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A Rhetorical Analysis of The Preaching of N. B. Hardeman

Elbert G. Barnhart

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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PREACHING

OF

M. B. HARDEMAN

By

Elbert G. Barnhart

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Speech

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1953

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to N. B. Hardeman for his cooperation in supplying much material and information for this study. Special appreciation is here expressed to Dr. Wayne C. Eubank for his patient guidance and scholarly suggestions which were invaluable to the writer.

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INTRODUCTION

I. JUSTIFICATION

In a free society the sermon is a prevalent type of public speech. Its wide usage as a means of propagating ideas has been a powerful force in making and keeping this nation predominantly religious. The importance of pulpit oratory is further appreciated when viewed from a numerical standpoint. There are over 15 million sermons preached each year in the 266,000 congregations of church members in this nation.[1]

It is only natural, therefore, that the field of public address includes the vital segment of religious speaking. Although some aspects of the preaching situation are peculiar to the pulpit form of address, yet all of the generally accepted rules for good rhetoric are applicable to the sermon.[2] Effective speaking methods are as important to the minister as to the lawyer or senator. Outstanding men of the pulpit have been those who have recognized and adhered to good principles of invention, arrangement,

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[1] Facts on File, VIII (April 25 - May 8, 1948), 140.

[2] William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937), 288.

style, and delivery.

One of the many men who has contributed substantially to the dignity of the spoken word in the American pulpit is N. B. Hardeman, the subject of this study. There are reasons to believe that he has filled an important part in the evangelical preaching of the past half-century. Certainly he is outstanding among preachers of the Churches of Christ. Only five years after he preached his first sermon he was considered by competent observers to be "one of the very best preachers in West Tennessee."[3] During the following forty years his popularity as a teacher and preacher continued to grow, attested by numerous invitations from churches in nearly every section of the country to preach in evangelistic revivals.

The Churches of Christ make up a large segment of the more conservative religious groups in the United States. Their strongest concentration has long been in the Southern states, and, to a lesser degree, in the mid-West, with fewer churches in other sections. An almost phenomenal growth has occurred in the past thirty years. Membership has doubled within the past twenty-five years to a present number of over one million.[4]

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[3] G. Dallas Smith, "A Statement Concerning Brother A. G. Freed," Gospel Advocate, XLV (March 12, 1903), 171. Quoted by Earl West, "The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), II, 36.

[4] News item in Time, March 24, 1952.

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One of the many men who has contributed substantially to the dignity of the spoken word in the American pulpit is H. B. Hardeman, the subject of this study. There are reasons to believe that he has filled an important part in the evangelical preaching of the past half-century. Certainly he is outstanding among preachers of the Churches of Christ. Only five years after he preached his first sermon he was considered by competent observers to be "one of the very best preachers in West Tennessee."[3] During the following forty years his popularity as a teacher and preacher continued to grow, attested by numerous invitations from churches in nearly every section of the country to preach in evangelistic revivals.

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[4] News item in Time, March 24, 1952.

Contributing probably as much to this progress as any other one man, Hardeman has had a wide influence in two principal ways. First, he has helped train thousands of young men for the ministry. This was accomplished during his forty-two-year connection with Freed-Hardeman College at Henderson, Tennessee. The second main avenue of influence has been through his preaching in evangelistic revivals. It is this latter phase of his work with which this study mainly deals.

The intrinsic merit of Hardeman's preaching ability and success can perhaps be best gauged by first observing the impressions of contemporaries, both within and outside of church ranks. Most of the available comments were made in response to the five separate series of evangelistic revivals, known as "Hardeman's Tabernacle Meetings," conducted by him in Nashville, Tennessee. They occurred in 1922, 1925, 1928, 1938, and 1942, each lasting from two to three weeks, with two sermons daily. With the exception of the 1942 series, which was conducted in a smaller building due to war conditions, these meetings consistently attracted audiences of 6,000 to 8,000 people at each night service.

On the first evening that the doors of the great Ryman Auditorium were opened, March 28, 1922, the Nashville Tennessean editor told his 40,000 readers that "Mr. Hardeman

Contributing probably as much to this progress as any other one man, Harkness has had a side influence in two particular ways. First, he has helped train thousands of young men for the ministry. This was accomplished during his forty-two-year connection with Fred-Harkness College at Morristown, Tennessee. The second main avenue of influence has been through his preaching in evangelistic revivals. It is this latter phase of his work with which this study mainly deals.

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On the first evening that the doors of the great Ryman Auditorium were opened, March 3, 1928, the Nashville Tennessean editor said his 10,000 seating was "a Harkness

is widely known over a large section of the country as an evangelist of note." The morning edition carried the night sermons in full, and the evening edition carried the day sermons, plus extensive news coverage on the front page of each.

The following appraisal was made by an editor of the Gospel Advocate, a prominent religious publication of the Churches of Christ:

> N. B. Hardeman is a great preacher; and the beauty of it is, he does not seem to know the fact. Nature has done much for Hardeman in bestowing upon him an almost matchless voice, an exceedingly pleasing personality, a kindly disposition, with a good-natured smile that will win its way anywhere. He has all the elements of an orator, and, if he had been so disposed, could have gone to the top in the political world, but chose rather to consecrate his God-given powers to a better cause. Hardeman knows the Bible, and is as true to the gospel as the needle to the pole, and shuns not to declare the whole counsel of God to saint and sinner.... He uses the simplest illustrations, and the most ordinary mind can grasp the truth illustrated. This man of God is, beyond any question, a master of assemblies, and sways his audiences with an ease and grace of voice and manners that attracts and holds almost the breathless attention of his auditors.[5]

It is not strange, therefore, that he was "regarded as one of the best speakers in the State of Tennessee,"[6] or,

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[5] F. W. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Preacher and the Meetings," Gospel Advocate, [n.d.]. Quoted in N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons; Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1923), II, 29.

[6] L. L. Brigance, "Sketch of the Author's Life," in Sermons, II, 19.

as was said of him five years later, in 1928, he was "one of the greatest preachers of the age."[7] The Nashville Banner reported that "His speech was marked with oratory and eloquence seldom equaled in the pulpit of the country."[8]

The significance of N. B. Hardeman's speaking was not confined to his rhetorical ability. His proficiency in speech only enhanced the communication of ideas which he sought to transmit to the audience. Also significant was the influence upon the community in which his preaching was done. This viewpoint was well stated in an editorial of the Nashville Tennessean following the 1922 revival:

> The Hardeman-Pullian series of Gospel meetings has been brought to a close.
>
> From the standpoint of attendance and the fervor of the evangelist and members of his church, the meetings were an undoubted success.
>
> There were some forty congregations of the Church of Christ in Nashville and vicinity which participated in the meetings, and it was through their spirited cooperation that the great auditorium was filled twice daily.
>
> From the denominational viewpoint, if success be measured by the number of baptisms and reconsecrations, there can be no complaint, as the former averaged approximately eight a day, with twenty-five of the latter for the twenty-day period.
>
> The results of religious movements of this character, however, is by no means confined to the denomination under whose auspices they are conducted. A series of meetings which, in aggregate, appeal to a number approximating the

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[7] F. B. Smith, "Forward," in Sermons, III, 8.

[8] News item in Nashville Banner, April 22, 1922.

he was said of him five years later, in 1880, he was "one of the greatest preachers of his age."[7] The Nashville Banner reported that "his speech was marked with oratory and eloquence seldom equaled in the pulpit of the country."[8]

The significance of R. E. Blackburn's preaching was not confined to his rhetorical ability. His proclamation in speech only enhanced the communication of ideas which by nought to transmit to the audience. Also significant was the influence upon the community in which his preaching was done. This viewpoint was well stated in an editorial of the Nashville Tennessean following the 1888 revival:

> The Baptist-Christian series of Gospel meetings has been brought to a close.
>
> From the standpoint of attendance and the fervor of the evangelist and members of his church, the meetings were as unbounded success.
>
> There were some forty conversions at the church of Christ in Nashville and vicinity which participated in the meetings, and it was thought that much religious conversation took the place of idle twice daily.
>
> From the denominational viewpoint, if success be measured by the number of baptisms and reconsecrations, there can be no complaint, as the former averaged approximately eight a day, with twenty-five of the latter for the twenty-day period.
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> The results of religious revivals of this character, however, lie in the means contained in the denomination under whose auspices they are conducted. A series of meetings which, in appearance, appeal to a minor approximately the

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[7] R. E. Smith, "Preface," in Sermons, iii, 6.

[8] News item in Nashville Banner, April 20, 1888.

> population of the city cannot but leave its effect upon the community as a whole....The effect must be to turn the attention of the great majority of our citizens, regardless of creed, toward the doors of the church, which is the woof of the nation's moral fabric.[9]

It would be misleading to leave the impression that Mr. Hardeman preached only in Nashville, although he held some twelve separate meetings there. His evangelistic efforts took him into every section of the United States except New England and the Pacific Northwest. In the North, the churches in Detroit invited him to conduct seven revivals. Other northern cities which were the scene of his labors were Indianapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington. He conducted four meetings in St. Louis, and a like number in Houston. He was very popular in Dallas, where, in 1936, he held a revival on the grounds of the Texas State Centennial, followed by several other city-wide meetings through the years. In addition to large cities, his interests were not above the smaller towns and communities, as he gave himself to gospel preaching in every type of populated area.

Because of the significance of N. B. Hardeman in the field of religious speaking, it is therefore worthwhile to conduct a rhetorical analysis of his speaking, in an effort to determine those effective elements of good speech which made him an outstanding evangelical preacher.

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[9] Editorial in the Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1922.

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[9] Editorial in the Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1958.

II. OTHER STUDIES

The need for such a study is further brought to attention by the absence of any extended study of his speaking techniques and contribution. Of the available material concerning Mr. Hardeman, the majority consists of impressionistic comments made by newspaper reporters and editorials of religious periodicals. The value of these is limited, being only the passing impression of those who listened without the aid of critical standards. Furthermore, the majority of these comments are uncollected and inaccessible to the general public.

The only biographical sketch of any note on Hardeman's life is contained in the introductory material of Volume II, in Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons. It was written in 1923 by L. L. Brigance, a close friend and teacher at Freed-Hardeman College. This short selection of nineteen pages well serves its purpose as a "Sketch of the Author's Life,"[10] to acquaint readers with the speaker and author of the sermons, but it is inadequate as a permanent, objective study of the preacher's rhetorical methods. It contains brief discussions of Hardeman as a child, student, teacher, preacher, speaker, and man, but the scope is obviously limited to its introductory purpose. Furthermore, it only includes in-

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[10] L. L. Brigance, "Sketch of the Author's Life," in Sermons, II, 9-28.

formation up to 1923, which leaves much subsequent material for later studies.

Who's Who in America contains another brief biography of Hardeman. He was recognized by a paragraph of pertinent facts in each two-year publication from 1924 to 1941.[11] Of interest and significance is the special mention of his Tabernacle meetings in Ryman Auditorium in Nashville, Tennessee.

III. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The inadequacies of the afore-mentioned works indicate the need for further study of Hardeman's preaching. The main facts of his life are accessible to the public, but no study has been undertaken to show the influence which these had upon his speaking. Much has been said regarding his popularity as an evangelist, but no effort has been made to translate his methods into useful material for the benefit of oncoming generations of gospel preachers.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to make a rhetorical analysis of selected sermons of N. B. Hardeman. To accomplish this end, an attempt is made to discover and record the outstanding characteristics of his speaking, within the categories of invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

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[11] Albert N. Marquis, editor, "N. B. Hardeman," Who's Who in America, XIII - XXI.

formation up to 1900, which leaves much cross-topic material for later studies.

Who's Who in America contains another brief biography of Burdeman. He was recognized by a paragraph or particulars twice in each two-year publication from 1924 to 1941.[11] Interest and significance in the special mention of his Tabernacle meetings in Ryman Auditorium in Nashville, Tennessee.

III. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The inadequacies of the above-mentioned works indicate the need for further study of Burdeman's preaching. The main facts of his life are apparently in the public, but no study has been undertaken to show the influences which these had upon his speaking. Much has been said regarding his popularity as an evangelist, but no effort has been made to translate his methods into useful material for the benefit of contemporary practitioners of pulpit preaching.

The purpose of this study has, therefore, in mind a rhetorical analysis of selected sermons of R. W. Burdeman. To accomplish this end, an attempt is made to discover and record the outstanding characteristics of his speaking, within the categories of invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

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[11] Albert N. Marquis, editor, "R. W. Burdeman," Who's Who in America, XIII - XIX.

The assumption behind this study is that rhetorical criticism has inherent values. First, it goes beyond the impressionistic comments of the newspaper and periodical, with their "highly colored praise or blame of a detail or aspect of a speech,"[12] to become a judicial type of evaluation.

> It combines the aims of analytic and synthetic inquiry with the all-important element of evaluation and interpretation of results. Thus it reconstructs a speech situation with fidelity to fact; it examines this situation carefully in the light of the interaction of speaker, audience, subject, and occasion; it interprets the data with an eye to determining the effect of the speech; it formulates a judgment in the light of the philosophical-historical-logical constituents of the inquiry; and it appraises the entire event by assigning it comparative rank in the toal enterprise of speaking.[13]

Secondly, such criticism aids in revealing the operation of theory in practice. In reference to this study of Hardeman's sermons, it means that the student of evangelistic preaching can readily discern how effective pulpit oratory resulted from the application of sound theory and principles.

A third value of rhetorical criticism is found in the standard of excellence which it helps to put before the student. This is accomplished when the student observes

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[12] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), 4.

[13] Ibid., 18.

that the criteria correspond to the principles of speech which he formerly mastered, thus reinforcing the desire for excellence of speech.

IV. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Since the time of Aristotle, who wrote his great work on rhetoric about 330 B.C., the scope of rhetorical theory and investigation has remained largely the same. It has been divided into the following categories: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. The discontinued use of memorized speeches has led to the exclusion of "memory" as a significant area of rhetorical investigation. Emphasis upon the respective constituents has fluctuated.

In the study of N. B. Hardeman's invention, the following phases of invention are treated: sermon purpose, sources of material, and methods of persuasion. Following the pattern used by outstanding speech writers since Aristotle, Hardeman's methods of persuasion are considered under the headings of logical, pathetic, and ethical proofs.

The arrangement of material in Hardeman's Tabernacle sermons is first examined in the light of its craftsmanship of organization. This phase includes the evangelist's development of a central theme, the underlying bases of division, and his rhetorical order. The second part deals with the homiletic structure of Hardeman's sermons. A

brief study is then made of his preparation techniques, with a final section on his adaptation in arrangement.

The chapter on Hardeman's style deals with his expression of ideas in words. Three qualities of style are examined in detail: clarity, appropriateness, and embellishment. Although these same qualities are sometimes discussed under other terms by speech writers and critics, the underlying factors are the same.

This study also includes an examination of Hardeman's delivery. The following factors are surveyed: his extemporaneous mode of delivery, voice, and bodily action. A final section in the chapter purposes to present a view of the speaker as a whole, and to describe the general impression which he made upon his audiences.

Limitations of type of speaking. Being a versatile speaker, N. B. Hardeman participated in many types of speaking. Frequent were his informal talks before the student-body of Freed-Hardeman College in the chapel assembly, averaging at least one each week of school over a period of nearly fifty years. "For the most part, these speeches have been extemporaneous, delivered today and forgotten tomorrow, and yet many of them have been gems of oratory."[14]

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[14] L. L. Brigance, op. cit., 20.

brief study is then made of his preparation techniques, with a final section on his organization in arrangement.

The chapter on Jackson's style deals with his appreciation of tones in words. Three qualities of style are analyzed in detail: clarity, appropriateness, and adaptiveness. Although these three qualities are somewhat discussed under other terms by speech writers and critics, the underlying factors are the same.

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[14] H. H. Jackson, op. cit., 22.

Another type of public speaking was his religious debates with leading men in the field of theology. An example of these was his debate with Ira M. Boswell in 1924, in Nashville, Tennessee. It consisted of five sessions of two hours each. From six to seven thousand people were present at every session. Two such debates have been published in book form.[15]

This study is restricted to a third kind of speaking, commonly called evangelistic preaching. Reasons for this selection are twofold. First, it was his preaching in gospel meetings or revivals for which he was most widely known and respected, aside from his connection with Freed-Hardeman College. Even at the present time, his services as a prominent evangelist are in demand.

The second motive for making this limitation concerns the availability of speech texts. Except for the two published debates mentioned above and two lectures on the Holy Land, the only other speeches in print are those reported from evangelistic meetings.

Limitation of sermons. This study is confined to the "Tabernacle Sermons" of Mr. Hardeman. Most of the

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[15] These are Ira M. Boswell, and N. B. Hardeman, Boswell-Hardeman Discussion on Instrumental Music in the Worship (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1924), and N. B. Hardeman, and Ben M. Bogart, Hardeman-Bogart Debate (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1938).

Another type of public speaking was his religious debates with leading men in the field of theology. An example of these was his debate with Rev H. Russell in 1904, in Tuckville, Tennessee. It consisted of five sessions of two hours each. From six to seven thousand people were present at every session. Two such debates have been published in book form.[12]

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[12] These are Rev H. Russell, and H. P. Harrison, Russell-Harrison Discussion on Instrumental Music in the Church (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1904), and H. Harrison, and Ben K. Dugan, Harrison-Dugan Debate (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1909).

sermons preached by him in the five series were reported and published. His preaching there contained "the cream of the best thoughts of his life."[16]

That these sermons are representative of his preaching is confirmed by the following facts. They cover a span of twenty years, occurring within the years of 1922, 1923, 1928, 1933, and 1942. This assures sufficient time for full development and maturity of thought and manner of speaking. These sermons were preached during the period when he was probably most effective as a speaker, being forty-eight years of age when the first series was delivered. Furthermore, the large meetings, comprising thousands who repeatedly listened with intense interest, no doubt helped him rise to the occasion, to speak with great fluency, clearness, and force.[17]

Limitation of material. Care has been taken to choose the exemplifying materials from a large number of sermons. However, particular sermons were not pre-selected, but were used as warranted by the topic under consideration. This policy made for greater freedom in selecting the best examples of the respective elements of rhetoric which are discussed.

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[16] W. E. Brightwell, "Introduction, "Sermons, IV, 4.

[17] Interview with H. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

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16 W. E. Brightwell, "Introduction," "Sermons," IV, 4.

17 Interview with H. E. Hardaman by the writer, December 20, 1951, at Hardaman, Tennessee.

V. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Since H. B. Hardeman was a prominent preacher among the Churches of Christ, it was first necessary to obtain the necessary background information relative to church development. This entailed special notice of several religious movements which have developed since the inception of Christianity in the first century. The first of these was the Reformation, from which the fundamental principles of many Protestant bodies have taken their course. Especially helpful in this phase were Preserved Smith's The Age of the Reformation,[18] and The Reformation by Williston Walker.[19] Another valuable source, although covering more of a time span, was The Story of the Christian Church by Jessie L. Hurlbut.[20]

Two nearly simultaneous movements which greatly affected the American religious scene were next considered. One was the Great Awakening; the other was the eighteenth century rationalistic trend called the Enlightenment. This study points out several contrasts between these two movements, citing the emotional, subjective emphasis of the former, and the intellectual stress on reason of the latter.

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[18] Preserved Smith, The Age of Reformation (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

[19] Williston Walker, The Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900).

[20] Jessie L. Hurlbut, The Story of the Christian Church (revised edition; Philadelphia: The John C. Winson Company, 1933).

The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740 - 1790[21] by Gewehr was especially helpful. It was supplemented with Perry Miller's Jonathan Edwards.[22] Information on the Enlightenment was well supplied and interpreted by Becker in The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers.[23]

Significant aspects of the Restoration movement are next discussed in the study, leaning heavily on such works as How the Disciples Began and Grew[24] by Davis, and William Sweet's Makers of Christianity.[25] The succeeding development of the Churches of Christ is then reviewed, with much material derived from Earl West's two historical volumes, The Search for the Ancient Order.[26]

It was thought necessary to review the background and life of Hardeman. Much of the information was derived from

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[21] Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1932).

[22] Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1949).

[23] Carl L. Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

[24] M. M. Davis, How the Disciples Began and Grew (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1915).

[25] William W. Sweet, Makers of Christianity (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937).

[26] Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (2 vols.; Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949).

"Sketch of the Author's life,"[27] by L. L. Brigance, which was written to acquaint the readers of Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons with his life and attainments. Pertinent information on the background of the Tabernacle meetings was obtained from two principal sources. First, Tennessee: a Guide to the State,[28] compiled and written by the Federal Writers' project of the Work Projects Administration, was very informative on many aspects of Nashville and its culture. The second, providing specific information about each of the Tabernacle meetings, was the local newspapers on file at the Nashville Public Library, the Nashville Tennessean, and the Nashville Banner.

The second step in the development of this study was to obtain speech texts. This was a minor problem, since the majority of Hardeman's sermons in the five Tabernacle revivals were published in book form. The writer has the complete set of five volumes.

The third and main phase of the study was to take the part of the speech critic in examining the Tabernacle sermons of Mr. Hardeman and to evaluate his rhetorical methods. Four fundamental elements of acceptable speaking were observed in his sermons: invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

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[27] L. L. Brigance, "Sketch of the Author's Life," Sermons, II, 9-28.

[28] Federal Writers' Project, Tennessee: a Guide to the State (New York: The Viking Press, 1939).

"Sketch of the Author's Life,"[27] by L. L. Dugmore, which was written to acquaint the readers of Harlesman's Tabernacle Sermons with his life and activities. Pertinent information on the background of the Tabernacle meetings was obtained from two principal sources. First, Tennessee: a Guide to the State,[28] compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration, was very informative on many aspects of Nashville and its culture. The second, providing specific information about each of the Tabernacle meetings, was the local newspapers on file at the Nashville Public Library, the Nashville Tennessean, and the Nashville Banner.

The second step in the development of this study was to obtain speech texts. This was a minor problem, since the majority of Harlesman's sermons in the five Tabernacle revivals were published in book form. The writer has the complete set of five volumes.

The third and main phase of the study was to take the part of the speech critic in analyzing the Tabernacle sermons of Dr. Harlesman and in evaluating his rhetorical methods. Four fundamental elements of rhetorical speaking were observed in his sermons: invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

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[27] L. L. Dugmore, "Sketch of the Author's Life," Sermons, II, 9-22.

[28] Federal Writers' Project, Tennessee: a Guide to the State (New York: The Viking Press, 1939).

Each of these constituents was first observed and analyzed in its context, as representative examples of each were studied.

Three principal sources were used in studying the rhetorical elements in his sermons. Sermon texts provided the material for evaluation; a personal interview with Hardeman gave insight into many aspects of his methods and views;[29] and two recorded sermons of N. B. Hardeman in the possession of the writer were invaluable.[30] They provided actual examples of the evangelist's voice qualities in delivery.

Standards of criticism were derived from Speech Criticism[31] by Thonssen and Baird, which proved especially helpful in the entire process of evaluation. Special sermon organization was viewed in the light of standards set down by John A. Brodaus in his widely used homiletical textbook, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.[32] Baxter's

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[29] Interview with N. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

[30] N. B. Hardeman, Unpublished recording of sermon preached at Broadway Church of Christ, Lubbock, Texas, October 14, 1951; and sermon preached at Artesia, New Mexico November 20, 1952.

[31] Lester A. Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronal Press Comapny, 1948).

[32] John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (New and revised edition by J. B. Weatherspoon; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

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[31] Lester A. Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, <u>Modern Criticism</u> (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948).

[32] John A. Broadus, <u>On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons</u> (New and revised edition by W. H. Davis, Revised New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

The Heart of the Yale Lectures[33] was also employed.

Finally, an attempt was made to evaluate the general effectiveness of Hardeman's speaking, by summarizing his strong and weak characteristics in evangelistic preaching.

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[33] Batsell Barrett Baxter, The Heart of the Yale Lectures (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. THE REFORMATION

Since the beginning of the Christian religion in the first century many religious movements have left their influence upon the history of our country. The most important of these was the Reformation, a series of events which grew out of dissatisfaction with the prevailing corruption of doctrine and morals in the state church. Such leaders as John Wycliffe, in the fourteenth century, Martin Luther, and John Calvin, in the early sixteenth century became spokesmen of the unrest that prevailed over Europe. The key thought was protest against the domination of Catholic practices, especially in Germany, and the adherents began to be called Protestants.[1]

The differing viewpoints of Catholicism and Protestantism are well described by Walker.

> The Reformation vitalized the religious life of Europe; but it divided Western Christendom as to the nature of religion itself and of the institutions by which it is propagated. By the Catholic the highest Christian duty was seen in obedience to the infallible voice of a Church that claims to be the depository of truth, the dispenser of sacraments with which alone all certainty of salvation is conjoined, the possessor of a true priesthood of divine appointment - a Church characterized by unity expressed in allegiance to a single earthly

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[1] Preserved Smith, The Age of Reformation (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 115.

> head. To the Protestant, the profoundest obligations were to use his divinely-given faculties to ascertain for himself what is the truth of God as contained - so the Reformation age would say - in His infallible and absolutely authoritative Word; and to enter through faith into vital, immediate and personal relations with his Saviour.[2]

The movement spread into nearly all parts of Europe, especially within the countries of Germany, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian kingdom. Doctrinal differences already divided the great movement into various segments of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology. These soon took definite lines of division and several of the presently large Protestant bodies had their beginning at that time. The followers of Luther called themselves Lutherans; the Reformed groups rose; the Anglican church, known later in America as the Protestant Episcopal church, came into being at the decree of King Henry VIII; and under John Knox, the Presbyterian church had its beginning in Scotland.

During the seventeenth century, following the Reformation, three distinct influences began to be felt within the Anglican church: the Catholic element, seeking friendliness and reunion with Rome; the Anglican, satisfied with the moderate reforms accomplished under King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth; and the separatist individuals and groups

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[2] Williston Walker, The Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 463.

who were dissatisfied with both of the former.[3] English history during that period is a story of religious intolerance and war between the three forces, while at the same time segments of each were making their way to religious, social and economic freedom in the New World.[4]

In the first half of the eighteenth century, churches in England and the Colonies, "both Established and Dissenting, sank into a state of decline, with formal services, cold, intellectual belief, and a lack of moral power over the population."[5] The situation was made even worse by a low economic and social status of the ministers of religion, whose reputations were in disrepute generally.[6] Furthermore, the frontier conditions in America tended to hamper religious organization,[7] and the influence of Arminianism and rationalism led people away from the formal churches. Among other

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[3] E. H. Klotsche and J. Theodore Mueller, The History of Christian Doctrine (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1945), 287.

[4] William W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930), 11-37.

[5] Jessie L. Hurlbut, The Story of the Christian Church (revised edition; Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1933), 176.

[6] William E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1878), I, 74-80.

[7] Fredrick J. Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 185.

who were disenchanted with both of the former.[5] English history during this period is a story of religious isolationists and sectarians versus the state forces, while at the same time segments of them were making their way to religious, social and economic freedom in the New World.[6]

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[5] R. M. Jordan and A. Theodore Maliver, The History of Christian Doctrine (Austin, Tex., Texas: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1961), 227.

[6] William W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930), 11-27.

[7] Jessie L. Bonner, The Story of the Christian Church (revised edition; Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1956), 195.

[8] William H. H. Jacobs, A History of Religion in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1898), 1, 76-80.

[9] Frederick A. Norwood, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960), 128.

distracting factors was the economic prosperity within the merchant class as commerce increased.[8]

II. THE GREAT AWAKENING

Injected into this background was the religious movement called the Great Awakening, led by John Wesley in England, and by Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield in America. From Maine to Georgia, revivals were preached by men of great feeling and eloquence,[9] many of whom had been inspired by German pietism, a religious attitude which subordinated intellectualistic theology to personal fervor and piety.[10] The Awakening

> represented an effort to establish piety and to awaken a spiritual life in believers everywhere. It found churches dying under the burden of cold formalism; it left them reinvigorated and glowing with a fresh spiritual zeal.[11]

It also counteracted the growing secularism, rationalism and skepticism on the one hand, and on the other challenged the

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[8] James Truslow Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1930), 366.

[9] Fred J. Barton, "Modes of Delivery in American Homiletic Theory in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1949), II, 32-51.

[10] Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (second edition; New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951), 57.

[11] Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1930), 3.

authoritarian expositions of Christianity. "In kindling the religion of the heart in the great mass of plain people the revivals gave a broader base to the Christian heritage.[12]

The Great Awakening, which in some respects cut across denominational lines and weakened the hold of sectarian dogma, in other ways increased sectarian differences and bitterness. It led to new splits within several groups.[13] Emotion and reason could not be exalted together, and even class lines began to be drawn in religious circles.

III. THE ENLIGHTENMENT

During this same period, a new movement was rising to recognition in the capitals of Europe.[14] This pattern of thought was known as the Enlightenment, being a protest against traditional reliance on authority in religious and secular life. "It asserted man's ability to understand the universe without supernatural revelation and without the authoritative guidance of earthly superiors."[15]

> Thus the Philosophers called in posterity to exercise the double illusion of the Christian paradise and the golden age of antiquity. For the love of God they substituted the love of humanity, for the vicarious atonement, the perfectibility of man through his own efforts; and for the hope of immortality in another world, the hope of living in the

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[12] Curti, op. cit., 57.

[13] Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards ([n.p.]: William Sloane Associates, 1949), 176.

[14] Klotsche, and Mueller, op. cit., 306.

[15] Curti, op. cit., 103.

memory of future generations.[16]

Reason superseded faith, science replaced the Bible, and the leading philosophers provided the exposition in place of the clergy. Their belief in man's own rational powers to achieve the best became a new religious faith.[17]

This movement of deistic concepts swiftly spread to the Colonies in America. Although it lacked the systematic basis which it had acquired in Europe, it had a wide following among the intellectual classes. Two of the many causes or factors in this growing movement are seen in its opposition to organized religion. The first was a reaction against the hierarchical bigotry and ecclesiastical superstition of both Catholicism and some Protestant groups. The dominating pressure of the clergy upon the conscience and complete life of each individual was rejected by the adherents of the Enlightenment. A second factor in its growth was a reaction against the extreme emotionalism which was characteristic of the preaching of George Whitefield and others of the Great Revival.[18]

The influence of the Enlightenment has been widely

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[16] Carl L. Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), 130.

[17] Ibid., 130

[18] Curti, op. cit., 112.

felt in American religious life, and even in the political and social spheres. A significant outcome of its rationalistic theology was the rise of Unitarianism and Universalism in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[19]

IV. THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RESTORATION MOVEMENT

As the nineteenth century dawned, the religious elements of the Western world were extremely disunited and bitter. The cleavage between Protestants and Catholics that resulted from the Reformation was becoming even wider. Division was rampant among the protesting groups themselves. Nearly all major denominations had their respective dogmatic creeds or rule-books of doctrine and practice.

> The Great Revival precipitated an era of theological speculation and doctrinal division. It stimulated religion, but in so doing multiplied the sects....Soon there were twelve kinds of Presbyterians, thirteen kinds of Baptists, seventeen kinds of Methodists, and the smaller groups divided and sub-divided....Doctrinal differences among the popular denominations had been largely forgotten in the emotional excitement of the Great Revival. Once the great wave was over, however, the effort of each denomination to intrench the converts to its particular brand of theology resulted in division within denominations and battles among them. Frontier religion was largely becoming rationalized theology; the camp meeting with its call to universal repentance was being replaced by doctrinal discussion, by

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[19] Howard M. Jones, America and French Culture, 1750-1848 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927), 401.

a dogmatic orthodoxy, contentious and argumentative.[20]

Some religious leaders emphasized the freedom of the will, others insisted on Calvinistic predestination; a few continued to preach the theme of the Great Awakening, while a minority leaned toward the exaltation of reason, from the influence of the Enlightenment.[21] Liberalism thus clashed with conservatism; intellectualism against emotionalism.

These divided conditions came to be the birthplace of another movement in Great Britain and America, called the Restoration Movement. In its later organized form, it was part of a larger effort, sometimes called the Second Awakening in America.[22] Early signs of it were seen in Scotland and Ireland about the time of the American Revolution. The movement was led by James Haldane and Thomas Campbell. A few years later, but with only partial connection with the efforts in the British Isles, similar unifying efforts were seen in scattered areas in America. People were growing tired of religious division, and sought a basis upon which they could promote unity. Like

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[20] Carroll B. Ellis, "The Controversial Speaking of Alexander Campbell" (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Route, 1949), 40-42.

[21] William W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930), 322.

[22] Sweet, op. cit., 321.

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[20] Carroll E. Hilton, "The Controversial Speaking of Alexander Campbell" (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1949), 20-22.

[21] William E. Tweet, The Story of Religions in America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1954), 208.

[22] Tweet, op. cit., 208.

all other movements, whether religious, social or political, the Restoration Movement began very slowly and gradually, gaining influence as time went on. Some outstanding leaders were James O'Kelly among the Methodists in North Carolina, Dr. Abner Jones among the Baptists in New England, New York and Pennsylvania, Barton W. Stone, a Presbyterian preacher in Kentucky, and Alexander Campbell in Virginia and Pennsylvania.[23]

There were two forceful principles that guided their efforts. The first was their belief that all Christians should be unified, and the second was that true religious unity must be based upon a common acceptance of the teachings of the Bible. The following excerpt from a sermon by John Smith at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1832, well describes their position:

> God has but one people on the earth. He has given to them but one Book, and therein exhorts and commands them to be one family. A union such as we plead for - a union of God's people on that one Book - must, then, be practicable. Every Christian desires to stand in the whole will of God. The prayer of the Saviour, and the whole tenor of his teaching, clearly show that it is God's will that his children should be united. To the Christian, then, such a union must be desirable. Therefore the only union practicable or desirable must be based on the word of God as the only rule of faith and practice.[24]

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[23] J. Minton Batten, Protestant Backgrounds in History (New York: Abington-Cokesbury Press, 1951), 136.

[24] M. M. Davis, How the Disciples Began and Grew (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1915), 117.

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[23] 1. Winfred Ernest, Professional Backgrounds in Ministry (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), 128.

[24] H. H. Davis, How the Churches Began and Grew (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1919), 174.

The advocates of the Restoration envisioned a restoration of the apostolic church, with each aspect of their faith, worship, and organization being taught in the New Testament. They concluded that faith must be expressed in true repentance, climaxed by immersion in water, giving assurance of the forgiveness of sins. Concerning the agency of the Holy Spirit in conversion, they denied a direct and miraculous aspect, believing that the desired spiritual change was prompted by the Word. Their organization was congregational. No formal ordination was required for a man to preach, nor for the serving of the Lord's Supper each first day of the week.

In their promotion of Christian unity, the leaders of the movement opposed the champions of many schools of thought. Controversial pulpit oratory was quite universal in the frontier region. Judging from the records, religious debating seems to have been the most approved method by which frontier pioneers defended and promulgated their convictions of divine truth. For example, in 1829, Alexander Campbell accepted the challenge of Robert Owen, a leading freethinker from Scotland, to debate the issues of his social philosophy and the Bible.[25] During the preceding four years, Owen and his followers had established

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[25] James Orval Filbeck, The Christian Evidence Movement (Kansas City: The Old Paths Book Club, 1946), 65.

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[25] James Orvel Filbeck, The Christian Evidences Movement (Kansas City: The Old Paths Book Club, 1948), 55.

seven different experimental communities, typified by that at New Harmony, Indiana, in which they attempted to remake conventional institutions by reasoned choice, one of which was the Christian religion.[26] In the 1829 oral contest at Cincinnati which lasted eight days, Campbell spoke the sentiments of most Christian people in their opposition to the deism and skepticism of the Enlightenment.[27]

A similar event took place seven years later between Campbell and a Catholic bishop, John B. Purcell, of Cincinnati. In his opening address, Campbell made clear his position by stating, "I come not here to advocate the particular tenets of any sect, but to defend the great cardinal principles of Protestantism."[28] He maintained that the divine truth of salvation was fully revealed in the Bible, and that, during the intervening centuries, the traditional practices of Catholicism had gradually departed from the apostolic teachings and examples. The Protestant clergy of Cincinnati were hearty in their commendation of

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26 Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 243.

27 Alexander Campbell, and Robert Owen, The Evidences of Christianity (Nashville: The McQuiddy Printing Company, 1946), 534.

28 Alexander Campbell, and John B. Purcell, A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion (Nashville: The McQuiddy Printing Company, 1914), 9.

Campbell's scholarship and presentation.[29]

Another representative debate was held in 1843, between Alexander Campbell and N. L. Rice, a Presbyterian minister. It was held in Lexington, Kentucky, with Henry Clay as moderator.[30] The topics debated concerned the design and mode of scriptural baptism, the Holy Spirit, and human creeds. Also involved was the basic problem of Biblical interpretation. Although other debates occurred during the period, these three exemplify the principal conflicts in religious thinking in the Restoration Movement.

Characteristic of the movement, great numbers of people believed that religious unity could only be attained by a common adherence to the fundamental teachings of the Bible. In advancing their position, they used several slogans which made clear their objectives, e.g., "Back to the Ancient Order of Things,"[31] and "no creed but Christ; no book but the Bible."[32] They accordingly opposed formulated creeds which, they contended, separated people religiously. They encouraged a conservative interpretation

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[29] Davis, op. cit., 154

[30] William W. Sweet, Makers of Christianity (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), 193.

[31] Alexander Campbell, editor, The Millenial Harbinger (Kansas City: The Old Paths Book Club, 1980. Reproduced from original periodical, The Millenial Harbinger, 1830), I,1.

[32] J. L. Neve, Churches and Sects of Christendom (Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1944), 384.

of the Scriptures and opposed religious titles in theory and practice.

The progress of the movement was rapid, and its membership numbered over one hundred thousand by 1836, ranking as the fourth largest religious body in the nation.[33] This growth was highly encouraging to those who had sacrificed greatly. Alexander Campbell, one of the foremost leaders, stated in 1846:

> We little expected, some thirty years ago, that the principles of Christian union and a restoration of primitive Christianity in letter and spirit, in theory and practice, could have been plead with such success, or have taken such deep hold on the consciences and of the hearts of multitudes of all creeds and parties, of all castes and conditions of society, as we have already lived to witness. We must say that it is "the Lord's doing, and marvelous in our eyes."[34]

A final vivid description is here included, pointing to some significant aspects of the people's earnestness of mission:

> The "reformation" first attracted men of the middle class. These men were not highly cultured but they were men for the most part of fair education. Moreover, most of them were men of independent turn of mind and of great courage. They loved liberty and were willing to sacrifice

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[33] D. S. Burnet, "Progress of the Present Reformation," Christian Preacher, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1836), 21. Quoted by Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), I, 129.

[34] Alexander Campbell, "Preface," Millennial Harbinger, Third Series, Vol. III, No. 1, (January, 1846), 1. Quoted by Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949, I, 129.

> everything for what they believed to be true. To be sure there were many men of prominence in politics, medicine and business who accepted the views of the pioneers. Atfirst their views were peculiar to most hearers. Consequently, they invoked study. Moreover, with the clergy of the day they were greatly abhorred. Nobody accepted then the gospel message because it was popular, for it wasn't. There was that courageous love for the liberty of the gospel, free from human creeds and from the authority of council that gave impetus for men to submit to the living oracles....These pioneers believed in their cause, and they pressed on, wilting before no tribunal, but with the profound conviction they had the truth and that truth, under God would triumph.[35]

V. LATER DEVELOPMENTS

The bright outlook for this unified effort was soon to be darkened. Although general agreement and peace had existed between members, especially in points of first principles of conversion and Christian conduct, before the Civil War period, dark clouds of dissension began casting their shadows over the church. The principal disagreement was over the proper method of advancing missionary work to other parts of the world. The need for such work was agreed upon by the majority. However, many refused to join the movement for a church-wide missionary society. Such a society, they believed, would encroach upon the local congregational responsibility, resulting

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[35] Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), I, 127.

in human organization and ecclesiasticism. Despite this opposition, the American Christian Missionary Society was formed in 1849 at a convention in Cincinnati, Ohio. Some of the leaders who promoted its adoption were W. K. Pendleton, Alexander Campbell, D. S. Burnet, Walter Scott, and J. W. McGarvey.

The lack of general success by the Missionary Society was largely due to the growing opposition, led by such men as Tolbert Fanning, Benjamin Franklin, Jacob Creath, Jr., and David Lipscomb. The objections are here classified:

> The first of these was based upon the Society's method of membership, viz., making membership depend upon the payment of stipulated amounts of money. The second of these stemmed from the potential danger the Society maintained of infringing upon the independence of a local congregation. The third objection came from the conviction that human organizations were unauthorized in the scriptures, and therefore, unscriptural.... Eventually this last objection became the core of the issue, although in years to come many churches who believed in societies found that the Society very little respected their local independence.[36]

As the conflict between the states progressed, the slavery issue caused concern within the Churches of Christ although the consequences were not serious. The position of Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Campbell was typical of the common viewpoint on the subject. They taught that the problem was political, rather than moral. They noted scrip-

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[36] Ibid., 212, 213.

tures which regulated slavery, but none that prohibited it.[37] It was neither condemned nor upheld. It is significant that the Churches of Christ were among the very few religious bodies that did not divide over the slavery question.

Another issue which caused more concern was whether the Christian should take arms in the civil strife. W. K. Pendleton wrote the following in July, 1861:

> O, my Christian brother think of it! When you shoulder your musket and equip yourself with all the instruments of death, ask yourself have you the right thus to take the life of your fellow? Who gave you the right? What has your brother done that you may shoot him? - Has he stolen your property? Can you murder him for that? Has he differed with you about political governments? Can you not part in peace?[38]

J. W. McGarvey was another prominent leader who spent much time and effort in convincing his brethren to take a neutral position. His influence was greatly enhanced by his position as politically favoring neither the North nor the South. In October, 1862, he regretfully described the effects of the war in his report to the Missionary Society:

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[37] William W. Sweet, Makers of Christianity (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), 193.

[38] W. K. Pendleton, "A Plea for Peace," Millennial Harbinger, Fifth Series, Vol. IV, No. 7 (July, 1861), 410. Quoted by Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), I, 338.

> A storm of human passion, seldom equaled in the history of our sinful world, is raging aroung us, and we have caught the infection. The results are such as human passion must always produce. Many brethren have been swept into hopeless apostasy; the zeal of many has been chilled; distrust prevails among many who once were bosom friends; the evangelical labors of nearly all have been much contracted; churches languish; congregations dwindle, and there is a fear that such divisions as have distracted the religious sects of the day, may yet disgrace our history.[39]

The post-war period saw a liberalistic trend develop. It produced a conflict between conservative and liberal viewpoints in the interpretation of the Scriptures. The gulf of dissension widened over such questions as the necessity of baptism, the apostolic concept of a Christian, and the proper participants in the observance of the Lord's Supper.

Another main issue concerned the use of instrumental music in the worship services. Despite the fact that its use had been fought vigorously during the war as an innovation, increasing numbers of congregations were using it. The story of its introduction in most cases must include the effects, viz., division, bitterness, and sometimes lawsuits. The importance of this issue within the ranks of those who opposed the introduction of human organizations and aids in worship was well expressed by Moses E. Lard,

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[39] J. W. McGarvey, in annual report to Missionary Society, 1862. Quoted by Earl West, "The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), I, 329.

popular preacher and writer:[40]

> The question of instrumental music in churches of Christ involves a great and sacred principle. But for this, the subject is not worthy of one thought at the hands of the child of God. That principle is the right of man to introduce innovations into the prescribed worship of God. This right we utterly deny. The advocates of instrumental music affirm it. This makes the issue....[41]

By the turn of the century, division had run its course. The group that favored the missionary organization and the use of instrumental music came to be known as the "Disciples of Christ," or in some localities, the "Christian Church." The more conservative element retained the name "Churches of Christ."

Since that division which occurred about 1900, the Churches of Christ have enjoyed a very healthy growth. Today they have a membership of over one million, with about 10,000 congregations.[42] Concentration has principally been in the South and Southwest, with expanding activities into all other sections of the United States, and into foreign countries. Characteristically, they have maintained

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[40] H. Leo Boles, Biographical Sketches of Gospel Preachers (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1932), 174-178.

[41] Moses E. Lard, [n.p], quoted by Earl West, The Search for the Ancient Order (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), II, 448.

[42] Harry Hansen, editor, The World Almanac (New York: New York World-Telegram, 1952), 481.

congregational autonomy, while co-operating in a movement of missionary activities all over the world. Interested members have seen the need for other worthwhile endeavors, such as orphan homes and care for the aged. From the time of Bethany College and Alexander Campbell, to the modern facilities of seven colleges now scattered from California to Florida, Christian education has been a popular work of the Churches of Christ. Among this number is Freed-Hardeman College, named for and directed by N. B. Hardeman for a period of nearly thirty years. The most recent co-operative effort has been a nationwide radio program, called the "Herald of Truth," over a 145-station hookup of the American Broadcasting Company.[43]

While this physical progress has occurred, the doctrinal position has remained constant through the years. With a strong faith in the Bible as God's revealed will to man, they zealously preach for a continued restoration of the church as it was in the first century, in all points of doctrine, worship, and organization.

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[43] News item in Time, LIX (March 24, 1952), 54,55.

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[43] Have Item in Time, LII (March 24, 1958), 64,65.

CHAPTER III

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

I. INTRODUCTION

"It is a truism that speeches are meaningful only when examined in the settings of which they are a part."[1] The environmental factors are especially important to the speech critic, as they often furnish the answers to numerous questions relating to the speeches themselves. The preaching of N. B. Hardeman's Tabernacle sermons can be best viewed by considering the four principal constituents of the speaking situation: the speaker, the audience, the occasion, and the subject. Since more than one speech is to be analyzed, the respective audiences, occasions, and subjects must be considered in groups when expedient. The separate series of meetings conducted by Mr. Hardeman will serve as the basis of such group consideration.

II. THE SPEAKER

Nicholas Brodie Hardeman[2] was born May 18, 1874, near

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[1] Lester A. Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), ii.

[2] Albert N. Marquis, editor, "N. B. Hardeman," Who's Who in America, XIII - XXI.

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[2] Albert R. Burgess, editor, "H. H. Hardeman," Who's Who in Christ, XIII - XIX.

Milledgeville, Tennessee, in McNairy County. His father was a doctor, who had begun his practice before the Civil War in three of Tennessee's central Counties. In addition to that profession, he was successful in farming and trading. Brodie, as the boy was called, grew up on the farm with many responsibilities, yet with much leisure time.

He attended several public schools in his youth, and at sixteen entered West Tennessee Christian College at Henderson. From that school he was graduated in 1895 with a Bachelor of Arts degree, and later with a Master of Arts degree. In 1901 he was married to Miss Joanna Kendall Tabler, who joined him in the teaching profession. They had three children. Between 1896 and 1908 Hardeman taught both in the public schools and in the college from which he had graduated. He was Superintendent of Public Instruction in Chester County from 1906 to 1918.

In 1908 Hardeman and Professor A. G. Freed instituted a new school at Henderson, called the National Teachers' Normal and Business College.[3] In 1919, it was purchased by several leaders of the Churches

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[3] Jessie P. Rogue, editor, American Junior Colleges (second edition, Washington: American Council on Education, 1948), 203.

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[3] Jessie F. Hogue, editor, American Junior College (second edition, Washington: American Council on Education, 1948), 506.

of Christ, and placed under the management and guidance of a board of trustees. The name was changed to Freed-Hardeman College. Mr. Hardeman became president of the school a few years later, and held that position until 1950.[4] At the age of 79, he still resides at Henderson. Not only was he an able teacher in the classroom, but he was also a capable executive and administrator. His life-long slogan was "Let all things be done decently and in order,"[5] a Biblical quotation that has meant much to him, as well as to the faculty and students.

Methodism, the religious environment of his youth, was highly emotional and it tended to disgust young Hardeman, rather than impress him. However, he did respond to a more logical approach employed by several evangelists of the Churches of Christ, and was baptized while attending college.

The preaching of his first sermon a few years later, in 1898, was only to substitute for another man, but it gave indication of his potentialities.

> He soon began preaching frequently and regularly. He sprang into prominence very rapidly, and it was not long until his services were in great demand. It was noised abroad that he was the most promising young preacher anywhere in his section of the country, and people went far and near to hear

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[4] News item in the Nashville Banner, April 18, 1950.

[5] I Corinthians 14:40

of Christ, and placed under his management and guidance of a board of trustees. The name was changed to Fredericksburg College. Mr. Harbaugh became president of the school a few years later, and held that position until 1890.[4] In the fall of 79, he still resided at Mercersburg, but only was he an able teacher in the classroom, but he was also a mighty exegetic and mediator. His life-long motto was "Let all things be done decently and in order,"[5] a biblical quotation that has meant much to him, as well as to the faculty and students.

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The preaching of his first sermon a few years later, in 1860, was only to mediocre for another man, but it gave indication of his potentialities.

He soon began preaching frequently and regularly. He entered into preaching very readily, and it was not long until his services were in great demand. It was noised abroad that he was the most promising young preacher anywhere in his section of the country, and people soon came and came to hear

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[4] Jean Ibsen in the Gettysburg Compiler, April 30, 1890.

[5] I Corinthians 14:40

> him. His youthful appearance, engaging manner, fluency of speech, and remarkable ability to quote the Scriptures attracted much attention and caused a great deal of favorable comment.[6]

These outstanding characteristics did not come to him without effort. From two years of special study of the Bible he acquired a careful, exact, and thorough method of study. Even though he had only a few courses of formal speech training in Elocution, Logic, and Homiletics,[7] he took advantage of every opportunity to excel in speaking. He was especially inspired by the speaking of three contemporaries: William Jennings Bryan, Senator E. W. Carmack of Tennessee, and Governor Robert Taylor of Tennessee.[8]

To say that N. B. Hardeman has been a successful preacher is a very conservative statement. His wide popularity as an evangelist is more striking when one considers the fact that nearly all of his preaching was done during the summer vacations between regular school sessions. He has conducted revival meetings in all parts of the United States, except New England and the Pacific Northwest, and his services are still in demand in many areas. A leading preacher recently wrote of him,

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[6] L. L. Brigance, "Sketch of the Author's Life," in N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons; Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1923), II, 18.

[7] Interview with N. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

[8] Ibid.

> I may truthfully say of Hardeman today that his natural forces are unabated and his mental powers are not waning, for I have never heard a man preach for one solid hour three nights in succession, who quoted more scripture accurately (quoting from ten to fifteen verses to a whole chapter at a time), and driving home his arguments with more force and power than N. B. Hardeman did last week....If what I heard last week is a sample of his ability, he could walk out in the same Ryman Auditorium and hold the audience just as spellbound as he did when he was there in 1922.[9]

III. THE AUDIENCE

From this review of his life, it is evident that Mr. Hardeman was, in most respects, a product of a Tennessee environment. Furthermore, the audiences to which he preached his Tabernacle sermons were largely composed of Tennessee residents, both urban and rural. Probably the most impressive factor in his Tennessee environment was the religious views of its people.

> Almost half of Tennessee's 2,616,556 population are active church-goers today [1939] with the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Churches of Christ comprising, in the order named nearly 90% of the combined church membership. Unquestionably the state is one of the chief strongholds not only of Protestantism, but of Fundamentalism in the United States.[10]

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[9] Ira A. Douthitt, "I Heard Hardeman," Gospel Advocate, XCIV (October 16, 1952), 669.

[10] Federal Writers' Project of the Works Projects Administration for the State of Tennessee, Tennessee, A Guide to the State (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), 111.

Another important factor in Hardeman's audiences was the large number of congregations of the Churches of Christ in Nashville and the surrounding Davidson County. When the first Tabernacle meeting was held in 1922, forty-five congregations in the immediate area participated.[11] More than fifty cooperated in the 1928 revival,[12] and the number has consistently increased since that time.

Contemporary reports stated that a large proportion of Hardeman's audiences were members of the Churches of Christ,[13] although an accurate account cannot be determined. It may be safely said therefore, that in most respects the audiences were friendly, congenial, and favorably inclined to the speaker's views and purposes. However, there were many exceptions to this general view of his audiences. They also included large numbers of people of other faiths and backgrounds. The Nashville Tennessean reported:

> Crowds, representing every walk and avocation of Nashville's life and citizenship, packed the Ryman Auditorium Sunday afternoon and Sunday night to hear N. B. Hardeman, the evangelist.[14]
>
> Mr. Acuff thanked the Nashville Railway and Light Company for its various courtesies and accomodations extended. More than 400 officials

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[11] News item in the Nashville Tennessean, March 28, 1922.

[12] Ibid., March 18, 1928.

[13] Editorial, Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1923; and N. H. Brightwell, "Introduction," Sermons, IV, 4.

[14] News item in the Nashville Tennessean, April 3, 1922.

and employees of the company attended Tuesday night.[15]

About 350 Jewish people were in the Ryman Auditorium audience according to the estimate of E. F. Lewis of the Hebrew mission of the city.[16]

The consistently-large number of people who attended was also significant. This is important because of the fact that "suggestibility and social stimulation tend to increase as the size of the group increases."[17] At the first service of the 1922 revival, "approximately 7,000 people, and in addition some 2,000 more who could not gain admission into the building and were turned back, made the trip Tuesday night to the Ryman Auditorium."[18] Only the size of the auditorium limited the number of people who heard the sermons. Newspaper headlines at the opening of the 1923 meeting read: "Revival Opens at Auditorium. M. S. Hardeman Fills Big Building at First Two Services."[19] In the 1928 series of sermons, loud-speaker facilities were set up at the Central Church of Christ, where the auditorium added over 1,000 people to the usual capacity audience

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[15] Ibid., April 12, 1922.

[16] Ibid., April 1, 1928.

[17] Glen E. Mills, Composing the Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 108.

[18] News item in the Nashville Tennessean, March 29, 1922.

[19] News item in the Nashville Banner, April 2, 1923.

at the Ryman Auditorium. The last two revival meetings, in 1938 and 1942, did not attract as many people as the former three, yet at least 6,000 people were present at many of the services.

An analysis of the audience must also include the circular response that is characteristic of large audiences.

> In a normal audience there is the bodily set of fixed attention, frowns and smiles, nods and shakes of the head - in short, a conscious, visible response to the speaker's words. This response releases fresh sources of energy in the speaker, and he rises to higher levels of effort. This new level in turn arouses fresh response in the audience.[20]

This response greatly inspired the evangelist to extreme heights of confidence, feeling and expression. Many times he expressed its effect upon him.

> My friends and brethren, I am very deeply moved this afternoon by the presence of such a magnificent audience. When I call to mind that this is the sixth series of gatherings in this auditorium, wherein I have had a part, I find myself wholly unable to express the genuine and profound gratitude that is mine...[21]

> My friends, and brethren, in looking over this audience tonight, I have an idea that we have not fewer than 6,000 people assembled. I am tremendously impressed, not only with your presence, but with the significance of it...[22]

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[20] William N. Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, 1937), 54.

[21] Sermons, IV, 219.

[22] Sermons, IV, 149.

IV. THE OCCASION

In purpose and general conduct, the revivals, known as Hardeman's Tabernacle Meetings, were no different from thousands of other such evangelistic efforts conducted yearly by the Churches of Christ throughout the world. They are considered necessary, stimulating, and effective. These meetings are an application of their understanding of the divine precept to "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation."[23] The revivals are most often planned to appeal to non-members, although many sermons are designed for the exhortation of the local congregations.

In a general way, both of these purposes were present in Hardeman's preaching. In addition, some of the meetings were specifically designed to accomplish a given purpose. They must therefore be considered separately in their respective settings.

The first Tabernacle meeting. A city-wide revival in Nashville was not the result of hasty planning, but was the final outcome of many months of work and prayer. For several years many people had hoped for such a revival. In 1921 decisive steps were taken. Business meetings were

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[23] Mark 16:15.

IV. THE PROGRAM

In purpose and general content, the revivals, known as Barnabas's Tabernacle meeting, were no different from those of other week evangelistic efforts conducted yearly by the Churches of Christ throughout the world. They are considered necessary, edifying, and effective. These meetings are an application of their understanding of the divine precept to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation."[25] The revivals are most often planned to appeal to non-members, although many sermons are designed for the edification of the local congregations.

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held. Congregational autonomy was to be maintained in a project of cooperation. Evangelization was the theme, and many thousands of Christian people went to work.

> The advertising campaign set a new precedent among the Churches of Christ. It was done in a wonderfully thorough manner. For weeks before the meeting began, various notices, references, and articles appeared in the daily papers of the city. About 100,000 blotters announcing it were distributed; 65,000 personal invitations were sent by mail; large illuminated signs were erected along the car lines; and a page or two of the city telephone directory was assigned to different ladies of the various churches, who called everybody in Nashville that had a telephone and gave them a personal invitation to attend the meeting.[24]

The occasion was made more impressive by the response of the press with its complete coverage. Each day the Nashville Tennessean printed the full text of the former evening's sermon. The evening edition in turn carried the day's noon sermon. On the front page of each edition was the daily reporter's account of the occasion and sermon, written under large headlines. Each edition had a declared circulation of over forty thousand.[25]

The building in which the revival was held was another important factor that influenced the occasion. It had been built in 1892, and was called the Union Gospel Tabernacle, from which the title, "Hardeman's Tabernacle

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[24] J. E. Acuff, "History and Description of the Meeting," Sermons, I, 10, 11.

[25] Ibid., 12.

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[24] L. S. Ashby, "History and Description of the Meeting," Sermons, I, 10, 11.

[25] Ibid., 10.

Meetings," was derived. The seating was designed in a circular pattern within the rectangular building. The balcony capacity was nearly as great as that of the main floor. The pews were of hardwood, with no cushions. A large speaker's platform was filled with additional chairs, and many hundreds of people stood in the aisles by the walls. Such a compact audience influenced the ease with which the speaker could secure desired effects.[26]

The occasion was extremely successful from the standpoint of responses. A portable baptistry was used at the Auditorium and about two hundred people were immersed during the meeting, in addition to some twenty-five reconsecrations.[27]

> Some unusual features were, first, the almost perfect order that prevailed. Scarcely was there a whisper in the vast audiences; no one left the building but hundreds stood many times throughout the entire service. Another was that the speaker quoted from memory his Scripture lessons and references, which were numerous, not having a Bible in the building more than once or twice during the meeting. Still another very unique feature was the song service. Thousands of voices were lifted up in singing the praises of God, and the great building was made to ring with melody; and yet no instrument of any kind, not even a tuning fork was used....And finally, a thing that astonished the public as much as any other was the fact that not a thing was said about

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[26] Mills, op. cit., 108.

[27] Editorial, Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1922.

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The occasion was extremely successful from the standpoint of response. A portable baptistery was used at the dedication and about two hundred people were immersed during the meeting, in addition to some twenty-five reconsecrations.[57]

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[56] Kelly, op. cit., 100.

[57] Editorial, Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1928.

money, and no collection was taken from beginning to end.[28]

The second Tabernacle meeting. Occurring only one year after the first, the second revival in Nashville by Mr. Hardeman enjoyed the public favor of the former. The editor of the Nashville Tennessean wrote on the opening day,

> Following an established custom, the Tennessean will publish the sermons delivered at the Hardeman-Smith revival now being conducted at the Ryman Auditorium....It is a task of no small magnitude to transcribe and reduce to type a series of sermons, but it is all a part of the greater task of publishing a newspaper that desires to and believes it is contributing to the moral and material welfare of the community.[29]

The attendance was approximately the same as in the former meeting, as the same auditorium was filled to capacity many times. The general occasion was identical; the Churches of Christ again cooperated in a city-wide effort of evangelization. Over one hundred people responded to be baptized.

The third Tabernacle meeting. The principal feature that made the third meeting different from the earlier meetings was the general purpose. While evangelistic in

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[28] Acuff, op. cit., 14.

[29] Editorial, Nashville Tennessean, April 2, 1923.

manner, it was designed to speak out against ecclesiasticism and denominationalism in the Christian religion. Evidence from sacred and profane history was widely used. Facilities for the increased attendance were provided at the Central Church of Christ by use of a loud-speaker system.

The fourth Tabernacle meeting. The specific purpose of the 1938 revival was to incite more individual interest and belief among members of the Churches of Christ of that vicinity. It was a special meeting with a special purpose.

> Believing that the church is drifting away from its doctrinal moorings, and contracting the spirit of sectarianism, the supporters of this meeting hoped to awake some to the situation, and crystalize sentiment for a return to original ground.
>
> They were unanimous in believing H. B. Hardeman to be the logical man to achieve such a purpose. In fact, their confidence in him was such that there was no official conference with him as to the ends sought....[30]

The fifth Tabernacle meeting. Four years later, H. B. Hardeman held the last city-wide gospel meeting in Nashville. It was conducted in the War Memorial Building, which accommodated a smaller audience. That change was made for two reasons. First, the purpose was for the edification of the church, principally, and second, the restrictions that resulted from the war made it advisable

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[30] W. E. Brightwell, "Introduction," Sermons, IV, 4,5.

to conduct the meeting on a more conservative scale.

An additional feature was the broadcast of the daily sermon during the noon hour. This service was conducted from the Central Church of Christ where several hundred people assembled.

> It is the consensus of opinion among competent judges here in Nashville that N. B. Hardeman never did better preaching in his life than he did during this meeting. The gospel was proclaimed in its primitive purity and power, without fear, favor or compromise. It is also felt that the influence of this meeting for good will equal, if not surpass, that of any previous meeting held in the city. From the beginning it was intended that this meeting should bring the churches of Nashville into closer fellowship and cooperation.[31]

V. THE SUBJECTS

Even though this study is not confined to the consideration of only one speech of Mr. Hardeman, yet the general subject can be viewed as a constituent of the speaking situation. The subject was spiritual emphasis. It was preached from Biblical texts and references, appealing to every level of Nashville's citizenship. Examples of the sermon topics are "I am a Debtor," "Is the Bible True?" "Christian Unity," "The Cost of Discipleship," "The Great Commission," and "What Must I Do To Be Saved?"

These themes were a very forceful factor in drawing

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[31] Editorial, Gospel Advocate, November 12, 1942.

the thousands of people to listen regularly to Mr. Hardeman.

> Perhaps some who were not present are anxious to know of the "drawing power" that attracted and held with rapt attention such vast audiences for such a length of time. This can be summed up in few words - viz: The Bible, the word of the living God, was the magnet that drew and held these people.[32]

This analysis of the environmental background of Hardeman's Tabernacle Meetings has considered all of the principal constituents of the speaking situation. It has brought to light many of the important factors which will give meaning to later rhetorical considerations. It makes up an important part in the objective analysis of N. B. Hardeman's speaking which follows.

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[32] F. W. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Meetings," Sermons, II, 51.

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[28] F. W. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Meetings," Sermons, II, 81.

CHAPTER IV

INVENTION

I. INTRODUCTION

Over two thousand years ago men were propounding theories of effective speech. Among the greatest of the theorists was Aristotle. Many of the principles which he set forth still form the basic criteria by which rhetoricians evaluate the merits of speeches. He defined ~~rhetoric~~ invention as "a faculty of discovering all the possible means of persuasion."[1] With this definition as a basis, this study attempts to analyze the persuasion in the preaching of N. B. Hardeman.

This rhetorical analysis also follows the concepts of rhetoric of another man who contributed much to the field of speech, Quintilian. In setting down the constituents of rhetoric, he wrote that "Every speech is composed of matter and words, and that as regards matter we must study invention, as regards words, style, and as regards both, arrangement, all of which it is the task of memory to retain and deliver to render effective."[2] Each of these components

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[1] R. C. Jebb, translator, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1909), I, 5.

[2] H. E. Butler, translator, The Institutes of Oratory of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), III, 180, 181.

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[1] H. G. Robb, translator, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1909), 1, 2.

[2] H. E. Butler, translator, The Institutes of Oratory of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 1, 1, 1ff.

of rhetoric - invention, arrangement, style, and delivery (including memory) are analyzed in the respective chapters of this study.

"Invention is that constituent of rhetoric concerned with the finding and analyzing of the materials of the speech."[3] Of basic importance in preaching is the ability to find appropriate materials by use of which the subject may be amplified into a full sermon. The effective preacher selects his materials from an extensive fund of knowledge and experience, and discerns new relations of ideas to join together in effective discourse. In considering this part of Hardeman's preaching, the following elements are examined: sermon purpose, sources of material, and methods of persuasion.

II. SERMON PURPOSE

Since this study is not confined to any specific sermon by N. B. Hardeman, it is necessary to consider his sermon purpose from a general viewpoint. This is valuable as part of his inventive process in view of the wide differences of sermon purpose among modern preachers. These differences are classified into two categories by

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[3] Kenneth G. Hance, "The Elements of Rhetorical Theory of Phillips Brooks," Speech Monographs, V, (1938), 17.

Abernathy.[4] The first category is classical, or conservative. According to this conception of sermon purpose, the sermon is the product of a man prepared to interpret the Bible to the people, to the end that salvation from sin might result. This message with its text and enrichment of Biblical and doctrinal material reflects the adherence to the orthodox homiletic pattern of past generations. The second category is termed modern, having developed in the twentieth century. The sermon is conceived as "an attempt on the part of the minister to interpret the social and ethical problems of the hearers in the light of Christian principles."[5]

Although social and ethical principles were occasionally discussed by Hardeman in his preaching, his purpose was to preach the gospel of salvation as revealed in the Bible. He often employed the language of the Scriptures in stating that purpose.

> "When I came unto you then, brethren, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I was determined to know nothing among you, save Christ and him crucified." Such is the sentiment prompting my presence this afternoon. I have not come to discuss the social problems which challenge our attention day by day. I am not here to talk

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[4] Elton Abernathy, "Trends in American Homiletic Theory Since 1860," Speech Monographs, X, (1943), 68-74.

[5] Ibid., 69.

about political affairs, nor of world-wide relationships, only as incidentally and illustratively such might come. Neither am I here to discuss personal matters or individual differences. "For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel!"[6]

On other occasions his sermon purpose is seen in the following statements:

> When I stand before an audience like this, I am made to exclaim: What a wonderful opportunity! What a terrible responsibility! Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel of God's Son.[7]
>
> I rejoice that it is mine to come to the city of Nashville - a city known throughout the length and breadth of our land as one of learning, of culture, and of refinament. This is a city characterized by a religious zeal that is unsurpassed by any other in our American Union. I appreciate the fact that you have reverence for Jehovah and respect for his word. I have come, not for self-exploitation, nor publicity, nor for personal glory, but that I may be able in my humble manner to present to you the sweetest story ever told, with the hope that it may convict others and persuade them to spend their days in the service of "Him from whom all blessings flow."[8]

In the preparation of every sermon there was a fundamental purpose in Mr. Hardeman's preaching. His mission of leading people to salvation in Christ dictated the purpose of each sermon. This was to be accomplished

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[6] N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons: Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1938), IV, 9.

[7] Sermons, V, 71.

[8] Sermons, I, 15.

by teaching Biblical doctrines. In the inventive process of each sermon, he became wholly absorbed in the theme, feeling a great responsibility for accurately presenting divine truths.[9]

III. SOURCES OF MATERIAL

In referring to the gradual accumulation of facts and principles, Brigance made the following observation:

> The real speaker - whose messages have the stamp of the speaker's originality and the ring of his convictions - develops through the years a high level of general education from which much, if not most, of his speech material is drawn. His facts have been digested and his thoughts ripened and tested instead of borrowed in the shell from some one else.[10]

This is descriptive of Hardeman. In his tabernacle Sermons there is much evidence of a wide preparation in earlier life. His broad knowledge of the Bible and years of practical experience combined to provide adequate sources of ideas and facts.

The principal source of material upon which Hardeman relied was the Bible. Although the number of Scripture verses used varied in the respective sermons, depending on the type of sermon and occasion, he drew heavily upon

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[9] Interview with N. B. Hardeman, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

[10] William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937), 11.

them as the constant source of information and doctrine. Supplementary to the use of Biblical sources, he read widely the written sermons of other gospel preachers.[11] Occasionally he made use of another man's basic sermon outline. In those instances, he gave proper notice of it. For example, a footnote at the beginning of a sermon entitled,"Is the Bible the Word of God," says, "The general outline of this address is based on notes made while hearing William Jennings Bryan speak along this line."[12] Another footnote shows his occasional use of thoughts gleaned from written sermons: "For some of the thoughts in the above sermon I am indebted to 'The Fundamentals,' Volume V." [13]

Another source of material used by Mr. Hardeman was information from history, geography, and literature. Most of such was drawn upon for illustrative purposes. In the case of church history, he sometimes depended upon profane history exclusively. That he was well-read in the history of the United States is exemplified by a sermon titled "Federalists and Antifederalists."[14] In the sermon

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[11] In an interview, Mr. Hardeman cited the written sermons of T. B. Larimore as examples.

[12] Sermons, IV, 18.

[13] Sermons, I, 26.

[14] Sermons, I, 76-87.

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[12] Sermons, IV, 12.

[13] Sermons, I, 86.

[14] Sermons, I, 76-87.

he described a national division resulting from constitutional interpretation to illustrate religious division resulting from Biblical interpretation. His 1923 travels in the Holy Land served as an excellent source of information.

Personal experience served as a source of material for Mr. Hardeman. Since many in his audiences lived in rural areas, his early life on the farm was valuable. Such sermons as "The Vine and the Branches,"[15] made good use of his rural experiences. The many years of school-teaching also served well in providing source material. In a sermon on "Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth," he used the following illustration in showing the need of studying and using the Bible intelligently:

> When boys and girls come to Freed-Hardeman College, with which I have connection, and bring us textbooks for their investigation and study, I never think....of offering the advice to the boy or to the girl to "close your eyes and open the book; and wherever it opens, there begin to study." If a boy says, in arithmetic, for example, "I want to study common fractions," I know there is a certain part of that book where that particular subject is discussed; and I turn him not to bank discount nor partial payments, but unto the specific part designed to teach the subject of fractions. If he brings any other book, the same principles prevail.[16]

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15 Sermons, IV, 205-218.

16 Sermons, I, 31.

be described a medical division resulting from sociocultural interpretation to illustrate religious division resulting from biblical interpretation. His 1958 travels in the Holy Land served as an excellent source of information.

Personal experience served as a source of material for Dr. Bergmann. Since many in his audiences lived in rural areas, his manly life on the farm was valuable. Such sermons as "The Vine and the Grapes,"[15] made good use of his rural experiences. The many years of schoolteaching also served well in providing source material. In a sermon on "Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth," he used the following illustration in showing the need of studying and using the Bible intelligently:

> When boys and girls come to Prof.-Bergmann College, with which I have connection, and bring us textbooks for their investigation and study, I never think...of offering the advice to the boy or to the girl to "close your eyes and open the book; and wherever it opens, there begin to study." If a boy says, in arithmetic, for example, "I want to study common fractions," I know there is a certain part of that book where that particular subject is discussed; and I turn him not to book diagrams nor partial paragraphs, but unto the specific part designed to teach the subject of fractions. If he brings any other book, the same principles prevail.[16]

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[15] Bergmann, IV, 208-212.

[16] Sermons, I, 22.

His experience with people through the years gave him another advantage in the selection of sermon materials. Through his dealing with students in school and with the public in preaching, he developed a keen insight into the lives, desires, habits, and reactions of people. Hardeman made good use of this wealth of experience to make his sermons more forceful and interesting.

Hardeman's sermons were therefore composed from a wide background of source material. With emphasis upon Biblical information and doctrine, Hardeman drew from history, literature, and his own experiences. The inventive process was thereby well supplied with source material.

IV. METHODS OF PROOF

In considering the various aspects of invention, rhetoricians have long emphasized the methods of persuasion. The first rhetorical treatise that has come down to us, Aristotle's Rhetoric, laid down the fundamental concept that there are three general modes of persuasion. He wrote that,

> Of proofs provided by the speech there are three kinds; one kind depending on the character of the speaker; another on disposing the hearer in a certain way; a third, a demonstration or apparent demonstration in the speech itself.[17]

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[17] R. C. Jebb, translator, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1909), 7.

These, in the order given by Aristotle, are usually called the ethical, the pathetic or emotional, and the logical. This portion of the study of Hardeman's invention deals respectively with the logical, the pathetic, and the ethical modes of persuasion.

Logical proof. "Every speaker serves as a middleman between a reasonable concept and the world of reality in which that idea can appropriately take root."[18] In this strategic position, he is expected to present concepts or ideas which are worthy of the audience's attention. To determine the relative integrity of the ideas presented by N. B. Hardeman, the following factors are considered in this study: (1) his intellectual resources, (2) his use of evidence and argument, and (3) the effect of his ideas upon society.

The consideration of Hardeman's intellectual resources begins with his basic premise from which he made his logical appeal. All of the main factors in his background and preaching point consistently to his conservative or fundamental viewpoint in reference to the Bible. In his thinking, the Bible was divinely revealed. All religious authority was vested in it. In his first Tabernacle sermon he declared:

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[18] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), 332.

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[12] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), 322.

> I stand in your presence a firm believer in the all-sufficiency of this volume [the Bible] that lies before me. I realize that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And as said in 2 Pet. 1:3: "According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness."
>
> Let me suggest to you that all this audience knows of either heaven or hell, or of the Holy Spirit, or of Christ, or of the angels, or of the boundless beyond toward which we are so rapidly passing, they have learned it either directly or indirectly from the word of God.[19]

In establishing his reasons for so believing, Hardeman did not attempt to prove the divine origin of the Bible. After analyzing his audiences, he concluded that the majority accepted it as God's revealed will. However, he often devoted entire sermons to indications of divine origin in the Bible. His purpose was to inspire greater confidence in it, rather than give a lengthy lecture of rational proofs. Preaching on "The Bible," in an introductory sermon, he discussed the following observations: (1) Parts of the Bible were among the earliest writings of man; (2) the writers were of scattered origin in time and place, yet they produced a unified theme throughout; (3) there is not a real scientific principle known that is in violation of or contradictory to the word of God;"[20]

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[19] Sermons, I, 16.

[20] Sermons, I, 18.

(4) the Bible, unlike books written by man, does not become obsolete with the passing of time; (5) claiming authority over man, the Bible has incurred the hatred of more people than other books; and, (6) despite that hatred and opposition, it is still the most influential book in the world. He affirmed that

> ...the Bible is the miracle of the ages. Despite the attacks of pagans, infidels, philosophers, and pseudo-scientists, the Bible still stands forth against all such, and is more widely read, more highly respected, and more influential tonight than any other book in all the world.[21]

All of these observations indicated the divine origin of the Bible to Hardeman, just as observations in the world of nature indicate its creation by God. To him the conflict of thought between the conservative and liberal viewpoints was easily reduced to the differing amount of faith in God and His wisdom. As a college president and religious leader, he was in a constant position to evaluate the issues involved.

Hardeman's intellectual resources were also demonstrated in his ability to discriminate between the essential and nonessential. Having a broad familiarity with the Scriptures and church history, he discussed religious doctrines effectively. Each verse was viewed in relation to its immediate context, and to all that the Bible revealed

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[21] Sermons, I, 25.

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[21] Sermons, I, 55.

on the subject. He was alert to details also, but did not allow them to overshadow the more significant issues. His wide background of church history enabled him to view an entire movement with a sweeping glance, noting such factors as its causes, characteristics, and results. Likewise, he was able to trace prominent religious doctrines from their origin accurately. His intellectual resources were thus sufficient to provide a broad foundation from which logical appeals were made in preaching.

In determining the relative integrity of Hardeman's ideas, the next step is to consider his use of evidence and argument. These are the principal constituents of logical proof.[22] To establish a reasonable degree of truth, the speaker must enforce his point with a combination of evidence and argument. In preaching, Hardeman made constant use of these factors. He believed that people should have religious convictions which were based upon evidence and sound thinking. Thus, he approached most issues from that viewpoint.

His most extensive use of evidence was in the citation of scriptures as testimony. Indications of this use of evidence are seen in the following quotation:

> First, let us resolve to take God at his word...believe what he says...become and be what he requires...try to live as he directs, and...trust him implicitly

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[22] Thonssen, and Baird, op. cit., 341

for the fulfillment of the promise.[23]

This reliance upon scripture as the principal source of evidence was based upon Hardeman's conviction that the writers of the Bible were inspired by God through the agency of the Holy Spirit. He used argument and evidence extensively to establish its reliability as unquestionable authority. For example, the fulfillment of prophecies which were made several hundred years before established the existence of divine revelation. The integrity, genuineness and authenticity of the scriptures were discussed in another sermon, in which Hardeman used the testimony of such historians as Josephus, who wrote History of the Jewish War, the Jewish Antiquities, and his Autobiography; Caius Tacitus; and Pliny the younger, Roman contemporaries of the New Testament writers.[24] Knowing the prerequisites for reliable evidence, Hardeman consistently used dependable authorities.

Other forms of evidence used by Hardeman were personal experience and statistics. Used more widely were illustrative examples, drawn from observation, history, geography and literature.

Argument is the process of weaving evidence into a complete pattern of proof. This well describes Hardeman's

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[23] Sermons, III, 200-212.

[24] Sermons, III, 200-212.

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[53] Sermons, III, 209-210.

[54] Sermons, III, 220-221.

use of various scriptures. Much of his preaching consisted in the drawing together of Biblical quotations to form a tightly-bound argument. Exposition was often included for clarity and force. Hardeman made use of inductive and deductive reasoning only in a general way. He made no effort to devise technical syllogisms, although a deductive line of reasoning sometimes was followed.

The third test of Hardeman's integrity of ideas or logical content lies in the realm of their acceptance by society. This test is limited in its usefulness in the case of contemporary address. The effects of Hardeman's logical proof can be seen partially in the following respects: (1) Immediate results in converts were generally evidenced; and (2) acceptance of his ideas among the church members of Nashville resulted very often from his preaching. Several months after the 1938 series Brightwell wrote of the influence which Hardeman had had on many of the people:

> The reactions following the meeting have been favorable. There is a better feeling among brethren in Nashville. A firmer stand is being taken by many. All have been awakened to trends and issues. A number of private and semi-public studies in premillennialism have been started. Many seem to have decided that the only way to settle this issue is to investigate it and settle by the Divine Standard.[25]

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[25] W. E. Brightwell, "Introduction," Sermons, IV, 5.

Pathetic proof. Woven in with Hardeman's logical arguments was his constant appeal to the subjective feelings of his audiences. Though his persuasive efforts were predominantly based upon a logical appeal, he never missed the opportunity to relate his logic to the people's desires and hopes. Difficulty is often experienced in attempting to separate these two means of persuasion in his preaching. He shared with the audience his own feelings along with his convictions. He not only impelled the mind to accept the truth of his logic, but also aroused emotions to willingly respond to it.

This interacting influence of pathetic and logical proof is illustrated in a sermon titled, "Is the Bible the Word of God?"[26] The sermon content was mainly composed of logical proof. For example, to show evidence of divine inspiration, Hardeman referred to statements in the book of Job which said, "He [God] stretcheth out the north over empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."[27] Science, said the evangelist, has long since proved the accuracy of the Biblical statements, and he cited verification from the Scientific Research Bureau of Los Angeles, California. Hardeman's reasoning then went further to show that such information in the time of Job could come only from a divine source.

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[26] Sermons, IV, 18-31.

[27] Job. 27:7.

Publicity proof. Never in spite Hardeman's logical arguments was his constant appeal to the subjective feelings of his audiences. Though his persuasive efforts were predominantly based upon a logical appeal, he never abused the opportunity to relate his logic to the people's desires and hopes. Difficulty is often encountered in attempting to separate these two means of persuasion in his preaching. He shared with the audience his own feelings along with his convictions. He not only impelled the mind to accept the truth of his logic, but also aroused emotions to willingly respond to it.

This interesting influence of practicle and logical proof is illustrated in a serious debate. "In the Bible the Word of God"[56] the sermon content was mainly composed of logical proof. For example, he gave evidence of divine inspiration. Hardeman referred to statements in the book of Job which read, "He [God] stretcheth out the north over empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."[57] Science, said the evangelist, has long since proved the accuracy of the Biblical statements, but in added verification from the Scientific Research Bureau of Los Angeles, California. Hardeman recounted that work further to show that such information in the time of Job could come only from a divine source.

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[56] Sermons, IV, 13-21.

[57] Ibid. 27-1.

Along with this logical approach, Hardeman inserted various appeals in applying motivation to his argument. His style of language contributed to his emotional appeal. "There are things revealed upon the pages of holy writ concerning which there was the densest ignorance and greatest skepticism imaginable." The use of the term, "holy writ," in reference to the Bible appealed to their endearment and loyalty to it. In referring to the "densest ignorance and the greatest skepticism imaginable," which was characteristic of that long period before the science of astronomy was perfected, the speaker used terms that excited a feeling of elation. The description further contrasted the divine wisdom in Job against the lack of human knowledge in the subject. This gave the audience an elated confidence in the Scriptures, producing a powerful emotional drive behind the argument. In the conclusion, Hardeman furthered the pathetic appeal by calling for increased devotion and faith in the Bible.

Emphasis upon individual reponsibility was probably the most widely used instrument of motivation by Hardeman. Very often he introduced his message by reminding each person in the building of accountability before God. Although this was based largely upon scriptural evidence, it also included an element of appeal to self-preservation and approval. The following quotations are typical of his

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appeal: "I do trust, my friends, that I may be able to so address you as not only to hold your interest...but to provoke the most serious, solemn thought on your part as to what our duty is in the subject that is to be presented."[28] "We are aware of the fact that we are rapid passengers from time to eternity, and that the occasion will after a while come when we have to bid good-by to our friends and our loved ones of earth and launch out into the fathomless depths of the boundless beyond and there give an account for our deeds and our very thoughts while here we dwell."[29]

Hardeman's use of fear as an emotional device was very moderate. He insisted upon a proportional motivation between fear and love. His balanced conception is seen in the following statement: "If you would enjoy the goodness and mercy of God and escape his terror, you must yield in submission to his will." This statement was made at the conclusion of a sermon on "The Terror of the Lord."[30] His introductory remarks clearly set forth his limited use of fear as an emotional drive:

> There are too many people in the world intelligent about all other matters, but are still indifferent toward Christianity. Somehow or other, the preachers of the country have not impressed upon humanity the solemnity of passing

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[28] Sermons, II, 213.

[29] Sermons, II, 213, 214.

[30] Sermons, I, 255.

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[28] Sermons, II, 213.

[29] Sermons, II, 212, 214.

[30] Sermons, I, 265.

> into the presence of the Lord. I do not know but that we may have a misconception, very largely, of Jehovah. Perhaps our indifference, our lack of response to the gospel call, our failure to blend ourselves in harmony with God's will, is due to the fact that we overestimate God's love, his goodness, and his mercy.
>
> .....
>
> I want to say to you, my friends, tonight, that any character that can love can also hate. Any character that has the attribute of mercy also must have the antithetic quality and characteristic of vengeance, wrath, and anger. While you are relying upon God's goodness, mercy, and love, don't forget that God hates some things, that God's anger may be kindled, that God's wrath may be provoked...."[31]

Pathetic proof in evangelistic preaching has been used predominantly in the conclusion of sermons. "Logical proof is used to secure belief, and pathetic proof to ensure action."[32] However, Hardeman used emotional appeals quite sparingly in the closing application. His understanding of the Biblical teaching on "conversion" led him to emphasize that the final decision should be motivated by divine truth rather than by emotionalism. To him,"the instincts do not always lead men aright, and...the emotions are by no means infallible guides to truth."[33] Yet

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[31] Sermons, I, 244, 245.

[32] Orville A. Hitchcock, "Jonathan Edward," in William Norwood Brigance, editor, A History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1943) I, 277.

[33] H. L. Hollingsworth, The Psychology of the Audience (New York: The American Book Company, 1935), 110.

throughout each sermon there was a generous use of feeling and emotion which prevented it from being cold and formal.

Ethical proof. In his Institutes of Oratory, the great Roman rhetorician, Quintilian, defined the orator as "a good man speaking well."[34] His emphasis upon the ethos of the speaker contributed much to the criteria of speaking excellence. Termed as "ethical proof," it refers primarily to the moral character of the speaker as having a persuasive effect upon the audience. In addition to the other two modes of persuasion, logical and pathetic, the speaker makes use of this method in the inventive process.

N. B. Hardeman's reputation among the people of Nashville was attested to repeatedly during and between his Tabernacle meetings. Evidence of popular confidence in his character and reputation as a gospel preacher was shown in his being selected as the speaker for the five city-wide revivals. In discussing the purpose of the man who planned the 1938 meeting, W. H. Brightwell later wrote: "They were unanimous in believing N. B. Hardeman to be the logical man to achieve such a purpose. In fact, their confidence in him was such that there was no official conference with him as to the ends sought."[35] Although

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[34] H. E. Butler, translator, The Institutes of Oratory of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), I, 9.

[35] Brightwell, op. cit., IV, 5.

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[24] E. E. Jerles, translator, The Institutes of Oratory of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), I, 9.

[25] Stallsworth, op. cit., IV, 6.

no one considered him perfect or beyond any just criticism, the public did not doubt his character. He was faithful to the Bible in which they believed, to himself, and to them. His honesty was not questioned. He was a good man speaking well.

Hardeman commanded great respect in his preaching. His broad knowledge of the Scriptures and wise use of them enhanced his position much. He spoke authoritatively. His audiences received him with confidence. Two reasons may be cited for that: First, he purported to preach only divine truth, and, secondly, his years of experience as an evangelist and college professor added to their reliance in him. These two factors are combined in a statement from him:

> Brethren, I've preached enough to know this; I know when I drive home an argument. I know just what it takes to sell my brethren and to convince them. Whenever I can show them God's word, that's the end of the controversy.[36]

Hardeman increased his ethical appeal also by continually associating himself with a righteous cause. This was inherent in his preaching. On some occasions he singled out special causes, e. g., the desire and need for unity in religion, with special reference to eliminating denominational division.

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[36] Sermons, IV, 160.

> I propose to be just a Christian - that is all. I think every man on earth can be the same thing, and have no offense attached whatsoever. I think the name Christian is big enough and broad enough and wide enough for all of God's people, and with it they should be content.[37]

He also identified himself with the audience, through the use of the personal pronouns, "we," "our," and "us." His frequent association of himself with the people who came to hear him preach did much to promote solidarity of thought and purpose. His persuasive goals were thereby more easily reached. With a large segment of the audiences, he was a member of the Church of Christ. With practically all, he was a resident of the state of Tennessee and familiar with Nashville. Furthermore, the majority of his auditors held a fundamental faith in the Scriptures as the Word of God. These factors strengthened Hardeman's ethical appeal as he identified himself with the audience.

He always appealed to the goodwill of his audiences. He was straightforward in manner. Though confident of the truth of his messages, he demonstrated an humble attitude. In the introduction of the first sermon in the first Tabernacle meeting he began by saying:

> My brethren and friends, I would be untrue to myself and to the best that in me is unless I express to you at this time my genuine appreciation, both to you and to almighty God, for the very kind reception you have given me, for the presence of

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[37] Sermons, III, 157.

> such a splendid audience, and for the interest you thus evidence in these things that transcend the realms of time.
>
> I appreciate the fact that you have reverence for Jehovah and respect for his word. I have come, not for self-exploitation, nor publicity, nor for personal glory, but that I may be able in my humble manner to present to you the sweetest story ever told....[38]

Another quotation illustrates his appeal to good-will through reference to his common preaching:

> When I consider the unfavorable night for church attendance, I am deeply impressed with your presence. I am thoroughly convinced that most people are anxious to hear the simple story that never grows old. They like plain preaching, easy illustrations, and all things freed from an appeal to the galleries. I have not announced to you any sensational subject in order to arouse your curiosity. It has ever been my ambition to speak so that common people may hear and understand. Such has been my motive and intention all of my days.[39]

Hardeman's inventive process has been examined by considering the elements of sermon purpose, sources of material, and methods of persuasion. In each of these elements, the underlying factor in his invention was his reliance upon the Scriptures for spiritual assurance. His sermon purpose was to teach people of salvation through Christ. His principal source of material was the Bible. He supported his preaching with proofs which stemmed predominantly from the Scriptures.

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[38] Sermons, I, 15.

[39] Sermons, V, 48.

He made use of rhetorical devices effectively. This was seen particularly in his methods of proof. In his entire inventive process, Hardeman followed patterns of effective public speaking. The result was demonstrated in the public response whenever his ideas were put into words.

CHAPTER V

ARRANGEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

After having studied H. B. Hardeman's inventive process in preaching, the next consideration concerns his methods of arranging the material for use. This phase of speech preparation was called "dispositio" by many of the ancient writers on rhetorical theory. Cicero clearly defined his concept of disposition in the following characterization:

> ...since all the business and the art of the orator is divided into five parts, he ought first to find out what he should say; next to dispose and arrange his matter, not only in a certain order, but according to the weight of the matter and the judgement of the speaker.[1]

In determing order of material, a distinction was made by Cicero regarding the bases of selection. He insisted that order must be determined, neither by the nature of the subject alone, nor by the usual roles of speech parts, but according to the specific circumstances. From that viewpoint, he then conceived of the speaker in the process of marshaling his proofs and disposing them into place. To Cicero, disposition consisted of a careful and final selection

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[1] E. W. Sutton, translator, Cicero De Oratore (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1942), I, 99.

of invented materials, ordering and arranging, and proportionment. The latter included "massing and shaping, expanding, contracting, proportioning, and emphasizing, coloring and toning, according to the special circumstances of the speech."[2]

The modern trend regarding arrangement has been to emphasize ordering the material into the traditional speech parts, as exemplified in the following definition by Hance: "Disposition is that constituent of rhetoric which is concerned with the arrangement of materials...Disposition embodies, essentially, two elements: the plan of the speech in the large; the specific parts of the speech."[3] This study attempts to combine the concept of Cicero with the modern view of arrangement, analyzing the underlying factors of adaptation as well as the obvious manner of arranging the material.

The importance of careful organization should also be noted. In his treatise on homiletics, Broadus wrote that "The effective arrangement of the materials in a discourse is scarcely less important than their intrinsic

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[2] Russell H. Wagner, "The Meaning of Dispositio," in Herbert A. Wichelns, chairman of editing committee, Studies in Speech and Drama (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1944), 289.

[3] Kenneth G. Hance, "The Elements of Rhetorical Theory of Phillips Brooks," Speech Monographs, V (1938), 33.

of invented materials, ordering and arranging, and proportionment. The latter included "dividing and shaping, expanding, contracting, proportioning, and emphasizing, solving and testing, according to the special circumstances of the speech."[2]

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[2] Samuel H. Hagger, "The Teaching of Disposition," in Lawrence A. Sloan, Outlines of Speaking combined, Studies in Speech and Drama (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1944), 280.

[3] Kenneth G. Hance, "The Phenomena of Rhetorical Theory of Multiple Proofs," Speech Monographs, V (1938), 55.

interest and force."[4] This is true of every speech type. The material of a speech should combine into a unified whole, and not remain a mass of disjointed particulars. After the inventive process in speech preparation, the speaker must put his material into good form. This not only aids the speaker, but also makes for better clarity and understanding for the audience.

Regarding the methods or forms of arrangement, various kinds are widely used. Form is not a sterile concept, nor an independent virtue. The arrangement must be adapted to the content, the audience, and occasion.

> The critic may find here, as elsewhere, that an attempt to reduce rhetoric to a set of rules, either on the creative or the critical side, is a venture in futility. Many effective speeches stand as refutation of the claim that a particular way of organizing materials must be followed.[5]

The sermons of Hardeman's first (1922) and fourth (1938) revivals, totaling forty sermons, were analyzed. These were arbitrarily chosen as being typical of the entire number of 101 reported sermons, and of his preaching in general. All were analyzed by considering the following factors: method of arrangement, whether historical,

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[4] John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (new and revised edition by Jesse Burton Weatherspoon; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 93.

[5] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), 401.

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[5] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), 401.

distributive, or logical; rhetorical order, examining the introduction, body and conclusion as to length, type and use; and sermon type, whether textual, topical, or expository. A brief study was then made of Hardeman's sermon preparation, which included the insertion of two of his sermon outlines. The last part of this study of his arrangement dealt with his adaptation of arrangement to the speaking situation.

II. CRAFTSMANSHIP OF ORGANIZATION

In analyzing the organization of Hardeman's sermons, the first objective was to examine them from the viewpoint of rhetorical craftsmanship. The purpose is to consider the basic construction of representative sermons.

The development of a central theme in each sermon was an outstanding characteristic of Hardeman's preaching. One was never in doubt concerning the thesis which the preacher desired his audience to retain. Almost without exception, he announced the topic for discussion early in the introduction of each sermon. Then the sermon theme was usually announced in the form of a Biblical text. If the text was somewhat lengthy, the evangelist often singled out the exact central theme by rereading the verse which best expressed it. To emphasize the main idea, occasionally Hardeman paraphrased the text after reading it. Through the sermon, he often stressed the central theme. Thus, he

distributive, or logically chronological order, examining the introduction, body and conclusion as to length, type and use; and common sign, whether textual, topical, or repository. A brief study was then made of Emerson's sermon preparation, which included the insertion of two of his sermon outlines. The last part of this study of his arrangement dealt with his adaptation of arrangement to the speaking situation.

II. CHAPTERMANSHIP OF CHANNING

In analyzing the organization of Harbaugh's sermons, the first objective was to examine them from the viewpoint of rhetorical craftsmanship. The purpose is to consider the basic construction of representative sermons.

The development of a central theme in each sermon was an outstanding characteristic of Harbaugh's preaching. One was never in doubt concerning the theme which the preacher desired his audience to retain. Almost without exception, he announced the topic for discussion early in the introduction of each sermon. Then the sermon theme was usually announced in the form of a Biblical text. If the text was somewhat lengthy, the sermonist often simplified it the most central theme by repeating the verse which best expressed it. To emphasize the main idea, occasionally Harbaugh paraphrased the text after reading it. Through the sermon, he often stressed the central theme. Thus, he

kept the desired goal clearly before his hearers throughout the sermon.

The general theme of each sermon was based upon a two-fold purpose: to inform the audience concerning the Lord's will in reference to the specific subject, and to persuade them to act in accordance with it. Regarding the first purpose, to inform or teach, Hardeman was very positive.

> I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that the religion of the Bible is a taught religion; that the Christianity of the book called the "book of God" is a taught Christianity - that is, a thing men learn. Hence, Paul said to Timothy: "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and has been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them."[6]
>
> Becoming a Christian is not an accident. It is not a step of blindness, nor of ignorance, nor of mere passion, but it is a matter of true, calm deliberation upon the facts of the gospel. Hence, the very foundation of all work committed to the apostles and disciples was: they were to teach all men everywhere.[7]

The second general purpose, to persuade, was inherent in Hardeman's evangelistic preaching. The theme of each sermon was developed with that purpose in mind. Even when the specific purpose of a sermon was to stimulate and exhort, he always included persuasive appeals for sinners to comply with the Lord's will.

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[6] N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons: Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1922), I, 104.

[7] Sermons, IV, 46.

The second objective in analyzing Hardeman's craftsmanship of organization was to examine the underlying principles or bases of division. His sermons can be classified under the following groups: historical, distributive, and logical. The historical method of dividing material is characterized by arrangement in chronological order. When related materials from scattered sources are grouped together, the speaker uses the distributive method of division. The logical method is recognized by its reasoning process. Although the characteristics of the method used in the respective sermons are sometimes not clear-cut, this classification of groups is relatively accurate.

Hardeman made greatest use of the distributive method of division in his sermons. By grouping verses and thoughts having a common thought center, he was able to increase the audience's understanding of Biblical doctrines. Assembling verses having an obvious connection required an extensive knowledge and understanding of the entire Bible. In this he excelled. His broad grasp of Biblical facts and doctrine enabled him to group related material effectively and organize it into understandable form. In a typical sermon, "The Power of God's Word,"[8] Hardeman drew from eleven books of the Bible to impress upon his hearers the need of submitting to the Word of God. This distributive principle

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[8] Sermons, I, 52-63

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[8] Sermons, I, 22-23

of division made is possible for the speaker to expand and amplify the thesis in an effective manner.

In about one-third of his sermons, Hardeman arranged his material in logical order. He seemed to enjoy leading the audience step by step in a reasoning process. Placing scriptures and illustrations at points where they served as links in the chain of thought, he often developed his thesis to a logical conclusion. This order is exemplified in a sermon entitled, "The Reception of Any Truth Depends Upon Our Attitude Toward It."[9] The unusually long title suggested the sermon theme. Beginning with a text from the teachings of Jesus on religious prejudice, Hardeman proceeded to explain the principle involved. Reference was made to the social realm to illustrate the point. He then called attention to common reluctance to accept other political views because of preconceived ideas or traditions. Evidence from the Scriptures was cited to show that the principle was just as true in religion. With the foundation of principle laid, Hardeman reasoned with his auditors concerning the divine inspiration of the Bible. He insisted that they evaluate their own attitudes in reference to it, since their acceptance of any truth advanced by it depended upon their individual attitudes. From there, the evangelist called attention to

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[9] Sermons, IV, 32-45.

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In about one-third of his sermons, Hardeman arranged his material in logical order. It seemed to enjoy leading the audience step by step in a reasoning process. Vivid descriptions and illustrations at points where they served as links in the chain of thought, he often developed his thesis to a logical conclusion. This order is exemplified in a sermon entitled, "The Reception of Any Truth Depends Upon Our Attitude Toward It,"[9] the occasionally long title suggested the sermon theme. Beginning with a text from the teachings of Jesus on religious prejudice, Hardeman proceeded to explain the principles involved. Reference was made to the social results to illustrate the point. He then called attention to modern politicians to support other political views because of preconceived ideas or traditions. Evidence from the Gospels was cited to show that the principle was just as true in religion. With the foundation of principle laid, Hardeman reasoned with his auditors concerning the divine inspiration of the Bible. He insisted that they evaluate their own attitudes in reference to it, since their acceptance of any truth advanced by it depended upon their individual attitudes. From there, the evangelist called attention to

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[9] Sermons, IV, 32-43.

other cardinal doctrines. His effort throughout was to promote greater faith in the Bible as God's revealed word.

Of the three bases of division, Hardeman made use of the historical method least. The proportion was approximately one to five. Sermons on Bible history were divided chronologically. Other sermons arranged in this manner dealt with specific events recorded in the Bible which the evangelist discussed in detail. Hardeman used this method not only to inform but also to convince and persuade his hearers in regard to the specific purpose of insuring salvation. An example of this combination is found in a sermon on "How God Speaks to Man."[10] He used Hebrews 1:1, 2 as a text: "God, Who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." With these verses as a basis of division of thought, Hardeman traced the Biblical account of God's methods of revealing His Will to man. He grouped them into three sections; Patriarchal, from the creation until about 1500 B.C.; Jewish, from the giving of the Mosaic law until the crucifixion of Christ at about 33 A.D.; and the Christian or gospel age, from 33 A.D. until the end of the world. Emphasizing the last of the three, Hardeman called for individual adherence to God's revealed will through Christ. He insisted, by use

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[10] Sermons, IV, 167-178.

in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." With these words as a basis of division of thought, Hardeman traced the Biblical account of God's methods of revealing His Will to man. He grouped them into three sections: Patriarchal, from the creation until about 1800 B.C.; Jewish, from the giving of the Mosaic law until the crucifixion of Christ at about 33 A.D.; and the Christian or gospel age, from 33 A.D. until the end of the world. Emphasizing the last of the three, Hardeman called for individual adherence to God's revealed will through Christ. He concluded, by use

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10 Sermons, IV, 167-172.

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of Scriptures, that his audience differentiate between the three "dispensations of time."

In analysing Hardeman's craftsmanship of organization, the third objective is to examine his arrangement of the parts of a speech, sometimes called the rhetorical order.[11] Hardeman consistently arranged his sermons into the conventional parts of introduction, body and conclusion. However, the divisions between the parts were never rigid. A lack of detectable transition from one part to another in organization was perhaps a weakness in Hardeman's preaching. Phillips Brooks encouraged preachers to "give your sermon an orderly consistent progress, and do not hesitate to let your hearers see it distinctly, for it will help them first to understand and then to remember what you say."[12] Other men in the homiletics field have suggested that the structure need not be apparent to each listener, as stated in the following quotation:

> Have a solid backbone hidden away somewhere in your sermon so that it can stand up man-fashion and do its work. Organize your material around that spinal column, heads, arms, legs, fleshy parts, muscles to grip the people and nerves to respond to the movements of their own feelings, so that it may accomplish the desired end. You cannot afford to be one of those preachers who always give the

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11 Thonssen, op. cit., 397.

12 Phillips Brooks, Lectures on Preaching, 178. Quoted in Batsell Barrett Baxter, The Heart of the Yale Lectures (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1927), 168.

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In analyzing Hardman's conformability of organization, the third objective is to examine his arrangement of the parts of a speech, sermons called the rhetorical order.[11] Hardman consistently arranged his sermons into the conventional parts of introduction, body and conclusion. However, the divisions between the parts were never rigid. A lack of detectable transition from one part to another in organization was perhaps a weakness in Hardman's preaching. Phillips Brooks encouraged preachers to "give your sermon an orderly consistent progress, and do not hesitate to let your hearers see it distinctly, for it will help them first to understand and then to remember what you say."[12] Other men in the foundations field have suggested that the structure need not be apparent to such listeners as stated in the following quotation:

> Have a solid bottom hidden away somewhere in your sermon so that it can stand up when leaning made its work. Organize your material around that spiral column, "heads, arms, legs, lively parts," anecdotes to grip the people and nerves to respond to the movements of their own feelings, so that it may accomplish the desired end. You cannot afford to be one of those preachers who always give the

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[11] Thonssen, op. cit., 227.

[12] Phillips Brooks, Lectures on Preaching, 179, quoted in Harvard Divinity School, The Forms of the Pale Lectures (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 160.

> impression that having lost the trail, they are now going hither and yon on any chance impulse like silly sheep which have erred and strayed from the way. Have a definite plan but do not have it too much in evidence.[13]

Hardeman's sermons undoubtedly had definite plan, but the transitions from one part to another were often indistinct.

The introduction in Hardeman's sermons were characteristically long. He made sure that his hearers' minds were well prepared to grasp the principal message. Typical of his sermon introductions is the following order: (1) Reference to the circumstances, with a brief mention of his own appreciation and recognition of responsibility; (2) the reading of a Biblical text, averaging four or five verses in length; (3) some exposition, narration, description, or reference to a former, related sermon; and (4) the presentation of the main theme. Thus, he conformed to the commonly accepted types and functions of the introduction. His method of gaining attention was never a deliberate effort. Yet, it was invariably effective. He often referred to the people's consistent attendance and their interest in plain, gospel preaching. His use of a text in most of his introductions was indicative of his basic reliance upon the Bible. Although the modern trend in preaching is to dispense with a sermon text,[14] Hardeman used one in about

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[13] Charles Reynolds Brown, The Art of Preaching, 107-108. Quoted in Baxter, op. cit., 166, 167.

[14] Elton Abernathy, "Trends in American Homiletical Theory Since 1860," Speech Monographs, X (1943), 68-74.

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Harbaugh's advance unquestionably had definite plan, but the transcripts from one part to another were often indicative.

The instructions in Harbaugh's sermons were characteristically long. He made sure that his hearers' minds were well prepared to grasp the principal message. Typical of his sermon introductions is the following extract: (1) Relevance to the circumstances, with a brief mention of his own appreciation and recognition of responsibility; (2) the reading of a Biblical text, preceding four or five verses in length; (3) some explication, narration, description, or reference to a lesser, related sermon; and (4) the presentation of the main theme. Then, he conformed to the commonly accepted type and treatment of the introduction. His method of giving expression was never a deliberate effort. Yet, it was invariably effective. He often referred to the people's secularized endeavors and their interests in plain, honest practice. The use of a text in most of his introductions was indicative of his basic reliance upon the Bible. Although the modern trend is personal, he delivered with a serious tone.[14] Harbaugh died one in about

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[13] Charles Reynolds Brown, The Art of Preaching, 107-108. Quoted in Baxter, op. cit., p. 187.

[14] Simon Abernathy, "Trends in American Homiletical Theory Since 1880," Speech Monographs, 2 (1941), 66-74.

three-fourths of his sermons.

The body of Hardeman's sermons consisted predominantly of a swelling movement, in which the proof was expanded and amplified. It was characteristic for him to multiply the evidence, illustrations, and Biblical quotations, building up the persuasive structure to its natural climax. At that point, Hardeman uniformly extended the "gospel invitation," with no direct appeal to the emotions of the people. There was no begging, pleading, or extended solicitation in Hardeman's conclusion. He very rarely made a summary or review of the main points of the sermon. The following examples are characteristic of his concluding remarks:

> But I must close this talk tonight. Is there one, two, any number, who believe that the kingdom of God is in existence; that the church was really purchased with the blood of God's Son; that in the body of Christ, there is salvation and forgiveness? If such there be the invitation is once again gladly tendered while we stand and sing the song selected.[15]

> Friends, I must meet these issues on the plains of eternal judgment. I'm not afraid to appear and answer for this preaching. I have preached what the Bible says and that's all we know about it. I am appealing, therefore, to those who honor me with their presence and lend patient, polite, and courteous attention, to do just what Jesus said. We'd better accept the terms by Him laid down, and stand upon His everlasting promise. It is a wonderful privilege to preach the gospel; it is grand to believe it;

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[15] Sermons, IV, 166.

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[15] Sermons, IV, 160.

> it is glorious to obey it. The invitation is yours while we sing.[16]

Hardeman was sometimes criticized for not spending more time in the conclusion in urging people to become Christians. In his lack of appeal he recognized a certain deficiency but yet he felt justified in his own procedure.

> ...I am conscious of that weakness as well as you are, but there is another thing. I have seen so many preachers that measure the success of their labors by the number of names they can get, and the number of baptisms, that it has had, possibly, the reverse effect...I've never yet, therefore, tried to get anybody into the church of the Lord Jesus Christ under the spell of excitement. I do not want the great enthusiasm that might cause some boy or girl to lose his head and come to confess the Lord just because some one else did...Men ought to become children of God because they are deeply convinced of the correctness of their step and fully aware of their dependance.[17]

III. SERMON TYPES

This portion of the study deals with the homiletic structure of Hardeman's sermons. Although in some respects it continues to consider the elements of "craftsmanship," it notices specifically the organization from the viewpoint of sermon preparation. Although there are various

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[16] Sermons, IV, 178.

[17] Sermons, IV, 92, 93.

classifications of sermon types,[18] Hardeman's sermons are grouped into the following conventional forms: Topical, Textual, and Expository.

The type of sermon used most often by Hardeman was the topical sermon, sometimes classified as the subject-sermon.[19] Its advantages in his preaching were in its unity, completeness, logical organization, and thoroughness. It corresponds somewhat to the distributive method which was discussed earlier in this chapter. The organization of the topical sermon is laid out by the preacher in order that his accumulated information on the subject may be presented clearly and logically. Hardeman used this type extensively. After assembling Scriptural teaching on the subject or topic, he put the sermon into orderly form. The topical sermon yielded easily to evangelistic preaching. By this method of sermon arrangement, Hardeman was able to present important Biblical doctrines with great clarity and appropriateness.

An example of Hardeman's use of the topical sermon

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[18] Mills mentions the following types: expository or biblical sermon, biographical sermon-lecture, lecture-forum, doctrinal sermon, ethical sermon, evangelistic and mission sermon, topical sermon, textual sermon, and life-situation sermon. Glen E. Mills, Composing the Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 67.

[19] Broadus, op. cit., 134.

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[19] Brembs, op. cit., 144.

was one entitled, "Teaching the Word of God."[20] He quoted Matthew 28:16-20 as a text:

> Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth, Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

With the main idea of teaching laid down, Hardeman developed the sermon under the following topics: The teachings of Christ are to be taught; the church which is composed of Christians is obligated to do the teaching; the basic authority for all teaching must be the Bible, taught in one of the following ways: direct command, divine example, and/or necessary inference. Thus he developed the theme of teaching the Word of God through use of supporting propositions, making an effective topical sermon.

A textual sermon is one in which the divisions of the sermon are derived from the text. This method was used very sparingly by Hardeman. Perhaps it did not yield effectively to his evangelistic preaching. When used, the length of the text from which the division was made seemed immaterial. In a sermon on "The Establishment of the Kingdom,"[21]

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[20] Sermons, IV, 46-59.

[21] Sermons, IV, 134-148.

Hardeman took his text from Daniel 2:31-44. In another, entitled, "Theory and Practice,"[22] he selected a single sentence for the basis of his textual sermon. The sentence which he used from the three verses read aloud was, "Let us go on unto perfection." The respective main points were based upon the emphasis of certain words in the sentence: "Let us," "Let us go," "Let us go on," and "Let us go on unto perfection."

When the preacher sets forth the Biblical writer's meaning in a unified explanation and discussion, the sermon is classified as expository. Usually, several verses are considered in order to present the full view of the writer. Hardeman did not use this type of sermon often. Here again, the expository sermon did not seem to contribute effectiveness to evangelism. Hardeman's most effective use of this type was in several sermons on Biblical accounts of conversion. An example is seen in a sermon on "The Conversion of a Civil Officer."[23] After reading the entire record, contained in thirteen verses, Hardeman proceeded to discuss it verse by verse. The simplicity of his explanation was very effective. He often injected a description of certain modern practices and concepts which contrasted sharply with the conversion under consideration.

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[22] Sermons, I, 275.

[23] Sermons, I, 113-128.

IV. SERMON PREPARATION

In the preparation of sermons, N. B. Hardeman did not follow any predetermined work schedule or manner of composition. Much of it was done at odd hours of the day and night. Having selected a theme, he often developed the main thoughts after retiring at night or while driving. Another method sometimes used was to keep a notebook, in which he jotted down scriptures, illustrations and thoughts under respective themes when such came to mind.[24]

When the time came for organizing, Mr. Hardeman took time and effort to put his thoughts and material in outline form. This was never an elaborate project, as he rarely made a sentence outline. A word or phrase which would call attention to the proper thought was sufficient for his purposes. To this he added appropriate scripture references.

The following two sermon outlines were obtained from Mr. Hardeman. They are submitted as typical of his outlining and arrangement.

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[24] Interview with N. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

IV. SUMMER PROGRAMS

In the preparation of sermons, R. B. Harmsen did not follow any predetermined rule, schedule or manner of composition. Much of it was done at odd hours of the day and night. Having selected a theme, he often devoted the main thoughts after retiring at night or while dressing. Another method sometimes used was to keep a notebook. In which he jotted down suggestions, illustrations and thoughts under respective headings when such came to mind.[24]

When the time came for organizing, Mr. Harmsen took time and effort to put his thoughts and material in outline form. This was never an elaborate project, as he merely made a rough outline. A word or phrase which would call attention to the proper thought was sufficient for his purposes. To this he added appropriate analytic references.

The following two sermon outlines were obtained from Mr. Harmsen. They are indicated as typical of his outlining and arrangements.

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[24] Interview with R. B. Harmsen by the writer, Redmond Ty, 1951, at Redmond, Washington.

Salvation by Grace Eph. 2:8

I. Introduction
  1. Gen. Comment on Text
  2. Two Extremes: 1. All God's work
                 2. All man's work
  3. Scheme of Redemp. - Two sides
                Jno. 3:16
                I Cor. 3:9
II Discussion - By Grace-Through Faith
  1. What is Grace? Roy's Arith. "Days of Grace"
    1. Favor - Merited - Give man a job.
              unmerited - Give him money.
    2. Paul. 2 Cor. 8:9
    3. Reigns through Right. Rom. 5:21
                Ps. 119:172
    4. How expressed? Jno 1:17
    5. Result - Titus 2:11
    6. Thus God - man had no part.
  2. What is Faith?
    1. Human Characteristic.
    2. Firm Belief - Conviction
    3. Salv. through Faith - Gal 3:24-27
                Rom. 5:1-
  3. Grace and Faith
    1. Human and Divine; Reverse: Divine and Human
    2. Provide - Appropriate: Eat, Drink, Breathing
    3. Saved by Both - Neither alone.
  4. "Not of Works." therefore no Baptism
    1. Two Kinds of Works - Excluded - Eph. 2:9
                Included - Acts 10:34
    2. Objection to Bap.: Likewise
                Faith. Kno 6:28,29.
                Repent. Mat 18:41
                Jonah 3:10
        Luke 17:7-10
III. Conclusion - Man tried to work out a plan of salvation.
  1. Physically - Babel's Tower
  2. Mentally - Greek and Roman Philosophers
  3. Morally - Efforts to Keep Law

  Failing in these - Ready for Christ

  Benefit - Depends on Acceptance
    1. Food - If not accept. body will die
    2. Learning - If not Accept. mind will die
    3. Spir. Life - If not accept. soul will die.

What Shall I Do With Jesus? Mat. 27:11-25.

I. Introduction
  1. Historical setting: Political
                Religious
  2. Trial of Jesus.
    1. Sketch Life to Bap.
    2. Opposition - Phar.
              Sad.
              Herodians
    3. Methods to Destroy
      1. Belittle him. Jno 1:45-46
                Mk 6:1
          Nazarene - Term of Scorn
      2. Entrap Him - Mat. 12:1
                22:15-
      3. Last - Put Him to Death.
          Mt. 23, 24, 25 and 26:3,4
II. Discussion
  1. Passion Week
    1. Review each Day. (See Bib. Geog.)
    2. Betrayal and Arrest.
    3. Trial
      1. Custom to Release - Christ
                Barab.
      2. Popular Demand
      3. Pilate's query - Our Text
      4. Shifts Responsibility - "See ye to it."
  2. Same Question Confronts Every One.
    1. Can't be neutral - can't Evade - Mat.12:30
                Phil. 2:9,10
                2 Cor 5:10
    2. Other men and issues can be disregarded.
  3. Can't Get Rid of Christ - Judas, Peter, Pilate
  4. Would have to destroy -
      History, Records - Tablets - Buildings -
      Monuments - Caskets - "A Step in Jesus."
  5. Reject His Word - Reject Him.
  6. Consequences - Mk. 8:38; Mat. 10:32;
          1 Pet 2:6-8; Mat 21:42;
          II Thes. 1:7-9
III. Conclusion
  1. What Shall I Do with Jesus?
  2. What Will He Do with Me?

Song: "What Will You Do With Jesus?"

Hardeman did not hesitate to preach a sermon more than once, even when a number in the audience had heard it before. This is seen in his printed volumes. This was possible largely because his preaching was not on a resident basis, but predominantly in evangelistic revivals. Furthermore, he maintained that if a sermon is well prepared and worthy of being heard one time, it should be good for many occasions. His preparation for a second use nearly always included ample editing and revision.

V. ADAPTATION

Hardeman's sermons were predominantly arranged on the basis of the subject matter. He selected materials primarily as dictated by their relative importance in the Bible. His understanding of God's word led him to view the universal need of mankind for salvation. To that need, he applied the "divinely-given" solution of the gospel of Christ. Since a percentage of every audience had not accepted its provisions, Hardeman felt that no specific adaptation in arrangement was needed in most of his evangelistic sermons.

However, whenever a special problem arose, such as religious division, false teaching, or an indifferent attitude among a majority, he prepared his message to meet the issue. On such occasions, his sermons best show

evidence of an application of Cicero's concept of disposition, as discussed earlier in the chapter. The reader detects indications of careful proportionment. Hardeman's 1938 Tabernacle meeting included several sermons which well illustrate this.[25] A general purpose of the meeting was to combat a growing unrest within the church concerning the doctrine of millennialism. Regarding it as only a human theory without sufficient Biblical authority and basis, Hardeman zealously opposed the doctrine. Most of the sermons in the series were related to the question of millennialism. The following sermon titles are indicative of Hardeman's adaptation in the series of sermons: "Is the Gospel, as God Gave It, Adapted to Man, as God Made Him?" "Unity Among Brethren," "Essentials and Non-Essentials," "The Spirit of Christ," "The Blood-Bought Institution of the New Testament," "The Establishment of the Kingdom," and "Premillennialism."

The sermon on "Premillennialism,"[26] may be cited as an example of Hardeman's purposeful disposition of material. He first met the issue by defining the word, "premillennialism," followed by a frank reference to the man who had figured prominently in advancing the doctrine. Such strategy put him in full grip with the issue. To make

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[25] Sermons, IV.

[26] Sermons, IV, 149-166.

it more clear, he went on to explain and describe the doctrine fully. The body of the sermon was then a massing, expanding, and emphasizing of evidence and argument. The arrangement was particularly adapted to an audience partially consisting of people who believed in a future thousand year reign of Christ upon the earth. That adaptation is shown in Hardeman's repeated references to the main advocate of the doctrine among the Churches of Christ. The following are typical:

> The leading spirit sponsoring this doctrine among the churches of Christ has been Brother R. H. Boll of Louisville, Kentucky. His teaching it among the people of God, has disturbed their peace and led to a number of things rather bitter in their nature and threatening to the unity of the body of Christ.[27]
>
> Now then, friends, I want to talk to you tonight about the serious consequences of this premillennial theory, or Bollism, as sometimes it's called. And yet it's not peculiar to Brother R. H. Boll. It started in modern times by old William Miller, back in 1843, at the beginning of Adventism. It was brought on down the line by Charles T. Russell, by Judge Rutherford, and others, and R. H. Boll is but a company with speculators.[28]

Four times in the sermon Hardeman quoted directly from the writings of Boll. Each time, the evangelist contrasted those writings with quotations from the Bible. Thus, the proofs were disposed into place effectively.

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[27] Ibid., 149.

[28] Ibid., 156.

It was also, he said in his sermons and describe the describe fully. The body of the sermon was then a masterpiece, and appealing of evidence and argument. The arrangement was particularly adapted to an audience partially consisting of people who believed in a future thousand year reign of Christ upon the earth. This adaptation is shown in Hardeman's repeated references to the main advocate of the doctrine among the Christian of Texas. The following are typical:

> The leading spirit advocating this doctrine among the churches of Christ has been brother H. H. Dail of Louisville, Kentucky. His teaching is among the people of God, has disturbed their peace and led to a number of things rather bitter in their nature and threatening to the unity of the body of Christ.[97]

> Now then, friends, I want to talk to you tonight about the serious consequences of this premillennial theory, or folly, as sometimes it's called. And yet it's not peculiar to Brother H. H. Dail. It started in modern times by old William Miller, back in 1843, at the beginning of Adventism. It was brought on down the line by Charles T. Russell, by John Butherford, and others, and H. H. Dail is not a company with speculators.[98]

Four times in the sermon Hardeman quoted directly from the writings of Dail. Each time, the evangelist contrasted these writings with quotations from the bible. Thus, the people were disposed into place effectively.

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[97] Ibid., 149.

[98] Ibid., 152.

On other occasions he adapted his arrangement to the audience in discussing such subjects as religious unity, the church, denominationalism, and church history. Hardeman disposed his material to fit the circumstances on those occasions.

VI. SUMMARY

N. B. Hardeman arranged his sermons according to the general principles of accepted speech organization. He used forms of homiletical order that were adaptable to evangelistic preaching. Although the structure was not always apparent, his sermons were never without clear organization. He arranged his material according to importance of the subject matter predominantly, and adapted or disposed it on the basis of specific need whenever the circumstances warranted it.

CHAPTER VI

STYLE

I. INTRODUCTION

People speak to communicate ideas. The effectiveness of the transfer of ideas depends not only upon the speaker's invention and arrangement of ideas, but also upon the language employed. This expression of ideas is called style. It is a medium through which a speaker secures a desired response by making his ideas acceptable.

> Throughout the series of operations involved in the preparation of a speech, the speaker uses and works with words. He relies upon a process of symbolic formulation - a process which imposes severe demands of accuracy, specificity, and clarity upon language. The extent to which a speaker's control of meanings through words is successful will be revealed when he finally delivers his speech. The expression which he then gives to his ideas, together with whatever rhetorical devices he uses to enhance effectiveness, may be called his style.[1]

To be effective, style must be capable of opening the minds of the listeners to the specified subject. The speaker must first have an idea worth advancing. He next needs a clear comprehension of the idea. Another valuable component of effective style is a desire to communicate. He must then be willing to adapt it to the speaking situation.

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[1] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), 429.

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[1] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), 420.

In attempting to analyze the use of language, a certain amount of arbitrary division is necessary. Cicero maintained that style cannot actually be separated from the content or matter.[2] Yet, he went on to analyze style separately. Similar division is required in studying the style of N. B. Hardeman. The following qualities of style are selected as guide-posts for effective analysis: clarity, appropriateness, and embellishment. Although these same qualities are sometimes discussed under other terms by speech writers and critics, the basic factors are identical.

II. CLARITY

This quality of style has always been recognized as one of the most important. The expression of thought must be clearly understood by the audience. The first prerequisite to clarity of style is that the speaker have a clear understanding of his own ideas. From there, clarity is enhanced by simplicity of sentence structure, illustration and example, orderly sequence, and summaries.

Of the various qualities of style, Hardeman excelled in clarity. His own clear understanding of his ideas contributed much to the effectiveness of each sermon. Having been well prepared by a complete inventive process and orderly

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[2] E. W. Sutton, translator, Cicero De Oratore (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1942), II, 17.

In attempting to analyze the use of language, a certain amount of arbitrary division is necessary. Clearly maintained that style cannot actually be separated from the content or matter.[2] Yet, he went on to analyze style separately. Similar division is required in studying the style of R. D. Harrison. The following qualities of style are selected as guide-posts for effective analytical clarity, appropriateness, and emphatiness. Although these same qualities are sometimes discussed under other terms by speech writers and critics, the basic factors are identical.

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[2] R. Bolton, translator, Aristotle De Oratore (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), III, 1V.

arrangement, his sermons did not result in obscurity of thought. There was no incoherent rambling. He began with a definite purpose and a complete grasp of the ideas to be presented. Throughout, there was a simple continuity. His line of thought was easily followed because it was clearly presented. Hardeman did not strive for an artificial smoothness. Clarity resulted largely from the simplicity of the message and its presentation.

Regarding sentence structure in Hardeman's sermons, no one characteristic predominated. He used simple, complex, and compound sentences. Many of them were extremely long, e.g.:

> All of the wealth of the earth fails to satisfy the longings of the human soul, and I put it down as a principle to-day and challenge a study of it: The greatest happiness and the sweetest associations of earth are not among those that are clad in purple and fine linen, that fare sumptuously every day, and dwell in palaces decorated and adorned, all of which suggests the idea that love and quietude and peace of mind are not dependent upon wealth or our station in life.[3]
>
> I regret more than I can ever express to you the fact that after this movement of restoration had shaken this entire earth and made men sit up and take notice of the fine principle, every plank of the platform of which was based upon a "Thus saith the Lord," by and by a very lamentable occurrence transpired, and that was the introduction into the

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[3] N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons; Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1923), II, 127.

arrangement, this version did not result in obscurity of thought. There was no incoherent rambling. He began with a definite purpose and a complete grasp of the ideas to be presented. Throughout, there was a simply continuity. His line of thought was easily followed because it was clearly presented. Darrowism did not strive for an artificial mosaic-mass. Clarity resulted largely from the simplicity of his message and his presentation.

Regarding sentence structure in Darrowism's sermons, no one characteristic predominates. He used simple, complex, and compound sentences. Many of them were extremely long.

e.g.:

> All of the wealth of the earth falls to satisfy the longings of the human soul, and I pay it down as a principle to-day and challenge a study of it. The greatest happiness and the sweetest associations of earth are not among those that are clad in purple and fine linen, that feast sumptuously every day, and dwell in palaces decorated and adorned, all of which suggests the idea that love and quietude and peace of mind are not dependent upon wealth or our station in life.[3]
>
> I regret more than I can ever express to you the fact that after this movement of restoration had shaken this entire earth and made men sit up and take notice of the fine principle, every plank of the platform of which was based upon a "Thou saith the Lord," by one by a very lamentable occurrence transpired, and that was the introduction into the

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[3] E. B. Darrowism, Darrowism's Takeyonde Sermons (hereafter referred to as Darrowism), Anonymous Amateur Advocate Company, 1923), II, 127.

> service and worship of a thing untaught in the New Testament Scriptures.[4]

Occasionally, such long sentences were followed by equally striking short sentences. Any deficiency resulting from the use of long sentences was well compensated for in his deliberate delivery.

Illustrations and examples greatly enhanced Hardeman's clarity of style. He was master of making ideas clear by reducing them to common terms. He once said,

> It was a peculiar phase of Christ's teaching to base the lesson upon things with which people were acquainted; and unless you and I can talk about the gospel in terms familiar to us, it is a matter simply of speculation, and even declarations without much profit.[5]

In a sermon on the "Evolution of the Gospel," he first referred to the parable of the sower which was taught by Jesus,[6] to illustrate the successive stages of God's revelation. Hardeman then exemplified it by the following illustration:

> We are, just about this time of the year, ready to pitch our crops; and I want you to note the different stages in which a crop of corn, for instance, exists. Every good farmer, and those that look after matters as they should, last fall, at gathering time, selected their seed corn. How came them to do it? They had in purpose the 1923 crop, and the seed selected has been kept in a state of purpose and preserved all during the winter months, sheltered and protected and guarded. But along

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[4] Sermons, I, 269.

[5] Sermons, II, 96.

[6] Luke 8:5-15.

parties and worship of a pagan nature in the Old Testament Scriptures.

Occasionally, such long sermons were followed by weighty words about sanctness. Any deficiency resulting from the use of long sermons was well compensated for in his dedicatory delivery.

Illustrations and examples greatly enhanced Harbaugh's clarity of style. He was master of making ideas clear by reducing them to common terms. He once said,

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In a sermon on the "Ministry of the Gospel," he first referred to the parable of the sower which was taught by Jesus,[4] to illustrate the successive stages of God's revelation. Harbaugh then exemplified it by the following illustration:

> Go now, just about this time of the year, ready to pitch our crops, and I want you to note the different stages in which a crop of corn, for instance, ripens. Every good farmer, and those that look after matters as they should, just fall, at ploughing time, spinach-seed and corn. Now some time in May. They had to prepare the land, and the seed selected has been kept in a state of preparation and preserved all during the winter months, sheltered and protected and guarded. But along

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[3] Sermons, I, 326.

[4] Sermons, II, 96.

[4] Luke 8:5-15.

> about now, at least in a few more days, there is going to be a second state of the 1923 crop of corn. The seed will be taken out of the granary and put into the ground, committed to the kindly bosom of Mother Earth. And when the farmer does that, casts his seed into the ground, he does not sit up all night and watch it, but, just like the Savior says, he goes ahead, sleeping and rising, night after night, day after day; and while he is going ahead with his ordinary routine of life, that seed germinates, springs and grows up, and he does not understand exactly why it does it; neither does Professor Morgan up at the University of Tennessee; but it will do it all right enough, and then the earth brings forth fruit of herself.[7]

From this illustration, Hardeman led his audience to understand the evolution of the gospel in the corresponding stages; purpose, promise, prophecy, preparation, and perfection.

In the 1942 series of sermons, he used contemporary historical events to illustrate the general lack of concern toward warnings against apostasy. Only the week before, he had talked with the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. The evangelist told his audience,

> Mr. Hull was exceedingly serious. He said: "Hardeman, back in '33 and '34 and '35, I saw the gathering of this great conflict just as clearly as I ever watched the accumulation of clouds. I did my best to warn the people of America of the coming tragedy, but they were as the somnambulist walking along the mighty precipice, unmindful of the terrible danger that lay just one step beyond." The same principle is true regarding the church. Paul may warn, preachers may read what he said, but the church pays little attention.[8]

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[7] Sermons, II, 97.

[8] Sermons, V, 124, 125.

For greater clarity, Hardeman employed Biblical passages quite often for illustrative purposes. In teaching on the "Unity of the Church," he made the following observation from another parable of Jesus:

> Every illustration in the Bible emphasizes the oneness of the church. Take the lesson of the vine and the branches, and it is in perfect harmony and in absolute accord with the oneness of heaven's truth. "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman....I am the vine, ye are the branches." Between Christ and Christians there is that close, that unique, that identical relationship that exists between the vine and every branch emanating therefrom. Every branch is identical in character, in kind, in fruit, and in its prospect and hope in the by and by.[9]

Hardeman was careful not to overload his sermons with illustrations and examples, lest the content become a series of non-biblical stories exclusively. He effectively clarified his doctrinal propositions with the needed amount of illustration.

Hardeman's sermons were almost completely void of summaries. Such devices could have been used to make his preaching more clear. This deficiency was mitigated somewhat by his orderly sequence of presentation. As was noticed in the preceding chapter of this study, his method was to continue a logical expansion of the idea to the end of the sermon. This orderly development of thought added much in

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[9] Sermons, II, 183.

in making his sermons clear and understandable. The sermon thesis was thereby impressed upon the audience.

III. APPROPRIATENESS

Effective style in preaching depends much on the adaptation of language to the occasion, the audience, the speaker, and the sermon itself. This quality of style is especially important to the speaker when there is a persuasive goal involved. All phases of the composition must be appropriate to the entire speaking situation.

The first phase to be considered in Hardeman's adaptation is his word choice, or correctness. He once said that, "Clearness of thought and accurate selection of words are essential to the expression of truth...."[10] He was thus aware of the importance of good usage. His language in preaching demonstrated the application of this statement.

Hardeman's speech was characterized by common language. It was correct, but not precise. His extemporaneous manner was adapted primarily to the immediate audience. Occasionally he made use of a conversational technique. In a sermon entitled, "God's Foolishness Vs. Man's Wisdom," Hardeman was discussing the method which God used to aid the Israelites in conquering the city of Jericho. After reviewing the pertinent facts, he continued by saying,

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[10] Sermons, IV, 38.

> Was it foolishness with men? Absolutely. Did it look silly? Was it a weak thing? Indeed so. And yet what about it? It beat all the battering rams and the mighty guns that the world has ever seen. It worked, and down the walls came. What is the philosophy? God's hand was in it all. The power and the virtue were not in the footsteps around the city, nor yet in the trumpet that was sounded, nor yet in the shout of the people, but were inherent in God Almighty, who, according to an eternal principle, never bestows a blessing until man does what he tells him.[11]

This paragraph exemplifies Hardeman's informal language. He spoke in terms which were easily understood by his auditors. His selection of common words and some colloquialism was deliberate. His word choice was neither exact nor crude, but was common and understandable. On one occasion he illustrated the two extremes in word choice of the exact and the crude:

> So he took the letter and, with the aid of a dictionary, carefully studying it for a while, called the patron and said, "...'Your Uncle James, being advanced in years and beingdebilitated, physically and intellectually, by reason of the frailties that attach to the encroachment of senility, and having suffered severe financial reverses, in a moment of temporary dementia, precipitated his own demise.'" "I think that is it, but in American language here is what it means, 'Your Uncle Jim got old, lost his wad, went nerts, and bumped himself off.'"[12]

Hardeman's language was well adapted to the occasion of evangelistic preaching. He appealed to his religiously-inclined hearers by use of Biblical language, names, phrases

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[11] Sermons, I, 169.

[12] Sermons, IV, 39.

and quotations. They came to hear preaching. Hardeman did not disappoint them. Words which were rare in popular usage, became common when taken from the 1611 King James Version of the Bible. Quite often he expressed his own sentiments in the exact language of the Scriptures.

> I have not come to you brethren to preach myself; for, in the language of Paul, "we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise. So as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you" who are of Nashville, and who will from time to time, I hope, be glad to favor me with your presence, your prayers, and your interest in every way.[13]

Hardeman effectively adapted his use of language to the audience. This was not difficult for him, since his environmental background was much like that of most of his hearers. There were no noteworthy differences between his own natural usage of language in western Tennessee and that of his Nashville audiences in the central part of the state.

There was no detectable change in style in Hardeman's preaching. Whether evangelistic, hortatory, or didactic, his sermons were similar in the type of language used. The major difference was in the verses of scripture which he quoted. In them his adaptation was clear. He also used language appropriate to himself. He never assumed an

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[13] Sermons, II, 35.

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> I have not come to you brethren to preach myself; for, in the language of Paul, "we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise. So as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you" who are of Nashville, and who will from time to time, I hope, be glad to favor me with your presence, your prayers, and your interest in every way.[15]

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[15] Sermons, II, 56.

affected air. In all of these aspects of appropriateness, Hardeman constantly adapted his style to the total speaking situation.

IV. EMBELLISHMENT

Quintilian once said that, "To be a good speaker it is sufficient to say what is necessary; only the really eloquent speaker can do this in ornate and appropriate language."[14] While he encouraged speakers to embellish their style with impressive figures of speech, at the same time he discouraged their over-use.

> "The usual result of over-attention to the niceties of style is the deterioration of our eloquence. The main reason for this is that those words are best which are least far-fetched and give the impression of simplicity and reality. For those words which are obviously the result of careful search and even seem to parade their self-conscious art, fail to attain the grace at which they aim and lose all appearance of sincerity because they darken the sense and choke the good seed by their luxuriant overgrowth.[15]

N. B. Hardeman did not consider himself as an artistic speaker. He classified oratory into two groups: that which was characterized by sublimity of expression by use of figures; and the other, by sublimity of thought.[16] He felt that his speaking was described better by the latter of the

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[14] H. E. Butler, translator, The Institutes of Oratory of Quintilian (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), III, 185.

[15] Ibid., 189.

[16] Interview with N. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1951, at Henderson, Tennessee.

two groups. Yet, he did make impressive use of language when the occasion warranted it. An editor of a religious periodical made the following comment after attending the 1923 revival:

> He at no time posed before his audience as an actor seeking to attract the people to himself instead of to the message he was delivering, but every movement and his entire demeanor was characterized by the very essence of simplicity and humility. The people were deeply impressed with the feeling that the speaker was not relying upon himself, but upon the word of God. It is true that occasionally there were outbursts and flights of eloquence that lifted the audiences into realms sublime, but it was easy to see that these were not studied efforts, the stock in trade of the professional actor. They were simply the spontaneous expressions of a soul on fire for the salvation of men.[17]

Both the appraisal by Hardeman for himself and this impressionistic comment of an editor seem to be confirmed when reading Hardeman's sermons. Very few metaphors, similes, and hyperboles were used. The following simile exemplifies his development of such into a well-rounded illustration:

> Why ought man to study? Due to the fact, first of all, that the Bible, unstudied and unsearched, is like unto a mine unworked and undeveloped. The great Klondike region of today, pouring forth riches from its veins of gold, is the same Klondike that has been there throughout the generations and centuries that have passed; but for years and years it remained unprofitable, undeveloped, unattractive, without benefit or usefulness to mortal man; but when the search was made by digging into things that were therein hidden and buried, treasures came forth and

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[17] F. W. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Preacher," in Sermons, II, 31.

streams of wealth flowed out that have enriched the world.[18]

Hardeman occasionally made use of embellished language, as shown in his description of the death of Moses:

> He stands, if you please, one hundred and twenty years young, with his physical force unabated, with the same eagle eye that gazed into the eye of old Pharoah forty years before. Looking out to the right, Moses could view the entire land that glided away toward the great Arabian desert. Northward there was old Mount Hermon, veiled in misty clouds, towering above the surrounding country. Then as he cast a wishful eye beyond Jordan's stormy banks, he saw the rich fields of Canaan, the silvery streams, and the smiling valleys. When he thus beheld the sublimest sight ever viewed by mortal man, God laid his hand upon his heart, and, without a pain, an agony, or a sigh, Moses fell asleep. God buried him in some lonely spot, unmarked, unknown, that his tomb might never be desecrated, that his body might sleep in solemn silence until the trump of God shall sound and all the ransomed be gathered home.[19]

Other devices of an ornate nature which Hardeman employed were rhetorical questions and the construction of sentences out of natural order. He used the former very frequently, in challenging the attention of his audience. Of the latter, his use was deliberate rather than accidental. Typical of this construction are these sentences: "Many people there are who think they can be saved upon their uprightness of moral character;"[20] and "I also hope,

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[18] Sermons I, 29.

[19] Sermons, II, 43,44.

[20] Sermons, V, 94.

my brethren, we will not be ashamed to stand up before dying men and tell the story of the cross, regardless of opinions contrary."[21] In the first sentence, the subjective complement preceded the verb instead of following it in the usual order. Similarly, the order of the adjective, "contrary," is altered from its usual position from the noun.

Another form of embellishment which Hardeman used was in a figurative reincarnation of Biblical writers for the purpose of emphasis.

> Now, will you let Matthew stand aside for a moment and let me present Mark in the witness chair for your study? "Mark, what have you to say about it?" He says: "Hardeman, my deposition has been taken, and you will find it upon the files of heaven's chancery; and as I said then, so say I now, and of what I then declared I bid you do and see."[22]

V. SUMMARY

Although a few defects in style have been cited in N. B. Hardeman's sermons, the total effect of the language which he used enhanced his preaching. It was characterized by a common-touch quality that the audience understood. His choice of words was correct in usage and appropriate to the total speaking situation. With clear thoughts, Hardeman projected them with clarity of expression. His style, like

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[21] Sermons, I, 86.

[22] Sermons, I, 107.

my trousers, so will not be ashamed to be seen up before dying men and fill the story of the cross, regardless of opinions contrary."[87] In the first sentence, the subjective complement preceded the verb instead of following it in the usual order. Similarly, the order of the adjectives, "contrary," is reversed from the usual position from the noun.

Another form of emphatic which Hardeman used was in a figurative reinvestment of Biblical writers for the purpose of emphasis.

> Now, will you let Brother Hardeman stand aside for a moment and let me present Mark in the witness stand for your study? "Mark, what have you to say about it?" He says: "Hardeman, my disposition has been taken, and you will find it upon the files of heaven's chancery; and as I said then, so say I now, and of what I then declared I bid you do and see."[88]

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[87] Hardeman, I, 86.

[88] Hardeman, I, 107.

the man, was in touch with the people who went to hear him regularly.

CHAPTER VII

DELIVERY

I. INTRODUCTION

Hance defined delivery as "that constituent of rhetoric concerned with oral and visible expression."[1] A study of a speaker's delivery therefore must deal with such considerations as method of speaking, voice, and bodily action. Speech critics have placed varying measures of emphasis upon delivery. Cicero described delivery as "the dominant factor in oratory,"[2] yet he was relatively brief in his discussion of it as a constituent of rhetoric. The modern view toward delivery is seen in the following statement by Thonssen and Baird:

> Once the speaker takes the floor to develop an idea, we have a right to expect a lively enforcement of his thoughts. He is there to communicate something worth passing on. Delivery serves as a tool by which to enhance the impressiveness of the communication; it is not the focus of attention. If it were, it would be a distraction. There are places where men assemble to appreciate vocal artistry in its own right, but the platform of the public speaker is not one of them.[3]

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[1] Kenneth G. Hance, "The Elements of Rhetorical Theory of Phillips Brooks," Speech Monographs, V (1938), 37.

[2] E. W. Sutton, translator, Cicero De Oratore, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948), II, 169.

[3] Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press, 1948), 446.

This study presents more than a short survey of N. B. Hardeman's impression on the casual listener. It attempts to present a "faithful portrait" of the evangelist. This was accomplished by considering the factors which had an influence upon his finished speeches. They were: mode of delivery, voice, and bodily action.

II. MODE OF DELIVERY

Hardeman used the extemporaneous manner of delivery exclusively. He leaned heavily upon the mental quickening produced by the presence of an audience. Upon being asked if he ever wrote his sermons out in full, Hardeman answered, "No, it takes the audience to fill in the words."[4] His delivery was characterized by a freedom of expression. Having made careful preparation, as seen in the study of his invention and organization, he relied upon the main ideas and the occasion to suggest the language to be used.

The extemporaneous method of delivery also permitted new ideas to be injected into the sermons during delivery. This important factor in preaching was described by Broadus:

> In the act of delivery, the extemporaneous speaker has immense advantages. With far greater ease and effectiveness than if reading or reciting, he can turn to account ideas which occur at the time....Any man who possesses, even in an humble

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[4] Interview with N. B. Hardeman by the writer, December 29, 1981, at Henderson, Tennessee.

> degree, the fervid oratorical nature, will find that after careful preparation, some of the noblest and most inspiring thoughts he ever gains will come while he is engaged in speaking. If, full of his theme and impressed with its importance, he presently secures the interested and sympathizing attention of even a few good listeners, and the fire of his eyes comes reflected back to theirs, till electric flashes pass to and fro between them and his very soul glows and blazes and flames, he cannot fail sometimes to strike out thoughts more splendid and more precious than ever visit his mind in solitary musing.[5]

Hardeman spoke extemporaneously in a very effective manner. His speech was conspicuously free of vocalized pauses. Although he modestly asserted that his language was not as smooth as if it had been carefully written out,[6] his contemporaries often commended his effective speaking. One of his close associates who often heard him preach, L. L. Brigance, vividly described Hardeman's extemporaneous technique:

> When he gets on his feet before an audience, it seems to set all of his mental machinery to work, and his thoughts come rapidly and clearly, and he is never at a loss for words to express them. He speaks with great ease, entirely free from self-consciousness, and in language that the humblest can understand.[7]

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[5] John A Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (new and revised edition by J. B. Weatherspoon; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 327.

[6] N. B. Hardeman, Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons; Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1923), II, 4.

[7] L. L. Brigance, "Sketch of the Author's Life," Sermons, II, 19.

Hardeman was careful not to destroy the advantages of the extemporaneous method by ineffective use. "The temptation to slight preparation, and to substitute a pleasing manner for depth of thought 'has become the opprobium of extempore preachers; and it must be admitted that the danger is imminent.'"[8] He prepared each sermon with care, making effective use of logical proof. The contents of each sermon were arranged in outline form. A "sameness" in expression, as described in the following paragraph, can be observed in Hardeman's preaching:

> Related to this [the temptation to slight preparation] is the "great sameness" into which extemporaneous preachers fall. "They repeat the same thoughts and the same trains of thought and at length almost the same sermons; and this they do without being conscious of it....The evil is so disastrous, that there should be constant effort to avoid it."[9]

This criticism, in reference to Hardeman's preaching, is not applicable to the main body of his ideas and expression. A "sameness" is easily noticed in some minor aspects, e.g., in his use of transition sentences. The following are typical: "Now think of some other matters;" "Now, be it

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[8] Fred Jackson Barton, "Modes of Delivery in American Homiletic Theory in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1949), II, 442-443. Within the quotation he quotes from James W. Alexander, Thoughts on Preaching, 1861.

[9] Ibid.

remembered, friends...;" "Let me say, ladies and gentlemen...;" "Now then, let's pass down the line;" "Now note...;" "Think again;" "Now, may I just call your attention to this...;" "I want you to think just a moment...;" "Now watch the next point;" "Well, you note the next point...;" "Well, what's the next statement?;" "Now friends, I want to submit to you this simple thought...;" "Well, what's the next point?;" and "Now, you ask what was...?" These selections illustrating the sameness of expression which characterized Hardeman's use of transition sentences, were drawn from only two sermons.[10] It was a weakness in his employment of the extemporaneous method of delivery.

III. VOICE

This analysis of Hardeman's voice qualities was enhanced by two factors: first, the writer has heard Mr. Hardeman preach several times, including one sermon of the 1942 series in Nashville. Second, the writer has tape recordings of two sermons preached by Hardeman.[11] These recordings were used extensively in this phase of the study.

Hardeman's voice was one of his greatest assets. It served him effectively as an instrument of persuasion.

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[10] Sermons, IV, 187-191.

[11] One recording was made in Lubbock, Texas, October 14, 1951; the other was made in Artesia, New Mexico, November 20, 1952.

After hearing Hardeman throughout the first Tabernacle revival, a periodical editor wrote,

> Nature has done much for Hardeman in bestowing upon him an almost matchless voice.... This man of God is, beyond any question, a master of assemblies, and sways his audiences with an ease and grace of voice and manners that attracts and holds almost the breathless attention of his auditors.[12]

Hardeman's voice was moderately low in pitch. It had a melodious, rich quality. These vocal elements contributed much in making him very pleasant to hear. There were no shrill, harsh qualities in his voice. The tones came forth clearly. They were well initiated through effective breath control and vocal mechanism which was not unduly strained. These factors prevented such distractions as breathiness, harshness, and weakness. His tonal quality was augmented by good resonance. Thus the sounds were reinforced adequately, providing carrying power.

This full resonant quality in Hardeman's voice contributed to its penetrating power. Projection was an outstanding trait in his speaking. His "pleasant and well modulated voice...carried distinctly to the remotest corner of the largest auditorium"[13] Another vocal quality, inferred in this quotation, was his adequate volume or intensity.

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[12] F. E. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Preacher and Meetings," Sermons, II, 29.

[13] Brigance, op. cit., 20.

Hardeman achieved ample volume through full use of resonance and reinforcement rather than by a vigorous initiation. As a result, the sounds were not loud or noisy, but smooth and easily understood.

Another pleasant characteristic of Hardeman's voice was the pitch. He had no distracting inflectional pattern. A rhythmical singsong or "holy whine," which has been characteristic of many evangelists in some parts of the country,[14] was not descriptive of Hardeman's voice. He maintained his normal pitch. This ensured the best tones. There was no undue tension in the voice mechanism. The inflection of his voice was well adapted to the speaking situation. It was moderate but not monotonous.

Hardeman's rate of speaking was deliberate, with an occasional increase in tempo of short duration. Although this was somewhat natural for him, he realized the need of adjusting his rate to the audience size. "Large audiences demand broader, less subtle, more powerful stimulation."[15] Hardeman spoke more slowly and held his sounds longer when addressing a large audience.

Hardeman injected variation into his speaking by the use of an occasional pause. He employed the pause as a

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[14] Broadus, op. cit., 346.

[15] Harry G. Barnes, Speech Handbook (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941), 74.

Burdeman achieved ample volume through full use of resonance and reinforcement within them by a vigorous initiation. As a result, the sounds were not loud or noisy, but smooth and easily measured.

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[14] Bracken, op. cit., 140.

[15] Harry O. Hayes, Speech Techniques (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), 71.

definite communicative device. It was not a hesitation. He seemed never to be at a loss for words. He used the pause immediately following a climactic sentence, giving ample time for the full force of the statement to be felt. The following quotation from one of his recorded sermons is an example of his employment of the pause as a rhetorical device:

> "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is also profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." [II Tim. 3:16,17] Christian people believe that, and for that reason they have neither creed, nor confession of faith, nor church manual, nor anything of the kind, other than simply the New Testament. And where I would subscribe to some man-made ritual it would be evident on its face that I think the Bible is lacking somewhere. Hence, I've got to supplement it by some book written by the bishops, or the doctors, or some great writer of church manuals. [Pause][16]

The evangelist's fluent delivery included a pleasant rhythm. This resulted largely from his thorough preparation and his attitude toward the entire preaching situation. He had great assurance and confidence. There was no indication of emotional instability, nervousness, or tenseness in his delivery. There were no vocalized pauses to mar his smooth, rhythmical expression of thought. His breathing was well controlled, never interfering with the formation of sound.

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[16] Quoted from recorded sermon of M. B. Hardeman, November 20, 1952, at Artesia, New Mexico.

Thus, he was able to speak fluently and smoothly, yet with a pleasing variation.

Hardeman's articulation and enunciation were usually precise and clear-cut. Each syllable got its proper emphasis, e.g., in the words "bur-i-al," "u-su-al-ly," and "sanc-ti-fi-ca-tion." Only at rare times did he hurriedly speak in an inarticulate manner, e.g., "Did-ju-ever hear of such confusion?" His pronunciation was generally accurate. The few exceptions to clear pronunciation did not mar his precise speech in any significant way. His speaking was easily understood.

Although Hardeman's use of pathetic proof has been analyzed, it is important to review briefly the part played by his voice in exciting the emotional feelings of the audience. His voice effectively supplemented the emotional content. Instead of concluding his sermons with extended pleadings and emotional excitement, he chose to move his audience with a quiet, communicative type of voice that appealed to the feelings of the people. The emotional quality in his voice was produced by a decrease in volume, and an increase of emotional fervor. It was a change from expulsive to effusive force. Instead of continuing to the end of the sermon in a forceful manner, he appealed to his hearers by clothing his voice in emotional fervor. This ability to stress the pathetic appeal through manipulation of voice was a great asset to his effectiveness.

IV. BODILY ACTION

A first consideration in this part of the study of Hardeman's delivery is to cite the physical factors which were obvious to the audience. He was about six feet tall, with a strong, solid build. He weighed about one hundred eighty pounds. His appearance was commanding. His bearing was marked with dignity and naturalness. In every way "he looked his part." His posture was erect (even at the age of 79 years), yet it wasnot stiff and formal. In habits of dress, he was conservative and neat. He did not believe in setting himself apart from others by the wearing of clerical garb.

A second factor concerns his movement on the platform. Hardeman was never an actor, nor did he attempt to call attention to himself through theatrical devices. His movements were characteristically calm and deliberate. They corresponded to the mood of the thought presented. He managed himself in the pulpit with ease and grace. The following description could well be applied to Hardeman's bodily action: "In a singular manner, his 'hands, his shoulders, the turn of his body...his posture, his air, and in short, all his motions, were adapted to his language and his sentiments.'"[17]

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[17] Thonssen, op. cit., 442.

IV. PUBLIC APPEAL

A first consideration in this part of the study of Harbaugh's delivery is to size the physical factors which were advisa to the audience. He was about six feet tall, with a strong, solid build. He weighed about one hundred eighty pounds. His appearance was commanding. His bearing was marked with dignity and determination. In every way "he looked his part." His posture was erect (even at the age of 70 years), yet it seemed stiff and formal. In public of arena, he was conservative and tense. He did not believe in setting himself apart from others by the wearing of clerical garb.

A second factor concerns his movement on the platform. Harbaugh was never an actor, nor did he attempt to call attention to himself through theatrical devices. His movements were characteristically calm and deliberate. They corresponded to the mood of the thoughts presented. He managed himself in the pulpit with ease and grace. The following description could well be applied to Harbaugh's bodily action: "In a singular manner, his 'bearing', his countenance, the turn of his body, his posture, his air, and in short, all his motions, were adapted to his language and his sentiments."[17]

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[17] Thonssen, op. cit., 46.

Hardeman quite rarely gestured with his arms. When he did move his arms in gesture, they were animated by the thought at hand. His most effective bodily movements were of the head and shoulders. It was not a swaying, reeling motion. His thoughts were supplemented by forceful movements of the upper part of his body, which supported the ideas with solidarity and drive. He maintained good eye contact. His facial expressions effectively revealed the mood of the mind. Hardeman's bodily action was spontaneous, though conservative. There was no pacing from side to side. Although he occasionally stepped to the side of the pulpit to show a feeling of desiring to get closer to his audience, he usually stood firmly behind the rostrum. His movements were deliberate and purposeful.

Hardeman's bodily action was relatively free of mannerisms. None were sufficiently obvious to detract from his effective speaking. He occasionally rested a thumb in the trouser pocket. At no time did it become a distractive mannerism. His bodily action was conducive to effective communication.

HARDEMAN, THE SPEAKER

The impression which Hardeman made upon his audiences was good. Probably the most telling factor in the total communication was his ability to show a one-to-one

relationship with each person in his audience. Each one felt as if the evangelist had singled him out in personal conversation.

Sincerity and conviction were very evident in the speaking of the evangelist. His humility was an outstanding trait as a speaker.

> He at no time posed before his audience as an actor, seeking to attract the people to himself instead of to the message he was delivering, but every movement and his entire demeanor was characterized by the very essence of simplicity and humility. The people were deeply impressed with the feeling that the speaker was not relying upon himself, but upon the word of God.[18]

Hardeman's delivery was marked by effective use of the extemporaneous method. He spoke with ease and naturalness. His memory seemed never to fail him. His voice was deep, strong, and musical, and he employed it with adequate variation and flexibility. Bodily action supplemented the other factors of delivery effectively. In the words of Quintilian as he described his concept of an orator, Hardeman was "a good man speaking well."

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[16] F. W. Smith, "Extracts Concerning the Preacher," Sermons, II, 31.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL EFFECTIVENESS

I. INTRODUCTION

H. B. Hardeman's general effectiveness is examined in this chapter from two viewpoints. First, an effort is made to summarize his characteristic qualities as an outstanding evangelist. The selection of those qualities is based upon observations made in the preceding chapters. The rhetorical constituents of invention, arrangement, style and delivery in Hardeman's sermons are reviewed. Secondly, a general evaluation of his preaching is made, based upon the immediate and subsequent responses of his audiences. The combination of these two areas of investigation will show the effectiveness of Hardeman's communication of ideas.

II. SUMMARY OF RHETORICAL QUALITIES

In attempting to measure the effectiveness of Hardeman's preaching, some general observations can be made. Although his educational background did not include extensive training in the art of rhetoric, Hardeman did show excellent ability in using methods and techniques which harmonized with the accepted principles of effective speaking. These he gained from keen observation of human nature, from a few

formal courses in speaking, and from the reading of speeches of such orators as W. J. Bryan and sermons of successful evangelists. Throughout his own sermons, Hardeman adhered to sound principles of invention, arrangement, style and delivery.

Invention. Underlying N. B. Hardeman's inventive process of finding and analyzing material for sermons was an ever-present purpose. That purpose was to preach the gospel of salvation as revealed in the Bible. Stating it in apostolic language, he said,

> "When I came unto you then, brethren, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I was determined to know nothing among you, save Christ and him crucified." Such is the sentiment prompting my presence this afternoon.[1]

That purpose permeated all aspects of his sermon preparation. It dictated the principal source of material for his preaching, which was the Bible. Being wholly absorbed in that common theme, he set about the task of faithfully and accurately teaching the gospel to others.

His invention was enhanced by use of other materials which he employed for illustrative purposes. It included references to history, geography, literature, personal experience, and local events of interest. By weaving the

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[1] N. B. Hardeman. Hardeman's Tabernacle Sermons (hereafter referred to as Sermons: Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1938), IV,9.

facts and principles from those sources into the Biblical theme, the evangelist was able to make his preaching more understandable. This contributed much to his effectiveness.

Hardeman also applied the long-accepted methods of proof in a telling manner. These included the logical, the pathetic and the ethical. With outstanding intellectual resources, he made extensive use of evidence and argument in persuasion. His reliance upon scripture as the principal source of evidence was based upon his faith in the Bible as God's revealed Will. Supplementary to Biblical quotations, Hardeman cited testimony from contemporaries of the Biblical writers. He utilized examples in an effective way also. His preaching often consisted in the drawing together of Biblical quotations to form a tighly-bound argument. His logical proof included both inductive and deductive reasoning. Hardeman placed great emphasis upon this form of persuasion. He insisted that his auditors fully understand the Lord's teaching, and that they should be convinced of its divine truth. He once declared, "Men ought to become children of God because they are deeply convinced of the correctness of their step and fully aware of their dependence."[2]

Likewise, Hardeman's use of pathetic proof was consistent with accepted principles of rhetoric. It was woven

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[2] Sermons, IV, 93.

effectively into his arguments and evidence. However, he applied emotional appeal very moderately. Being neither formal nor predominantly exciting, his preaching was enriched by a generous use of feeling and appeal to the personal desires and needs of people. In harmony with the views of rhetoricians, Hardeman also demonstrated the importance of ethical proof. He spoke authoritatively. His audiences received him with confidence. He was a good man speaking well.

Arrangement. Hardeman's craftsmanship of organization was a contributing factor to his general effectiveness. With a central theme running through each respective sermon, he planned his addresses with good rhetorical order. He arranged the material on the basis of audience adaptation and Biblical emphasis. Generally, his arrangement of material was made according to the importance of the subject matter. This choice resulted from his underlying conviction toward the message of salvation which he was preaching. He used forms of homiletical order that were adaptable to evangelistic preaching. His only deviation from the usual proportionment in organization was his extremely short conclusions without summary. Yet, his method of explanation, expansion, and amplification to a logical climax compensated for the short conclusion. In general, the manner in which Hardeman arranged his sermon material was conducive to effective preaching.

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Style. K. E. Hardeman's expression of ideas was very effective, being clearly understood by the audiences. First, this was possible because the evangelist himself had a clear understanding of his own ideas. Having his sermons well prepared, and with the main thoughts well in mind, he expressed his thoughts coherently and vividly. Clarity was attained largely through simplicity of the message and its presentation.

His style was greatly enhanced by illustrations and examples. Following the method of Jesus who taught extensively by means of parables, Hardeman often explained his message in terms of common experience and knowledge. Thus he said,

> It was a peculiar phase of Christ's teaching to base the lesson upon things with which people were acquainted; and unless you and I can talk about the gospel in terms familiar to us, it is a matter simply of speculation, and even declarations without much profit.[3]

Hardeman's style was also appropriate to his audiences. His speech was characterized by common language. His style was common and understandable. There was an informality of language which put him on common ground with his hearers. His style was similar in evangelistic, hortatory, and didactic preaching.

Although Hardeman did not consider himself as an artistic speaker, he did embellish his language with flights

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[3] Sermons, II, 96.

of eloquence. Such eloquence was always employed in an unaffected manner. He used metaphors, similes, and hyperboles only occasionally. Other devices of an ornate quality which he used were rhetorical questions and the construction of sentences out of natural order. The total effect of his language greatly enhanced his effectiveness.

Delivery. Hardeman's delivery was an asset to his preaching. It blended well with his effective word selection. He used the extemporaneous method of delivery exclusively. This permitted him to take advantage of the mental quickening produced by the presence of large audiences. There were no vocalized pauses in Hardeman's speaking. A minor deficiency was noted in his "sameness" of expression at times, especially in his use of transition sentences, resulting from his extemporaneous method.

With the aid of tape recordings of Hardeman's preaching, his vocal characteristics were studied. His voice was always an advantage to him in preaching. It was moderately low in pitch, and had a melodious, rich quality. Thus he was pleasant to hear. There was a full, resonant quality in his voice which aided much in penetrating to remote sections of extremely large audiences. His rate of speaking was characteristically deliberate. He occasionally paused to increase effectiveness. Hardeman spoke clearly, with precise articulation and enunciation. His voice served him well in his preaching.

Hardeman's delivery was also enhanced by his bodily action. Like his rate of speaking, his platform actions were deliberate and meaningful. They corresponded to the mood of the thought presented. With good eye contact, his thoughts were supplemented by effective gestures of the head and shoulders predominantly. He was free of distracting mannerisms.

This summary of N. B. Hardeman's rhetorical qualities serves to show that his speaking was effective because of his adherence to the time-tested principles of public address. Only minor weaknesses were noted in his speaking. As a rule, he effectively adapted his preaching to the audience, occasion, and the evangelistic type of preaching. By effectively using his natural gifts, he became one of the most effective evangelists of his time.

III. EVALUATION OF RESPONSE

The final measure of effectiveness deals with the response made by audiences and by society in general. This criterion goes beyond the technical perfection of speeches. It deals with the fundamental purpose of persuasion which is the changing of people's minds and actions.

One immediate response toward which all of Hardeman's preaching was directed was for people to turn to Christ for salvation, climaxed by a readiness to be baptized.

Facilities were always available. During the first Tabernacle meeting in 1922, there were some two hundred people baptized, in addition to some twenty-five reconsecrations.[4] In the second series, in 1923, there were over one hundred baptisms.[5] Records for the last three Tabernacle meetings are not available. These figures show that Hardeman's preaching resulted in outstanding immediate responses.

Another type of response is seen in the following paragraph, written after the 1938 series of sermons:

> The reactions following the meeting have been favorable. There is a better feeling among brethren in Nashville. A firmer stand is being taken by many. All have been awakened to trends and issues. A number of private and semi-public studies in premillennialism have been started recently. There has been more preaching on this subject. Many seem to have decided that the only way to settle this issue is to investigate it and settle by the Divine Standard.[6]

Hardeman's effectiveness on those occasions is attested by a careful reading of the sermons which were preached in the 1938 series.

The demand that arose following each meeting for copies of the printed sermons also indicated Hardeman's effectiveness as an evangelist of note. In 1928, the following paragraph was written:

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[4] Editorial of the Nashville Tennessean, April 18, 1922.

[5] News item in Nashville Banner, April 22, 1923.

[6] Sermons, IV, 5.

facilities were always available. During the first Tabernacle meeting in 1960, there were some two hundred people involved, in addition to some twenty-five commentators.[4] In the second series, in 1963, there were over one hundred volunteers. Records for the last three Tabernacle meetings are not available. These figures show that Hardeman's preaching resulted in overwhelming immediate response.

Another type of response is seen in the following paragraph, written after the 1960 series of sermons:

> The reactions following the meeting have been favorable. There is a better feeling among brethren in Nashville. A firmer stand is being taken by many. All have been awakened to facts and issues. A number of private and semi-public studies in congregations have been started recently. There has been more preaching on this subject. Many seem to have decided that the only way to settle this issue is to investigate it and settle by the living oracles.[5]

Hardeman's effectiveness on these occasions is attested by a careful reading of the sermons which were preached in the 1960 series.

The demand that arose following each meeting for copies of the printed sermons also indicates Hardeman's effectiveness as an evangelist of note. In 1960, the following paragraph was written:

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[4] Editorial of the Nashville Tabernacle, April 30, 1960.

[5] Item in Nashville Banner, April 30, 1960.

[6] Sermons, IV, 5.

> So deeply was the public impressed with not only the subject matter of those discourses, but with the clear and forceful presentation of the subjects discussed, that an overwhelming sentiment expressed itself for their preservation in book form - this, too, notwithstanding the fact that it was H. B. Hardeman's third meeting in the same city and with practically the same audiences.[7]

In 1938, Hardeman touched on some of the general effects of his former revivals:

> I am made this afternoon to recall some of the meetings of years gone by. It has been sixteen and a half years since I first came to the Ryman Auditorium, wherein a wonderful meeting was held. That was followed by another in 1923; and that meeting immediately followed by a discussion of some points of difference among those who claim to love the Lord. Then ten years ago, another meeting was held. Most of the sermons of each meeting were put in book form. The influence of those meetings is, I think, yet going on. As I recall, first of all, it made the brethren of Nashville conscious of their strength and who they really were. I believe it told to the people of Nashville and the great brotherhood far and near who earnestly accept the faith once for all delivered to the saints. And throughout the length and breadth of the land these have served as a great encouragement to the cause of Christ.[8]

Other indications of Hardeman's effectiveness have been observed, e.g., the repeated attendance of thousands of people; the confidence of church leaders to invite him to preach in five city-wide revivals in Nashville; and the demand for his services throughout the country in evangelistic endeavors.

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[7] F. W. Smith, "Forward," Sermons, III, 7.

[8] Sermons, IV, 27.

That W. B. Hardeman was an outstanding, effective evangelist is shown, not only in his rhetorical qualities, but also by indications of immediate and far-reaching responses. For over fifty years he promoted the cause of Christianity in the school and in the pulpit. By his application of sound rhetorical principles and by his extensive study of the Bible, he arose to great popularity and usefulness as an evangelist.

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