that they could market to a mass audience. Equal parts Tarzan, Teddy Roosevelt, and Jonathan Edwards, Sunday was a figure tailormade for the journalists of the Progressive era, and they in turn boosted him into the savior of an urban America crippled by youth crime, labor disorder, and over-civilization.

The national media began to report on Sunday’s revivals after 1909, at a time when he had never held a revival in an American city much larger than Peoria, Illinois, with a population of

60,000. By 1913, articles on his revivals were appearing in the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *McClure's*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, *The American Magazine*, and *Collier's*. Unauthorized biographies and studies began to emerge that compared Sunday's oratory to Abraham Lincoln and William Lloyd Garrison, while "Sundayism" columns became a fixture in many papers. Many of these newspapers gave a superficial reading of Sunday's sermons and paid only passing attention to his deeper social philosophy. But through them millions came to support Sunday who had never seen him in person. By the mid-1910s, the Sundays received 1,000 letters a week in the post even when they were not holding meetings and more when they were. In 1914, the year Sunday held his first campaign in a city of 500,000, *The American Magazine* conducted a poll of its readers to determine the most outstanding living American. Billy Sunday tied for eighth along with Andrew Carnegie and the progressive jurist and child-labor reformer Ben Lindsey.[293] With minimal involvement from Sunday himself, the national press had made the name Billy Sunday synonymous with modern American Christianity.

Sunday had designed his message for small-town Chautauqua audiences in the Middle West. Yet Sunday's media boosters opened the opportunity for Sunday to act as a bridge between the Chautauqua and the older citywide meetings of Moody's heyday. At the end of 1913, a coalition of Pittsburgh churches asked Sunday to hold a revival in the city, with all expenses guaranteed and the total support of most local Protestant churches, which would suspend services for the duration of the meetings. The further cooperation of the local press and businesses was so great that the victory of the meetings was already assured. The *Gazette-Times* reprinted Sunday's sermons verbatim, or as near as verbatim as Sunday's rapid-fire diction allowed. The headline on the second day of the revival set the tone for the next six weeks: "Religious Tidal Wave Rolls Over Pittsburgh."[294] When midweek attendance dipped, the *Gazette-Times* downplayed the fact and focused instead on Sunday's magnetic presence. None of the journalists in attendance seemed to make much of the fact

that few workers or unchurched people attended the tabernacle. Discount fares handed out by the railway companies encouraged Christians from around the state to ride to the meetings. For five years the urban press had boosted Billy Sunday, so that when he finally set foot in metropolitan America the story of his success was already prepped and waiting.

Later meetings followed the same mold. Nearly everything Sunday said on the trail had been already been published repeatedly by 1914, both in biographies and newspaper reports. He added little to his repertoire over the next six years. Audiences came to hear in person what they had already read in print. Between 1914 and 1920, Sunday held revivals in eight out of ten of America's largest cities. It was the first time in forty years that a revival craze swept through the metropolitan East, and the numbers and money involved swamped Moody's earlier success. In New York City, Sunday guided 98,000 people down the "sawdust trail" over ten weeks. Even people critical of Sunday's crude and conservative doctrine were temporarily enchanted by his "straight" style. A young Reinhold Niebuhr, minister to a German-American congregation in New York, deplored Sunday's "medieval" stance on evolution but intensely admired his "personal magnetism" and felt that he "had the true instincts of a prophet…he is an accelerator of the community conscience."[295] When Washington Gladden wrote a letter denouncing Sunday in 1913 for intolerance and materialism, he received enough public criticism and hostile responses that he published a second letter defending his "right to have any other than a favorable opinion of Mr. Billy Sunday."[296]

Sunday mania was not a general movement across all classes. Sunday organized talks at local prisons and factories, but beyond the occasional delegation of working men his overall efforts to reach the immigrant masses or downtrodden youths were minor. By 1918 there was little sign of an increase in church attendance or membership in the wake of the revivals, something that apparently little troubled the Sunday team. Sunday's persona attracted mass interest and audiences from the

middle class and upwardly mobile, including clerks, skilled workers, and others who believed in the get-rich-through-Christ message of the revivals.

The seeming effervescence of Sunday's popularity can be explained by his reliance on a fickle national print culture. After 1918 the mass media gradually lost interest in Sunday as it moved on to the next fad. Yet Sunday's time in urban America allowed him to construct a national movement of converts and eventually clubs and societies that would remain intact after his heyday. Sunday's brief period of intense fame would leave lasting consequences on American conservatism and religion in the 1920s.

VI. Sunday Delegations and Productive Consumption

While newspaper and periodical coverage made Sunday a household celebrity, the great urban campaigns of 1914–1918 functioned through the cooperation of delegations. Crowds lingered outside of tabernacles unable to gain admittance because the majority of seats were reserved in advance for representatives of local businesses, shops, manufacturers, schools, lodges, civic clubs, and universities. Uninvited individuals were forced to wait while delegates marched into the meetings, often accompanied by banners announcing their affiliation and sometimes even a brass band. Once they occupied roped-off sections, others could fill the remaining spaces. At a typical meeting, as many as twenty delegations might attend. There were often more delegates than the meetings could accept. Sunday's song leader Homer Rodeheaver claimed that the Philadelphia revival had enough requests from delegations who wished to attend that it could have extended another three months and never left an empty seat to chance.[297]

Special services were dedicated entirely to particular groups of delegates, such as a night for railway employees or high school seniors. Group pressure meant that not all delegates were

necessarily enthusiastic attendees. For afternoon meetings, employees were sometimes given time off to attend the revival, and on one occasion Sunday became furious when he noticed a shop girl delegate knitting in the audience.[298] Yet most delegates approached the meetings in the spirit of a fraternity. At a typical service, each delegation was invited to stand and suggest a hymn for the choir. The selection they chose became a means for delegates to champion themselves and their services. Insurance dealers shouted that their favorite hymn was "Blessed Assurance," while real estate agents claimed that their song was "Higher Ground." In Pittsburgh, department store employees cleverly chose the hymn "Sail On!" to announce a storewide sale in honor of the revival. High school students were encouraged to take turns yelling out their school shouts, competing with one another to be the loudest. Delegates turned the meetings into a form of civic advertisement, publicly demonstrating their commitment to the values of the revival.

Sometime prior to 1914, delegates began to arrive at the meetings with public offerings for Sunday in the form of goods manufactured or sold in their city. Philadelphia delegations covered the platform in locally-produced silverware. In Steubenville, shop workers and retailers piled up huge trays of dishes and pottery. Gifts ran from the exotic to the mundane: lamps, sweepers, baseballs, chests of silver, and a four-foot model battleship from the navy-yard workers of Norfolk, Virginia. In the early 1920s, Hanes employees in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, presented the entire Sunday staff with a year's supply of underwear. Nell Sunday received numerous boxes of stockings from female delegates representing department stores. Sunday made a point of interacting with each gift, swinging bats, trying on coats, and running sweepers over the stage. When the Lawton Machine Works in Philadelphia presented him with a sixteen-bore shotgun, he was so delighted that he promised to give it to his son and launched into a story of his boyhood turkey hunts in Iowa.[299] Gifts of money were also included in the theatrics. On the last days of the Philadelphia meeting, two volunteers placed a gigantic bucket made of galvanized steel on the stage for the "freewill offering."

At the end of the service, the audience dumped $52,849 dollars and 89 cents in cash into the pail, making it so heavy that the two aides made a show of struggling to lift it before the overjoyed crowd.[300]

These offerings demonstrated the commitment of delegates to the ethos of Christian character building and productive consumption. Sunday was not shy about the responsibility delegates owed to the church and himself. “Nineteen-twentieths of all the wealth or all the money in the United States today is in the hands of professing Christians, Catholic and Protestant,” Sunday claimed, because religion provided the foundation for navigating the new economy. [301] Yet precious little of this money found its way back to the church. By giving offerings, local businesses showcased their prosperity and tied it the moral and religious development of their city. In the decade before radio, the revivals also offered a mass form of advertisements for commercial goods, which were then literally consecrated by the evangelist as suitable for Christian consumption in front of an audience of thousands and a readership of millions. Delegations offered up their goods to be blessed as part of the anointed economy, the "good" consumption that would create eternal wealth in the twentieth century.[302]

Companies also sent gifts to Sunday directly, and were in turn endorsed by the evangelist. When Sunday toured Detroit in 1916, automotive tycoon Henry Leland presented him with a brand-new Cadillac limousine. The Stetson company of Philadelphia offered Sunday a lifetime supply of hats during the revival in 1915, and for years he only wore Stetsons in public. The Pullman company granted Sunday a lifetime of free passes, and afterwards he always rode between meetings in a personal “Pullman palace” rail car. Offerings like these demonstrated support for Sunday’s mission, while Sunday’s celebrity endorsement marked the latest products as the proper place that devout Christians should direct their money. It was no coincidence that in his Bible stories, Abraham wore a

Stetson to the office. Sunday's public endorsement of commercial products inserted himself into the development of the advertising industry, further connecting religion and commerce in his campaigns.

The grand consumer demonstrations of the 1910s, combined with the ebullient support of local corporations, made Billy Sunday into the national prophet of consumer-industrial America. He saw the hand of Providence in the new economy and worked to direct it away from idle amusements and towards material growth. The celebration of productivity also made an implicit argument about class. Union or labor delegates, even from moderate organizations like the A.F.L., were rarely if ever invited to the meetings. Delegates did not represent labor, but businesses and corporations of whom they were a proud part. In a closing prayer in the 1908 revival in Decatur, Sunday interceded with Christ to protect and guide the hallowed toil of the present delegates towards heaven:

> Come on railroad men, come on Mueller factory employees, come on telephone girls, come on Powers office force, come on … and yield to Jesus Christ. … Come on and take my Jesus. He loves you and has done all this to save you from hell. Take Jesus Christ and go to heaven. Help, help, help, I beseech of you, Lord, to come to this great audience of men and women who have left their homes and their offices and their shops and their stores, and laid aside their instruments of labor and toil to come and accept God. Can't you help them, Jesus?[303]

The revivals were marketed not to the working or middle class, but to the productive class of white Americans whose energy and genius would continue to develop the nation if they could be organized into a booster-like spirit for Christ.[304]

Sunday's personal comportment and lifestyle reflected his ideal of the consecrated power of consumerism. As he became more successful, Sunday's suits grew from merely fashionable to intentionally ostentatious. He performed in silk shirts, wing collars, pinstripe pants, waistcoats, and patent leather shoes, often with a gold watch chain on display as well. Sometimes he would change into a bowtie and double-breasted suit for the evening service. Reporters noted that his garb made him look like a Wall Street executive or even a nightclub dancer: "nothing more correct was seen on Fifth Avenue today.…[his] patent leather pumps would not have been out of place in a tango

palace."[305] After 1915, he sported a $1000 overcoat given to him personally by the elderly John Wannamaker for his revival of Philadelphia. The one area where Sunday avoided ostentation was food. Terrified of indigestion, he only drank milk and coffee, and publicly told newspaper men that his favorite foods were boiled beef and apple pie.[306]

Yet during the actual service, Sunday's flamboyant display of finery unraveled, to the delight of audiences. As he ran, leapt in the air, shouted, and pantomimed, he began to sweat through his expensive suits. After a few minutes, he would whip off his waistcoat or jacket, wave it in the air, and crumple it into a ball and cast it disdainfully aside.[307] As he continued to perspire, he sweat through his silk shirt and mangled his starched collar.[308] At the end of the service he would depart the stage to have a towel thrown over his shoulders like a boxer after a match, an image that grew stronger when he hired a retired heavyweight champion to massage him between sermons.[309] The ritual of dishevelment demonstrated that Sunday could not be contained by his finery; beneath the silk shirts remained the body of straight "Billy." Sunday's pantomime of the Passion of Christ encapsulated his attitude towards personal affluence. Wealth and pleasure were to be celebrated but also held with a certain disdain. While the Sundays earned at least 1.5 million dollars in direct offerings in their career, they spent and gave so freely, if not recklessly, that at the time of Billy Sunday's death in 1935 his estate was worth a meagre $50,000.[310]

VII. Billy Sunday in Atlanta and the Meaning of Race

Sunday's consumer ethos and gospel of work championed endless prosperity through the plain-spoken values of a mythic common America. His revivalism struggled when it encountered forms of difference that failed to easily fit this mold. At times, Sunday responded by denying that these

differences existed or insisting they could be easily overcome. Where this erasure proved impossible, he shifted to marking difference as outside his ideal American community.

The Sunday revivals struggled to accommodate the idea of immigration into their model of the innate values of Christian-American culture to prepare citizens for success. Rapid assimilation of immigrants into the values of work and discipline was the simplest solution. During a New York revival service for children, Homer Rodeheaver performed a magic trick where he formed a cone out of a hymn sheet and claimed it represented the "American home" and "American school." He rolled up an Irish flag and dropped it in. He then pulled out the stars and stripes. He repeated the demonstration with the flags of Britain and France. "Boys and girls come here from all these different countries," Rodeheaver concluded, "and after they come in touch with the American school and the American home, all the trace of all those foreign countries disappear."[311]

Sunday was less sanguine on stage, stating that he believed in "good" and "bad" blood. [312] However, Sunday at first also taught that America siphoned the best racial characteristics of the nations that constituted its core immigrant stock. This simple optimism cracked around 1915, when fears about foreign radicals and later Bolsheviks in the labor movement gripped the nation. In that year, Sunday began to warn that undesirable immigrants were subverting the religious character of the United States:

> I object to America becoming the back dooryard for Europe to dump her paupers and her criminals. … They refuse to assimilate to our laws and they become carbuncles on the neck of the body politic and they have turned the American idea of the Sabbath into a Continental idea of the Sabbath day.[313]

The moniker "Continental" suggested that mainland, and especially Southern, Europeans lacked the special work ethic and spiritual devotion that was the secret of prosperity in the United States. The moral lassitude of these newcomers was marked by the increased crime visible in cities where the foreign-born made up a majority. In 1915, Sunday estimated that two thirds of urban lawbreaking

was committed by first-generation immigrants. During the Red Scare of 1919 he grew even more reactionary. Sunday now suggested that foreign radicals like the members of the International Workers of the World should be put up against a wall and shot to save room on the boats of immigrants being deported back to Europe.[314]

Sunday's first prolonged and significant encounter with racial difference occurred during his revival of Atlanta in 1917. It was the first city he visited in the South, a symbolic choice considering it was the hometown of Sam Jones and the center of the earlier Southern revival movement. It was also the first urban environment that Sunday had revived with a large and visible African American community.

The black population of Atlanta had increased from a scant 9,000 in the 1880s to 35,000 by 1900, or 20% of the total population. Racial tensions skyrocketed in the early 1900s and were framed by white churchgoers as a battle between black sin and religious progress. Prohibition advocates attacked black workers as saloon-goers who fed the red-light district on Decatur Street, keeping the liquor industry alive. A fear of an uncontrolled mass of idle black men enflamed by booze boiled over in September 1906. On a Saturday afternoon, Atlanta newspapers reported that four white women had been raped downtown by a group of drunk black men. In a few hours, thousands of white men and teenagers descended on the central business district. Black-owned businesses were raided and hundreds assaulted in a night of unrestrained carnage. The massacres only ceased when the state militia arrived in the morning to restore order. The killings continued on a smaller scale for days, as gangs of white vigilantes prowled into black neighborhoods, leading to armed standoffs between the races.[315]

The Atlanta race riot cemented the toxic association between Prohibition, black disfranchisement, urban progress, and morality in the minds of white Atlantans.[316] The riot occurred

a month before Sam Jones died of a heart attack. In a lengthy editorial in the *Atlanta Constitution* that was nearly his last written word, Jones made it clear where the blame lay:

> Of course, you may say that the bloodshed in Atlanta last night was inevitable, but whiskey, yes, whiskey, was behind it. I want to see those disgraceful Decatur Street dives of debauchery and sin obliterated. ... Liquor was behind all those atrocious deeds committed by the blacks in and around Atlanta and if you fellows will go to work and eliminate political chicanery and work in the interest of prohibition and accomplish the destruction of the liquor traffic I will personally account for every rape committed thereafter.[317]

The violence in Atlanta was carefully depoliticized by Jones. Instead of a white reaction against perceived black autonomy, the race riot was framed as a chaotic eruption of street crime brought about by infantile blacks corrupted by liquor.

It was clear that the State of Georgia preferred Jones' narrative of the violence. In the aftermath of the riot, the state governor pushed statewide Prohibition and a constitutional amendment to add a property and education requirement as voting requirements, with a "grandfather" clause to exempt most whites. His rationale was that blacks would oppose temperance.

The two measures worked in tandem to limit black agency in the New South and police black access to both political power and public commercial spaces. Prohibition and the new constitution, advocated as a moral response to the riot, were enacted together in the summer of 1908, completing the legal enactment of white supremacy in Georgia. It would take decades for Atlanta's black community to recover from the destruction and the tightened regime of racial violence, framed by white churchgoers as Christian progress.

Sunday appeared totally unaware of the history of racial tension in Atlanta when he arrived in 1917. He initially made no plans to preach to the city's black churchgoers, until local whites, eager to push temperance, pushed him to missionize to the African-American population. "The great preacher, having never preached in the Southern states, is not familiar with the Negroes," the *Atlanta Constitution* declared, but at the request of "the white citizens of Atlanta," who "recognized the

value of Christian work among them," Sunday had decided to hold a special service for blacks.[318] Instead of cancelling a regular service, Sunday scheduled the black meeting for Monday night, his weekly day off, when revival attendance was typically at its lowest.[319] Delegations were organized from the Tuskegee Institute, local segregated universities, black missionary societies, Sunday schools, and the colored minister's union, all representatives of Atlanta's small and tightly-knit black middle class. To advertise the meetings, Sunday toured Tuskegee and recruited an all-black choir from two local seminaries. Despite the Monday booking, there was enough interest from delegates that the meeting was sold out days in advance with an expected audience of 15,000.[320]

Sunday's sermon to black Atlanta, delivered as an afterthought, took on a white Southern accent and could have easily come from the mouth of Sam Jones. The tone of his lecture suggested that he considered black Americans more akin to an indigenous people than native-born citizens. Black people were in Sunday's terms, akin to Armenians in Turkey, as natural to Dixie "as Alaska is the home of the Eskimo." They had surely, like Indians, been mistreated in the past, but were now advancing towards higher civilization, although they were a long way off from self-sufficiency. Blacks should regard Southern whites as friends in their development. Alcohol was responsible for most of the past trouble between the races, and state prohibition now promised to empty the prisons and bring in "the millennium…between the white man and the negro." The only conceivable reason a black person would leave their native South for the North was to escape dry laws, passed in the first place to protect blacks from the saloon. Blacks might one day build an autonomous homeland in the South but in the meantime should be satisfied with what they had and focus on moral improvement.[321]

Despite the strong turnout and letters of support from black ministers, Sunday cancelled future Monday services to reclaim his day of rest. Instead blacks were invited to attend segregated services on Saturday nights.[322] Other services were whites-only, although seats would be saved

beyond the stage near Sunday for any black ministers who wished to observe. The result was an immediate drop in attendance on Saturdays for both races. The following weekend the tabernacle was only two thirds full.[323] Two weeks later, only about 1,000 people plus the choir were in attendance, most of them whites.[324] Sunday's tepid message of gradual uplift and his decision to return to segregated services led many black delegations to abandon the meetings.

The largest group that remained were the "colored evangelical ministers' union," representatives from local Baptist seminaries, and delegations from the A.M.E. and prominent Baptist lay people. These groups collectively represented the leadership of the local black churches, the premier middle-class institution of black life in Atlanta. In the wake of the riot, black churches were one of the only institutions not damaged by white reprisals. Since they had long supported the Prohibition amendment and were fierce critics of working-class black saloon-goers as a liability to racial progress, their ideology matched the explanations of the riot pushed by white authorities. Even if Prohibition was linked to disfranchisement and white supremacy, to the churches it still provided an opportunity for moral uplift in the black community. Equally important, the success of prohibition could eventually be used to contest the claims of whites about black immorality and inferiority. These churches were representatives of what Evelyn Higginbotham coined the "politics of respectability."[325] They argued that the spiritual and moral discipline of black people, not free engagement in the commercial economy, was the path of development that best promised to help the community. Displays of Christian dignity and resoluteness would counter white narratives of infantile and dissolute negroes and discredit the underlying assumptions on which disfranchisement and white supremacy rested.

The politics of respectability motivated Atlanta's black churches to support Sunday's revival. Even after his lukewarm message of harmony and indigeneity alienated much of the black audience, church delegates stayed. However, they did not passively embrace Sunday's gospel in the

hopes it would be a positive influence on the local black community. Instead they appropriated the message of the campaign and used their presence to challenge and taunt local whites.

As black attendance dipped, Sunday's dependence on black ministers to whip up support granted them increased power within the meetings. Adam D. Williams, the black pastor of Ebenezer Baptist, asked to speak after the Saturday sermon in order to encourage a generous offering from the crowd. His address subtly ridiculed the present white people for their miserliness, suggesting that Atlanta blacks were more generous and devout:

> We [black] folks here…have been taught when we hear good gospel, we should give something.…Now we're going to do something that the white folks haven't done yet. We're always doing something or other they're only thinking about. The sons of Ham are on the line and we'll look after things.[326]

Baptist minister James Bryant carried off a similar performance when he called on black listeners to raise a larger collection than the white audience. His speech opened with a parable of a "trance traveler" who was asked to describe hell. He replied that it was like Georgia, because "the white folks seem to be in the majority and dey's all holding a nigger 'tween dem and de fire of hell."[327] Bryant's speed went over well with the black attendees, since the *Constitution* reported that that black delegates proceeded to out-give whites by a heavy margin in the collection that followed.[328] Black ministers used Sunday's presence as a rare opportunity to openly criticize Southern whites to their face for a lack of Christian spirit without fear of reprisal, as well as display the superior preaching and music of their own churches.

Even the choirs of students from local black colleges used the meetings to slyly humiliate white churchgoers. At the same Saturday service where Pastor Williams promised black Atlantans would look after things, Billy Sunday asked the all-black choir to sing the hymn "You'd Better Live in Union" to end the service. The choir leader suggested that whites join them in the song. The gesture turned sour when Sunday and the gathered white churchgoers were unable to keep pace with

the black singers and were quickly reduced to a mumbling silence, except for Sunday who belted out an awkward imitation of the gospel style. The reporter from the *Constitution* mused that the "turns and throbs" of the music "seemed to elude the Aryan thorax" and was grateful when Sunday's mimicry was drowned out.[329]

Even black praise for the effect of the Sunday meetings became a forum for delicate criticism of race relations in the city. At the conclusion of the revival, Bryant and the Colored Evangelical Minister's Union presented a "resolution of gratitude" to Sunday for him to take back to Indiana. Within it they drew attention to the essential role they had played in making the meetings a success: "various organizations and classes of men had given…to the campaign, but it remained for him and his friends to give color to the proceedings."[330] Sunday's awkward overture to black Atlantans was exploited by local ministers and black churchgoers into a demonstration of the vitality of black religion in Atlanta over white religion at a moment when black institutional and cultural life was still recuperating from the violence of 1906.

In the years that followed, Sunday held renewed services for black Christians in South Carolina and Kansas, where he again gained the support of black ministers, who in return demanded they be included in church committees as the public face of the revival. Meetings in Kansas were even integrated, while services in South Carolina were not.[331] Yet Sunday's overtures to the black community were inconsistent and fleeting and, by the early 1920s, vanished altogether. When Sunday revived Charleston and Charlotte in 1923 and 1924, he made no provisions for segregated services and only preached to whites. As a Midwesterner, Sunday did enjoy flouting some Southern racial conventions. During a coffee visit with a white minister in Atlanta, he asked permission to enter the kitchen and thank the black staff for the coffee he was served with a firm handshake.[332] Yet when it came to publicly addressing questions of race, Sunday's attitude was defined by an unwillingness to consider the consequences of racial difference and inequality.

In Sunday's revivals, racial violence was attributed to alcohol. Northern migration was unnatural because blacks were native to the South and lacked the same immediate potential for progress as white Christians. Put simply, blacks were less fully American than whites. Black ministers cooperated with Sunday because his meetings provided public opportunities to demonstrate their dignity during the nadir of Jim Crow and white supremacy. But this alliance did little to change Sunday's attitude towards blacks. The basic tensions in Sunday's racial outlook would eventually collapse as Sunday drifted towards a more visceral and uncompromising white supremacy. By the mid-1920s, Sunday openly endorsed the Ku Klux Klan and preached an increasingly dim view of black struggles for social equality.

VIII. John Barleycorn and the Drum of Flesh

Sunday's consumer ethos and optimism about capitalism coalesced together in his crusades against alcohol. He was not a conventional prohibitionist in the vein of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or the Anti-Saloon league. In the 1910s he only rarely spoke about the Constitutional Amendment campaign. While the Sundays supported all measures to ban the saloon, they favored an emotional and grassroots campaign and avoided political lobbying. Alcohol and its surrounding culture signified all of the evils of modern American life condensed into a single product. It was a living defilement on American families, the chief cause of lost children, poverty, insanity, national depressions, race riots, unemployment, over-production, and lawbreaking. Legal processes and "Dry" campaigns were surface treatments compared to the personal transformation of the revival that could uproot the culture of drink forever. Sunday's sermons on booze encapsulated the struggle to redeem American capitalism from the danger of amusements and rededicate it to a consecrated producerism.[333]

One important distinction between the Sunday revivals and most major temperance campaigns was their lack of emphasis on family protection as a rationale for prohibition. The WCTU, the largest temperance organization in the United States, cultivated a feminist and maternal platform for prohibition in the late-nineteenth century on the basis that wives and mothers were "enslaved" by households where men consumed alcohol. In Frances Willard's writing, liquor was primarily a male problem, a drug that made men violent and tyrannical against the women and children in their lives. A strong class prejudice marked the activism of the WCTU, with Catholic and working-class urban families serving as the primary symbol of fallen manhood and broken families in the campaigns. Their framing of temperance constructed prohibition as a crusade for "home protection" that would empower wives and mothers to reclaim domestic spaces.[334] This reasoning led many WCTU workers to strongly favor women's suffrage on the grounds that it would speed the passing of Prohibition. The single-issue anti-Saloon league avoided feminism in favor of "pressure politics" against legislators, but when it came to justifying temperance as a moral necessity it also relied on deeply gendered arguments about saving women from the tyranny of drunken men.[335]

The Sundays never embraced the language of home protection or maternal feminism. Nell Sunday, despite her belief in women's work and education, was not "an ardent suffragist" and was indifferent to whether women ever received the vote, although Billy publicly said he was amenable to suffrage.[336] Despite their fears about womanhood and the home, their idea of temperance was not particularly rooted in improving the lives of women. Instead it was a crusade to reclaim the American economy from waste and the ruin of productive workers. Billy Sunday invoked a dizzying array of figures to prove that alcohol drained the national wealth. Breweries bought up only 2% of the national corn crop to make their product, or 47 million bushels at the price of 33 million dollars. The entire industry brought in a tax revenue of 350 million dollars annually. In exchange, American workers spent two billion dollars on drink, and cost the government over a billion dollars in judicial

expenses. Six billion was spent per annum on paupers, criminals, and the insane.[337] Quoting Catholic Archbishop John Ireland, Sunday estimated that 75% of crime and 80% of poverty in the United States was directly tied to alcohol.[338] New York City alone spent 365 million dollars a year on drink, one third the value of all the coal mined in the United States. At that rate, in ten years the money spent on alcohol could buy every working man in America's largest city a house worth $3,500—the original price of Sunday's cottage at Winona Lake—or nearly every person in the country a barrel of flour.[339]

The craven economics of alcohol demonstrated its evil. In exchange for a few dollars in profit, farmers—although Sunday was careful to distinguish "the best class of men on God's Dirt" from the unprincipled few who sold to whiskey men—mortgaged their own future prosperity. "You take the farmer's bushel of corn… and you brew and distill from it four and one-half gallons of spirits." The spirits found their way to a town where boys drank them, became poor, and finally ended up as criminals in the penitentiary or dead. "I want to know, my farmer friend, if this has been a good commercial transaction for you? You sold a bushel of corn…got fifty cents…struck down seven lives, all of whom would have been consumers of your products for their life expectancy."[340] In the style of old Chautauqua meetings, the fight against sin was a struggle to maintain the productivity and value of Americans against a product that sapped their ability to earn.

Since alcohol was the cause of so much poverty, once it was driven out of cities the necessity of state and federal services would be greatly lessened. If alcohol caused threequarters of crime, it followed naturally that three quarters of the national tax burden was spent treating the victims of the saloon.[341] If booze was removed, insane asylums would close and policemen would be put out of work. In Kansas City, Sunday claimed the 1906 temperance ordinance had led to an emptying of the prisons along with a reduction in admittance to the poor farm, a sharp rise in bank deposits, a fall in city debt, and $25,000 savings in court fees.[342]

The harping of reformers would be quieted by a newly consecrated wave of correctly-directed consumerism. “A man said: 'I will tell you what is the matter with the country: ‘over-production,'” Sunday preached in Decatur. “You lie. It is underconsumption.”[343] The end of liquor would spur consumption to unprecedented heights. When a dollar was redirected from booze to a pair of shoes for a son, that son earned another dollar that kept a factory open, gave a clerk a job, fed a tanner and created “a silver thread in the woof and warp of happiness and joy” right down to the “little colored fellow who shined the shoes.”[344] In such a world, slaughterhouses, flour mills, farms, meatpackers, tanneries, and Marshall Field’s would be emptied of goods, unemployment would be non-existent, and industrial problems would dry up. Alcohol was the great brake on American capitalism that kept industry and consumerism from reaching its full potential.

All of this could best be achieved by awakening the American people to their power as consumers.[345] At the end of his “Get on the Water Wagon” sermon, Sunday began marching on stage to a silent military beat. As he moved up and down the platform, he imitated a drill sergeant and led the audience in a call-and-response parade to each of the great businesses in modern America:

> Come on, are you ready? Fall in! We line up in front of a grocery store.
> "What do you want?"
> "Why, I want flour."
> "What do you want"
> "Flour."
> Pillsbury, Minneapolis. … "What's the matter ?" "Why, the workingmen have stopped spending their money for booze and have begun to buy flour." The big mills tell their men to buy wheat and the farmers see the price jump. … Come on, ready, forward, march! Right, left, halt! We are in front of a dry good store. What do you want?
> "Calico."
> What do you want?
> "Calico."
> What do you want?
> "Calico."
> Calico; all right, come on. The stores are stripped. Hey, Marshall Field, Carson, Pierre Scott & Co., J.V. Farwell, send down calico. The whole bunch has voted out the saloons and we have such a demand for calico we don't know what to do. And the big stores telegraph to Fall River to ship calico, and the factories telegraph to buy

> cotton, and they tell their salesmen to buy cotton, and the cotton plantation man sees cotton jump up to $150 a bale.[346]

Sunday conjured an image of endless consumption that enriched corporations, producers, and consumers in a collective revel of prosperity. This true prohibition would unfold from an army of American workers who used their blessed power of dollars and cents to raise the nation to unprecedented heights.

Robert Martin summed up Sunday's temperance campaigns as defined by platitudes that were "generally more symbolic than real."[347] Yet the symbols were what mattered in the revival. The campaigns were designed not to pass laws but to excite revulsion and millennial hope among listeners. The act of coming to hate alcohol for its impediment on industrial progress was a ritual that meetings enacted over and over. During his Water Wagon sermon, Sunday once turned to Nell and requested that

> When I'm dead, you send for the butcher and skin me and have my hide tanned and made into drum heads and hire men to go up and down the line and beat those drums and say, 'My husband Billy Sunday still lives and gives the whiskey gang a run for its money.'[348]

Creating 'booze fighters' who were committed to the fight for productive consumerism was the core purpose of the revivals, even more than passing prohibition laws or closing saloons. The consecrated production and perfect consumption dreamed up in the revival was a world where regulation would not be necessary, because individual choices would stimulate the economy into a perfect and ever-growing prosperity. The revival audiences were the vanguards of the new consumption, drilled into the consumer choices that would create wealth.

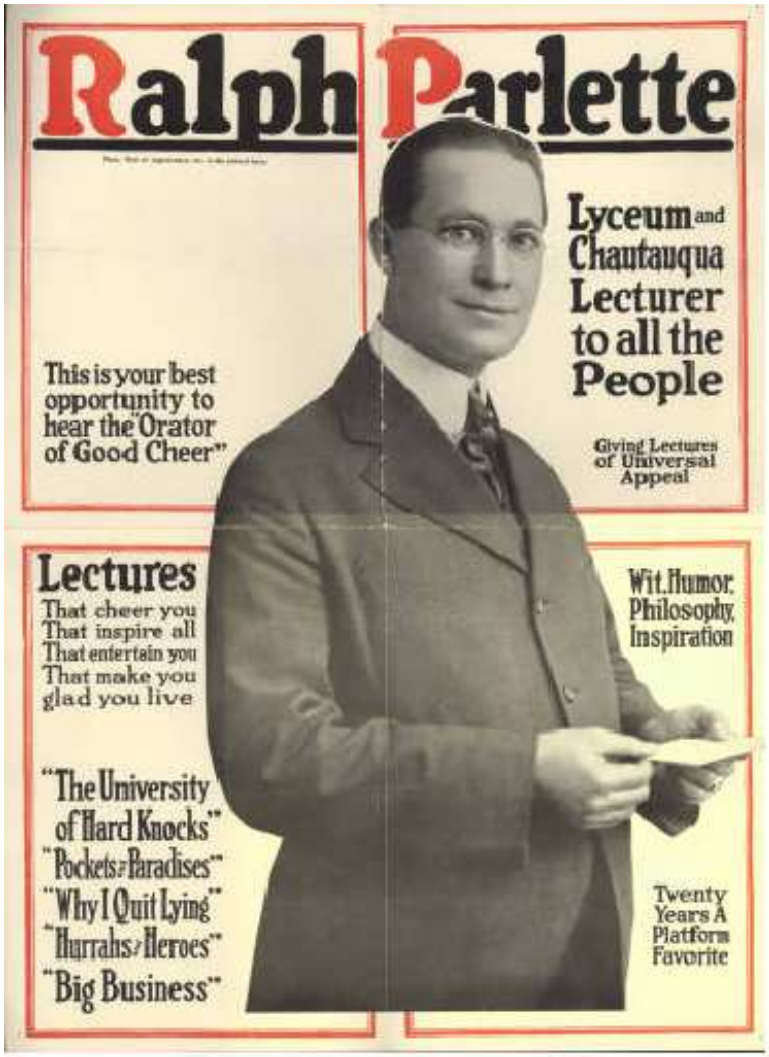
IX. Conclusion

Sunday-mania in the urban Northeast peaked in 1917–1918 with the arrival of a wartime society. The new meetings combined consumer celebrations and tirades against alcohol with great patriotic fêtes.

The New York revival of 1917 draped Carnegie hall with American flags, replete with special meetings for soldier delegations and patriotic hymns. Sunday expanded his epigrammatic polysyllables to include attacks on the Kaiser and the German people—"it is Bill against Woodrow, Germany against American, hell against heaven"—and vociferously criticized pacifism in confronting the "weazen-eyed, low-lived, bull-neck, low-down gang of cutthroats" that made up the enemy.[349] Sunday prophesized that the Kaiser would commit suicide the same day that Prohibition became law in the United States. The war fever pushed Sunday's popularity to an all-time high. On the final day of the New York campaign, the free-will offering of the crowd reached $120,000, magnanimously donated by Sunday to the Red Cross.

Sunday-mania on this scale was unsustainable. After the War, the urban media drifted away from Sunday as the novelty of the campaigns diminished. The Tarzan-like masculinity of the 1910s faded into a new interest in glamor and sex appeal, represented best by the rise of movie stars like Rudolph Valentino, Mary Pickford, and John Barrymore. Billy Sunday—now in his sixties—began to seem prudish and old-fashioned to a younger generation of editors and urban readers removed from the social anxieties and hopes of their parents. The unique set of social conditions and supports that had boosted Sunday into a media sensation dissolved. In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and even Chicago his reputation quickly faded into the memory of the older generation.

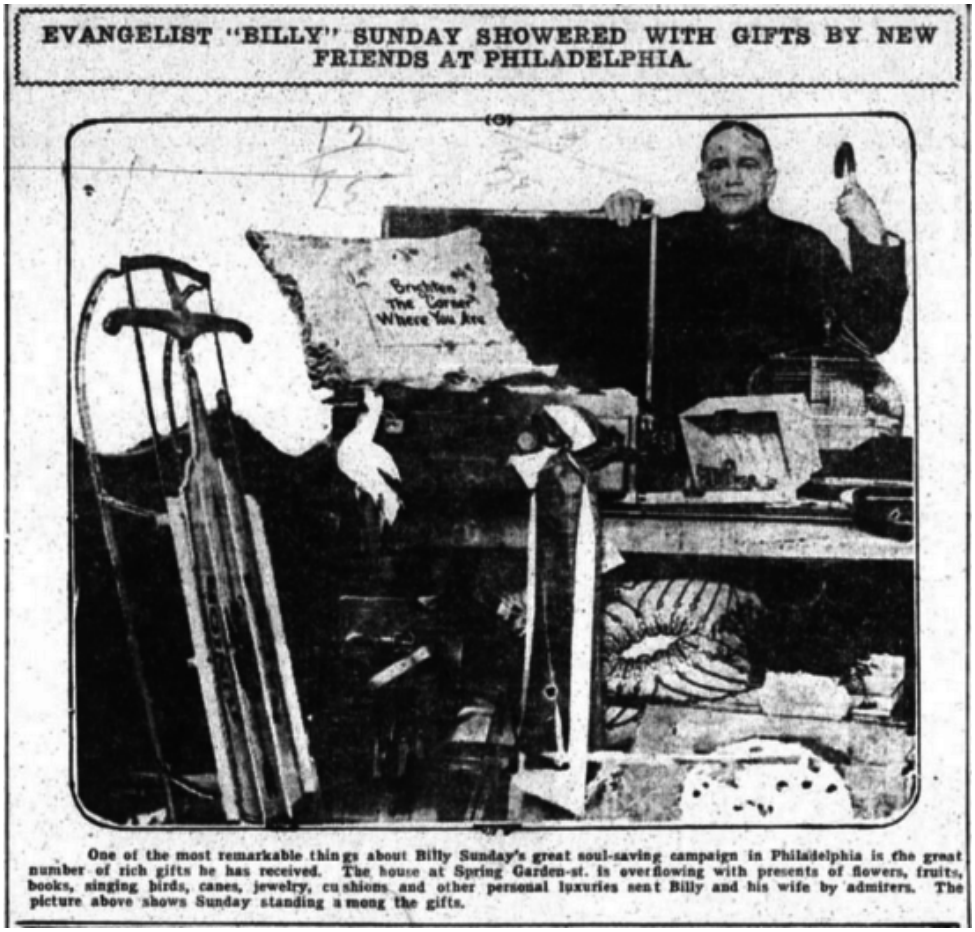
Elsewhere, Sunday continued to represent the power of an awakened Christian America. Sunday intensified his touring schedule after 1919, holding numerous revivals in the South and recreating his Midwestern circuits of the 1900s. As crowds continued to flock to the Sunday banner, he shifted his role from that of a booster of industrial modernity to a seething prophet of a Christian Main Street America set against an encroaching foreign-spawned liberalism. As Billy Sunday ceased to be a truly national figure, he entered into a struggle to define the soul of the nation.



Ralph Parlette Redpath Publicity Pamphlet. University of Iowa Libraries.

Staged Photos of Sunday's revival performances. Library of Congress Archives.

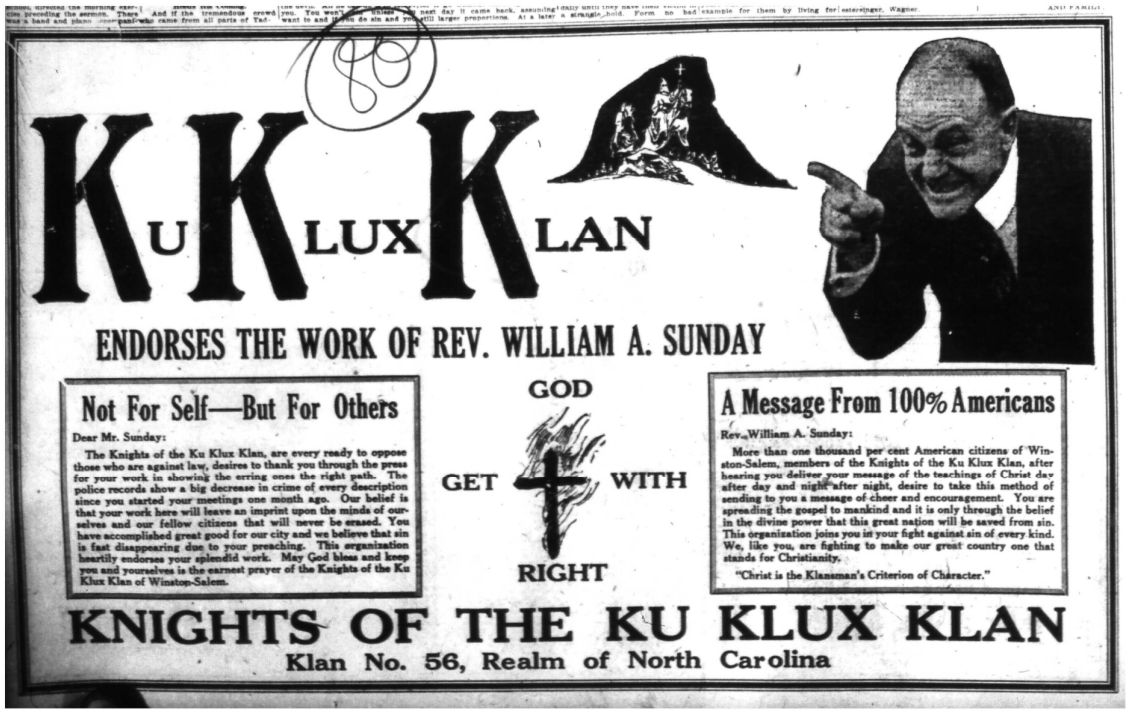
Billy and Helen Sunday, 1909. Ames Public Library.



EVANGELIST "BILLY" SUNDAY SHOWERED WITH GIFTS BY NEW FRIENDS AT PHILADELPHIA.

One of the most remarkable things about Billy Sunday's great soul-saving campaign in Philadelphia is the great number of rich gifts he has received. The house at Spring Garden-st. is overflowing with presents of flowers, fruits, books, singing birds, canes, jewelry, cushions and other personal luxuries sent Billy and his wife by admirers. The picture above shows Sunday standing among the gifts.

"Evangelist 'Billy' Sunday Showered with Gifts," ***Fort Wayne Sentinel*** **(Indiana), March 20, 1915**



KU KLUX KLAN

ENDORSES THE WORK OF REV. WILLIAM A. SUNDAY

Not For Self—But For Others

Dear Mr. Sunday:

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, are every ready to oppose those who are against law, desires to thank you through the press for your work in showing the erring ones the right path. The police records show a big decrease in crime of every description since you started your meetings one month ago. Our belief is that your work here will leave an imprint upon the minds of ourselves and our fellow citizens that will never be erased. You have accomplished great good for our city and we believe that sin is fast disappearing due to your preaching. This organization heartily endorses your splendid work. May God bless and keep you and yourselves is the earnest prayer of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Winston-Salem.

GOD

GET WITH

RIGHT

A Message From 100% Americans

Rev. William A. Sunday:

More than one thousand per cent American citizens of Winston-Salem, members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, after hearing you deliver your message of the teachings of Christ day after day and night after night, desire to take this method of sending to you a message of cheer and encouragement. You are spreading the gospel to mankind and it is only through the belief in the divine power that this great nation will be saved from sin. This organization joins you in your fight against sin of every kind. We, like you, are fighting to make our great country one that stands for Christianity.

"Christ is the Klansman's Criterion of Character."

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Klan No. 56, Realm of North Carolina

"Ku Klux Klan Endorses the Work of Rev. William A. Sunday," ***Winston-Salem Journal*****, May 17, 1925**

Chapter IV

Billy Sunday for President: Christian Conservatism in the 1920s

In February 1922, Billy and Nell Sunday were invited to the White House for a private lunch with Warren and Florence Harding. After politely congratulating the President on his stewardship of the economy, the two couples shook hands. To commemorate the occasion, the Sundays sent Harding a turkey from their farm in Oregon.[350] A year later, the Sundays were back to greet a new president. Over a simple meal of baked beans and brown bread, Billy Sunday congratulated Calvin Coolidge on his new office and asked whether he ought to "pick the colors with which you would like to decorate the White House" for 1925. When Coolidge politely demurred that the fall election was not yet decided, Sunday calmly insisted that as long as the president remained committed to prohibition, Coolidge's re-election was "a hundred to one shot" in favor. The meeting, along with Sunday's prediction, was widely publicized in the press, and re-appeared in print after Coolidge won in November. Billy Sunday had given Coolidge the support of Christian America, and in return the Sundays remained welcome guests of the White House for the next four years.[351]

The Sundays' visits to the White House occurred during what one Sunday biographer has described as the period of "agony and decline" for the Sunday campaigns.[352] As the Sundays revived smaller urban centers in the 1920s, their income and conversions became more meagre. When the sixty-year-old Sunday attempted to hold new meetings in Boston and Philadelphia in 1930 he received little attention from the press and small crowds, with meetings lasting only long enough to record a few news reels. Sunday's increasingly shrill and paranoid view of liberalism and labor, as well as quarrels with his staff over money, seemed to suggest a growing awareness of his marginalization.

While Sunday's decline was real, any discussion of the Sundays in the 1920s must be tempered with Sunday's new power as a Christian right-wing social and political figure. The Sunday campaigns of the 1920s evolved from boosters of industrial consumerism into a sectarian, openly partisan movement against immigration, liberalism, unionism, and racial equality. By the mid-1920s, Sunday was increasingly associated with the Republican Party, virulent anti-socialism, and a conspiratorial nativism that saw foreign influence behind liberalism and economic disorder. By 1924, he had all-but endorsed the Ku Klux Klan as a "law-and-order" group.

The politicization of Sundays' revival message shrank his constituency but also intensified the support of their followers, as smaller audiences paid more to hear Sunday in the 1920s than the vast crowds of 1917. The Sunday's new regional influence in the South and Midwest also increased their political relevance, helping to orchestrate the Republican majorities of the 1920s and the reversals of the Democratic Solid South in 1928. Billy Sunday ceased to merely be the booster-prophet of American consumerism and instead became the defender of American individualism and corporate power against the creeping powers of foreign-born labor, liberalism, and repeal. To his many supporters in the interior, Sunday remained the voice of Christian America.

I. Labor, Liberals, and the Legacy of Billy Sunday

Sunday's later career has been interpreted through a narrative of sudden and irreversible decline partly because of the determined attempts of liberals and socialists to delegitimize and discredit the revivals on the basis of their social message and commercial character. From his first arrival in metropolitan America in 1913, Billy Sunday faced concerted criticism from ministers, urban liberals, and radicals. These critics at first struggled to explain his success, but by the late 1910s they had created several counter narratives that dismissed Sunday as a passing, retrograde form of counterfeit

religion. Critics especially used Sunday's core message of commercial salvation as evidence that he was not a purveyor of "true" religion. Sunday's faith in money meant that he was either a charlatan or a tool of capitalist interests meant to wreck the cause of reform.

The seventy-five-year-old Washington Gladden was the first prominent American minister to publicly condemn Sunday, setting the tone of criticisms that followed. When Billy Sunday was invited to hold a series of meetings in Columbus, Ohio in 1911, local ministers, led by Gladden, withheld their support and successfully delayed the meetings from taking place until the summer of 1913.[353] Gladden initially refused to denounce Sunday by name and instead published a list of well-known Sunday quotations by an "anonymous" evangelist who had threatened evolutionists and claimed that his opponents would be punished by God.[354] When the long-delayed Columbus revival began in 1913, Gladden refused to attend the services and published a ten-page list of grievances in *The Congregationalist* that laid out his case against Sunday. Gladden's public opposition led Indianapolis to withdraw their invitation for a new revival and encouraged other liberal papers to denounce Sunday, although Gladden also received torrents of criticism from supporters of the campaigns.

Chief among Gladden's complaints was the "commercial" character of the meetings. The doctrine of the revivals was bad enough, "the most hopeless form of mediaeval substitutionism" where "Adventism of the most crass variety is unflinchingly proclaimed; the world is going to hell as fast as it can; all talk about improving social conditions is rot." But Sunday's willingness to take considerable sums of money for his preaching was more offensive to Gladden than what he preached:

> It is notorious that he is making himself rich in this business of evangelism. … Mr. Sunday takes out of every considerable city which he visits, for an eight weeks' service, money enough to pay the average Congregational minister's salary for twenty years. … He is not

> reticent about this, he preaches about it frequently and defiantly; he insists it is nobody's business how much money he makes or what he does with it.[355]

The worst aspect of Sunday's commercialism was that he openly praised and legitimized materialism and accumulation as forms of virtue. Summing up his opposition, Gladden wrote that "the evils of the movement are, the lowering of men's sentiments of reverence, the blunting of their finer sensibilities, the stimulating of their uncharitableness…[and] the commercializing of their ideas of Christian service and reward."[356] Money tainted the Sunday campaigns and delegitimized whatever Christian character they possessed. In Gladden's eyes, "commercialism" diluted true religion.

Gladden's stubborn and ultimately ineffective opposition to the revivals grew out of the declining relevance of his own Social Gospel ideals on the grassroots level of American Protestantism. Sunday's rampant popularity revealed how shallow the roots of liberal theology were among most churchgoers. Sunday preached hellfire, disdained the brotherhood of man, swore at evolution, and insisted that personal and sudden conversion was more important to salvation than any social work, a profound rejection of virtually everything the Social Gospel and religious reform stood for. That his "crude" and unrelentingly individualistic gospel attracted ecstatic support, in the very city to which Gladden had spent his life ministering, was a profound embarrassment. Rejecting Sunday for appealing to the basest instincts of Americans, Gladden fervently hoped that in time Americans would grow beyond his craven, profane faith.

Gladden's opposition opened the path for other ministers to criticize Sunday. Congregational pastor Willard Sperry bemoaned the chronic sin of Sunday's "irreverence" in the fall of 1916. Sperry took issue with Sunday not because he was theologically unpolished or "non-liturgical," but because he catered to low popular culture: "his amazing liturgy is cast in the patter of Mutt and Jeff, those modern apostles of cosmopolitan culture." *Mutt and Jeff* was a wildly popular newspaper comic strip featuring two gamblers perpetually in search of a get-rich-quick scheme, making the comparison a

slight both on Sunday's language and the consumerist tone of his revivals. Congregationalist minister Frederick Betts went even farther and published an entire book attacking Sunday's revival in Syracuse, New York in 1915. Betts especially attacked Sunday for his willingness to preach to women on sexual subjects. Sunday's attitude of irreverence spoke to the emergence of the new division between mainline Protestants and conservatives in the 1910s, but this was beside the real issue. Mainline preachers resented Sunday because he represented a form of popular religion that they considered both crass and corrupted for its open embrace of money.

Sunday's conflict with organized labor came to the fore when he chose to revive Paterson, New Jersey in 1915 in the wake of the notorious silk strike. The I.W.W. organized a series of counter meetings to protest Sunday's presence, attended by luminaries including Emma Goldman. The Paterson protest attracted around 1,000 Italian and Irish workers but was massively overshadowed by the 9,000 skilled workers and middle-class families who flocked to the first night of the Sunday meetings, forcing even Goldman to admit that Sunday was "a good clown" and "has ability."[357]

In the wake of the Paterson revival, many organs of organized labor concluded that Sunday was a tool of management intended to win over the support of Protestant workers. To counter his influence, labor journals began to attack Sunday as a servant of capitalists who promised workers an eternal hereafter in exchange for acquiescence to employers: "You have never heard him say a word against corporations and capitalists. He asks what difference it makes whether you get $2 or $5 a day, so long as you are only to be here forty years or so, and in hell an eternity."[358] When Sunday revived Cincinnati in 1921, a local labor journal mocked him for "making the rounds for the benefit of the special interests; he preaches a Manufacturer's Association Gospel."[359] While these latter attacks were astute observations, the labor attacks downplayed Sunday's popular constituency and reduced his core message— that making and spending were the Christian virtues of the twentieth century—to a capitalist conspiracy against the labor movement.

The socialist journalist and future author of *Ten Days that Shook the World* John Reed provided a more thorough and thoughtful critique of Sunday's revivals when he covered the Sunday meetings in Philadelphia for the *Metropolitan Journal*. Reed was disturbed both by the popularity of the revivals and their seeming indifference to the tremendous inequality and exploitation that marked industrial society in the urban Northeast. Reed carefully noted that the Philadelphia revival campaign committee consisted of representatives of the leading corporations of the city, including the Baldwin Locomotive Works that as recently as 1910 had bitterly contested a labor strike and was reputed to abuse its workers with a piecemeal salary system. When Reed interviewed a representative for the Central Labor Council, they informed him that Sunday had been placed on the "Unfair List" for using non-union workers to build his tabernacle, but that that they otherwise were indifferent to the meetings: "you see, it is not the workingmen who go to hear him. It is the clerks and stenographers and little business people."[360] Yet when Reed objected and noted that five or six factory delegations attended every meeting, that Bible classes were being organized in factories, and that eight thousand employees of the Pennsylvania railroad had attended a single meeting, the Council member shrugged. "Most of them are unorganized, anyway.…I think Billy Sunday is doing a fine work. I believe in God myself, you see."

Reed managed to gain entrance to Sunday's rented home on Spring Garden Street, and in a series of awkward interviews with Sunday campaign workers attempted to understand the social or political purpose of the meetings. Reed wanted to know how religion could solve unemployment or bring better wages to ordinary men. The Reverend George H. Bickley, vice-chairman of Sunday's Citizen's Committee, misunderstood the question:

> "Just what do you mean?"
>
> "I mean, will it [Sunday] make politics any better in Philadelphia? Will it help workingmen to get a living wage? Will it help clean up the Third Ward, where 130,000 people lived packed in one-room tenements in the worst square mile of slums in the world?"

> "It will!" said the Reverence Bickley enthusiastically. "It will redeem men from the improvidence that comes from drinking. Slums, you know, are largely the fault of those who live there—dirty, disreputable, vicious people."

When Bickley relayed the story of a mill owner who had converted a week earlier and closed his shop for a day to hold a Sunday meeting, Reed inquired whether he had raised wages. Bickley responded with confusion: "You don't seem to understand, raising wages is a question of economics, not of religion.…What we need is the Republican Party in power before we can hope to do that." When Reed responded by asking whether the logical result of the revival was the election of Republicans, Bickley shrugged and answered that "well…we hope it will help."[361] Reed's scathing and likely embellished satire of the Sunday campaigns was at least well-informed in its understanding of the social outlook of the revivals.

Reed's following interview with Nell Sunday reinforced his idea that the revivals were dominated by a crude form of capitalism that regarded poverty as a personal failing. In Reed's telling, Helen left the interview suddenly to take a call concerning her sale of a property in Chicago, insisting she "wouldn't sell for less than twelve thousand." When she returned, Reed asked her whether the revivals would affect industrial conditions and unemployment in the city. Helen Sunday responded in a matter of way: "I haven't got any patience for a man that can't find a job. He has usually wasted his strength through drink, or cigarettes, or women.…I say that a Christian can always buy his own shirt, no matter how poor he has been. I've seen thousands and thousands of people get converted and begin to make good money right away. A good Christian is always successful." However critical and satirical, Reed's interview was more adept than most observers at capturing the fundamental disconnection between urban reformers and the revival campaigns. However, he also made the Sundays appear buffoonish and simpleminded, purveyors of an infantile ideal of religion that was manipulating attendees to support business and the Republican Party.

A carefully classed ridicule of the Sundays' rural garishness also inflected Reed's analysis. Reed was careful to note the "screamingly hideous" decorations of the Sunday's rented house—expensive gilt moldings, enormous wreaths, and an oversized Vitrola player—marks of a culture that had acquired money without good taste. Reed was nearly as horrified by the demeanor and palate of the Sunday workers as their social message. He described the home as filled with "large, determined-looking women with glasses and a breezy middle-western twang" who cooked heaps of beans while the men chewed toothpicks and read the evening futures markets while the Vitrola belted out a standard assortment of hymns. Disgusted by the oppressive, anti-intellectual atmosphere, Reed ended his coverage on a note of pessimistic irony: "Is Billy Sunday sincere? I think he is. … I think he is just ignorant, that's all.…We left yet unconverted; but there didn't seem to be anything else to do. Philadelphia was saved."[362]

Reed's idea of Sunday as a money-obsessed fraud reappeared when rising Chicago poet Carl Sandburg took aim at Sunday. In 1915, Sandburg published the poem "Billy Sunday." The criticism was libelous enough that Sandburg was forced to retitle the piece "To a Contemporary Bunkshooter" when he included it in his 1916 collection *Chicago Poems*:

I won't take my religion from any man who never works
except with his mouth
and never cherishes any memory
except the face of the woman on the American silver dollar.[363]

Another rising luminary who lampooned Sunday was the Chautauqua-critic Sinclair Lewis, who included the character of the evangelist "Mike Monday" in *Babbitt*:

> Rev. Mr. Monday, the Prophet with a Punch, has shown that he is the world's greatest salesman of salvation, and that by efficient organization the overhead of spiritual regeneration may be kept down to an unprecedented rock-bottom basis. He has converted over two hundred thousand lost and priceless souls at an average cost of less than ten dollars a head.[364]

Sandburg's invective and Sinclair's satire again not only mocked Sunday for his heartlessness but suggested that his movement was at heart a fraud perpetuated for profit.

Labor and liberal attacks used satire to mock Sunday as a modish, hackneyed purveyor of a grasping midwestern provincialism. Sunday's message of transparent absurdities was meant to enrich the evangelist and hobble the forces of reform and social progress on behalf of Sunday's monied backers. These criticisms were often tinged with a deeper class and regional prejudice against the Midwestern booster committees and local bourgeoisie whose brazen materialism was repugnant to urban social critics. However prescient the critics could be, over time their summaries of the revival combined into a larger condescension of the revivals that was picked up by the first historians of the Sunday movement. In 1955, William McLoughlin, a boy during Sunday's heyday, published the first academic history of Sunday's career. Channeling Richard Hofstader, McLoughlin concluded that Sunday's message of "nostalgia and make believe" was an attempt to return America to the "good old days" of the nineteenth century. Despite his popularity, Sunday had failed to leave a meaningful legacy because his movement had stood in opposition to the culture of liberalism and the welfare state that hit full stream in the 1930s.[365] Sunday's decline was inevitable because his nostalgia-hued individualism was simply out of touch with the changing values of the twentieth century.

Later scholars echoed McLoughlin's dismissal of the Sunday movement. In 1996, as prominent a historian as Randall Balmer concluded that Sunday's main legacy was a demonstration of the social irrelevance of conservation religion:

> After riding a wave of popularity at the turn of the century with his homespun appeals to piety in the Progressive Era, Sunday found himself sadly out of touch in the 1920s and 1930s.…[Americans] shed most of their ambivalence about modernity, urbanization, and industrialization by the 1920s. Most were prepared to embrace the future without looking back to the provincialism that Sunday symbolized.

"Relegated" to small cities, "far removed from the centers of power," Sunday ended his career as "an anachronism by failing to adapt to the changing culture.…Therein lies the tragedy of Billy

Sunday."[366] A lingering liberal confidence in the shape of the American twentieth century, modernity, and liberalism allowed Balmer to conclude that Sunday's conservatism, with its "ambivalence" to modernity, simply had no place in modern America.[367]

The reality that Sunday's consumerist social message has reappeared in myriad forms in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has had little impact on scholarship of Sunday or his revival movement. The long literary tradition of dismissing Billy Sunday's cultural and political message because of its consumerist gospel has obscured its place as part of the cultural and political roots of the modern religious right. This has created a fictive distance between the religious conservatism of the 1920s and the revived evangelical movement of the 1950s and 60s. Sunday's social philosophy was far more sophisticated than his initial critics were willing to admit, and its impact on future conservatism was greater than scholars have acknowledged. These trends were especially apparent during Sunday's career in the 1920s.

II. Sunday in the 1920s

The early 1920s witnessed the cultural and political triumph of Billy Sunday's America. Virtually every social cause Sunday had championed in the 1910s became a national reality by 1925. Sunday's two great political causes in the late 1910s had been Prohibition and opposition to immigration. His first goal was obtained by the passage of the prohibition Amendment in 1919 and his second became law in the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which severely curtailed immigration from Southern Europe and established racially tinged criteria for entry into the United States. As a result, immigration slowed to a trickle for the next forty years. Sunday's other social message, the virtue of consumerism as the basis of American democracy and morality, seemed well fitted to a decade in which consumer

spending on branded corporate products skyrocketed. A revived economy saturated the nation with standardized products, available both in department stores and a slew of new mail-order catalogues.[368] The United States seemed set towards a moralistic future dominated by moral regulation, limited government, and unrestrained corporate capitalism geared towards providing the greatest variety of consumer goods to the American public.

Yet the ongoing struggles with labor accompanied a gradual shift in the political nature of the Sunday campaigns in the 1920s that would lead to a greater level of political partisanship. Until 1921, Billy Sunday avoided overt discussions of politics. Despite his attacks on immigrants and the I.W.W., Sunday never issued any direct critique of the labor movement or unions in general. While Sunday had suggested that foreign-born agitators should be lined up and shot in 1919, not all of his barbs were directed against socialists. Sunday also lambasted "child-labor exploiters…political grafters…food dopesters" and those employers "who will every year drive hundreds of cases of virtue over the line into vice by the pressure of starvation wages which they pay."[369] Labor critics were unimpressed and connected Sunday's regular visits to cities that had recently experienced major strikes to a coordinated attempt by capital to mollify laborers. But when Sunday revived Denver in September of 1914, a few months after the Ludlow Massacre, he insisted he would "keep away from politics" and for the duration of the campaign he did not mention the ongoing coal strike. Sunday repeated this same pattern in Paterson the next year, and in Sioux City and Cincinnati in 1920 and 1921. While Sunday was hardly even-handed in his moral pronouncements on work, before 1920 he was not an open promoter of capital over labor.

Sunday's political orientation underwent a radical remaking in 1921 and 1922 as he confronted the after-effects of the massive strikes of 1919 and the following years. Sunday organized a revival in Charleston, West Virginia, in March of 1922. Six months earlier, President Harding had declared martial law in the state, sending federal troops to arrest militant miners who had organized a

wildcat strike to raise wages and improve conditions.[370] Apparently horrified by the scale of the violence, Sunday asked the local mine operators to present their understanding of the cause of the strikes. In a six-page report based on their conversations, the mine operators explained to Sunday that the strikes had been brought about by the radical, foreign influence of socialism. The operators helpfully defined socialism as an "idealistic theory" originally formulated by "people who lacked thrift." Karl Marx had radicalized the old socialism of the nineteenth century into a scientific system of hatred against employers based on the principle that the working man was entitled to complete control of profits. Marx's ideology had been opposed by religion and the family, leading socialists to attempt to destroy both institutions in their war on work, replacing both with the church of "personal license." The United Mine Workers had formally adopted this creed in 1919, abandoning the principle of negotiation. The result had been a war that had robbed both workers and capitalists of profit, grinding the economy to a halt and reaping ruin for the state.

Sunday may have taken the report with a grain of salt, but it was natural that he would rely on businessmen for their understanding of the economic crisis. Sunday had begun as a preacher to small-town leading citizens and leading citizens who were members of the Chambers of Commerce. Sunday had always preached success as a natural outgrowth of work and spending. “Do your best and you will never wear out shoe leather looking for a job," he orated in 1915. "Do your best, and you will never become blind reading ‘Help Wanted’ ads in the newspaper.”[371] Sunday's self-help gospel of work marked the rich as the most ordinary and common of Americans and was built on the same Main Street fabric of the Chautauqua, where opportunity was limitless and prosperity and poverty were signifiers of an individual’s degree of sanctification.

Rich men should be trusted as the stewards of the economy, as far as Sunday was concerned, because they had "horse-sense." "Horse-sense" was a fundamental American virtue possessed by all successful people, "an instinctive something that tells us when the clock strikes twelve."[372] American

capitalists had gotten ahead because they had more of this common sense that came from real work. They had risen, through their virtues, from the main body of Americans: "pull the gloves off the hands of most railroad presidents…and you will find them calloused by toil, for they started at the bottom."[373] Rich men were the real laboring class because they had successfully identified the needs and motivations of their fellow Americans and addressed them, which rewarded them with wealth. It was only natural that when Sunday wanted to understand the struggles of the economy he would turn to the ordinary, all-American capitalist.

In November of 1921 while in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Sunday authored his most-detailed treatise on the relationship between labor, capital, and government, which he submitted as an article to the *Railway Magazine*. Speaking of the railway industry, Sunday argued that protest over present inequality in pay or working conditions was greedy and short-sighted for two reasons. First, it ignored the far greater rewards that would be reaped by another generation of rapid and unbroken development. The paltry scraps of both workers and employers in the current railway industry would pale before the unbridled wealth that would exist from twenty years of cooperation, providing amply for everyone. Second, capitalists and laborers possessed a public duty to sacrifice some of their self-interest to the greater cause of development. The railway was the circulatory lifeblood of the nation, vital to its prosperity and happiness. As Americans, railway workers struggled not just for themselves but to build a future prosperity for the nation.

Real laborers understood this sacred trust and that patient work would bring ever-increasing rewards. The trouble was that American labor had been infiltrated by a poisonous minority of foreign elements that had brought a self-defeating militancy to the working class, resulting in a loss of production. Open immigration was the real threat to peaceful co-existence between labor and capital:

> We have made American citizenship too cheap. We have allowed too many of these infamous, God-forsaken, white-livered, splenetic-hearted spawn of the anarachistic-

> bolshevistic class to sneak in under cover of immigration. They don't come to build homes but to undermine honest labor and flaunt the red rag of rebellion....The theory that men should loaf on the job thereby causing underproduction and so make work for more men is a damnable heresy from Europe. The time has come to call in the wrecking crew and send out the construction gang.[374]

The power to end the destruction rested with government. "I favor a law which will send a man back across the sea if at the end of five years he has not taken out his first naturalization papers and shown a determination to become an American. There can be no neutrality in Americanism."[375] As Sunday put it later at Knoxville, “the radicals are barnacles on the hull of the ship of industry. They seek to bind the Goddess of liberty.”[376] “There is one union we should join: the American union.”[377] The question of "who was who" in the United States was the pressing social question of the 1920s, and it motivated Sunday to openly endorse new legislation closely associated with the Republican Party.

A conspiratorial fear of foreign influences increasingly gripped Sunday's sermons. In Knoxville in 1923, he suggested that if America was a “melting pot” it was the responsibility of Americans to “skin off the slag that won’t melt into Americanism and cast it into hell.”[378] Invoking the old Chautauqua language, the foreign-elements were "knockers" against boosters in American industry and work—the "I WONTS" and I CANTS" who hissed when other men applauded.[379] By the early 1920s, The "I wonts and I cants" were synonymous with the foreign born: "[the poisoners] of the well springs of American liberty with the prussic acid of Communism, Socialism, radical ism and lawlessness.…There are multitudes of them."[380] Sunday's fear of the foreign even extended to his diet. Terrified that illness would end his career, Sunday further restricted his diet to boiled and dried beef, codfish, cooked tomatoes, mashed potatoes, piled beans, milk, and apple pie.[381] To protect himself from contamination, he only hydrated with Poland Spring bottled water shipped directly to him from Maine.[382]

Sunday's attacks on foreign infiltration led to calls for a new law to limit immigration, but also accompanied a new hostility to government power in his sermons. Americans increasingly faced

a Manichean divide between two philosophies, "the school of the individual effort" versus a nation where "initiative is controlled by the State:"

> where each man shall come and go as he is ordered; you will build your house where they order it built; and you will wear the kind of clothes they order you to wear. ... That is the atheistic and Socialistic form that they are trying to cram down your throats.[383]

"Our institutions...are individualistic," Sunday insisted. "They are not Socialistic."[384] Since socialists desired a big government that would destroy production and work by chaining capital, government became a point of suspicion in the Sunday revivals. Socialism, the state, and support for immigration were gradually aligned in Sunday's thinking as the enemies of the Republic.

References to politics and political issues became increasingly common on Sunday's revival stage as he transitioned into an anti-socialist crusader. In Tulsa, Sunday opened his revival by declaring "the trouble with America is we have no God in politics."[385] In Knoxville in 1923, he called on "sponsors of the bastard theory of evolution" to stand up, and he informed them than "an infidel has never gone to the White House and by the grace of God he never will!"[386] By the early 1930s, Sunday could declare, "God deliver us from the howling wolves that are trying to build a prosperity for themselves on the ashes of those whose businesses they destroyed.…This country is going to be run by Americans cost what it may."[387] The stakes of the war against socialism necessitated that Sunday transition from a booster to a lobbyist.

III. Sunday the Klansman and Southern Revivalism

During Sunday's 1922 revival in Richmond, Indiana, a delegation of twelve uniformed Klansmen silently entered the tabernacle and presented Sunday with a letter of endorsement and an envelope that contained fifty dollars. The Klansmen were from Muncie and had driven

forty-five miles to Richmond to declare their support for Sunday. Sunday shyly thanked the delegation or their gift before they silently departed and piled into waiting automobiles. The Klan letter was then read by Sunday to the gathered audience of 5,000 Christians, with thanks to the Muncie Klan and the provisional Richmond chapter:

> We, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, desire that you accept this little token of our appreciation of the wonderful work that you and your associates are doing in behalf of perpetuating the tenets of the Christian religion throughout the nation, and we wish to inform you that we stand solidly behind the teachings of the Christian religion, free speech, separation of church and state, liberty, white supremacy, just law, [and] the pursuit of happiness.[388]

Sunday acted surprised by the theatrical entrance, but in reality he had been apprised of the Klan visit, and it was not his first. Afterwards, Sunday's aide Robert Matthews admitted to the press that "the klan (sic) has made a present to Mr. Sunday in every city he has been in during the last year."[389] After the Klan departure, Sunday returned to his sermon with a glib remark: "I am not a member, but…I guess if you behave yourself they won't bother you."[390]

As Sunday revived across the Midwest and south in 1923 and 1924, more hooded delegates arrived at his meetings to present modest offerings.[391] A careful balancing act emerged as Sunday avoided commenting on the Klan while accepting their money and support. Yet while Sunday could for a time avoid openly endorsing the Klan, he could not prevent them from endorsing him. On July 11, 1923, the *Imperial-Night Hawk* ran an op-ed entitled "Billy Sunday Strong for the Klan Kreed:" "Billy Sunday, noted evangelist, is not a Klansmen but he tells the world in his unique and emphatic way that he endorses the Klan Kreed and everything the order stands for."[392] When Sunday opened a revival a few months later in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the local Klavern took out a full-page ad in the newspaper that included a drawing of Sunday preaching to Klansmen on horseback, carrying crosses. The ad linked Sunday and the Klan in a common purpose: "This organization joins you in your fight against

sin of every kind. We, like you, are fighting to make our great country one that stands for Christianity."[393] Klan money and delegations continued to pour in from Sunday revivals around the country, binding his movement in the public mind to the Klan cause.

Sunday was finally coaxed into proffering a definitive opinion on the Klan in March 1924 during a revival in Shreveport, Louisiana. Klan delegates marched into the service on March 28 and presented their offering to an enthusiastic audience of 8,000, most of whom were clearly supportive of the robed delegates. Perhaps encouraged by the audience's outburst of excitement, Sunday broke from his usual reticence and delivered some impromptu remarks on the Invisible Empire. Sunday informed the crowd that he had recently been asked by an audience member whether he would preach a Klan sermon, and that he had responded he would because "when an American sermon is preached the Klan endorses it." Sunday proceeded to praise the Klan for its assistance in maintaining law and order in local towns by punishing crime. If extreme elements existed, it was little different than the individual corruption that existed within the church and government; the presence of extremists need not condemn the movement as a whole.[394]

In the same years that Sunday flirted with Klan support, his earlier, tentative overtures to African Americans vanished. In a lecture to a local "Law Enforcement League" in Philadelphia, Sunday segued into a short oration on social equality between whites and blacks: "The black man is entitled to civil equality as much as you.…When you are out on the highway with your Pierce-Arrow limousine you have got to give half of the road to that darkey with his tin lizzie.…Social equality is another proposition."[395] Racially incendiary statements became increasingly common in the radicalized Sunday revivals of the mid-1920s and helped to

strengthen his bond with small-town Klans, even as in the longer term they helped move his revivals away from the mainstream legitimacy he had enjoyed until the early 1920s.

By the late 1920s, Sunday's meetings were lily white. When black minister H. Albert Smith attempted to attend the Sunday meetings at Durham, North Carolina, held in a white Baptist church, he was initially turned away because of his race, until a friend intervened and, after a "hurried conference," ushered him into a separated section of the balcony. While segregated meetings continued to be held occasionally with some support from the black clergy, incidents such as these soured the black press on Sunday's meetings far beyond the mixed reaction of his earlier Atlanta meetings. In 1928, local black ministers organized a boycott of the Billy Sunday meetings in Baltimore, referring to them as the "Jim Crow evangelistic meetings."[396] The Sundays, directing their energy directed towards white southerners, were apparently nonplussed by the boycott and gave no reaction.

By 1927, Sunday's support of the Klan and increasing militancy backfired and hurt the size and profitability of the revival movement. While the Sundays had earned $120,000 in a single day in New York City in 1917, by 1927–1928 freewill offerings averaged $10,000. Hemmed in by the politics of the 1920s, Sunday had endorsed an organization that quickly limited his national audience as the Klan was mired in repeated corruption scandals. While Sunday remained popular in business circles and had a hardcore following in the Midwest and South, he gradually ceased to command a national audience and increasingly spoke only to a constituency of highly conservative white Americans.

Sunday's new revivals in the South acted as a bridge between militant Southern evangelists and the conservative Christian audiences of the Midwest. Since the death of Sam Jones in 1906, no Southern evangelist had achieved a major profile in the north. In the early

1920s, the most famous Southern evangelists, largely Baptists and Methodists, were notorious for their anti-Semitism, violent anti-Catholicism, and fanatical conspiracy theories. The popular Texas revivalist Mordecai Ham attracted national condemnation during a revival in North Carolina in 1924 when he publicly accused the Jewish Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears-Roebuck, of operating interracial brothels and a white slavery ring in Chicago.[397] The notorious trial and acquittal of J. Frank Norris for shooting a Catholic man during an altercation in his office symbolized the violence and disrepute that dominated the reputation of Southern popular Christianity in the 1920s.[398]

Sunday's revivals in the South, even as his national audience eroded, helped reduce the gap between Southern firebrands and Midwestern conservative Christians. In the 1920s, Billy Sunday became a fervent booster of Southern cities. Sunday declared Knoxville, Tennessee, to be the most "purely American and Christian town" in the United States when he arrived for meetings in 1923.[399] During a revival in St. Louis, Missouri in 1928, Sunday remarked that "the south is the most religious part of the country. There is more reverence for God down there than anywhere in America."[400] When the Sundays returned north, they often invited Southern delegates of the Billy Sunday clubs to come and preach on their work in the South, demonstrating the great success of the religious clubs in places like Georgia and Tennessee.[401] The South was held up in Midwestern meetings as a modern part of the nation where capitalism and moral values continued to be prevalent and endorsed by the community. Southern cities responded by showering money and converts on the evangelist. In 1922, Morristown, Tennessee, a town with a population of 5,900, spent more than $10,430 to rent a tobacco warehouse and convert it into a tabernacle, as well as publicize the revival. To make up for the lack of accommodations in the town, attendees were invited to sleep in the tabernacle the night before services.[402]

If the Sundays' forays into the South helped to build bonds with Midwestern conservatives, the Sundays' financial support for the Chautauqua fair at Winona Lake also created a safe space for Southern and Northern evangelists to gather and plot the future of the Christian nation. William Biederwolf took control of the annual Bible Conference in 1918 and firmly established its fundamentalist credentials by banning moderates and defenders of evolution.[403] Afterwards, a steady stream of Southern evangelists and ministers began to pour into the conference. Winona Lake became a meeting ground between religious conservatives across the nation, where they could provide advice and support to one another without necessarily endorsing every viewpoint. It was at a Winona Lake meeting in 1924 that William Jennings Bryan suggested to Bob Jones, Sr., that he should start a religious school in the South to train Christians. As the anti-fundamentalist reaction in many seminaries forced prominent conservatives out of older religious institutions, Winona Lake created a space where conservatives could lecture, plan, and strategize about the future.

The Billy Sunday Tabernacle at Winona Lake was finished in 1921 with financial support from the Sundays. Capable of seating 7,500 people, it allowed the Bible Conference to expand greatly. Thousands of onlookers now watched while popular ministers and evangelists orated on political and religious subjects. As the 1920s advanced, Southerners pushed the Conference towards a more openly confrontational stance against modern American culture. In 1926, Bob Jones, a regular attendee, lectured his fellow evangelists, ministers, and fairgoers on the danger of Jews to American civilization:

> I am a friend of the Jew…but the moving picture trust in this country is controlled by five Jews, and they are organized to destroy the American Sabbath.…I have no objection to the good, old-time foreigner…who respects our Bible, and God, and the religious institutions. But there are folks who come to this country who are trying to destroy our Sabbath.…Let them take their bananas, and their boot-black stands, and their hurdry-gurdies, and their lousy whiskers, and go back home![404]

The foreign elements, Jones concluded, "were pulling down the house your protestant forefathers built." A decade earlier, open attacks like these on Jews and Catholics would have been risqué at the Bible Conference. By 1926, these kinds of attacks had become mainstays of the revival movement.

In January of 1928, Billy Sunday declared he would run for president if neither major party supported a pro-Prohibition candidate. Sunday's platform, such as it was ever articulated, was radically anti-immigrant. In St. Louis, unsatisfied by the powers of his potential presidency, Sunday declared that if he was "God for about 15 minutes I would wipe Tia Juana off the map" for catering to Americans eager to drink and gamble.[405] Sunday's open foray into electoral politics marked a break with the preceding century of evangelistic revivalism and further eroded the distinction between religious activism and outright politics. Sunday further abandoned political neutrality and outright damned Democratic candidate and Catholic Al Smith for his wicked choice to support Repeal and cater to first-generation voters. In Sunday's view, the wickedness of the Democrats necessitated his formal intervention in the electoral process. Afterwards, the barrier between religious conservatism and electoral politics would never fully reseal, as conservative Christians continued to view the Democrats as the party of immigrants and immoral legislation.

When Hoover was nominated in June of 1928, Sunday endorsed the Republican immediately, taking himself out of the race. "Now that Hoover has declared himself [for the] Eighteenth Amendment," Sunday insisted, "he is as good as elected."[406] Sunday stumped against Al Smith and the "Tammany Hall" machine vociferously, attracting thunderous applause—along with the occasional chucked egg—from audiences in Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina.[407] In response, some local ministers rallied to punish Sunday for violating the separation of church and state. A meeting in Danville, Virginia in October was postponed when the trustees learned that Sunday planned to discuss the election. Sunday and his team were banned from the tabernacle on the grounds that the building was reserved for religious and educational purposes, and they were "not

convinced that Sunday would come under either classification."[408] After the Y.M.C.A. followed suit, Sunday rented out a theatre with amplifiers directed at the street for overflow seating.[409] In the eventual meeting, 900 attendees and 3,000 additional listeners in the street witnessed Sunday unsuccessfully attempt to smash a chair while he stumped against Smith. While Sunday never explicitly made an issue of Smith's Catholicism, he compared the Governor of New York to the recently executed Italian-born anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. Just as Sacco and Vanzetti had died with "long live Anarchy!" on their lips, Smith had ended Prohibition enforcement in New York state. All three men were guilty of the same crime: treason.[410] Before the Virginia crowd, Sunday's invectives Catholic-baited Smith and associated him with the foreign radicals that had obsessed the Sunday revivals for the last decade.

Along with Virginia, Sunday also stumped for Hoover that summer in North Carolina and Kentucky, mixing politics into his normal revival sermons. All three states had voted uniformly Democrat since Reconstruction. That fall, Hoover and the Republican party took all three, a feat that would not be recreated until 1968. In gratitude, Charles Curtis, the vice-president elect, wrote Sunday a letter of thanks for his services. Along with a group of Southern evangelists who endorsed Hoover, Sunday helped to open the first cracks in the Solid South and mar the Democratic brand with an association with foreign-born voters and immorality. Whatever his influence, Sunday’s prophecy that the Dry candidate would sweep the election proved true for the second time, deepening his faith that only the Republicans could stand firm for Prohibition and Christ.

Sunday's abortive presidential run and crusade to elect Hoover effectively erased the distinction between religious and political activism in the Sunday movement. While the Sunday movement was in its waning days, its final political re-orientation helped show younger religious conservatives that revivals could be co-opted successfully for political work in the pursuit of protecting a moral America. The genie would never be placed back in the bottle, as in the 1930s and

'40s younger revivalists—even as they avoided Sunday's Klan-inflected reputation—integrated opposition to the New Deal and the welfare state into their quests to redeem souls. After 1928, religious conservatives across the Midwest and South more fully and formally embraced the Republican Party as the party of Christ.

IV. The "Billy Sunday" Clubs

The longest-lasting institutional influence of Billy Sunday's revivals were the "Billy Sunday" clubs. Spontaneously organized after Sunday revivals, the Billy Sunday clubs began around 1917 and continued into the late 1920s. Most popular in the South and the Midwest, the clubs were organized as voluntary societies and dominated by local leading citizens, the same kinds of "solid citizens" who funded Chautauqua meetings. Female auxiliary clubs were termed "Virginia Asher" Societies, named after the militant Sunday worker famous for her talks against booze and evangelism to businesswomen, or "Business Women's Councils." While the clubs were diverse in their methods and initiatives, they were united by the common purpose of transforming the urban community along the lines outlined by the Sunday revival; in essence, the clubs existed to Sunday-ize their communities. While some floundered in a few years, other clubs continued to operate into the 1950s.

While the clubs varied widely in size and influence, the most successful ones transformed Sunday's revival message into a grassroots political organization in the 1920s that advocated for individual improvement over charity and moral regeneration rather than civic reform. One of the earliest Billy Sunday clubs was formed in Atlanta in the aftermath of the 1917 revival meetings, and its form set the template for many clubs to follow. Laymen of local white churches were determined to create an evangelistic club to channel and conserve the energy of the Sunday meetings.

The membership of the club, mimicking Sunday's emphasis on prosperity, was limited to laymen engaged in business and professional life. Many of the members were wealthy, including the millionaire Marvin Thrower. The Constitution of the club "rigidly adhered to, with no deviations, was to lead men to accept Jesus Christ as Savior, and to enlist them in Christian activity." Each member of the club was called to speak to someone each day "about his relation to Jesus Christ," and members would meet for lunch each week to relay their personal experiences and compare notes. Sunday clubs would form special delegations of five to seven men to accept invitations to hold revival meetings in Protestant churches around the city and suburbs, travelling by car on the weekends. These roving businessmen evangelists would give talks that aped the Sunday methods and repeated his social teachings on positive consumerism, work, and the dangers of foreign-induced strikes.[411]

Many of the clubs succeeded in carrying out significant evangelistic work. Clubs maintained exact records of the number of individuals interviewed, revival services delivered, and conversions made. In 1922, the Chattanooga club conducted a complete religious census of the city, with 1,376 volunteers recording 52,982 names including 24,986 church members—a census that was then turned over to pastors from the city's local Protestant churches.[412] In six years, the Chattanooga club proceeded to hold revival services in every Protestant church in the city. Successful clubs organized committees to visit other towns and encourage the formation of sister clubs, gathering information on church attendance and working outside of existing denominational frameworks to achieve conversions.[413]

Some of the clubs worked to maintain Sunday's emphasis on Americanism by fighting to maintain Protestant presence in public institutions. Some zealous clubs formed committees in association with local Y.M.C.A. members to arrange to teach the King James Bible in public schools. The plan met with opposition even in the South, where it was accused of proselytizing to Catholic

students and erasing the distinction between church and state. The club in Chattanooga overcame this legal barrier to getting the King James Bible in school by organizing "voluntary" Bible classes on school property after regular hours, conducted by teachers who were paid by the local club.[414]

One of the longest-lasting and most influential Sunday clubs was the Washington Street Mission in Springfield, Illinois, founded during Sunday's revival in the city in 1919. The Mission conducted nightly evangelistic meetings, a Sunday school, and revival services into the 1950s. It was also a source of local charity, organizing "bread lines" that fed the city's unemployed mine workers, especially Italians and Chinese men with few sources of external support. However, charity at Washington Street was not conducted simply by need. The workers, applying Sunday's bootstrap principles, insisted that any man receiving aid be put to work and commit to immediate Americanization. Families from bankrupted Coal City, Illinois were resettled in Springfield with the help of the club. At night, the foreign workers were taught to speak English while by day they worked in the mines—a condition of their resettlement in Springfield. Evangelistic meetings, including meetings for children, were a condition of charity at the Washington Street society, with religious meetings accompanying all philanthropic work.

The Washington Street Mission's charity work also contained an openly evangelistic and political platform. "COMMUNISM OR CHRIST" declared an advertisement for the society in 1936: "There is but one solution to thwart the grim monster" of "Revolution" and "Riot" "that is attacking the very vital heart of our civilization, and that is THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST."[415] The Washington Street Mission evolved into a charitable foundation that wove Sunday's conspiratorial view of American politics and opportunity into the fabric of daily life in Springfield. By incorporating Americanization, entrepreneurship, anti-communism, and evangelism into their charity work Washington Street kept the spirit of Billy Sunday alive.

Another successful group organized in Charlotte, North Carolina, in the wake of Sunday's 1924 meeting in the city. Originally titled the Billy Sunday's Layman's Evangelistic Club, the lay society was dominated by a group of local businessmen and their wives. The Club was organized to provide charity relief to worthy citizens and to safeguard the religious atmosphere of the city against negative influences, especially modernist ministers. To that end, in 1934 they invited Texas firebrand Mordecai Ham to Charlotte to hold a revival in the city, to be paid for by the businessmen's club. The fifty-seven-year-old Ham had long been controversial for his anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, but Ham had been a fantastically successful evangelist in Texas and made a reputation as an orthodox minister who could win converts. Ham's and Sunday's politics also meshed; in 1928, Ham had broken with Southern tradition by denouncing the Catholic Al Smith, insisting that any Christian who voted against Hoover was "voting against Christ, and you will all be damned." The Charlotte club offered Ham a generous paycheck to perform his conservative, Republican-leaning gospel in the city.

The most notable result of the 1934 Charlotte meetings was the conversion of a local sixteen-year-old boy who was pressured to attend the meetings after being refused entrance into a local youth group for being too worldly. William Franklin Graham, Jr. had been taken to the first Sunday revival in Charlotte twelve year earlier, when he was four. In 1934, Mordecai Ham's scorching sermon compelled the teenager to walk down the aisle and accept Jesus Christ with his friend Grady Wilson. With Ham's encouragement, Graham left his family farm to go to Bob Jones University to become a minister. The "Billy Sunday" Club in Charlotte, led by businessmen converted by their namesake hero, connected Billy Sunday's America to the figure who would one day rekindle Christian conservatism into a new and potent social movement.

V. Conclusion

The conspiratorial and virulently racialized and anti-immigrant Sunday campaigns of the 1920s marked the end of Sunday's national popularity as an evangelist who could command audiences from coast to coast. However, Sunday's shift back to a Midwestern and newly Southern audience allowed the Sundays to remain a powerful religious force in the nation. Billy and Helen Sunday continued to attract audiences, who readily consumed an increasingly stark and conspiratorial view of American society and culture marked by a division between "American" Christians in the interior and a corruptive, infectious, and decidedly foreign influence in coastal American politics and culture.

The violent, fractious world of Southern evangelism had earlier achieved popularity in the Midwest in the earthy revival meetings of Sam Jones. However, Sunday went further by integrating confrontational white supremacy, outspoken nativism, and opposition to racial mixing and equality into his revival meetings. By travelling into the South, Sunday helped build connections between white southern and midwestern born-again Christians while actively excluding African-American Christians from the new communities spawned by the meetings. The culture wars of the 1920s effectively established American revivalism as the religion of white nativism and the Ku Klux Klan, arrayed against the pressing forces of immigration, liberalism, and racial integration.

The shrill political tone of the Sundays' later revivals fed a new political partisanship that by the late 1920s. Sunday's representation of the election campaigns of the 1920s transformed voting for the Republican Party into an expression of faith in Christ and American greatness, with Democrats representing the liquor faction, immigration, and the dismantling of American values. The result helped to permanently dismantle earlier barriers to pastoral partisanship in politics, opening the way for new generations of religious partisanship in the 1930s and 40s. The Billy Sunday Clubs carried

Sunday's rhetoric to a grassroots base that attempted to implement a Sundayized version of America through local institutions.

The Sunday movement of the 1920s represented a sophisticated political and cultural campaign to impose a nativist, religious agenda in American life, increasingly through electoral politics. The later collapse of the movement arose from a new set of historical circumstances that would reset the agenda of religious conservatism in the United States and confer the leadership of the movement upon a new generation.

Conclusion

In 1929, Sunday broke with forty years of revivalism and stepped for the first and only time in front of a film camera. In a rapid-fire tour of Boston, Sunday produced a short newsreel. Entitled "Billy Sunday Warns America," the sixty-second sermon was devoted entirely to a spirited appeal to the nation to preserve competition and wealth:

> Civilization and society rest on morals. Morals rest on religion. Religion rests on the Bible. ... The Bible doesn't condemn any man because of his wealth. The Bible says that any man that don't provide for his family is worse than an infidel.
>
> According to our standard of gold and silver, Abraham was worth a billion and a half dollars, David was worth three billion, Solomon was worth five billion. Solomon could hire Andre Carnegie for a butler, J. Pierport Morgan to cut his lawn, and Andrew Mellon for a chauffeur, and John D. to black his boots.

Sunday's filmed sermon presented the greatest sin of modern America to be its critique and hostility towards virtuous, earned wealth as well as its inability to trust the consecrated business patriarchs of the 1920s. His recorded words echoed the Chautauqua message of the 1910s, albeit hardened against a perceived opposition to the common-sense foundations of civilization he preached.

The Sundays reacted to the Depression by recommitting to their absolute faith in the fairness and sanctity of the capitalist system. On January 31st, 1931, Billy and Helen Sunday recorded their first and only radio address to the nation. The title of their address, "Girding ourselves with Courage for the New Year," captured the sense of unease in the nation but also suggested that individual valor was the answer to the economic downturn. The message of the address was a retread of what the Sunday's had always taught. The nation was in crisis because young people refused to create opportunity. Aversion to work and faith left riches unseized and genius uncultivated. The fault did not lie within systems but with individuals. The answer to the economic crisis was not reform but a new dedication to the entrepreneurial values that had made America great.

The notion that the message of the Sundays' was worn out or outdated in the United States of the 1930s is belied by the thousands of letters of support that poured into the Sunday home in Winona Lake in 1931 in response to the radio sermon. Most of the writers were in their thirties and forties and thanked the Sundays for delivering an inspiring message of self-help. The Billy Sunday Clubs, which remained active across the Midwest and South, sent offers to Sunday to hold new meetings in their cities to deliver his message in person. While the purses had shrunk, Sunday's message of boosterism retained a tantalizing appeal to many Americans.

In the end, it was popular demand that drove Sunday to an early grave. In the early 1930s, Billy Sunday continued to deliver 150 meetings a year across dozens of cities. In 1930, Sunday collapsed on stage in Virginia and experienced his first stroke at the age of sixty-seven. In 1934, he had a heart attack. He took an extended sabbatical at the personal invitation of the Mayo brothers at their Mayo Clinic. Against their advice, in 1935 he returned to the road. In November 1935, Sunday suffered his second and final stroke in Mishawaka, Indiana. In the hospital in Chicago, Sunday continued to plan his 1936 campaigns. On November 5, 1935, Sunday died in his sleep. His body was put on display in the Moody Church on LaSalle Avenue, where crowds braved heavy rains to file into the church to catch a last glimpse of the evangelist.

The mid-1930s represented the nadir of "Main Street" religious conservatism in the United States as a mainstream movement. Ministers and evangelists in the Midwest and South continued to tour and seethe against the collectivism, liberalism, and anti-competitive odors of the New Deal. Their influence remained so strong that "religious and economic reactionaries" were targeted by the FDR administration as their principal political threat in 1935.[416] However, they lacked the political legitimacy and widespread constituency that Billy Sunday had commanded in the 1920s.[417] The aftershocks of the collapse of the Klan, end of Prohibition, and the onset of the Depression created a vacuum where carefully marketed New Deal policies achieved significant inroads even in the heart

of the old revival circuits. The shrill partisan tone of the second half of the 1920s hobbled the conservative movement for the next ten years by destroying the widespread legitimacy that Sunday and the Republican Party had enjoyed between 1918 and 1925.

Yet the 1930s is best understood as an interregnum in American politics and religion marked by a new regional reformulation of religious conservatism. The 1930s and 40s witnessed a mass migration of white Protestants from the Midwest to the West Coast. Despite images of "Oakies" and southerners flooding into California, the largest body of migrants moving to the West Coast came from Illinois, with Iowa in fourth place.[418] These migrants took their political orientations, religious beliefs, and economic sensibilities with them, raking the soil for a new conservative movement that would begin to grow in the years after World War II. The "backlash" against liberalism bemoaned by liberals in the 1950s was part of a continuous conservative-religious political tradition rooted in the small-city booster cultures of the 1890s.[419]

After Billy Sunday's death in 1935, Helen Sunday became the spiritual leader of the Winona Lake conference. Holding court in Indiana, "Ma" Sunday dispensed funds and legitimacy to younger evangelists and ministers eager to pick up the mantle of the Sunday legacy. Helen Sunday also began to travel extensively, continuing her husband's work and raising money for Sunday Clubs.[420] In 1946, a young evangelist from North Carolina who had been converted by a Billy Sunday club visited Winona Lake while planning a new series of revivals in Los Angeles aimed at converting high school students. Billy Graham met with Helen Sunday in private for several hours before proceeding to hold an all-night prayer meeting at Winona Lake for the success of the Los Angeles meetings. Before Graham left for the West Coast, Helen Sunday gave her blessing to the new crusades. To boost Graham, she even deigned to speak at several Graham revivals between 1947 and 1952, granting further legitimacy to the young evangelist.[421]

Since the 1970s, virtually every aspect of the "Main Street" conservatism of the 1910s and 20s has come to define American conservatism and conservative religion. Reverence for consumerism and free enterprise has become so reflexive among modern evangelicals that they routinely support political leaders who profess little knowledge or interest in Christianity, so long as they exude business success and champion individualism. Clarion calls to an American "heartland" of simple values, an entrepreneurial work ethic, and born-again religion have been instrumental in electing every Republican president in the last forty years and have consistently pushed the party to the right. The red baseball caps of the twenty-first century, like the crumpled jackets of the Sunday revival, combined region and faith to christen a plain-spoken billionaire as leader of a nativist crusade to regenerate the United States and create opportunity by expelling foreign elements. The conservatism of the twenty-first century has once again taken on the twang and swagger of Billy Sunday and used it as a launching pad into national power.

End Notes

[1] For the history of Winona Lake, see Winona Lake Chautauqua fonds, box 1 and 2. Grace College Archives; for information on the Bible Conference movement, see Mark Sidwell, “Come Apart And Rest A While”: The Origin Of The Bible Conference Movement In America,” *SBSJ* 15 (2010), 75-98.

[2] George Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987); Timothy Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure: The Moody Bible Institute, Business, and the Making of Modern Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[3] Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (New York: Basic Books, 2015)
[4] For a selective reading of books on "evangelical" conservatism, business, and modern conservatism, see especially Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: plain-folk religion, grassroots politics, and the rise of evangelical conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012); Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: the making of Christian free enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2010); Randy Balmer, *Redeemer: The Life of Jimmy Carter* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[5] For an extremely detailed depiction of this culture in mid-nineteenth century Chicago, see John B. Jentz and Richard Schneirov, *Chicago in the Age of Capital: Class, Politics, and Democracy during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012).
[6] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
[7] "Evangelicalism, America's folk religion, courses through American history…consistent with the American ethos." Randall Balmer, *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 9-11.
[8] George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991); Mark Noll, *America's God: from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1980)*;* David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: the Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2005).
[9] For a good example of a history that attempts to forefront these skeletons in the closet, see Bivins, *Religion of Fear: The Politics of Horror in Conservative Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[10] A regional history of the Midwest, especially the conservative Midwest that was admired, loathed, and satirized by admirers and critics between the 1880s and the 1930s, is in its infancy. A few pioneering books have attempted to conceive a history of the region, although these attemps have thus far attracted little in the way of sustained scholarly interest. See especially *Finding a New Midwestern History* (John K. Lauck, et al. eds.) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017).
[11] For a classic and articulate study of the nineteenth-century cult of individualism, see Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954).
[12] For an overview of the growth of the evangelical institutions and urban missions in the nineteenth century, see David G. Hackett, *The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religion and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652-1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Martin Marty, *Protestantism in the United States: Righteous Empire* (New York: Scribners, 1986); Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).
[13] Kathleen Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner: The Life of Evangelist Sam Jones* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 108.
[14] "Moody's War on Sin: Series of Revival Meetings by the Evangelist," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 11,1896, 1.
[15] "Sam Jones Helps Moody," *New York Times*, November 28, 9.
[16] For the influence of ascetics and fringe preachers, see Nathan Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); for a more nuanced approach, see Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).
[17] Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); for a secular interpretation of these values, see Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2000).
[18] For a classic study of the origins of the gendered distinctions that marked the nineteenth-century American middle class, see Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; for a deeply layered study of middle-class ideas of gender and work in the same period in Britain, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*. Historians have long debated whether the idea of "separate spheres" was more of a mythology of the middle class than a binding reality, while many scholars have pushed for a more complicated and multifaceted understanding of American gender distinctions that could at times be more flexible than the classic typologies suggested by scholars like Cott or Barbara Welter.
See Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised*, edited by Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner. New York: Octagon Books, 1976; Richard D. Shiels, "The Feminization of American Congregationalism, 1730-1835," *American Quarterly* 33:1 (1981), 46-62; David S. Reynolds, "The Feminization Controversy: Sexual Stereotypes and the Paradoxes of Piety in Nineteenth-Century America," *New England Quarterly*

53:1 (1980), 96-106; much of the "feminization" literature was influenced by Ann Douglas' 1978 monograph *The Feminization of American Culture*, a wide-ranging argument that American culture was drained of its Calvinist energy by a turn to sentimentalism in the nineteenth century. See Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Avon Books, 1978); scholars are now critical of Douglas' argument for the ways in which it caricatured American society and associated "feminization" with intellectual decline. See Elizabeth Alice White, "Sentimental Heresies: Rethinking the Feminization of American Culture," *Intellectual History Newsletter* 15 (1993), 23-31; Karin Gedge, *Without Benefit of Clergy* (New York : Oxford University Press, 2003).

[19] Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*. Vol. 3 (1837), 290.

[20] Scholars sometimes mark this trend as a "feminization" of the nineteenth-century clergy. See especially Ann Taves *The Feminization of American Culture*, which launched a scholarship in the 1980s identifying and debating the "feminization" of the Victorian church. Recent scholarship suggests it may be more accurate to understand the mid-nineteenth century church as consumed with a growing concern or a model of pastoral masculinity that was increasingly unable convert men or exercise authority. It may be more accurate to consider ministers as "unmanned" or a third category of gender that, as Martineau claimed, existed between the poles of ideal womanhood and manliness; For an excellent more recent study of nineteenth century gendered attitudes towards Protestant ministers and their attempts to combat them, see Karin Gedge, *Without Benefit of Clergy*.

[20] This was a long process of the reformation of revivalism that began with Charles Finney in the 1820s, and that in certain ways stretched back to the eighteenth-century revivals of George Whitefield. See Harry Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).

[21] Charles Finney, *Lectures on Revival of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1835), 149-151.

[22] For a detailed account of the Beecher-Tilton affair and its disastrous effect on Beecher's attempt to reconceptualise gender roles, see Richard Wightman-Fox, *Trials of Intimacy: love and loss in the Beecher-Tilton scandal* (Omaha, Nebraska: Notable Trials Library, 2013), esp. 298-301; scholars sometimes mark this trend as a "feminization" of the nineteenth-century clergy, see especially *The Feminization of American Culture*. The trouble with referring to nineteenth-century ministers as "feminized" is that it simplifies depictions of preachers and pastors, which ranged from sexual aggressors to passive non-entities, and presumes a constant, unchanging standard of femininity that male clergy could conform to. It may be more accurate to consider ministers as figured as "unmanned" or a third category of gender that, as Martineau claimed, existed between the poles of ideal womanhood and manliness.

[23] John Corrigan, *Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21; also see the appendix of Kathryn Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[24] This was a long process of the reformation of revivalism that began with Charles Finney in the 1820s, and that in certain ways stretched back to the eighteenth-century revivals of George Whitefield. However, while Whitefield and Finney had re-conceptualized revivals to allow for active preparation, they continued to adhere to a conception of "prayerful" revivalism that highlighted crowd participation and spontaneous displays of emotion. While Finney instituted many reforms that allowed for a more flexible revival organization, the underlying theology of the revival remained much the same. See Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism*; Harry Stout, *The Divine Dramatist*; By the 1870s, the highly regimented and capitalized mass-revivals had rejected the notion of a generalized spiritual renewal in favor of accruing as many conversions as possible. The emphasis on prayer gave-way to songs, while the length of meetings was slashed to an hour. In this light, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a transformation in the meaning and nature of revivalism that was more radical than anything that had come before, and should be understood as a fundamental break with the past.

[25] The house was deeded to Moody around 1867. Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, 118; for Moody's early life in Chicago, see William Moody, *the Life of DL Moody by His Son* (Chicago: Fleming Revell Company, 1900).

[26] See Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[27] *To All People*, xxii and 48.

[28] For a larger gendered analysis of the Moody revival in Chicago, see Thekla Joiner, *Sin in the City* (Columbia: University of Mississippi, 2007).

[29] R.A. Torrey, "D.L. Moody as Soul Winner," *Record of Christian Work* vol. 19 (1900), 830.

[30] "The ladies waited for some time, and finally left with the greatest feeling of indignation, and many, of them, declaring that they would not again be seen in the meetings." J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of D.L. Moody* (Philadelphia: Universal Publishing Co., 1900), 276-277.

[31] Moody, *To All People*, 431.

[32] B.J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D.L. Moody and the rise of modern mass evangelism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 73-74; Marion Bell, *Crusade in the City: revivalism in nineteenth-century Philadelphia* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1977).

[33] For an expansive version of this argument, see Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age*.

[34] Diary of D.W. Whittle, January 12, 1884, quoted in Findlay, *Dwight Moody*, 267-268.
[35] William McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Co.), 203.
[36] "Barroom Evangelist Sings and Prays in Dasch Tavern, with Barkeepers Aiding," *The North American Philadelphia*, July 4, 1901.
[37] Findlay, *D.L. Moody*, 266-267.
[38] For an analysis of native-born workers critique of the Protestant establishment in postbellum Chicago, see Heath Carter, *Union Made: Working People and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[39] Richard Schneirov, *Chicago in the Age of Capital*.
[40] Augustus Williams, *Life and Work of DL Moody*, 96.
[41] For a history of the declining influence and frustration of Moody's revivalism in the late 1870s, see Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure*, chapter 1.
[42] for coverage of the revival see "LISTENING TO MR. MOODY: REVIVAL SERVICES IN THE NEW BROOMESTREET TABERNACLE," *New York Times*, Oct 19, 1885; "PRACTICAL THEOLOGY OF MR. MOODY: GIVING ADVICE TO SEMINARY STUDENTS--HIS CLOSING SERVICES IN BROOME-ST," *New York Tribune*, Oct 32, 1885: 10; also see "COULDN'T BE REVIVED; MOODY AND SANKEY SUFFER THEIR FIRST DEFEAT," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 25, 1885: 25; Timothy Gloege bases his coverage of the Bromme Street revival heavily on Stuzle's brief account, suggesting that the revival attracted only a "handful" of attendees, leading Moody to embarrass his workers by asking them "where are the people?" Yet Stuzle wrote this account more than twenty-five years after the revival occurred, does not appear to have been present, mislabels the building used, does not name the exact year, and had every reason to hold Moody's theology and approach to revivals in disdain. Contemporary coverage of the revivals suggest instead that 1,000 people crowded the first revival meeting, and that the church was full on the third and final evening service of the campaign, requiring an overflow meeting. While services were likely largely made up of converted Protestant churchgoers from other parts of the city, the documentary record suggests that Moody's decision to cancel the meetings was motivated more by fear of embarrassment than a total lack of attendance. For Gloege's account, see Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure*, 55-56; for Stuzle's account, see Charles Stuzle, *A son of the Bowery: the life story of an East Side American* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926).
[43] *Record of Christian Work* 5 (April, 1886), 3, quoted in Findlay, 327.
[44] Moody fonds, box 3, campaign finances folder. MBI Archive.
[45] For the quote, see "MOODY TO COME AGAIN: WILLHOLD MEETINGS IN COOPER UNION IN NOVEMBER," New York Times, October 6, 1896;
[46] Emma Dryer to Charles Blanchard, January 1916. MBI Archive; Timothy Gloege presents a very different account of the project, *Guaranteed Pure*, 60-65.
[47] Moody, *the Life of DL Moody by His Son*, 172-176.
[48] "Moody: Speaks To Throngs," *Cincinnati Inquirer*, March 8, 1897; "MOODY AT SAGINAW: GREAT EVANGELIST WILL HOLD REVIVAL MEETINGS," *Detroit Free Press*, November 27, 1897.
[49] "MOODY'S REVIVAL WORK: SUCCESSFUL OPENING OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS. Cooper Union Crowded to the Doors by an Enthusiastic Audience of Churchgoers," *New York Times*, November 10, 1896
[50] Augustus Warner Williams, Life and Work of DL Moody, 312. This is a detailed description of Moody's campaign in Kansas city.
[51] "MOODY'S REVIVAL WORK: SUCCESSFUL OPENING OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS. Cooper Union Crowded to the Doors by an Enthusiastic Audience of Churchgoers," *New York Times*, November 10, 1896; "Moody's War on Sin: Series of Revival Meetings by the Evangelist," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 11,1896, 1.
[52] "MOODY'S REVIVAL WORK: SUCCESSFUL OPENING OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS. Cooper Union Crowded to the Doors by an Enthusiastic Audience of Churchgoers," *New York Times*, November 10, 1896; "Moody's War on Sin: Series of Revival Meetings by the Evangelist," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 11,1896, 1; when some attendees wrote letters of complaint that the meetings did not furnish free hymn books, Moody responded that when he did so, audience members stole the books and resold them for a profit. See "MR. MOODY TO GRUMBLERS," *New York Times*, December 9, 1896.
[53] Moody, *Secret Power*, 111.
[54] Moody, *The Way to Christ and How to Find it*, 98.
[55] Moody, *The Overcoming Life*, 61.
[56] Grant Wacker, "The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (Jun., 1985), 45-62.
[57] Dwight Moody, *To All People*. 490-191.
[58] Moody, *Secret Power*, 80-81.
[59] Richard Schneirov, *Chicago in the Age of Capital*.

[60] Moody, *To All People*, 491.
[61] Augustus Williams, *Life and Work of DL Moody*, 324.
[62] *New Sermons of Dwight Moody*, 604; David Bebbington has claimed that Moody's views on poverty moderated later in his life, citing a sermon in which he chided business owners who paid their employees starvation wages: "he did not, as has been alleged, turn away from social issues in his later career toward an exclusively conversionist policy." See David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*; While Moody did criticize dishonesty in business and occasionally seemed to soften on charity work, his occasional harsh pronouncements on poverty made it clear that until the end of his career he believed that conversion, not charity, was the only cure for poverty.
[63] Augustus Williams, *Life and Work of DL Moody*, 304.
[64] For the most influential definition of the Social Gospel, see Walter Rausenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* and Washington Gladden, The Church and Modern Life; Gladden directly addressed Moody by complimenting his religious spirit but concluded "he was not an advanced thinker." See ibid., 167.
[65] For a recent history of the Social Gospel movement, see Kimball Baker, *Go To the Worker: America's Labor Apostles* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2010); also see Joel Schwartz, *Fighting Poverty with Virtue: Moral Reform and America's Urban Poor, 1825-2000* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Ralph Luker, *The Social Gospel in Black and White* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1991).
[66] Moody, *Secret Power*, 36 and 72.
[67] Moody denied this charge by insisting it was only a workhorse. Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, 132.
[68] Moody, *the Life of DL Moody by His Son*, 424.
[69] Dwight Moody, August 11, 1896, New York. MBI Moody fonds.
[70] The focus on visitors also greatly reduced the cost of the meetings. Moody's 1885 meetings were backed by business bonds that amounted to $150,000. The entire six-month World's Fair campaign only spent $60,000.
[71] Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979).
[72] Moody 1893 Chicago Revival. MBI Moody fonds.
[73] Occasional references were made to German and Swedish meetings, but these were rare. See Moody 1893 Chicago Revival. MBI Moody fonds.
[74] "HOSE TURNED ON STREET PREACHERS.: Dr. Moody's Students and Others Drenched by an Unknown Person," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sep 18, 1893, 3
[75] The Gospel Wagons were appropriated after the Fair into a new colportage plan, where the vehicles were filled with Moody books and pamphlets and sold on street corners downtown.
[76] Hartzler, *Moody in Chicago*, 50.
[77] Henry Wharton, *A Month With Moody* (Baltimore: Wharton & Barron Publishing Co., 1894), 259.
[78] Hartzler, *Moody in Chicago*, 197.
[79] Allen Fisher, *Fleming H. Revell Company (*Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1995).
[80] Older innovative presses like the American Tract Society and its sister organizations were independent of denominational control, but were not run primarily as for-profit businesses and considered their work to be branch of missionary endeavor. See David Paul Nord, *Faith in reading: religious publishing and the birth of mass media in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[81] For a history of the Gilded Age book trade, see Sheehan, *This was publishing; a chronicle of the book trade in the gilded age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985)
[82] For the history of "success manuals" and self-improvement literature, see Judy Hilkey, *Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); also see Micki McGee, *Self-help, Inc.: Makeover Culture in American Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Leigh Schmidt, *Restless Souls: the Making of American Spirituality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
[83] See Judy Hilkey, *Character is Capital* (Chapel Hill : The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4-6.
[84] For an excellent summary of the religious and secular origins of the "self-help" impulse in nineteenth-century American culture, see Micki McGee, *Self-Help, Inc.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 25-48; for an older work, see John Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).
[85] Dwight Moody, *The Overcoming Life* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1896), Part III.
[86] Dwight Moody, *The Overcoming Life*, Part II.
[87] Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* [1875] (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1890), 189.
[88] John T. Dale, *The Secret of Success; or Fingerposts on the Highway of Life* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1889), 146.
[89] For background on the post-millennial bent of American mainstream Protestants in the 1870s, see William Hutchinson, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1976); Paul Allen Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971); the "extremist" label had befallen numerous other pre-millennial works in the 1870s and earlier. In particular, Charles Russell's millennialist magazine Zion's Watch Tower attracted widespread condemnation from mainstream Protestants and prevented him from attracting

a mainstream publisher, forcing him to establish his own printer in Allegheny. See Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
[90] William Blackstone, *Jesus is Coming*, 154.
[91] Allen Fisher, *Fleming H. Revell Company*, 12; See the testimonials in William Blackstone, *Jesus is Coming* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1917).
[92] "Sam Jones at the Chautauqua," Monore Bulletin (1894); "To the Pot Politicians and Pap Suckers of Georgia;" also see "unidentified," Samuel Porter sermons and lectures, 1905, 10-12. Emory University Archives.
[93] "Revival Work in Boston," *New York Times*, Jan 5, 1897; "With the Evangelists: Dwight L. Moody. Sam Jones. Francis Murphy. *Zion's Herald*, Boston 75.2, Jan 13, 1897.
[94] See Henry Grady, *The New South: Writings and Speeches of Henry Grady* (New York: Robert Bonner's Sons, 1890); Edward Ayers, *Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); also see C. Vann Woodward: *The Origins of the New South: 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).
[95] Edward Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 173-178.
[96] Sam Jones, "unidentified," sermons and lectures, folder 17, Atlanta, 11. Emory University Archives.
[97] Sam Jones, "Work and Pray," (1895), sermons and lectures, folder 17, Atlanta, 2. Emory University Archives.
[98] "Sam Jones Says People are not Interested in Politics; Talks of War, Lynching—Other Things of Interest," in Scrapbook #2 (1892?), sermons and lectures, folder 7. Emory University Archives.
[99] Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 200.
[100] See especially Colleen McDannel, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995); also see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).
[101] Sam Jones, *Thunderbolts* (Tignall, GA: The Boyd Publishing Co., Ltd), 155.
[102] Sam P. Jones: Delivers Two Great Speeches at the Chautauqua" (Danville, Virginia), scrapbook #1. Emory University Archives.
[103] *The Life and Sayings of Sam P. Jones: A Minister of the Gospel* (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner, 1907), 450-451.
[104] Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 99.
[105] The meaning of effeminacy itself was transitive in this period, shifting from intemperance and a lack of self-possession towards passivity, over-sophistication, and an unwillingness to act forcefully. See especially Gail Bederman, *Manhood and Civilization*.
[106] Sam Jones, *Sam Jones' Own Book* (Cincinnati, OH Cranston & Stowe, 1896), 222-224.
[107] "Sam Jones: Various Signs of an Encouraging Character Visible to the Evangelist," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1886, 1.
[108] Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 143.
[109] Moreton's argument that "corporate populism" evolved out of rural populism and Appalachian folk culture is called into question by the popularity of evangelists like Jones. Populism was only briefly a mass movement in the United States, and the most committed Christian adherents of business and capitalism were people in or near cities who always held the populists in disdain. The predecessors of Walmart are not the reformers who attacked trusts, but the businessmen and boosters who embraced money and corporate power in the 1910s. See Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: the making of Christian free enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2010).
[110] See Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 193.
[111] "Sam Jones Finds Good in Trusts," press clippings, April 28, 1899. Emory University Archives.
[112] Sam Jones, "unidentified," sermons and lectures, folder 17, Atlanta, 11. Emory University Archives.
[113] For accounts of the Moody funeral see Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, chapter 27; "DWIGHT L. MOODY BURIED: Services Were Held in His Former Home and Church. VILLAGERS VIEW THE BODY File Past the Coffin Before It Is Removed to Round Top -- New Yorkers Participate," December 27, 1899.
[114] Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, 436.
[115] Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, 438.
[116] Wilbur Chapman, *Life and Times of DL Moody*, 438.
[117] Reuben A. Torrey, "Preface," in *How to Promote and Conduct a Successful Revival*, fourth Edition, ed. Reuben A. Torrey (London/Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901), 5.
[118] *Record of Christian Work*, Feb., 1895, 33.
[119] *Record of Christian Work*, Feb., 1892, 48.
[120] Caroline Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 190; also see Andrew Reiser, *The Chautauqua Moment*: *Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism, 1874-1920* (New York Columbia University Press, 2012), 36-38 and 265.
[121] Andrew Reiser, *The Chautauqua Moment*, 44.

[122] For wider scholarship on Chautauqua circuits that emphasizes a secularization narrative, see Theodore Morrison, *Chautauqua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 31-32; Rebecca Richmond, *Chautauqua: An American Place* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1985), 59; for a somewhat more nuanced portrayal of Chautauqua meetings in the American South, see Louis M. Kyriakoudes, *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
[123] Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*; Richard Schneirov, *Chicago in the Age of Capital*.
Add more citations here, the literature is vast but also shockingly shallow. Note to self—I need to really blast the way that evangelical scholars discount how central "Evangelicalism" was in structuring the class prejudice and simplistic, free-enterprise ideals of the American middle class. All this talk about "democratization" has blatantly downplayed the underlying social vision of evangelicals in the 1800s, a trend that is still very much alive in recent literature.
[124] Joyce Oldham Appleby, *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism* (2010); William Cronon, *Nature's metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1965).
[125] For the Hinterland thesis, see Cronon, *Nature's metropolis : Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).
[126] http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/
[127] "The Untold Delights of Duluth" (Minnesota).
http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHistoryMagazine/articles/34/v34i02p067-078.pdf
[128] Carl Abbott, *Boosters and Businessmen: Popular Economic Thought and Urban Growth in the Antebellum Middle West* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 207.
[129] Rollin Lynde Hartt, "Middle-Westerners and that Sort of People," *The Century Magazine*, Volume 93, 176.
[130] *The Household Journal, combined with Floral Life* (Springfield, Ohio), June, 1912, 80.
[131] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Middle West," *International Monthly* (December, 1901), reprinted in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 154.
[132] Wiebe, *The Search for Order*.
[133] *Iowa, Illinois and Indiana Labor Statistics*, United State Census of 1910.
[134] For examples of how early pioneer families could enter the upper class through early investments, see for example History of Blackhawk County and its People; also see Carl Abbott, *Boosters and Businessmen*; for a history of the transportation revolution of the 1880s, see Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*.
[135] *History of Blackhawk County and its People* (1915), 49 and 242.
[136] *History of Blackhawk County and its People* (1915), 254.
[137] *Evening times-Republican* (Marshall-Town, Iowa), September 08, 1903; "Iowa's Assault Upon the Negro,"
The Washington Post, [Washington, D.C], 07 Sep 1903: 6; "Their Best Friends at the South,"
The Atlanta Constitution, Sep 15, 1903, 6' "Sensational Newsmonger," *Waterloo Daily Courier*, September 2, 1903, 1.
[138] Pat Kinney, "Great Migration Railroad strike 100 years ago brought an influx of African-Americans to Waterloo," *Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* (Waterloo, Iowa), Feb 1, 2011.
[139] See Warren Wilson, *Struggling with "Iowa's pride:" labor relations, unionism, and politics in the rural Midwest since 1877* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).
[140] Robert S Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: a study in American Culture* (London: Constable, 1929), 491-495; also see See Rollin Lynde Hartt, "Middle-Westerners and that Sort of People," *The Century Magazine* 93:169, 170-178.
[141] Rutledge Dennis, *Finding the African Americans that Middle Town Left Out* (Chicago: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012).
[142] Lynds, *Middletown*, 479.
[143] Lynds, *Middletown*, 484-485.
[144] Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922), 149.
[145] This can be compared with the sense of racial populism explored in Kazin, *A Godly Hero*.
[146] "What Twenty Million People Like to Hear," *American Magazine*, vol. 87, 106.
[147] Gregory Mason, "Chautauqua: Its Technic," *The American Mercury*, March 1924, 280
[148] "What Twenty Million People Like to Hear," 106.
[149] Gay MacLaren, *Morally we Roll Along*, 249.
[150] Fairfield Press Booklet, 1906. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[151] Tenth annual session of the Columbus Chautauqua, Columbus Junction, Iowa, Aug. 1911. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[152] "Sweetheart" Operetta pamphlet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[153] *Russell H. Conwell and his work, one man's interpretation of life*, 336.
[154] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 58.
[155]Keith Vawter fonds. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.

[156] Gay MacLaren, *Morally we Roll Along*, 184-188.
[157] MacLaren, *Morally we Roll Along*, 171,
[158] James Batten Press booklet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[159] "What Twenty Million People Like to Hear," *American Magazine*, vol. 87, 204.
[160] Ralph Parlette, *The University of Hard Knocks* (1917), xii.
[161] See especially Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Kevin Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, & the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007).
[162] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 58.
[163] Henry Pringle, "Chautauqua in the Jazz Age," *The American Mercury*, January, 1929.
[164] This kind of democratic empiricism can be traced back to the Baconian rationalism of the eighteenth century, which came to dominate in much of American Northern public culture in the early nineteenth century. See especially Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Harvard University Press, 1997); see also Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America.*
[165] This basic cultural script descended from the nineteenth century. In the older local worlds of the 1800s, all business deals had relied on the personal reputation of a man's honesty, creating opportunities for the "confidence man" or huckster to wreak havoc. See especially Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982); for an example of this dynamic in the antebellum Mississippi delta, see Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).
[166] http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tc/id/48127/rec/1
[167] Andrew Erdman, *Blue vaudeville: sex, morals and the mass marketing of amusement*, 1895-1915 (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2004); Rick DesRochers, *The New Humor in the progressive era: Americanization and the vaudeville comedian* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[168] http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tc/id/29105/rec/12
[169] Gay Maclaren, *Morally We Roll Along*, 112.
[170] "What Twenty Million People Like to Hear," *American Magazine*, vol. 87, 32.
[171] Gregory Mason, "Chautauqua: Its Technic," *The American Mercury*, March 1924, 280
[172] Allen Albert, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 58.
[173] Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (1920). Signet Classics edition (2008), 257-258.
[174] Bruce Blivens, "Mother, Home, and Heaven," *The New Republic*, January 9, 1924, 174; MacLaren, *Morally we Roll Along*, 174.
[175] Thomas B. McGregor pamphlet; Alfred Edward Healey pamphlet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[176] Bruce Barton and Russell Conwell, "Conversation Between a Young Man and an Old Man, *The American Magazine*, July, 1921.
[177] Ralph Parlette, *The University of Hard Knocks* (1917), 27-28; for more information on Parlette, see Gay MacLaren, *Morally We Roll Along*, 176-178.
[178] For this story, see Frank Gunsaulus, *Sermon delivered by Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, August 25, 1912 in the Cathedral Woods Heart's Delight Farm* (1912), 1-5.
[179] John Tapia, *Circuit Chautauqua*, 61.
[180] See *In memoriam. Frank Wakely Gunsaulus, 1856-1921* (Chicago, 1921).
[181] Henry Pringle, "Chautauqua in the Jazz Age," *American Mercury*, January 1929, 88.
[182] Osage Chautauqua Assembly, Osage, Iowa, July 9-14, 1907. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[183] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 58.
[184] Charles Sheldon, "Impressions by the Way," *The Lyceum World*, January 1915, 635.
[185] Gay Maclaren, *Morally we Roll Along*, 96-97.
[186] Keith Cawter to H.P. Harrison, February 11, 1911, Redpath No. 2, quoted in Donald Graham, *Circuit Chautauqua, a middle western institution* (dissertation, 1953), 185.
[187] Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 2.
[188] Holcomb, *Popular Lectures of Sam P. Jones*, 25.
[189] Southern Evangelist, April 21, 1887, quoted in Minnix, *Laughter in the Amen Corner*, 45.
[190] "Enjoyed Jones's Joshing," (Lithia Springs, IL), Jones Scrapbook #1. Emory University Archives.
[191] "SAM JONES WRITES A LETTER, He Wouldn't Sidetrack the Women--Talks of Evangelists. Dr. Hawthorne's Reply. From Rev. Sam Jones," *Atlanta Constitution*, June 14, 1891; "Sam Jones on Bryan," *The Baltimore Sun*, Dec 29, 1896, 3.
[192] "Sam Jones Scores Education," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1902.

[193] *McBride's Magazine*, Volume 78, 192.
[194] E.W. Bowers press booklet, 1907. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[195] Denton C. Crowl Fonds. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[196] J. Franklin Babb press booklet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[197] Harold Freeman Holbrook press booklet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[198] James Whitcomb Brougher pamphlet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[199] Milan Williams pamphlet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[200] Milan Williams press booklet. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[201] Second annual assembly, Mediapolis Chautauqua Association, Mediapolis, Iowa, Aug. 23-31, 1905. Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa Archives.
[202] Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007).
[203] William Jennings Bryan, *Prince of Peace* (Chicago: H.G. Adair, 1908), 8; Bryan named the "Prince of Peace" sermon as a favorite of audiences in his memoirs. See *The memoirs of William Jennings Bryan, by himself and his wife*, 288.
[204] W.C. Crosby, "Acres of Diamonds," *The American Mercury*, May 1928, 104.
[205] Bruce Blivens, "Mother, Home, and Heaven, *The New Republic*, January 9, 1924, 174.
[206] http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rconwellacresofdiamonds.htm.
[207] https://www.temple.edu/about/history/acres-diamonds
[208] Russell Conwell, *Acres of Diamonds* (Harper Brothers, 1915), 40.
[209] *Acres of Diamonds* (1915), 17-18; There are obvious parallels between Conwell and the later prosperity gospel movement. Conwell never went quite so far as to argue that wealth was a direct sign of God's favor, only that wealth was an outward sign that a person was moral and disciplined. The distinction was at times a fine one, and Kate Bowler has noted Conwell as a theological predecessor to the prosperity movement. See Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 2013).
[210] Russell Conwell, "Acres of Diamonds" (1915), printed in *Russell H. Conwell and his work, one man's interpretation of life*, 425-426.
[211] Conwell, *Acres of Diamonds* (1915), 18.
[212] Russell Conwell, "Acres of Diamonds (1915), 20.
[213] Russell Conwell, "Acres of Diamonds (1915), 19.
[214] *Chicago Tribune*, March 10, 1913.
[215] For more on the concept of high and low culture, see Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow-Lowbrow: the Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America.* (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 1990).
[216] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 57.
[217] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 55.
[218] Albert Allen, "Tents of the Conservative," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX1I (July 1922), 59.
[219] Mary Austin, The Town that Doesn't Want a Chautauqua," *New Republic* 47 (July 7, 1926), 195-197.
[220] H.L. Mencken, *A Book of Burlesques* (New York, John Lane Co., 1916), XI.
[221] Mencken was specifically referring to his disdain for the intellectual culture of Virginian in this passage, although his despair about the preservation of the "old aristocracy" in a "society of half wits" is apparent throughout his second series on prejudice. See H.L. Mencken, *Prejudices: Second Series* (New York.: Knopf, 1920), 140.
[222] Clarence Darrow, Iowa City, Iowa, Aug. 16, 1913
http://darrow.law.umn.edu/letters.php?pid=61
[223] Gregory Mason, "Chautauqua: Its Technic," *The American Mercury*, March, 1924, 277.
[224] http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/ref/collection/tc/id/48223
[225] E.C. Crosby, "Acres of Diamonds," *American Mercury*, May, 1927, 113.
[226] "Old country fiddler hears Billy Sunday," Charles Ross Taggart, Chautauqua Collection.
[227] For more on Taggart, see Adam R. Boyce, *The Man from Vermont: Charles Ross Taggart Old Country Fiddler* (Charleston: History Press, 2013).
[228] Everett Mitchell Interview transcript, BGC Archives.
[229] Elijah P. Brown, *The Real Billy Sunday: the life and work of Rev. William Ashley Sunday, D. D., the baseball evangelist* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914), 57.
[230] Everett Mitchell Interview transcript, BGC Archives.
[231] Matthew Sutton, *American Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014); Margaret Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[232] McMullen, *Under the Big Top: Big Tent Revivalism and American Culture, 1885-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); R. Lawrence Moore, *Selling God: American religion in the marketplace of culture* (New York: Oxford University Pres, 1994); an older version of the argument can be found in Douglas Frank, *Less Than Conquerors The Evangelical Quest for Power in the Early Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1986).

[233] See Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the transformation of American society, 1862-1935* (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 2002).
[234] See Molly Worthen, *Apostles of Reason: the Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); George Marsden, *Twilight of the American Enlightenment: the 1950s and the crisis of liberal belief* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
[235] The best critical biography of Billy Sunday remains Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*. Roger Bruns popular biography of Sunday is hagiographical but useful as a thorough study that relies on often neglected sources. See Roger Bruns, *Preacher: Billy Sunday and Big-time American Evangelism* (New York : W.W. Norton, 1992); Lyle Dorsett's biography includes coverage of Sunday's racial attitudes that is highly misleading, although otherwise the book is a useful study of Sunday's career. See Lyle Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991).
[236] See Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*, 52-59 and 103.
[237] Josh McMullen, *Under the Big Top: Big Tent Revivalism and American Culture, 1885-1925* (Cambridge: University of Oxford Press, 2015).
[238] Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*, 139; also see Lyle Dorsett, *Billy Sunday,*117.
[239] For a sampling of this literature, see Margaret Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Marie R. Griffith, *Born-Again Bodies: flesh and spirit in American Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Betty Deberg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2001).
[240] The emphasis on the diversity of American manhoods in the Progessive era, albeit a diversity united around the notion of patriarchy and authority, is demonstrated admirably in John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits*.
[241] For the most detailed narrative of Sunday's childhood, see Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*.
[242] "BATTING SATAN'S CURVES: Billy Sunday's Religious Three Baggers. He Scores Many Runs, and All of Them Are Earned," *Cincinnati Inquirer*, May 20, 1889, 1.
[243] Milan Williams pamphlet. Redpath Chautauqua Archive.
[244] "Waking up Racine," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 28, 1893, 3.
[245] See Theodore Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday: famous baseball evangelist*, 91.
[246] "Billy Sunday Bluffs with a Gun: Evangelists at Waterloo, Ia., Refuse to Apologize for Language Used in Referring to a Reporter," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 20, 1896, 2.
[247] http://www.nber.org/chapters/c2496.pdf
[248] For an account of the Waterloo revival, see "Williams and Alexander at Waterloo, Ia," *Record of Christian Work*, June 1896, 169.
[249] "Paterson is Cool to Billy Sunday," *New York Times*, April 5, 1915.
[250] *The Lyceumite and Talent*, Volume 2 (1908). https://books.google.com/books?id=QTUcAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA3-PA39&lpg=RA3-PA39&dq=billy+sunday+russell+conwel&source=bl&ots=zo-fSaC-fr&sig=yJBNbZESGBoDzc3VR2BzVB58Baw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiMg-bi4Z7NAhVGpR4KHae_BjUQ6AEIIDAA#v=onepage&q=billy%20sunday%20russell%20conwel&f=false
[251] William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday – The Man and His Message* (Chicago: John C. Winston Company), 24-25.
[252] Billy Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday* (Decatur, Ill.: Herman Poole & Co., 1908), 214.
[253] Sylvia Clapin, *A New Dictionary of Americanisms* (New York: Weiss, 1902), "Air-line," 10.
[254] OED, "Horse Sense." *A New Dictionary of Americanisms*, "Horse Sense."
[255] Moody, *Life of DL Moody*, 172-175.
[256] Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 304.
[257] For a study of Billy Sunday's anti-urban discourse focused on his 1916 revival in Boston, see Margaret Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[258] Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 169-176. This volume consisted of lengthened and rewritten versions of Sunday stories delivered from the stage. While he was aided in the composition by Ellis, the final form of the work reflected his fast-talking and colloquial style.
[259] For literature on urban amusements and the growing ethos of a pleasure culture in the Progressive era, a good starting point are the essays in Richard Fox and Jackson Lears, *Culture of Consumption* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983); Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: attitudes toward the consumer society in America, 1875-1940* (Chicago: Elephant, 1985); also see John Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the turn of the century* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978); Jackson Lears, *Fables Of Abundance: A Cultural History Of Advertising In America* (New York: HarperCollins,1995); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993); Leigh Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton,

NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); for a more recent studies see Bill Oskerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
[260] Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible*, 135-143.
[261] Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible*, 162-164.
[262] Parents had become their children's worst enemies: "they give them all the money they ask for—money enough to start them on the taxicab trail to the devil, and pay their cabaret bills…and then wonder why they don't graduate one hundred per cent men." Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible,* 138-139.
[263] See Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible*, 66.
[264] Billy Sunday, *Great Love Stories of the Bible*, 31-62.
[265] Billy Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday*, 198-199.
[266] John Reed, "Back of Billy Sunday", reprinted in Daniel W. Lehman. *John Reed & the Writing of Revolution* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).
[267] For "Nell" Sunday's schedule and authority in the revivals, see Thomas Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday*, 181-184.
[268] For a subtle definition of the "New Woman" as a literary trope see especially the introduction to Martha H. Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited: A Reader* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2008).
[269] Ma Sunday, "Why do Girls Leave Home," October 5, 1917. BGC Archives.
[270] Ma Sunday, "The Morning After," October 15, 1917. BGC Archives.
[271] 'Ma Sunday, "The Passing of the Butterfly," March 29, 1918, 1 and 5. BGC Archives.
[272] Ma Sunday, "Should a Wife Work for a Living?," September 24, 1917, *The Bell Syndicate* (New York: John W. Wheeler). BGC Archives.
[273] Ma Sunday, No title, 5. BGC Archives.
[274] For women and commercial pleasure in the Progressive era, see Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Alison Kibler, *Rank Ladies: Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); also see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.
[275] Ma Sunday, "The Girl Who Was Dance Mad," 4. BGC Archives.
[276] This shift mirrored the growing expert culture of the 1910s that argued that motherhood needed to be placed on the basis of scientific study and rational improvement. See especially Theda Skocpol, *Protecting soldiers and mothers: the political origins of social policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); also see Charlotte Borst, *Catching Babies: The Professionalization of Childbirth, 1870-1920* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[277] Billy Sunday, "Motherhood." 9. BGC Archives.
[278] Nell Sunday, "The Woman Who Believed in Birth Control," 2. BGC Archives.
[279] Nell Sunday, "The Woman Who Believed in Birth Control," 6.
[280] Margaret Bendroth, "Why Women Loved Billy Sunday: Urban Revivalism and Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth-Century American Culture," *Religion and American Culture*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2004), 251-271.
[281] Frederick Betts, *Billy Sunday: The Man and His Message* (1919), 112.
[282] See Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the creation of a new century* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001), 226.
[283] William C. McLoughlin, "Billy Sunday and the Working Girl of 1915," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 54 (1976): 380-82; Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday*, 80, 103-06.
[284] "Billy Sunday — Baseball Evangelist," *Collier's*, July 26, 1913, 30.
[285] Bruce Barton, "Billy Sunday — Baseball Evangelist," *Collier's*, 30.
[286] Bruce Barton, *It's a Good Old World* (New York: Century Co., 1920), 201.
[287] For the biography of Barton, see Richard Fried, The Man Everybody Knew: Bruce Barton and the Making of Modern America (Chicago: R. Dee, 2005).
[288] Harry Stout, *The Divine Dramatist*; I am in particular influenced by Lisa Duggan's conception of the nineteenth-century newspaper and narrative form. Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*.
[289] See Bruce Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age*.
[290] "Press to Aid the Glorious Revival Work," The Revival Times (June, 1915), Vol. 1, No. 1 (Chicago, Illinois), 2. Billy Graham Center Archives (Wheaton, Ill.), Papers of William Edward Biederwolf, CN 195, Box 2, Folder 3.
[291] See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 217-239; John Pettigrew, *Brutes and Suits*.
[292] See Kristin Kobes Du Mez, "The Beauty of the Lilies: Femininity, Innocence, and the Sweet Gospel of Uldine Utley," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer, 2005), 209-243; Uldine Utley, *Why I am a Preacher*: *a Plain Answer to an Oft-Repeated Question* (London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1931); for a general study of child evangelists in the 1910s and 1920s, see Thomas A. Robinson and Lanette D. Ruff, *Out of the Mouths of Babes: Girl Evangelists in the Flapper Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

[293] "The Greatest Man in the United States," *The American magazine*. v. 78 (1914), 63.
[294] *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, Jan. 12, 1914, 1.
[295] Richard Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr*, 48.
[296] "Dr. Washington Gladden and 'Rev.' Billy Sunday," National Bulletin, Volume 5 (1913), 298.
[297] For a detailed account of the delegations at the revivals, see Homer Rodeheaver*, Twenty Years with Billy Sunday* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936)
[298] Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*.
[299] John Reed, "Back of Billy Sunday," 257.
[300] For all the great stories in this paragraph, see Homer Rodeheaver*, Twenty Years with Billy Sunday*.
[301] Elllis, *Billy Sunday*, 303-304.
[302] The connection between the Sunday revivals and Progressive-Era advertising is obvious. See Lears, *Fables of Abundance*.
[303] Billy Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday*, 264.
[304] For a study of this producerist attitude in the 1920s, see Lizbeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 1.
[305] "Paterson is Cool to Billy Sunday," *New York Times*, April 5, 1915.
[306] The Richmond palladium and sun-telegram., May 02, 1922, SUPPLEMENT, Image 7.
[307] "When Billy Sunday takes off his coat," Chapman Files 1, MBI Archive.
[308] See Brown, *The Real Billy Sunday*, 145.
[309] Thomas Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Billy Sunday*.
[310] Rodeheaver, *Twenty Years*, 118.
[311] Homer Rodeheaver, "Talk to Children," May 12, 1917, 6-7, BGC Archives, papers of William Ashley "Billy" Sunday, Box 7.
[312] "I believe in blood…good blood, bad blood, honest blood, and thieving blood." Sunday stated in Philadelphia, "Scotch blood stands for stubbornness," "Welsh blood tells of religious fervor," and Jewish blood tells of love of money." William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 247.
[313] Billy Sunday, Evening Sermon, April 15, 1917 (Philadelphia), 6-7. BGC Archives.
[314] *The Labor Journal* (Everett, Wash.), October 08, 1915.
[315] For the history of the riot and its aftermath see David F. Godshalk, *Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Reshaping of American Race Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Mark Bauerlein, *Negrophobia: A Race Riot in Atlanta, 1906* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001); Sarah Case, "1906 Race Riot Tour," *Journal of American History* 101 (December 2014).
[316] This is similar to a point made by Ed Ayers, *Promise of the New South*.
[317] *Atlanta Constitution*, September 24, 1906; also see Harvey K. Newman and Glenda Crunk, " Liquor and Atlanta's 1906 race riot," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Winter 2008), pp. 460-485.
[318] "Negroes to Fill Big Tabernacle," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 15, 1917.
[319] "15,000 NEGROES TO HEAR SUNDAY: Immense Congregation Will Be Present at Great Tabernacle Monday Night to Hear Evangelist," *Atlanta Constitution,* November 18, 1917.
[320] "15,000 NEGROES TO HEAR SUNDAY: Immense Congregation Will Be Present at Great Tabernacle Monday Night to Hear Evangelist," *Atlanta Constitution,* November 18, 1917.
[321] "GOOD CITIZENSHIP TO SOLVE PROBLEM, NEGROES ARE TOLD: Billy Sunday Given Enthusiastic Reception at Meeting for City's Colored Population--Tabernacle Is Crowded. SOUTH IS BEST PLACE FOR NEGRO, HE SAYS And Southern Whites Are Negroes Best Friends, He Declares--Praises Progress Made by Negro Race," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 20, 1917.
[322] "SUNDAY WILL PREACH TO NEGROES SATURDAY," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 26, 1917.
[323] "NEGROES SHOW WAY TO WHITES IN GIVING AT SUNDAY MEETING," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 2, 1917.
[324] "NEGROES SHOW WAY TO WHITES," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 2, 1917.
[325] Evelyn Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: the women's movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1994).
[326] "Sunday Given Lots Of 'Speakin' Juice' By Negro Audience," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 23, 1917.
[327] "NEGROES SHOW WAY TO WHITES," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 2, 1917.
[328] "NEGROES SHOW WAY TO WHITES," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 2, 1917.
[329] "Sunday Given Lots Of 'Speakin' Juice' By Negro Audience," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 23, 1917.
[330] Sunday Given Lots Of 'Speakin' Juice' By Negro Audience," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 23, 1917.
[331] Lyle Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America*, 154.
[332] Lyle Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America*.

[333] For a recent popular history of the campaign for Prohibition, see Lis McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).
[334] A variety of literature has explored the gendered language of temperance reform from the nineteenth century until the 1930s. See especially David Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979); Carol Mattingly, *Well-tempered women: nineteenth-century temperance rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988); Ruth Bordin, *Francis Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); for a local history of the W.C.T.U. and temperance feminism in the Midwest, see Sabine Meyer, *We are what we drink: the temperance battle in Minnesota* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).
[335] See K. Austin Kerr, *Organized for Prohibition: a new history of the Anti-saloon League* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); for the authorized early history of the league, see Ernst Cherington, *History of the Anti-Saloon League* (Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue, 1913).
[336] Thomas Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Billy Sunday*, 182.
[337] Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 91.
[338] William Sunday, *Life and Labors of William Sunday* (1908), 115.
[339] Billy Sunday, "Get on the Water Wagon," 12-13. BGC Archives.
[340] Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 95.
[341] Brown, *The Real Billy Sunday*, 210.
[342] Billy Sunday, "Get on the Water Wagon," 13.
[343] Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday*, 130,
[344] Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday*, 129.
[345] In certain ways this consumer activism presaged the "Consumer Republic" of the postwar period, when consumer choices and the boycott was politicized. See Lizbeth Cohen, *Consumer's Republic* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).
[346] Billy Sunday, "Get on the Water Wagon," 26. BGC Archives.
[347] Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*, 119.
[348] Sunday, *Life and Labors of Billy Sunday*, 145.
[349] "BILLY SUNDAY FIRES HOT SHOT AT KAISER," *New York Times*, Feb 19, 1918, 11.
[350] "Billy Sunday Sees Harding," *The Washington Post*, Feb 21, 1922, 12.
[351] "'Hundred-to-one-shot,' Billy Sunday had told Coolidge," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 6, 1924.
[352] Robert Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*.
[353] "Opposing Billy Sunday," *The Advance*, April 6, 1911, 4.
[354] Washington Gladden, "Samples of Modern Evangelism," *Independent* (May 23, 1912), 1101-1102.
[355] Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday*, 165-166.
[356] Frankenberg, *Spectacular Career of Rev. Billy Sunday*, 168-169.
[357] Roger Bruns, *Preacher*, 190.
[358] *The Labor Journal* (Everett, Washington), October 08, 1915.
[359] *Mixer and Server*, September 15, 1920, Volume 34, No. 9 (Cincinnati, Ohio), 35.
[360] John Reed, "Back of Billy Sunday", reprinted in Daniel W. Lehman, *John Reed & the Writing of Revolution*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), 248.
[361] John Reed, "Back of Billy Sunday," 260.
[362] John Reed, "Back of Billy Sunday," 254 and 261.
[363] Carl Sandberg, "To a Contemporary Bunkshooter," *Chicago Poems* (Chicago: Henry Holt, 1916).
[364] Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, 112.
[365] William McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday was His Real Name* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 288.
[366] Randall Balmer, "The Tragedy of Billy Sunday: The Allure of Populism and the Peril of Anachronism," *The Annals of Iowa* (Fall, 1996), 373.
[367] For a similar argument, also see Robert F. Martin, *Hero of the Heartland*.
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[369] "Billy Sunday on Social Religion," *The Literary Digest* (New York), March 6, 1915, 481; *The Day Book* (Chicago), March 30, 1915, 14
[370] Rebecca J. Bailey, *Matewan before the Massacre: Politics, Coal, and the Roots of Conflict in a West Virginia Mining Community* (West Virginia University Press, 2008).
[371] William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 142.
[372] William T. Ellis, *Billy Sunday*, 23
[373] Billy Sunday, "Capital and Labor," *Railway magazine*. BGC Archives, Folder 10.
[374] Billy Sunday, "Capital and Labor," *Railway magazine*. BGC Archives, Folder 10.
[375] Billy Sunday, "Capital and Labor," *Railway magazine*. BGC Archives, Folder 10.
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[377] Billy Sunday*, Face to Face with Satan* (Knoxville, Tennessee), 1923, 45.
[378] Billy Sunday, *Face to Face with Satan* (Knoxville, Tennessee), 1923, 75.
[379] Billy Sunday, "People had mind to work," 6. Billy Sunday Box 9, sermons.
[380] Billy Sunday, *Americanism* (Charleston: American Constitutional Association, 1922), 35.
[381] *The Richmond palladium and sun-telegram*, May 2, 1922, 7.
[382] Rodeheaver, *Twenty Years with Billy Sunday*, 95.
[383] Billy Sunday, *Americanism*, 35.
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[387] Billy Sunday, "Bankers" (1934). BGC Archives.
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[398] David R. Stokes, *The Shooting Salvationist: J. Frank Norris and the Murder Trial that Captivated America* (New York: Random House, 2011)
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