Making the South New, Keeping the South "Southern": Bob Jones, Fundamentalism, and the New South

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ABSTRACT

The New South, the period of southern history, lasting from the end of Reconstruction to the end of World War II was defined by urbanization and industrialization. Protestantism influenced the development of the New South by instilling working discipline in the southern labor force. Protestantism encouraged workers to embrace earthly vocations as divine callings, sanctifying even the most mundane activities. Protestant ministers became allies with industrialists and boosters in the process of creating the New South.

The career of Bob Jones, a fundamentalist Methodist evangelist from Alabama, demonstrates the close connection between industrialization and religion. Jones believed that success was defined by “knowing God’s will and doing it”; rather than finding success in material gains, he argued that success was fulfilling the divine calling for one’s life. Jones also campaigned for village values and against “vices” such as dancing, card playing, and drinking. Furthermore, his evangelistic campaigns, which were highly organized and results oriented, embodied the spirit of the industrializing South. Bob Jones supported the development of the New South through his teachings about success, his campaigns against “vice,” and his organized and efficient campaigns.

While Jones worked to make the South “New,” he also helped to keep the South “southern.” Bob Jones believed in white male supremacy. He reaffirmed traditional beliefs about women’s place as protectors of moral virtue, and challenged men to be industrious, sober, and pious. Jones also fought to preserve segregation in the South. He maintained segregation at his campaign meetings, and he opposed integration. In an
infamous 1960 sermon, titled “Is Segregation Scriptural?,” Jones argued that God was the author of segregation, and that attempts to challenge the racial status quo were Satanic. His support of white supremacy and male dominance suggests that religion had an important role in justifying and preserving southern cultural beliefs.

Bob Jones helps to explain what makes the South “distinctive.” He became a supporter of the values of industrialization. Jones and other Protestant leaders inculcated middle-class values into southerners. As he participated in the modernization of the South, Jones helped to maintain less “modern” aspects of the South. He resisted gender and racial equality, and preserved white male supremacy in the South.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

At Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina, on the morning of January 17, 1968, a parade of mourners made their way to War Memorial Chapel where, beneath Benjamin West’s painting, *The Ascension*, Robert Reynolds Jones, who had founded the University in 1927, lay in state. R.K. Johnson, the university’s chief financial officer and Jones’ friend, poignantly summarized his reflections as he viewed Jones lying in state in his biography of Jones, *Builder of Bridges*. Johnson, who “loved him as a son loved a father,” recalled being “impressed with the fact that above the casket was a large eighteen-foot picture of the ‘Ascension’ of our Lord.” Johnson concluded his meditations by rejoicing that “it thrilled my soul to realize that Dr. Bob was now with our Lord in Glory.”¹ The ministerial class, students in the School of Religion, Jones’ “Preacher Boys,” served as an honor guard at the viewing, watching over their beloved “Dr. Bob” from 9:00 am to noon as the university family and local dignitaries paid their respects. At 11:00 am, classes were suspended, both at the university, and at Bob Jones Academy, the high school founded by Jones, to allow the students to attend the funeral of the founder.² Jones’ funeral was held in Rodeheaver Auditorium, named after Homer Rodeheaver, Billy Sunday’s song leader, religious music publishing magnate, and a donor to the university. The funeral service, which was attended by nearly 5,000 students, faculty, staff, and community members, “captured the militant spirit of the fundamentalist.”³ The highlight of the service was the eulogy written by Jones’ son, Bob Jones, Jr., and read by

²“Dr. Bob Jones Sr. Dead At Age 84,” *The Greenville News* (Greenville, SC), January 17, 1968.
Dr. Edward Panosian, the chair of Bob Jones University’s Church History department.

This eulogy functioned both as son’s farewell to his father as well as a reaffirmation of the university’s commitment to fundamentalism. Bob Jones, Jr., summarized his father’s character, stating that his “father . . . was the most consistent man I ever knew,” before calling on “all the members of the University family . . .” to “surrender your hearts to the Christ whom our founder loved and served.” Bob Jones, Jr., promised that the school his father founded would “stand unchanged and unchanging.”

After Dr. Edward Panosian finished reading the eulogy, the audience ended the formal service by singing Handel’s “Hallelujah Chorus.” The funeral procession then left Rodeheaver Auditorium and adjourned to an island in the middle of the university fountain where Jones would be laid to rest. Jones’ pallbearers, members of the university’s board of trustees (Charles Bishop, Horace F. Dean, Otis Holmes, Monroe Parker, and R.K. Johnson), politicians (Senator Strom Thurmond from South Carolina and former congressman George Grant from Alabama), and representatives of the alumni (James D. Edwards, dean of administration) and the students (George Thornton, student body president), carried Jones’ to the grave site, accompanied by university band, which stood on the “Bridge of Nations” decorated by the flags of the 25 nations from which the student body originated. Marshall Neal, dean of the School of Religion, performed a brief committal service, and Jeffrey Darnell, the president of the Student Ministerial Association, gave the benediction.

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The funeral service of Bob Jones, Sr., represents the apex of the history of American Protestant fundamentalism. In that moment, the power and the influence of the movement were most clearly on display. Bob Jones University was the largest fundamentalist university; it boasted an enrollment of more than 4000 students in 1968. Under the leadership of the Jones, the university and the creed to which it had subscribed had become a force in American culture. Bob Jones and the university which he founded had found both religious and political influence, and Jones’ funeral was a powerful symbol of his influence, the influence of the university he founded, and the influence of the movement he led. The attention of political leaders, both from those who served as pallbearers, including Strom Thurmond, who, in a telegram to Bob Jones, Jr., declared that “South Carolina and our nation have lost one of its greatest citizens,” to the “literally hundreds of calls and telegrams from around the world” from public officials such as Robert McNair, George Wallace, Lester Maddox, Frank Carlson, William Jennings Bryan Dorn, and L. Mendel Rivers, demonstrated the importance of Bob Jones and fundamentalism in southern politics. National newspapers too took notice of the passing of Jones; the *Washington Post* summarized Jones’ career as “a hell-fire and brimstone evangelist,” and the *New York Times* noted that Jones was a “fundamentalist” who “lashed out against a broad range of topics.”

Jones funeral also served to emphasize his influence on Protestant fundamentalism. Pallbearers Monroe Parker, R.K. Johnson, Charles Bishop, and Horace F. Dean were all influential fundamentalists; members of the

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6 ibid.
ministerial class, the “preacher boys,” who served as an honor guard while Dr. Jones laid in state, would soon become leaders in the movement. The university choir and band, products of the Joneses’ campaign to challenge stereotypes about the sophistication of fundamentalist Protestantism, and the Bridge of Nations, a set piece that served a testament to Jones’ international impact, signified the success of Bob Jones and Fundamentalism. Bob Jones’ funeral communicated fundamentalist Protestantism’s cultural, religious, and political ascendancy in the South and, as with any funeral, served as a statement of the deceased’s influence.

Perhaps more explicitly than the pageantry of Jones’ funeral, Bob Jones, Jr.’s eulogy attempted to define his father’s legacy. Bob Jones, Jr.’s eulogy emphasized, as previously noted, his father’s consistency. Bob Jones, Sr. was “stubborn . . . on matters of principle.” The eulogy also hymned the giftedness of the founder, who, according to his son, was perceptive, eloquent, and “could also discern a good business deal.” Bob Jones, Jr. was sure to communicate that while his father was consistent, even stubborn, and gifted, he was also compassionate. Bob Jones, Sr. “understood weakness” and “loved children.” He “responded intensely to beauty” and “loved to dwell on the memories of his boyhood.” Most importantly for Bob Jones, Jr., his father “loved the souls of men” and “above all, he loved Jesus.” Bob Jones, Jr., concluded his eulogy triumphantly. His father’s career was “a fight well fought, a course well run, a faith well kept, a crown well won!” The memory of Bob Jones was thus enshrined in the hearts of faithful. Founder’s Day, begun before Bob Jones’ death, held each year on Bob Jones’ birthday, October 30, continued this litany of remembrance and recommitment to the values of Protestant
fundamentalism held by Bob Jones. “We will not betray the dead,” intoned Bob Jones Jr.; Bob Jones, Sr. had become more than just a man – he became a symbol of commitment to the “old-time religion” and resistance against “modernism.”

Bob Jones’ biographer, R.K. Johnson, argues that Jones “made bridges over chasms for thousands.” To Johnson, Jones was a transitional figure. He was “a link between two eras,” preserving the values and traditions of the late-19th century. Mark Dalhouse, the author of a decidedly less hagiographical study of the Joneses and Bob Jones University, *Island in the Lake of Fire*, argues that Bob Jones Sr., unable or unwilling to adapt to social change in the twentieth century, “was caught in the cultural transition of that period.” Johnson and Dalhouse both suggest that Jones embodied the cultural values of an earlier time. While Johnson finds value in Jones’ resistance to change, Dalhouse seems to find Jones superannuated and obsolescent. Regardless of their opinion of Jones’ commitment to the “old-time religion,” Johnson and Dalhouse both portray Jones as a product of the pre-industrial, rural South.

Johnson’s and Dalhouse’s interpretation of Jones’ legacy is consistent with the message communicated by Jones’ funeral. Jones was “consistent” and “stubborn”; he resisted change. This interpretation, while not without explanatory value, ignores the innovative and contentious nature of Jones’ career. His evangelistic career before suggests that, far from being constrained by tradition, Jones adapted Protestantism to meet the demands of the New South. Jones, a self-proclaimed fundamentalist, supported

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9 Johnson, *Builder of Bridges*, p. xii.
the cultural values of the New South elite, which promoted hard work, frugality, and sobriety. Nevertheless, he remained committed to white male supremacy. Bob Jones promoted a religion that conformed to the needs of the New South while reinforcing traditional southern beliefs about gender and race.

Despite his dislike for the term “fundamentalist,” Bob Jones declared that he was a fundamentalist. He defined a fundamentalist as someone who “believes that the Bible is the Word of God.” Fundamentalism is difficult to define. George Marsden, in *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, argues that fundamentalism is “militantly anti-modernist Protestant evangelicalism.” Unlike evangelicalism, which emphasizes experience, fundamentalism is defined by a focus on doctrine. Stewart G. Cole, one of the earliest historians of fundamentalism, contended that fundamentalism was an attempt to “continue the imperialistic culture of historic Protestantism.” He observes that fundamentalists were “opposed to social change.” Norman F. Furniss suggests that fundamentalists had a “need for certainty.” He contends that fundamentalists were characterized by violence, ignorance, and egotism.

Later historians challenged this characterization of fundamentalism. Instead of a mere conservative reaction against social change, fundamentalism was part of a doctrinal

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tradition. Ernest Sandeen argues in *The Roots of Fundamentalism* that “millenarianism . . . gave life and shape to the Fundamentalist movement.”\(^{16}\) George Marsden contends that fundamentalism was “a genuine religious movement or tendency with deep roots and intelligible beliefs.”\(^{17}\) Like Sandeen and Marsden, Ferenc Szasz emphasizes that fundamentalism was defined by the movement’s response to “higher criticism of the Scriptures.”\(^{18}\) Szasz also contends that fundamentalism was part of a conservative response to theological liberalism.\(^{19}\) George W. Dollar, the chair of Bob Jones University’s church history department in the 1980s, defined fundamentalism as “the literal exposition of all the affirmations and attitudes of the Bible and militant exposure of all non-Biblical affirmations and attitudes.”\(^{20}\) Whether fundamentalism was defined by a reaction to changing culture or by a defense of millenarianism or biblical inerrancy, the most salient characteristic of the movement was its militancy.\(^{21}\)

Bob Jones was a product of the New South. The New South is in a sense a historical fiction. The meaning of the “New South” is ambiguous. C. Vann Woodward observed that “from the beginning it had the color of a slogan, a rallying cry.” The idea of a New South was used as a propaganda device by boosters throughout the region.\(^{22}\) The

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\(^{17}\) Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, pp. 5-6


\(^{19}\) ibid. p. 71


New South was defined by its creedal quality, which established industrial growth as one of its central doctrines. Adding to the ambiguity of the “New South,” Howard N. Rabinowitz contends that there were many “New South.” His study of the New South surveys what he describes as the “First New South,” defined by urbanization and industrialization, diversified agriculture, increased development of public services, and more progressive racial policies. Rabinowitz argues that this “First New South” existed from 1865 to 1920. Edward Ayers suggests that the New South began after Reconstruction in 1877. The New South was characterized by “continual redefinition and renegotiation.” The New South experienced a “colonial economy,” the chief feature of which was Northern economic investment and control. Despite the “modernization” of the New South, the region still experienced racial tension. African Americans were discriminated against, and denied the opportunity to become full partners in the industrializing South. In this thesis, the New South will refer to a period of southern history which began after the end of Reconstruction and continued until 1945 and was characterized by urbanization, industrialization, diversified agriculture and a colonial economy, and, despite these economic changes, resistance to social change.

Evangelical Protestants became allies with industry in the New South. The Protestant worldview was particularly conducive to instilling work discipline in southern laborers. Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, argued that

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26 Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, p. x
Protestants developed a unique sense of divine “calling,” a vocational assignment given by God. Beginning with Martin Luther, Protestant leaders began to find “moral justification of worldly activity.”\(^\text{27}\) Weber observed that, because of the Protestant Reformation, “the moral emphasis on and the religious sanction of, organized worldly labour in a calling was mightily increased.”\(^\text{28}\) Calvinists, in particular, saw industriousness as a way of making their calling and election sure. Weber claimed that Calvinists believed that they were “able to identify true faith . . . by a type of Christian conduct which served to increase the glory of God.” Good works were an “indispensable . . . sign of election.” In short, Weber contended that “God helps those who helps themselves.”\(^\text{29}\) Even Methodism, which emphasized “the emotional act of conversion,” focused religious fervor “into a rational struggle for perfection.”\(^\text{30}\)

Methodism encouraged work discipline. E.P. Thompson argued that “the utility of Methodism as a work discipline is evident,” while observing that in 19\textsuperscript{th} century England Methodism served as the “religion of the industrial bourgeoisie . . . and of wide sections of the proletariat.” Methodism, Thompson asserted, was “in class terms . . . hermaphroditic.” Furthermore, in rural areas, Methodism challenged the authority of both the vicar and the squire. Nevertheless, Thompson contended, for Methodists, “in labour itself . . . there is an evident sign of grace.” Labor provided proof of salvation and

\(^{28}\) ibid., p. 41  
\(^{29}\) ibid., p. 58  
\(^{30}\) ibid., p. 74.
a way for Methodists to make their calling and election sure. The virtues inculcated by
Methodism restrained the “working paroxysms” and “unworkful impulses” of laborers.31

While Methodism and other Protestant denominations instilled work discipline
among the English working class, Evangelical Protestants preached a gospel that was
well-suited to the needs of the industrializing South. Liston Pope, in his landmark study
of Gastonia, North Carolina, Millhands and Preachers, argued that churches were
important allies of industrialization in the South. He contends that “the greatest
contribution of the churches to the industrial revolution in the South undoubtedly lay in
the labor discipline they provided through moral supervision of the workers.”32 Later
historians of the New South observed the close relationship between the boardroom and
the pulpit. Don Doyle, in New Men, New Cities, New South, observes that “the
Methodists . . . along with other southern Protestant denominations, offered a code of
living that was very much in tune with the ideal of the New South urban elite.”33 This
code of living was defined by “hard work, frugality, temperance, and honesty.”34 C. Vann
Woodward contended that “changes of a profound and subtle character in the Southern
ethos . . . did take place” during the New South era.35 Protestant leaders supported the
ethic of the New South and participated in industrialization by helping to create a
disciplined workforce.

34 ibid.
Evangelists, along with other religious leaders, participated in the effort to inculcate work discipline in laborers in the New South. Robert Reynolds Jones, a fundamentalist Methodist evangelist born in Alabama in 1883, proclaimed the gospel of the New South. He taught that “success is finding out what God wants to do and then doing it.” The secret of success, to Jones, was determining God’s will and “letting that will be done in and through your life.” Fulfilling God’s will, not accumulating wealth or receiving honor, was the sign of success. Within Jones’ worldview, labor was holy. Even domestic drudgery or tedious labor in the farm or factory was sanctified. He heroized the mundane. Bob Jones encouraged his audiences to persevere. He declared that “every human being who ever made good on earth had to learn the lesson that he must not stop.” Hard work was the calling of the believer; Jones told audiences that “while I am waiting for that day I am going to hustle.” He believed that doing God’s will was a sign of success, and that God’s will extended to secular vocations.

In addition to his advocacy of divine endorsement for secular vocations, Bob Jones campaigned for moral reforms. Chief among the anti-vice campaigns waged by Jones was his fight for prohibition. Temperance and prohibition campaigns were an important part of instilling time consciousness among laborers. The observance of “Saint Monday,” customary absenteeism among factory workers on Mondays, conflicted with employers’ attempts to cultivate time consciousness within their employees. Complex machinery required that laborers be sober, and an intoxicated workforce was incompatible with increased demands for efficiency. Employers began to insist on temperance or even total abstinence among their employees. Temperance, in addition to
its role in labor discipline, was also an important part of the culture of the New South elite. Don Doyle argues that “temperance became the center of a symbolic crusade that defined the social values of the business class.” Temperance was an important part of disciplining labor in the New South and creating a new culture which emphasized industriousness and sobriety. Temperance advocates, such as Jones, were important allies in the war against “John Barleycorn.” Bob Jones campaigned for prohibition throughout the South, as well as in the North. While he was motivated to support prohibition because of genuine humanitarian concerns about the effects of alcoholism, Jones was an important ally for the New South elite in their attempts to inculcate work discipline in the labor force and to promote middle class social values.

While Bob Jones supported the rise of the New South, he helped to preserve southern white male supremacy. Jones promoted adherence to the ideal of true and republican womanhood, emphasizing women’s responsibility to maintain male sexual purity and to be submissive to male authority. He challenged traditional southern beliefs about appropriate activities for men, condemning gambling, extra-marital sexual relationships, and imbibing of alcoholic beverages, and advocated a masculinity defined by piety and commitment to family. Jones also perpetuated white supremacy. He continued the tradition of holding segregated revival meetings, he participated in racial demagoguery while campaigning against Al Smith in the 1928 presidential campaign, and he supported segregation.

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This thesis seeks to explain the impact of Evangelical Protestantism, especially that of Fundamentalism, on the development of the so-called New South. By focusing on Bob Jones’ early evangelistic career before 1930, I hope to explore how one southern evangelist engaged with and participated in the New South. Bob Jones supported the process of industrialization by endorsing labor discipline and the cultural values of the New South elite, while helping to maintain white male supremacy in the South. His career suggests that religion, rather than folkways or racial discrimination, preserved southern exceptionalism or distinctiveness, even as industrialization, urbanization, and globalization challenged the traditionally agricultural, rural, and provincial southern nature.\(^{37}\)

The first chapter of the thesis, ‘The Slavery of Drink,’ examines Jones’ involvement in the prohibition movement during the early twentieth century. Bob Jones campaigned for prohibition in counties in Alabama, for state-wide prohibition in Alabama, and across the nation. His advocacy of prohibition helps to explain why Protestants supported prohibition. Even though prohibition and temperance may have supported the goals of the business leaders of the New South, Jones supported prohibition because of humanitarian concerns about the effects of alcoholism on families and individuals.

The second chapter of the thesis, ‘If Our Women Remain Pure,’ addresses Jones’ beliefs about gender roles. He maintained that women ought to be submissive and sexually pure, and encouraged men to adopt piety once thought to be exclusive domain of

women. Jones supported traditional definitions of femininity while supporting a reconstruction of male roles that was well-suited both the church and to the workplace.

The final chapter of the thesis, “I Believe in White Supremacy,” explores Bob Jones beliefs about race relations. While he encouraged white audiences to adopt a paternalistic noblesse oblige towards African Americans, he opposed social equality, supported the Klan, and endorsed racial segregation. Bob Jones supported the values of the industrializing South, but he was unwilling to challenge white male supremacy.

Robert Reynolds Jones was born on October 30, 1883, in Skipperville, a rural community in Dale County in the wiregrass region of Alabama. He was the eleventh of twelve children in his family. Jones’ experiences as a member of a large family influenced his later beliefs about family life. He was an “ardent advocate of large families,” and he often quipped that if his parents had “stopped at ten, there would not have been a preacher in the family.” Two of Jones’ siblings died before he was born. He often emphasized that even though he and his siblings “had many arguments,” they “lived in peace because we had in us the same blood and we had the same parents and we loved each other.” Jones used his relationship with his siblings as a metaphor for the relationship between Christians.

Bob Jones’ father, William Alexander Jones, was a farmer. Alex Jones fought in the Confederate Army in Company H of the 37th Alabama Infantry Regiment. He enlisted in March 1862. Alex Jones was captured during the siege of Vicksburg in 1863.

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38 Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, p. 2
and later pardoned at Yazoo, Missouri in May 1863.\textsuperscript{39} On September 18, 1863, Alex Jones’ company forded Chickamauga Creek and began to set up breastworks. According to Bob Jones, “my father was wounded in the right knee on the battlefield of Chickamauga.”\textsuperscript{40} While Confederate pensioner records for Dale County, Alabama, note that Alex Jones received “a slight flesh wound under right knee,”\textsuperscript{41} other aspects of the story seem to suggest that if Alex Jones was wounded at Chickamauga, he was wounded the day before the Battle of Chickamauga began on September 19. Additionally, the Confederate order of battle for Chickamauga did not include the 37\textsuperscript{th} Alabama Infantry Regiment. If Alex Jones’ regiment did not participate in the Battle of Chickamauga, it is unlikely that he would have been wounded at the Battle of Chickamauga. Alex Jones, however, was a prisoner of war, and he was wounded during the Civil War.

The story of Alex Jones’ experiences during the Civil War had a profound effect on Bob Jones. He recalled that he thought that his father “thought more of that injured knee than he did of my mother or any child he had.”\textsuperscript{42} Bob Jones’s namesake, Robert Reynolds, was a comrade of Alex Jones who comforted him as he lay wounded on the battlefield.\textsuperscript{43} Jones was influenced by Lost Cause mythology. He proudly proclaimed, “I am the son of a Confederate soldier.” Jones, who “grew up . . . in the South in the ragged edge of reconstruction,” believed, until he was “a big boy,” that “all the Confederate

\textsuperscript{39} National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, compiled 1903 - 1927, documenting the period 1861 - 1865; Catalog ID: 586957; Record Group #: 109; Roll #: 369
\textsuperscript{40} Jones, Comments on Here and Hereafter, p. 23
\textsuperscript{41} Alabama Department of Archives and History; Montgomery, Alabama; Alabama Confederate Pensioner Records (Auditor Files), 1881-1943; Collection Number: SG022989; Folder Number: 20
\textsuperscript{42} Jones, Comments on Here and Hereafter, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{43} Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 8.
soldiers were going to heaven and all the Yankees were going to hell.”

Bob Jones’ son, Bob Jones, Jr., recalled that by the 1920s many southerners “regretted that the South had not won the Civil War.” He argued that the “war had not been fought primarily over the issue of slavery but, rather, over states’ rights.” Bob Jones Jr. participated in Confederate Memorial Day during his years in military school in Montgomery, Alabama.

The myth of the Lost Cause influenced Bob Jones. Charles Reagan Wilson describes the Lost Cause as “the story of the linking of two profound human forces, religion and history.” As a young person, Jones certainly accepted the belief that Confederates were God’s chosen people. He, as a religious leader, was among “the prime celebrates of the religion of the Lost Cause.” Jones’ relationship with his father shaped his beliefs about God. As he “did not always understand” the “mysterious” ways of his father, he believed that Christians “cannot always understand God.” While Jones insisted that he “knew that he loved me and I loved him,” Alex Jones was emotionally distant from his son. Jones association of his father with his beliefs about God gives added significant to Alex Jones’ experiences during the Civil War. Alex Jones was wounded defending the South against “the forces of evil, as symbolized by the Yankee.” Bob Jones compared his father’s scars to the “scars . . . you have because you followed the Son of God.”

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47 ibid., p. 11.
and his father, wounded by “Yankees,” “enacted the Christian story of Christ’s suffering
and death.”[^49] Jones participated in the sacraments of the Lost Cause by celebrating
Confederate Memorial Day and visiting the graves of the Confederate dead. He believed
that the South, purified by the Civil War, was called to redeem the North. He contended
that as northerners had “freed the slaves down South,” southerners would “lead the battle
to free you from the curse of the liquor traffic.”[^50]

While Bob Jones celebrated the Lost Cause, he also embraced reunion. Gaines
M. Foster notes that the Lost Cause and reconciliation were not necessarily incompatible.
He argues that the values of the Lost Cause “helped people adjust to a new order” and
“supported the emergence of the New South.”[^51] As Foster observes, however, by the
twentieth century the Lost Cause had lost its usefulness.[^52] David Blight, in *Race and
Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, contends that, in the process of sectional
reconciliation, “slavery and racial discrimination were . . . banished from the national
story.”[^53] Reunion, according to Blight, was only achieved through the “subjugation” of
African Americans.[^54] Bob Jones argued for reunion on the basis of Christian fellowship
while ignoring racial discrimination. In Bloomington, Illinois, he held a meeting that was
described as “a reunion of the blue and the grey.” Jones shook hands with veterans of the
Grand Army of the Republic. The Bloomington *Pantagraph* noted that “the great silken

[^49]: Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, p. 24
[^50]: Bob Jones, *Sowing and Reaping: A Sermon to Men Only* (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 1908),
[^51]: Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New
South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 6
[^52]: ibid., p. 8
University Press, 2002), p. 383
[^54]: ibid., p. 3
flag” of the local G.A.R. post “fluttered proudly” over the proceedings. Jones saluted the flag. The newspaper observed that “once the silken folds brushed the evangelist’s cheek,” prompting him to remark that “it was my father’s flag after the stars and bars had gone down in defeat and if he were alive today it would be his flag.” Jones proclaimed that “he had become convinced that a large per cent of the men who went from the north down to Dixie land were Christian men.”55 On another occasion, he declared that “these old men sitting in the front pew . . . the men who march down South and shot at my father . . . were wonderful saints of God!” Jones used Protestantism in the cause of sectional reconciliation. 56

Alex Jones was a sharecropper. According to Bob Jones, his father “ran a small farm” where “he raised a great many vegetables.” Jones spent his weekends delivering vegetables in Dothan.57 Alex Jones was apparently a skilled farmer; his son recalled that even though Alex had “never attended an agricultural school,” he was able to “tickle the ground and make it smile with harvest.” Alex Jones “could produce yam potatoes as big as you ever saw, and ears of corn that made the neighbors almost worship at the granary shrine.”58 R.K. Johnson, Bob Jones’ biographer, observed that “Alex had unusual ability as a farmer.” Alex Jones experimented with growing peanuts, and he became such a proponent of the legume that he earned the nickname “Peanut Jones.”59 Bob Jones, like many farm children, participated in farm work. He began to plow when he was nine years

56 Jones, Things I Have Learned, p. 119.
57 Jones, Comments on Here and Hereafter, p. 13
59 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 4
old. Jones also sold vegetables in nearby Dothan. Additionally, he helped break yearling calves to pull wagons. Jones’ rural upbringing provided illustrations for his sermons.

Alex Jones was an officer in the local Farmer’s Alliance. In Alabama, the Farmer’s Alliance boasted 3,000 lodges and 125,000 members. The Alliance developed cotton mills, fertilizer companies, bagging plants, warehouses, and a bank to “aid farmers in their quest for success.” The Alliance also became involved in politics. The Alliance, along with other agrarian protest movements such as the Agricultural Wheel, disrupted Democratic solidarity and challenged the power of the Black Belt. Alex Jones’ support of populism influenced his son’s beliefs. One of Jones’ earliest public speeches was in 1895 when, during a trip to Dothan, Bob Jones delivered a speech in support of the Populist Party, “the idea that was grasping the people at that time.” He embraced populism. Jones condemned Reconstruction, since “some white folks . . . were oppressed by people who had money.” He contended that “the man who lives in poverty is not always a failure, and the man who lives in riches is not always a success,” and he hope that he would not “leave my boy a fortune.” Jones criticized “misers,” declaring that “nobody loves a miser. The world does not care when he dies.” He believed that “the

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60 Jones, *Things I Have Learned*, pp. 97-98
61 Jones, *Things I Have Learned*, p. 99
62 ibid., p. 103
63 ibid., p. 4
65 “Story of Bob Jones,” *The Waukesha Freeman*, March 5, 1914
68 Jones, *Comments on Here and Here After*, p. 173.
hottest places in Hell are going to be for high-brows.” Jones claimed that when he “stood up to preach, everybody has looked alike to me. The rich and the poor, the high and the low – all have looked just alike.”

He believed that God would punish injustice. Jones proclaimed that “things . . . are uneven in this world. A just God must fix it up someday.” He believed in hell because he believed that “things must be made even.”

Jones was insistent that God would make things even. He contended that “some of the most honored of the earth have been wicked men, and some of the lowliest of this world have been Christians.” He believed that “there must be two places beyond the grave to make some things even that have been uneven in this world.”

Jones’ populism was influenced by his family’s poverty. He knew “what the world calls poverty.” According to Jones, he “had to struggle.” Alex Jones “struggled . . . to make a living from the soil.” Bob Jones, reflecting on his childhood, remembered that “times were hard. People were hungry. There was no money to buy clothes.” While he embraced a populist ideas, Jones rejected socialism. He argued that “a man has a right to own a house, to have a wife, to own an ox, and an ass, and other things as well.” He contended that “the socialistic idea which is abroad in the land is contrary to the teaching of God’s Word.”

Jones also criticized welfare, declaring that even though he believed in “charity and in

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70 *ibid.*, p. 131
72 Jones, *Comments on Here and Hereafter*, p. 15.
74 Johnson, *Builder of Bridges*, p. 15
75 Jones, *Comments on Here and Hereafter*, p. 175
certain kinds of relief,” it was “mighty hard to help people and not hurt them.” Jones’ condemnation of the upper class did not lead him to support government intervention or economic justice. His relief for inequality was found in divine judgment.

While Bob Jones was influenced by his father, his mother most profoundly shaped the evangelist. His relationship with his mother, Georgia Creel Jones, affected his beliefs about the family and the role of women. Georgia Creel, born in 1841, married William Alexander Jones in 1859. The 1860 US census indicates that she lived in Faulks Beat 15 in Barbour County. In the 1870 US census, the Jones had moved to Beat 12 in Dale County. The census recorded that Alexander Jones was a farmer, with his real estate valued at $320 and personal estate at $200. The census notes that Georgia “keeps house.” The 1880 census lists Georgia Jones’ occupation as “keeping house.” Bob Jones remembered his mother’s skill at housekeeping. He recalled that his mother “was a good cook. Her food was good, either hot or cold.” Jones declared that his “old country mother could make better biscuits than any home economics teachers on the American continent. She could fry the best ham and scramble the best eggs. She could make the best sweet potato custard and the most wonderful cake.” Jones said that “the memory of my mother is the memory of a tired face . . . I can see her now as she sighed from weariness.” He noted that even though his childhood home was “always simple,” his family “kept it in good repair, and my mother’s flowers were always beautiful.”

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76 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 15
77 Jones, Comments on Here and Hereafter, p. 12
78 Jones, Things I Have Learned, p. 14
80 ibid., p. 18.
Georgia Creel Jones challenges Anne Firor Scott’s claim that “wives of small farmers,” who “bore children, worked hard, and died,” were “not much affected by role expectations.” What Bob Jones’ chose to recall about his mother suggests that Georgia Creel Jones conformed to gender roles. While her socio-economic status may have prevented her from displaying the trappings of gentility, Georgia Creel Jones submitted to her role within the Jones household. Her adherence to role expectations shaped her son’s beliefs about the role of women. While Jones was critical of the habits of “society women,” he contended that women, like his mother, should be fecund, industrious, and submissive.

Bob Jones’ mother died in 1896, when he was almost fourteen years old. Forty years after her death, Jones recalled that “just before the breath left her body, she looked at me out of sleepy, staring eyes and told me to be a good boy and to meet her in heaven.” His mother’s death shaped his beliefs. After explaining that his “mother sleeps in a lonely graveyard,” Jones exclaimed “do not tell me it does not matter whether Jesus raises the dead. It matters to me whether I ever see my mother again!” Jones remembered that he “went away and intended to stay two weeks, but I returned in ten days. My father was at the gate; he said . . . your mother is ill.” He recounted that his mother “put those feeble arms about me and said, ‘Have you been a good boy?’”

Melton C. Wright, in his history of Bob Jones University, *Fortress of Faith*, recorded that

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82 Jones, *Comments on Here and Hereafter*, p. 18
83 Jones, *Bob Jones’ Revival Sermons*, p. 91
84 Jones, *Bob Jones’ Sermons*, p. 90
after George Creel Jones asked Bob if he had been a “good boy,” he responded “Yes, mother, I’ve been a good boy.” Wright also reported that her last words to her son were “Son, Mother loves you so much. You have never given Mother any trouble.” A profile of Jones in a local newspaper described the story of Jones’ mother’s death as “one of the most pathetic and beautiful things I have ever heard fall from the lips of any man.” The maudlin anecdote of Georgia Creel Jones’ death provides insight into Bob Jones’ personality. His mother’s dying request for him to be a “good boy” certainly would have influenced his future decisions, perhaps leading Jones to focus on outward signs of righteousness. Jones’ decision to frequently retell the story of his mother’s death is also significant. Evangelists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries depended on the image of their “sainted mothers” to make an emotional appeal to their listeners and to provide an ideal woman.

Bob Jones was converted at a Methodist revival meeting when he was eleven. He soon gained a reputation as a “boy preacher.” When he was ten, Jones preached a sermon at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Dothan during a Children’s Day. After his conversion, he persuaded his father to construct a “brush arbor,” an impromptu shelter composed of brush, where he “held innumerable brush arbor meetings. Jones also became the superintendent of the Sunday school at the Methodist church in Brannon Stand, Alabama. He was licensed to preach by the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church when he

was fifteen. Jones was appointed to the Headland Circuit of the Marianna District of the Alabama Conference, where he was the minister for five churches.  

Bob Jones attended Southern University, an institution affiliated with the Methodist Church, in Greensboro, Alabama for three years, from 1899 to 1902. Southern University would later merge with another Methodist college to form Birmingham-Southern in 1918. Jones, as a local celebrity, was feted by the fraternities at Southern University. He also participated in literary societies, winning “many medals” for “speech and dramatics.” Jones continued to hold revival meetings on the weekends and during the summer. He “did not set the woods on fire” as a student; his studies often suffered because of his career as an evangelist. Nevertheless, Jones’ experiences influenced the evangelist. In 1908, he donated a hundred dollars to the “Bob Jones Permanent Conference Fund,” which provided aid for students to attend the annual Methodist Summer Student Conference. Jones would later emulate Southern University when founding Bob Jones College. As Southern University began each semester with a revival meeting, so Bob Jones College would begin each semester with opening religious meetings. Jones also brought literary societies to Bob Jones College.

Bob Jones married his first wife, Bernice Sheffield, in October 1905. She died ten months later of tuberculosis in September 1906 in the Birmingham Sanitarium. During this time, Bob Jones was also diagnosed with tuberculosis. He moved to San Antonio, Texas, in search of a better climate. While Jones quickly recovered from tuberculosis, he

87 Johnson, *Builder of Bridges*, p. 17.
88 ibid., pp. 20-22.
was plagued by physical difficulties throughout his career. According to his biographer, R.K. Johnson, Jones “was not physically strong” and “he coughed constantly.” He was also troubled by kidney stones and ear aches. 89 Jones was forced to retired from a campaign in Pana, Illinois, in 1915, because of “a threatened attack of appendicitis, throat trouble, and an apparent general break-down.” 90

After the death of his first wife, Bob Jones married Mary Gaston Stollenwerck, a belle from Uniontown, Alabama. She was a member of the choir during one of Jones’ campaigns in Uniontown. He was immediately attracted to her “culture and refinement,” and they were married on June 17, 1918. A marriage announcement in the Montgomery Advertiser observed that “Mrs. Jones is a very attractive young woman, a social favorite in the community, and a devoted member of the Methodist Church.” 91 Bob Jones, Jr., described his mother as “a vigorous, dynamic, and charming woman,” who, at ninety seven, resembled “a dowager duchess.” He recalled that his father would sometimes “rebuke” his mother “indirectly when he led in family prayer.” Mary Gaston Stollenwerck Jones, according to her son, would grow frustrated with this indirect form of confrontation. 92 Mary Gaston, an elite southern woman, provides a sharp contrast to Jones’ mother. While Georgia Jones had twelve children, Mary Gaston Jones only had one child. Georgia Jones was largely occupied with domestic chores; African American housekeepers and cooks were responsible for managing Mary Gaston Jones’ household.

89 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 25  
91 “Rev. ‘Bob’ Jones Weds Miss Mary Stollenwerck,” Montgomery Advertiser, June 18, 1908.  
92 Bob Jones, Jr., Cornbread and Caviar, p. 11
From 1902 until 1927, Bob Jones was engaged in evangelistic campaigns across the country. The Jones family lived in Montgomery from 1908 to 1927, and attended Court Street Methodist Church, the oldest and most respectable church in Montgomery. It would be impossible to recount every one of Jones’ campaigns, and it would not be helpful to attempt to discuss each campaign, since campaigns tended to be organized the same way in each city and town. Even the basic content of the revival meetings would be similar, since Jones repeated sermons during each campaigns. The scope and magnitude of Jones’ campaigns was impressive. By 1911, Bob Jones had held meetings in all of the gulf coast states. As a result of these early campaigns, 30,000 new members allegedly joined local churches. By 1921, he had “held huge tabernacle meetings in over half the states of the Union,” and by 1932 Jones had allegedly preached in every state of the union. During a campaign in Crawfordsville, Indiana, in 1915, it was estimated that Jones spoke to 210,000 people during the campaign, and that 1,854 people indicated that they had been converted at the end of the campaign.

Bob Jones’ evangelistic campaigns were highly organized. Union campaigns, hosted by churches in a particular city, were particularly large productions, featuring choirs of five hundred voices of more and corps of ushers. Meetings were held every weekday afternoon and evening and on Sundays. Additionally, “cottage prayer meetings” were held throughout the city. Members of Jones’ evangelistic team addressed different

95 “Answers Queries About Bob Jones,” *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk, IA), June 22, 1915.
96 “‘Bob Jones’ Revival to Open Sunday,” *Steubenville Herald-Star*, January 22, 1921.
organizations during campaign. Mary Gaston Jones would often speak to women’s groups. The wife of Loren Jones, Bob Jones’ song leader, would speak to groups of young women. Bob Jones would speak to high school assemblies. During a three week campaign in Warsaw, Indiana, there were 103 meetings, “consisting of morning prayer services, personal workers’ meetings, Bible study classes, Bible training meetings and out of town meetings. There were special meetings for men . . . and similar meetings for women.” Union campaigns were managed by a central committee composed of members of various churches in a city. Subcommittees for finance, building, transportation, buildings and grounds, advertising, music, cottage prayer meetings, personal workers, and ushers oversaw every detail of each campaign. A large wooden tabernacle was constructed for each campaign. During a six-week-long campaign in Grand Rapids, Michigan, an “immense tabernacle” was constructed for $6,000 with seating for 8,000 individuals. The temporary structure included twelve furnaces and “scores of powerful electric lights.” Fifty churches co-operated to organize the campaign. The Grand Rapids Railway company provided a supply of extra street cars to meet the demand at the close of each service. The tabernacle included a nursery for children under three, equipped with pictures, cots, baby baskets, and toys. For the campaign in Grand Rapids, Jones’ evangelistic campaign consisted of: Bob Jones and Mrs. Jones; Loren Jones, the soloist, song leader, and choirmaster, and his wife, who was a pianist and assisted with Bible classes and special women’s meetings; G.H. Meinardi,

97 “Male Members Hear Fine Talk by Bob Jones,” The Anniston Star, March 19, 1920
98 “A Decisive Engagement in the Battle of the Son of Man,” The Waukesha Freeman, March 5, 1914
99 ibid.
Jones’ business manager; Don Cochran, who supervised the construction of the tabernacle; W.G. Haymaker, the tabernacle custodian; and, Margaret Russell, who taught women’s classes and Bible studies. A prominent feature of Jones’ revival meetings was “delegation nights,” where members of different church and civic groups would be special guests and would march into the tabernacle.100 During a five week long campaign in 1922 in St. Petersburg, Florida, that began on October 15 and ended on November 19, Jones welcomed delegations of high school students (October 23), realtors (October 24), Masons and Eastern Stars (October 25), Odd Fellows and Rebekahs (October 26), women (October 27), Sunday school children (October 31), business women (November 1 and November 7), Knights of Pythias (November 3), Woodmen of the World, Macabees, League of Women Voters, Parent-Teachers’ Association, and delegates from Gulfport schools (November 4), young people’s societies from churches (November 6), professional and business men, teachers in the local schools, the post office force and city officials and employees (November 8), union labor (November 9), and the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars (November 14).101 Organization was key to the success of revival campaigns. In How to Have a Revival, a sort of “how-to” guide written by prominent fundamentalist evangelists, John R. Rice, the author of a chapter titled “How to Organize for Union Evangelistic Campaigns,” reminded readers that “to preach the gospel to five thousand people in a revival campaign . . . takes organization.” He argued that “it is not wrong to have organization, but right and necessary.” Rice

100 “Stage Set for Bob Jones’ Six Weeks’ Revival,” Grand Rapids Press, April 6, 1917
101 St. Petersburg Times, November 14, 1922.
cautioned readers that “if God’s people do not get a great auditorium, do not advertise the meetings, do not organize to bring out the lost people to the services, then God cannot give the great revival that He longs to give.”

Large evangelistic campaigns reflect the extent to which industrialization influenced all facets of society. The church could be organized, and souls could be quantified. Jones’ evangelistic team functioned like a machine or an assembly line, with each team member having specific roles to play. Every part of the campaign, from ushers to control the crowd and street cars to meet the demand after a meeting ends, to furnaces to heat the tabernacles and nurseries to contain noisy infants, was carefully managed. An evangelistic campaign, especially a union campaign, was not a haphazard affair. All the energy and knowledge of industrial America was turned to the mission of converting sinners. The fascination with attendance totals, funds raised, and individuals converted was a product of industry. Bob Jones was the chief executive office of an enterprise focused on producing conversions and church memberships.

Union campaigns also demonstrate the wide-spread appeal of fundamentalism in the early twentieth century. Fundamentalist evangelists like Bob Jones were supported by a broad coalition of Protestant churches. Jones was able to work with a broad array of Protestant denominations. He stated that he had “held campaigned where I have had twenty or thirty denominations in the meeting, and I managed to get along with all of

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102 Robert J. Wells, John R. Rice, Hymann Appelman et. al, How to Have a Revival (Wheaton, IL: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1946), pp. 338-339
them.”¹⁰³ Jones rejected denominational differences, as long as the denomination “represents his risen Lord.”¹⁰⁴ Torrey Johnson, a contemporary of Jones, described him as an “ecclesiastical politician.” While Jones would not accept churches that did not adhere to the “fundamentals,” in the early twentieth century Jones found that he could co-operate with a wide variety of churches and denominational groups.

Bob Jones’ evangelistic career suggests that fundamentalism influenced the development of the New South. He used evangelistic campaigns, a product of industrialization, to support the cause of economic modernization while preserving Victorian beliefs about gender roles and race relations. Jones campaigned for prohibition. Because he believed that “John Barleycorn” was responsible for the destruction of families, Jones advocated sobriety. Attacks against prohibition supported the development of labor discipline, especially in the South. While he promoted prohibition, he argued for a return to traditional gender roles for women, and for a revised gender role for men which emphasized sobriety, piety, and commitment to family. This reconstruction of masculinity encouraged men to adopt identities that would be well-suited to the demands of an industrializing economy. Finally, Bob Jones upheld racial conservatism and endorsed paternalism toward African Americans. While Jones never advocated violence towards black southerners, he maintained a racial order that insisted on the supremacy of whites. Bob Jones’ gospel encouraged discipline and self-control while repudiating challenges to the social order in the South. Southern fundamentalists,

particularly Bob Jones, allowed southerners to reconcile an industrial economy with a pre-industrial social structure.
II. CHAPTER ONE: “THE SLAVERY OF DRINK”: PROTESTANT EVANGELISM AND THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

“I hate the damnable liquor traffic,” shouted Bob Jones to an audience in Columbus, Georgia, on June 7, 1918. The crowd had gathered to hear Jones denounce dancing, gambling, and liquor; they would not be disappointed. Jones became well-known during his early career for his advocacy of temperance and prohibition. His campaign against liquor can provide valuable insights into the prohibition movement. As Joe L. Coker contends in *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause*, prohibition was successful in the South because evangelicals were able to “make the legal prohibition of alcohol palatable to the white southern populace.” Examining the rhetoric Jones used in his sermons helps explain why Americans supported prohibition. He believed that liquor threatened the health and character of individuals and the integrity of families, and Jones’ personal encounters with his father’s and his brother’s alcoholism motivated his campaign to outlaw alcoholic beverages.

Before the Civil War, a temperance movement driven by the Second Awakening succeeded in achieving state prohibition in thirteen states by 1855. By the mid-1860s, however, only three states in the US were dry. Frustrated by unfavorable court rulings, a focus on temperance over prohibition by the nascent Republican Party, the diversion of Civil War, and, in the South, by an underdeveloped market economy, prohibition failed

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105 “Stingy Folks Are Denounced,” *Columbus Ledger*, June 7, 1918.
to become a viable reform movement until the late nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, the contemporaneous development of the liquor industry and the rebirth of the prohibition movement led to unavoidable conflict between two competing worldviews. A mixture of religion and humanitarianism motivated prohibitionists, who saw liquor as the cause of a social and moral crisis. Evangelicals, in particular, became increasingly troubled by “sinful” expressions of masculinity on Main Street. Supporters of prohibition argued for increased restrictions because of racist fears of drunkenness among African Americans. Prohibitionists always associated drinking with loss of self-control, an especially powerful argument when applied to African Americans, particularly in the South. As Dewey Grantham notes, “prohibition was also linked to the omnipresent race problem.” Women who supported prohibition saw it as the answer to social instabilities and other hardships created by male drinking.

Richard Hofstadter, in *The Age of Reform*, argues that prohibition “was a means by which the reforming energies of the country were transmuted into mere peevishness.” Like Hofstadter, Joseph Gusfield, in *Symbolic Crusade*, sees the prohibition movement as a “phony” reform, a response to status instability. Moral reform

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109 ibid., p. 1.


111 ibid., 172.


was used to preserve the status of the old middle class threatened by the new elite.

Gusfield identifies prohibition as the high point of the old middle class defense.\textsuperscript{115} Liston Pope, in \textit{Millhands and Preachers}, describes prohibition and other moral reform movements as a reason that churches began to ignore social issues.\textsuperscript{116} C. Vann Woodward, like Pope and Hofstadter, suggests that prohibition was ultimately a distraction from legitimate reform.\textsuperscript{117}

Robert Weibe, in contrast to Hofstadter and Gusfield, sees prohibition as a response to the crisis in community at the end of the twentieth century. Confronted by urbanization, mechanization, and industrialization, the new middle class, instead of the old elites, crafted a progressive response to society. Prohibition was a “comfortable response to the ‘crisis in community.’”\textsuperscript{118} Coker, in \textit{Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause}, echoes Weibe’s argument, suggesting that, for evangelicals, “prohibition was a means of addressing the problems associated with the increased urbanization and industrialization of the New South.”\textsuperscript{119} Instead of viewing the prohibition movement as a conservative backlash, like Hofstader or Gusfield, or a progressive response to urbanized America like Weibe or Coker, W. J. Rorabaugh, in \textit{The Alcoholic Republic}, sees prohibition as a result of two seemingly contradictory impulses, “a drive for material gain and a desire for religious salvation.” The temperance movement balanced the “cool, detached


\textsuperscript{116} Pope, \textit{Millhands and Preachers}, p. 292.


\textsuperscript{119} Coker, \textit{Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause}, p. 236.
rationalism” of materialism with the “highly charged emotionalism” of evangelical religion.120

Prohibition was well-suited to the needs of industrializing America. An emphasis on sobriety and temperance, and, later, total abstinence from alcohol, decreased the chances of Monday, or the day after payday, being wasted days.121 As industrialization led to increasingly complicated factories and working procedures, managers, foremen, and factory owners recognized that sobriety was an essential component of efficiency.122 Businesses, such as railroads and factories, imposed temperance on their employees.123 In his study of the mill town of Gastonia, North Carolina, Liston Pope argues that prohibition led to disciplined labor.124 Temperance was a pathway to economic success, and economic success was a sign of moral character.125 W.J. Cash points out this developing partnership between the boardroom and the pulpit in the Mind of the South, noting that “the waxing eagerness of parsons and businessmen to please each other was a decisive element” in prohibition.126 “Evangelicals,” explains Coker, “embraced the New South message.”127 Prohibition was a means of social control, designed to take Cash’s archetypal “hell of a fellow” and shape him into a factory worker.128 It would be a

123 Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause, 56
124 Pope, Millhands and Preachers, p. 29
125 Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, p. 33
127 Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause, p. 126.
128 Weihe, The Search for Order, pp. 290-291; Cash, Mind of the South, p. 50.
mistake, however, to view prohibition just as the attempt to impose order on the industrializing South and inculcate social and cultural norms better suited to the factory than to the field. Similarly, to uncritically accept either Hofstadter’s characterization of prohibition as a pseudo-reform meant to preserve the power of the old elite, or Weibe’s depiction of prohibition as the response of the new middle class to a crisis in community would mean neglecting that the prohibition movement, which was doubtlessly aided by industry’s realization of the economic benefits of sobriety and social changes, was also motivated by genuine humanitarian impulses.  

Tactics used by prohibitionists changed as the movement evolved. Prohibitionists advocated abolition of liquor, rather than regulation or reformation. The Prohibition Party and the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) saw “total prohibition” as “the only legitimate legal response to liquor.” As federalism made the establishment of “dry havens” in individual states, prohibitionist advocates were forced to adapt more pragmatic techniques. The Anti-Saloon League (ASL), a new organization, took a functional approach to prohibition which sought to achieve prohibition through regulation. Prohibitionists first turned to the state governments to accomplish their goals.

On January 15, 1907, in his annual address to the legislature, Alabama Governor Braxton Bragg Comer articulated the need for local option legislation, stating that “there is almost a universal demand that we have a well-defined and equitable local option

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130 Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment*, p. 11.
131 *ibid.*, p. 21
law.” That same day, R.F. Lovelady, a state representative from Jefferson County, introduced a “local option” bill which would allow voters of any country to petition the probate judge to hold a referendum on prohibition of the sale of liquor in the county. As Rev. Brooks Lawrence, a spokesman for the Anti-Saloon League of Alabama, explained, “the object of the local option bill . . . is to permit the voters of the several countries to handle the liquor question in their own district.”

The Lovelady Local Option Bill, as the legislation came to be known, was prepared and endorsed by the Anti-Saloon League of America, and garnered widespread support from prohibitionists. The Anti-Saloon League of Alabama established temporary headquarters in Montgomery to allow the organization to “work for the passage of the local option bill,” and Anti-Saloon League of Alabama president W. B. Crumpton and assistant superintendent G.W. Young both lobbied for the legislation. The Anti-Saloon League also mobilized other supporters of temperance and prohibition. G. W. Young pleaded with the members of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union to support the local option bill. Young’s efforts seem to have been successful; the WCTU of Montgomery put out a call for prayer in the Montgomery Advertiser on January 20 in

132 “Governor Comer in First Message Outlines Policy of Administration,” Montgomery Advertiser, January 16, 1907.
134 “Sidewalk Pencilings: Explains Local Option Bill,” Montgomery Advertiser, January 8, 1907.
135 “Gossip of the Legislators,” Montgomery Advertiser, January 18, 1907.
anticipation of a joint hearing of the Alabama House and Senate temperance committees on January 22, and invited members to attend the hearing.\textsuperscript{137}

Support for the local option bill was not limited to temperance organizations; as James Benson Sellers notes in his study of prohibition in Alabama, churches were strongly supportive of the legislation.\textsuperscript{138} The local option bill was not free from criticism. Most opposition to laws which advanced prohibition came from centers of industry, commerce, and politics, such as Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile.\textsuperscript{139} An editorial which first appeared in the \textit{Mobile Register} and later in the \textit{Montgomery Advertiser}, warned that the legislature was “making a mistake in its anti-liquor legislation” since the bill would place Alabama cities “at the mercy . . . of the rural population” and disadvantage liquor wholesalers in Alabama who would be unable to ship liquor into counties which had decided to go dry, while distributors from neighboring states would continue to be allowed to sell liquor in those counties.\textsuperscript{140} Despite the opposition of the cities, the Lovelady Local Option Bill, as the legislation came to be known, was passed by the House and the Senate was signed into law by Governor Comer on February 26.

A similar bill introduced by state senator Frank S. Moody applied the local option principle to dispensaries, allowing counties to hold local option elections on the establishing of dispensaries. A dispensaries were state-run offices that dispensed alcoholic beverages. The Moody Dispensary Bill, which had been rejected in a previous session of the Alabama legislation, was “accepted with votes to spare”; the bill passed

\textsuperscript{137} “Notice, a Call to Prayer.” \textit{Montgomery Advertiser}, January 20, 1907.
\textsuperscript{138} Sellers, \textit{The Prohibition Movement in Alabama}, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{139} Gusfield, \textit{Symbolic Crusade}, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{140} “Two Mistakes in Liquor Legislation,” \textit{Mobile Register}, February 12, 1907.
unanimously in the Senate, and the House approved the bill by a vote of 57 to 14 on February 22. 141

The surprisingly rapid success of prohibition through local option was attributed to the efforts of “church people throughout the rural districts and in the smaller towns.” 142 Prohibition counties quickly multiplied. In July 1907, out of 67 counties in Alabama, twenty-one were dry. By September, that number had increased to 32. Seven counties voted for prohibition in October, and six counties approved prohibition in November. 143

Protestant preachers, ministers, lay people, and evangelists were influential in the success of prohibition in Alabama. Local option provided opportunities for churches and temperance organizations to use religious fervor among rural communities and small towns to accomplish political ends. Bob Jones, as an evangelist, was uniquely situated to spread the gospel according to the Anti-Saloon League. Jones had “accomplished much for prohibition in . . . towns in the state.” 144 In July 1907, the Montgomery Advertiser observed that “in the past few weeks Mr. Jones has been instrumental in the closing of dispensaries in one or two places in East Alabama.” 145 Jones’ reputation as a prohibitionist evangelist seems to come as somewhat of a surprise to the young revivalist. During a campaign in Decatur, it was rumored that Jones had come to the town “for the express purpose of inaugurating a prohibition movement.” Jones denied this, exclaiming that “I didn’t know there was such a place as Decatur – never thought of you having

142 “Temperance Sentiment,” Montgomery Advertiser, March 17, 1907
144 “Bob Jones Starts Movement to Bar Whiskey from City,” Montgomery Advertiser, October 7, 1907.
145 “Mr. Jones in Dallas,” Montgomery Advertiser, July 16, 1907.
saloons here.”¹⁴⁶ Jones’ career became associated with the cause of prohibition, and the evangelist shaped the establishment of prohibition in Alabama.

After Jones held a “most successful revival” in Camden, in Wilcox County, in which he attacked the town’s dispensary, “four fifths of an immense audience of men” at a men-only meeting conducted by Jones on July 8, 1907 petitioned the mayor and the town council to close the dispensary.¹⁴⁷ Camden abolished its dispensary, and Wilcox County went dry in October 1907. In Dothan, Alabama, in Houston County, Jones persuaded city officials to shutter the town’s dispensary. Jones argued that the city officials responsible for the continued operation of the dispensary were “responsible for . . . many of these drunkards around town who go home and beat their good wives and innocent children.” City officials voted unanimously to close the dispensary, despite the loss of revenue from the dispensary.¹⁴⁸ The effects of Jones’ revival were more widespread. The citizens of Dothan called a mass-meeting to discuss petitioning the probate judge to hold a referendum “to put whiskey out the county,” and pharmacists requested that doctors in Dothan no longer prescribe medicine which included whiskey or other alcohol. Jones incited a prohibition movement in Dothan.¹⁴⁹

After a revival campaign in Fort Deposit, in Lowndes County, where Jones made “several addresses in the interest of prohibition,”¹⁵⁰ voters in Lowndes County held a

¹⁴⁶ “Mr. Jones in Decatur,” Montgomery Advertiser, September 9, 1907
¹⁴⁷ “To Abolish Dispensary,” Montgomery Advertiser, July 9, 1907
¹⁵⁰ “Mr. Jones Leaves Elba,” The Montgomery Advertiser, September 25, 1907.
referendum to determine whether the county would be wet or dry. Jones had campaigned for prohibition in Haynesville, the county seat of Lowndes County, on September 25, 1907.\textsuperscript{151} Apparently, the loss of revenue from the dispensary was a major challenge to prohibition in the town.\textsuperscript{152} Jones persuaded the city council of Fort Deposit to close the dispensary by demonstrating how the city could liquidate its indebtedness without the dispensary.\textsuperscript{153} Voters in Lowndes County petitioned the probate judge to hold a referendum on prohibition. Some citizens voiced a concern that the county had a debt of several thousand dollars on the liquor in stock at the dispensary. A local farmer offered to pay off the debt, insisting that he would not “let a few thousand dollars damn the children of this county.”\textsuperscript{154} Despite the financial repercussions of the decision, the county voted to become dry on October 10, 1907, with 411 voters in favor of prohibition, and 266 against.\textsuperscript{155}

Jones’ success as an evangelist enabled him to be an important spokesperson for the movement towards prohibition. Jones’ itinerate career made him an ideal spokesperson for prohibition ideology, since the nature of evangelistic campaigns required that Jones campaign across the region. The use of local option prohibition, as opposed to state-wide prohibition, in Alabama allowed Jones to influence prohibition in Alabama. While Jones may have been unable to persuade the whole state to evict “John Barleycorn,” the localized nature of evangelistic campaigns meant that Jones could affect

\textsuperscript{151} “Prohibition in Lowndes,” \textit{The Montgomery Advertiser}, September 24, 1907.
\textsuperscript{152} “A Revival of Prohibition,” \textit{The Pensacola Journal}, June 28, 1907.
\textsuperscript{153} “Bob Jones Speaks,” \textit{The Montgomery Advertiser}, September 26, 1907
\textsuperscript{154} Jones, Jr., \textit{Cornbread and Caviar: Reminiscences and Reflections}, p. 9
\textsuperscript{155} Sellers, \textit{The Prohibition Movement in Alabama}, p. 119.
towns and rural communities, the most important political units if prohibition was to be decided by local option.

As prohibition swept through Alabama, Bob Jones arrived in Montgomery on September 29, 1907, to begin a two-week long revival campaign. When Jones began his revival, it was anticipated that Jones would provoke a movement for prohibition in Montgomery. The *Montgomery Advertiser* observed that Jones had “started a strong prohibition sentiment wherever he has preached,” noting that Dothan and Camden had abolished their dispensaries as a result of Jones’ meetings, and that he had “crippled the saloons and dispensaries in other towns to such an extent that elections for their abolishment have been called or are about to be called.”

Jones’ revival was expected to spark a movement towards prohibition in Montgomery. Initially, he avoided the topic of prohibition, “to the surprise of most of his auditors.” Jones did not include an “attack upon intoxicants” or a “tirade against the saloon” in the first sermon of the campaign.

The evangelist, however, did not disappoint those who wished to see him address the liquor question. On Wednesday, October 2, 1907, the fourth day of the revival, Jones preached one of his most frequently used sermons, “The Prodigal Son.” In this sermon, Jones challenged the citizens of Montgomery to look at their town. He argued that “some men can’t even see their own towns.” Jones condemned Montgomery, for it “was not the good town that it had thought itself.” He warned that prohibition was a “crisis that will soon come to this city” and that, if Montgomery refused to join the rest of Alabama

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in voting for prohibition, “all the riff-raff and undesirable citizens of the surrounding towns and States will flock to Montgomery to carry on their business.”\textsuperscript{159}

As the second week of the revival begin, Jones began to campaign for prohibition. At an afternoon meeting on Sunday, October 6, he advocated for prohibition. The meeting, which “resembled in many respects a political rally rather than a religious meeting,” was for men only. Jones’ speech at the meeting addressed the idea of “sowing and reaping,” a theme which he would return to throughout his career. The evangelist discussed “four striking sins of men”: profanity, gambling, drinking liquor, and adultery. But Jones emphasized “the evils of drink.” He condemned the saloons, where “the minds of men are corrupted . . .” where “one finds pictures he dare not take to his home” and where “one finds the man who uses vile language and tells vulgar stories.” In the consumption of liquor and the social customs surround drinking, Jones found an intersection of the dangers facing Montgomery.

Saloons were places where men could gamble, use language deemed inappropriate by the Victorian South, entertain (and perhaps fulfill) sexual fantasies repressed by society, and imbibe alcohol. Eric Burns, in his study of alcohol in America, points out that saloons were “refuges of a sort” where men could “come together to exchange ideas, to laugh and boast and dare, to relax.”\textsuperscript{160} Saloons were a masculine space. Towns, and especially saloons and other drinking establishments, were the domain and preserve of men. As Ted Ownby suggests in \textit{Subduing Satan}, the campaign for

\textsuperscript{159}“Rev. Bob Jones Scores Men and Women of City,” \textit{Montgomery Advertiser}, October 3, 1907.

\textsuperscript{160}Burns, \textit{Spirits of America}, p. 150.
prohibition was “an attempt to reform male culture itself,” a criticism of one form of masculinity in favor of a masculinity constructed by the ideals of evangelicalism.\footnote{Ownby, \textit{Subduing Satan}, p. 170.}

Jones not only attacked liquor as a threat to Victorian values; he also co-opted white men’s fear of African Americans to demonstrate the need for prohibition. Racial radicals created a nightmarish distortion of African Americans which emphasized the alleged bestiality of black men who, freed from the confines of slavery, regressed to atavistic, animalistic savages.\footnote{Joel Williamson, \textit{A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 79.} Alcohol became associated with the idea of the “black beast.” B.F. Riley, a Baptist from Alabama, summarized white fears about African Americans and alcohol, warning that “inflamed by cheap liquor . . . the Negro is more easily manipulated against the white race.”\footnote{B. F. Riley, \textit{The White Man’s Burden. A Discussion of the Interracial Question with Special Reference to the Responsibility of the White Race to the Negro Problem} (Birmingham, AL: B.F. Riley [c. 1910]), p. 19} Racial fears were a valuable tool for supporters of prohibition. W.B. Crumpton of the Anti-Saloon League of Alabama attributed the approval of prohibition in Birmingham to white fears of black men whose passions were inflamed by “lewd” liquor labels.\footnote{W. B. Crumpton, \textit{A Story: How Alabama Became Dry} (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 1925), p. 30.} Crumpton recognized the usefulness of a racialized argument for prohibition; he observed that it “hit the liquorites like a cyclone.”\footnote{ibid.}

Jones attributed the cause of southerners’ fear of African Americans to liquor, which served as “food for their depravity.” He appealed to white men’s concern for the safety and sexual purity of white women by suggesting that, not until the saloons were
closed, could the “South feel a reasonable safety in leaving its women in unprotected positions.”

Almost counter-intuitively, by attributing alleged African American bestiality to alcohol, prohibitionists offered a critique of popular notions of the supposed inherent savageness of blacks. While the notorious race riot in 1906 in Atlanta has been linked to white anxiety about readily-available alcohol and drugs and the supposed bestiality they induced among African Americans, attributing the actions of the “black beast” to the effects of alcohol exculpated African Americans. If alleged acts of violence perpetrated against whites were fueled by liquor, then black men could hardly be held responsible for actions. Proper blame for African American delinquency lied squarely at the feet of saloon owners and liquor dealers. Jones appealed to popular sentiments about black criminality to justify prohibition in Montgomery.

At the end of the meeting, a pledge was distributed among those present. Signers agreed to “pledge myself to do all in my power to put whisky out of Montgomery.” Thirteen hundred men signed the pledge. At the following evening meeting, Jones announced that the campaign for prohibition was on in Montgomery County. The chorus celebrated the declaration with refrains of “Montgomery’s going dry. Montgomery’s going dry.”

Bob Jones had begun a prohibition movement in Montgomery. On Monday, October 7, 1907, a number of clergymen and laymen created a temporary organization to conduct the campaign for prohibition; this same group agreed to hold a prohibition rally.

166 “Bob Jones Starts Movement to Bar Whiskey from City,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 7, 1907.
167 Williamson, A Rage for Order, p. 142.
169 “Bob Jones Starts Movement to Bar Whiskey from City,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 7, 1907.
on the following Thursday. On Tuesday, petitions began to be circulated asking Probate
Judge J.B. Gaston to call an election in Montgomery County on the question of
prohibition.¹⁷⁰ At the prohibition rally on Thursday, October 10, Jones, joined by Brooks
Lawrence of the Anti-Saloon League and G.G. Miles, chairman of the Prohibition
Campaign Committee, announced that Lowndes County had gone dry. He portrayed the
fight for prohibition as a struggle between the “whisky element,” brewers, saloon-
keepers, harlots, and a few businessmen, and the “prohibition element,” every “true”
Christian. Jones next argued that the “whiskey business is dishonest,” claiming that
instead of getting “your dollar’s worth,” individuals only received “stuff that is injurious
at the time and certainly at the end.” He concluded his remarks by condemning the
political influence exerted by the “whiskey element.” Over 1,500 men attended the rally,
and a collection of $1,660.50 was taken up.¹⁷¹ Jones, weakened by tuberculosis, was
forced to end his participation in the temperance campaign in Montgomery.¹⁷²

As 1907 drew to a close, the majority of counties in Alabama had approved
prohibition measures. By November 12, W.B. Crumpton was able to claim in a flyer
passed out to legislators that only three counties – Winston, Mobile, and Baldwin –
remained wet.¹⁷³ Supporters of prohibition saw state-wide prohibition as the next step in
the fight against liquor. At the end of September, letters were sent to all legislators asking

¹⁷⁰ “Petitions for An Election,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 9, 1907.
¹⁷¹ “Fund for Prohibition Fight Raised at Last Night’s Rally,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 11,
1907.
¹⁷² “Personal and General Notes,” Times-Picayune, October 16, 1907.
¹⁷³ W.B. Crumpton, “Prohibition in Alabama After Jan. 1, 1908.” November 12, 1907. Alabama
Department of Archives and History. 23 other counties had liquor sold at one or four locations, according
to Crumpton.
them if they would “vote for a State prohibition law if one is presented at the extra
session of the Legislature.”

Governor Comer mailed letters to legislators on September 26 informing them
that an extra session was “practically certain.” The governor denied that the extra session
would be a consideration of state-wide prohibition. When he issued a proclamation on
October 9 announcing that the legislature would be convened “in extra session,” there
was no mention of a general prohibition law. Instead, Comer convened the extra
session “because the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company and certain other
railroad companies” had gone to court to determine whether or not certain laws
regulating rates passed by the legislature were constitutional. The purpose of the extra
session was to “punish the roads for appealing to the courts.” As the Montgomery
Advertiser observed, “the Governor determined to punish. He threatened punishment. He
will inflict punishment.”

Despite Comer’s reluctance to discuss state-wide prohibition in the extra session,
prohibitionists saw the extra session as a way to achieve their goal. State-wide prohibition
was especially appealing to those from wet counties, since, while prohibition was
difficult to achieve if it was to be determined by local option, public sentiment in general
throughout Alabama seemed to be in favor of prohibition. Prohibitionists in Mobile

174 “Statewide Prohibition,” The Montgomery Advertiser, September 25, 1907.
175 Governor Comer Indicates Necessity for Extra Term, The Montgomery Advertiser, September 27, 1907.
177 “Why Was the Extra Session of the Legislature Called?,” The Montgomery Advertiser, November 7, 1907.
178 “The Governor and Mister Smith,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 25, 1907.
179 “The Call for an Extra Session,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 11, 1907
petitioned Governor Cromer to include a prohibition bill in his call for the extra session. The Alabama Anti-Saloon League adopted resolutions in favor of constitutional prohibition on October 4, and decided to go before the extra session of the Legislature to “ask that the matter of state prohibition be referred to a vote of the people,” a necessary step before the passage of an amendment to the Alabama constitution.

Governor Comer continued to resist the consideration of a state prohibition law in the extra session. Comer’s political advisers questioned the timeliness of a state prohibition: “don’t you think are asking a little too much when you . . . demand a prohibition bill which will apply to counties which have not yet had the opportunity of calling a local option election?”

Heedless of Comer’s position on prohibition, Representative Eugene Ballard from Autauga County, chairman of the House Temperance Committee, intended to introduce a State prohibition bill. It would be the first bill of the extra session. The Anti-Saloon League, “which cuts considerable ice in Alabama politics just now,” supported the Ballard bill. Prohibition was the foremost concern of legislators who arrived early to the extra session. When Governor Comer was questioned about allegations that he would veto a state-wide prohibition statute, he vehemently denied the accusation, protesting that “if the Legislature passes a prohibition bill and . . . I must line up with either the temperance people or the other side, why, nobody could doubt where I would stand.”

180 “Prohibitionists in Mobile.” Montgomery Advertiser, September 29, 1907.
181 “May Exclude Liquor,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 5, 1907.
182 “Will Not Aid Prohibition,” The Montgomery Advertiser, November 1, 1907.
183 “First Bill Prohibition,” The Montgomery Advertiser, October 30, 1907.
184 “Statutory Prohibition,” The Montgomery Advertiser, November 6, 1907.
On the first day of the session, Speaker A.H. Carmichael from Tuscumbia introduced a prohibition bill. The House committee on temperance reported the bill favorably, and on November 13 the House passed the Carmichael Statutory Prohibition Bill by a vote of 66 to 25. The Senate passed the Carmichael bill on November 19, after amending the bill so that it would take effect on December 31, 1908.185

Bob Jones took an active role in the extra session. On Saturday, November 16, he provided the opening prayer for Senate. Most importantly, Jones gave the opening prayer for the Senate on November 19, when that body passed the Carmichael Statutory Prohibition bill. Passage was surrounded with prohibitionist pageantry. A “great crowd of prohibitionists” filled the Alabama Senate chamber, composed mainly of women, children, and ministers. Visitors to the Senate cheered and waved handkerchiefs, and supporters of prohibition wore white badges printed with the words “Statutory prohibition for ALL Alabama.” After the bill passed, women at the capitol sang the doxology and a prohibitionist hymn, “Alabama’s Going Dry” (set to the tune of “Bringing in the Sheaves”). Supporters of prohibition gave flowers and words of praise to senators who had supported the bill.186 Jones’ presence at this event is significant. Jones provided symbolic leadership for a movement that had been defined by and associated with popular religious and moral beliefs. Jones became closely associated with prohibition in Alabama. He was instrumental in counties going dry, he shaped the

185 Sellers, The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, pp. 120-121.
186 “No Whiskey to Be Sold in Alabama After Jan. 1, 1908,” The Montgomery Advertiser, November 20, 1907.
discussion of prohibition in Montgomery, and he provided spiritual and symbolic leadership for the movement for state-wide prohibition.

The success of state-wide prohibition in Alabama was short-lived. Encouraged by their success at lobbying for the passage of the Lovelady bill, the Moody bill, and the Carmichael bill, in 1908 the Anti-Saloon League began to campaign for the passage of an amendment to the Alabama constitution which would prohibit alcohol. The prohibition amendment was overwhelmingly defeated in 1909. As the Progressive coalition led by Comer began to break down as the goals of individual interest groups were achieved, “the advent of alcohol as an issue simply dissolved Progressivism.” Those opposed to the prohibition movement were able to mount a successful campaign to defeat the amendment. The “sanctity of the home” was a major argument used by anti-prohibitionists to persuade voters. If the amendment was passed, anti-prohibitionists warned, constables would be able to enter homes of private citizens to search for liquor. The defeat was interpreted as a defense of the home by the manhood of the state.

A letter to the editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* helps to explain the about-face in public opinion of prohibition. The writer of the letter, using the pseudonym “Old Citizen,” observed that “prohibition in a city was an evil,” remarking that “the wisest and best men clung to the idea that local option was the only proper solution.” He explained that statutory prohibition had only succeeded because of “organized agitation” which went as far as to “pet lovely woman . . . to stand around the polls, button-hole men, and

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187 Sellers, *The Prohibition Movement in Alabama*, p. 128
188 Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama*, p. 316.
invade legislative halls.” The writer concluded that “state-wide prohibition was thus forced upon the state in a movement of hysteria,” and condemned supporters of constitutional prohibition, who “distrust the fitness of the people to wisely pass on prohibition after experience with it.” State representative Joel Rainer, from Bullock County, who voted for the statutory prohibition bill, opposed constitutional prohibition. He explained that while he supported local option, he had “voted for statutory prohibition against my judgement, because the people seemed to want it.” An article from the *Walker County News* which appeared in the *Advertiser* argued that “the whole proposition of so-called prohibition was forced upon the people through excitement and frenzy of those who were made mad by the dirty rum-selling low dives.” The article contended that “even statutory prohibition has proven a signal failure in that it has robbed the state of moneys from a taxing system.” Opponents of constitutional prohibition argued that statutory prohibition was ineffective, and that the public had been manipulated into supporting statutory prohibition by proponents of prohibition.

Governor Comer and his allies were personally attacked for their support of the prohibition amendment. In a debate held in Autaugaville in 1909, Leon McCord, the organizer and secretary of the Safe and Sane League, one of the major organizations opposing constitutional prohibition, viciously attacked Comer. He charged that the governor was “overbearing, that he has bankrupted the State, and he is dead politically, and that his constitutional prohibition policy is breaking up the Democratic party of

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McCord later repeated his criticism of Comer, claiming that “we are fighting recklessness and we are fighting mismanagement. For no other reason, except politics, the people were thrown in the strife and turmoil of this fight.” Those opposed to the constitutional amendment were successful in persuading Alabama voters “that the amendment was conceived in politics and brought forth in trades.” One of the major differences between the campaign for local option prohibition and the campaign for constitutional prohibition was the perception that local option prohibition was the result of a grass-roots movement. While state-wide organizations such as the Alabama Anti-Saloon League and the WCTU played an important role in achieving prohibition through local option, ultimately the decision was left to the voters of each county. In the campaign for constitutional prohibition, opponents of constitutional prohibition were able to portray the amendment as being wholly political.

Churches and ministers, the agents of grass-roots change in earlier campaigns for prohibition, were criticized for being overtly political. Hilary A. Herbert, a former Congressman from Alabama and Secretary of the Navy under Grover Cleveland, condemned churches and ministers for attempting to “bring to bear the power of the church as an organization to control the action of individual members.” Herbert warned churches that “free-born Americans will revolt against any church that denies them their rights.” Former Congressman Milford W. Howard, a Populist, echoed Herbert, stating “I love preachers, but a number of them have descended from the pulpit to the dirty mire

195 “Early Fight is Surprise,” The Montgomery Advertiser, September 6, 1909.
Opponents of the prohibition amendment were able to lessen the influence of churches and ministers by questioning the legitimacy of the churches’ political activism.

The defeat of the prohibition amendment was seen as a repudiation of Governor Comer and his allies. “The defeat of Governor Comer, Rev. Brooks Lawrence, Judge S.D. Weakley and the amendment forces” exulted the *Montgomery Advertiser*, “was the most crushing . . . ever administered to any political faction in Alabama.” The people of Alabama rejected the prohibition amendment and Comer’s reform coalition. In November 1910 voters elected Emmet O’Neal, a “wet” who was supported by some parts of Comer’s confederation. In his inaugural address, O’Neal attacked the rejected prohibition amendment, describing it as “offspring of that fatal union of intolerance and bigotry.” The newly elected governor called for “an eternal divorce between the liquor interests and politics” and advocated for a general local option law. Representative W.L. Parks of Covington County introduced a local option bill on February 2 which was approved by the House and Senate. A bill to regulate liquor traffic was introduced by Representative Smith of Montgomery County on February, and this legislation became law on April 6. Bob Jones, unsatisfied with a return to local option, was frustrated at this turn of events. He lamented that “the political situation in Alabama couldn’t be worse.” “The church people and prohibitionists,” Jones observed, “are even more

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197 *Alabama Christian Advocate*, October 21, 1909
198 “Alabama Voters Rebuke Comer and His Scheme,” *The Montgomery Advertiser*, November 30, 1909.
199 Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama*, p. 316.
200 “Governor Emmet O’Neal Delivers Inaugural Address,” *The Montgomery Advertiser*, January 17, 1911.
dissatisfied... than had been dreamed of.” The evangelist expressed hope that the prohibitionists would “rally to throw off the burden.”

Despite his frustration with the dismantling of state-wide prohibition in Alabama, Jones continued to serve as a prophet of prohibition. By summer 1911, the evangelist had developed a national reputation as an influential figure in the prohibition movement. He was invited to go to Montana to participate in the state’s prohibition campaign. Jones had to decline the invitation, since he was engaged in a revival campaign in Georgia. That Jones, an evangelist whose career was mostly confined to the South, would be invited to participate in a prohibition campaign in Montana speaks to his influence. In Georgia, Jones criticized Governor Joseph Brown for his veto of the Tippins bill, “one of the most drastic prohibition measures in the history of the state.” Brown had threatened to veto the Tippins bill that did not “carry with it a provision for a popular vote.” True to his word, when the Tippins bill did not include such a provision, the governor struck it down. In his message to the Georgia House of Representatives made after vetoing the bill, Brown explained his justification for vetoing the bill as a defense of popular sovereignty, contending that “the rulership of the people is an actuality; not a fiction, a pretense or a shadow. This actuality is the sheet-anchor of our confidence in the present and our hope for the future.” Jones declared Brown a “liquor governor” and condemned legislators “who did not have manhood enough to stick to the bill.”

202 “Declares Political Situation in Alabama Bad,” Charlotte News, November 17, 1911
206 “Vetoes Tippins Bill,” Weekly Banner, August 2, 1912
207 “Rev. ‘Bob’ Jones Scores Governor” Atlanta Constitution, August 5, 1912
The evangelist attacked saloons, saloon-keepers, and the “whiskey trust” in cities and towns across the United States. In Scranton, Pennsylvania, in January 1913, as a result of a revival led by Jones, the men of the city inaugurated “a city-wide movement, the head of which is Detective Robert Wilson and Evangelist ‘Bob’ Jones” to clean up the city. The campaign seems to have been initially successful. On January 13, 1913, a local newspaper observed that “saloons . . . took notice when the midnight hour arrived on Saturday and the town was closed as tight as the courts intended it should be . . . yesterday was very ‘dry’ in Scranton.”

Later that year, Macon, Missouri voted to go dry after Bob Jones held a revival in the town. “His religious fervor was like a flaming torch in dry stubble,” praised the Kansas City Star. During this revival campaign, Jones “stalked into ‘Bob’ Thomas’s saloon, on whisky row, and from the center of the sawdust floor, preached hell and damnation for whiskey sellers. ‘Bob,’ the preacher and ‘Bob,’ the saloon keeper, glared at each other across the bar and a great crowd watched.”

Towns often went “dry” after Bob Jones came to town. After voters in Hartford City, Indiana, voted to go dry on May 4, 1915, Jones was credited for the success of prohibition in that town. Jones “made attacks on the saloon” and “forced the church people to call an election.” The Alexandria Time-Tribute attributed the success of prohibition in Hartford City to Jones’ revival, explaining that “a revival made Hartford City a saloon-less city.” The Northern Indianan also noted that supporters of prohibition “give great praise to Bob Jones” for the town going dry.

208 “Midnight Bell is Widely Heard,” Scranton Truth, January 13, 1913
209 Closing in on John Barleycorn,” Kansas City Star, December 7, 1913.
210 “‘Wet’ Town Puts Ban on Saloons After 73 Years,” Indianapolis Star, May 5, 1915; “Revival to keep Hartford Dry,” Alexandria Times – Tribune, August 21, 1915; “‘Wet’ Town Puts a Ban on the Saloons
a revival in Martin’s Ferry in eastern Ohio. Prohibitionists in the Buckeye State saw Jones’ revival as “the opening gun of the campaign to make Ohio dry next November.”

After a revival campaign in Atchison, Kansas, the Atchison Globe scolded carousers from the nearby town of Leavenworth, cautioning that “Atchison is a law abiding place, and will not tolerate any monkey-doodling . . . since Bob Jones . . . came to Atchison.”

In 1917, Bob Jones attempted to use a revival to make Bloomington, Illinois go dry. Jones “wanted the campaign to help bring Bloomington back into the dry column.” His campaigns for prohibition were successful in many cases. Jones’ career demonstrates the importance of evangelists to the success of prohibition.

The rhetoric used by Jones in his condemnation of liquor provides valuable insights into the arguments used by prohibitionists in their campaign to make America dry. He, like other temperance advocates, emphasized the threats posed by alcohol to individuals, the family, and the community. Jones denounced the “liquor trust” and saloon keepers. He blamed saloons for causing racial antagonism among southern whites and African Americans. Finally, Jones campaigned for prohibition by appealing to the manhood and patriotism of his audiences.

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211 “Dry Campaign in Ohio,” The Evening Review (East Liverpool, Ohio), November 16, 1916. A similar campaign in Martins Ferry in 1914 was ultimately defeated. The “wet” majority in that election was 146 (“Three Ohio Cities Carried by ‘Wets,’” The Washington Reporter, December 21, 1914)

212 This ultimatum is quoted in “Not Pure and Undefiled.” Leavenworth Times, November 28, 1917.

Leavenworth disagreed with the holier-than-thou attitude of Atchison.

213 “Calls Church Folks Too Apathetic,” The Pantagraph (Bloomington, Ill.), February 7, 1917.

214 Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause, p. 27
Bob Jones found justification for his campaign against liquor in the alleged
destructive effects of alcohol consumption on individuals and families. The evangelist
threatened audiences with horror stories about the negative repercussions of consuming
alcoholic beverages. Drinking liquor, Jones warned, resulted in a “breaking head,” a
“burned up stomach,” and a “shattered nervous system.”215 He used “scientific” evidence
to support his claims. Jones described visiting a friend at the medical department of
Tulane University and touring the dissecting room where he saw a “drunkard’s brain.”
His friend remarked that “we can tell a drunkard by examining his brain, and you ought
to see the effects of liquor on the human brain.” Jones exclaimed his disbelief at the
continued existence of saloons “where men can drink stuff that will burn their stomachs out . . . harden the human brain, and drive them insane.”216 “Down South,” Jones
remarked to an audience in Scranton, Pennsylvania, “we have seen whisky wreck the
lives of the best white men.”217 Drinking alcohol was sinful not because it violated a
biblical injunction, but because it was bad for your health. Instead of supporting his
opposition to liquor by quoting scripture, Jones quoted medical facts. Perhaps this
indicates that Jones was unable to effectively use the Bible to argue for tee-totaling.

Individuals did not have to overindulge to reap the negative health consequences
of drinking alcohol; Jones once told of a young friend, a minister, who fell ill with a high
fever. Upon inspection by a specialist, it was discovered that his friend, who “was a beer
drinker” but “never drank much whisky” had, according to the doctor, “drank enough to

215 Bob Jones, *Sowing and Reaping: A Sermon to Men Only*, p. 28
216 ibid., pp. 29-30.
harden your old liver.” Liquor, and not only spirits, but beer too, was dangerous to
individuals’ health, and therefore a social ill. Alcohol was too dangerous to be legal.

Liquor was not only a threat to the health of individuals; it was also a threat to
their character. Alcohol would “damn their souls.” Drinking, Jones argued, made
people lie. “I never knew a drinker that wasn’t a liar,” contended the evangelist.
Drinking alcoholic beverages had even more dire consequences for women. Jones
asserted that a woman who “drinks enough to be intoxicated, or even partly intoxicated”
would be unable to “keep herself in paths of virtue.” Alcohol was a definite threat to
the sexual purity of women. “Adultery is suggested by the extreme clothing worn by
women today,” raged the evangelist, who continued, stating that it “as an evil ranks next
to liquor.” Alcohol enslaved men and women; “the slavery of drink,” Jones said, “has
dragged more men down to ruin than all the other slavery on earth.” The southern
evangelist campaigned to emancipate alcoholics from “the slavery of drink.” Liquor
savaged the bodies and damned the souls of drunkards. Prohibition was necessary
because of the damaging effects of alcohol.

Liquor was also dangerous to families; it threatened their financial security.

“Every liquor dealer,” Jones admonished an audience, “is taking food from the poor, the

218 Bob Jones, The Unbeatable Game: A Sermon to Men (Cleveland, TN: Bob Jones College, [c. 1940].
219 Jones, Sowing and Reaping, p. 31.
220 “Booze, Dance, Gambling, Immorality Scored by Bob Jones After His Trip to Juarez,” El Paso Herald,
September 18, 1922.
221 “Crowd Flocks to Hear Jones on Underworld,” The Tribune-Republican (Scranton, PA), January 13,
1913.
223 “Bob Jones Grabs Gloversville Satan by the Neck and Breaks Its Back,” The Morning Herald
(Gloversville, NY), April 14, 1916.
widowed, the bereaved.” 224 After seeing a poverty-stricken woman in Indiana, Jones wondered if the woman had a husband who drank whisky, or a son who could have taken care of her if he had not been drinking. 225 Alcohol endangered wives and children. Jones warned that liquor caused “men to murder their wives.” The effects of alcohol were seen in children, who reaped the negative effects of alcoholism. 226

Liquor also led to domestic violence. Jones told maudlin stories of men, who, driven to violence by drinking, hurt or killed their children. He, like other prohibitionists, recounted overemotional stories of drinkers’ misery, ruin, and the cruel consequence of alcohol on families. 227 During a campaign in Chicago in 1946, Jones shared a story, told to him by “an old country preacher,” of a “wicked, drunken infidel man with a drunken infidel wife” who refused to allow their daughter to go to church. This daughter, a little girl, happened to be converted by a mission worker, and, when she informed her parents of the news, “the father was drunk and he whipped her.” The girl was beaten so severely that she developed a fever, caught pneumonia, and died. 228 Jones’ message was clear – liquor was a threat to families. It made men violent, it made women immoral, it threatened the lives of children, and it starved needy families.

Even if liquor failed to destroy families directly, refusal to support prohibition and fight against the saloons would surely ruin families instead. Jones warned of the dangers of refusing to join the fight against saloons. He graphically portrayed the

224 “Mayor Will Not Attend Meeting,” The Scranton Truth, January 18, 1913.
227 Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause, p. 53
228 Jones, Bob Jones’ Revival Sermons, pp. 30-31.
consequences of apathy by telling the story of a man who rejected pleas to participate in the prohibition movement and in turn had his wife and daughter taken from him suddenly in a railroad wreck. The engineer, Jones explained, had been drinking. As the man grieved for his daughter and his wife, “a lowdown, debauched engineer sat out at one side and vomited.” The moral of the story was clear – “liquor cursed his home and robbed him of his wife and daughter,” and liquor threatened the homes and families of all those who failed to oppose it.  

Jones rebuked audiences who “let your boys be damned to bring in a little revenue” gained by towns by issuing liquor licenses. Liquor endangered the family, so it had to be prohibited.

The threat to families posed by liquor was perhaps even greater than that to individuals. Prohibition emerged as response to threats to the traditional, nuclear, American family. Family security was essential for the Victorian South’s social order, and threats to that order were serious indeed. Self-discipline, familial loyalty, and responsibility to children were fundamental values in a society that depended on the nuclear family as the basis for social order. Jones observed, as had other prohibitionists, that drinking worsened some conditions and caused others, that it deprived families of essential income, and reduced inhibitions, inciting some to

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229 Jones, *Sowing and Reaping*, p. 31.
violence. Banning liquor offered the opportunity to prevent these problems, protect the family, and preserve social order.

“Damn the damnable liquor traffic” thundered Jones. The saloon-keeper and the liquor trust were the real enemies, not the drunkard. In Jones’ sermons, the saloon-keeper was made monstrous and grotesque. The evangelist indicted the saloon-keeper for founding his prosperity on human misery. Their homes were “built out of human hearts and used lifeblood for mortar.” The walls of their homes were plastered “with the lining of human stomachs.” “Hardened human brains” were used to make tile for the bathroom, baked “in the shop of Hell.” The carpets were made from coffin lining stained with blood, and the window curtains were “widow’s weeds, slightly colored with a demon’s brush.”

Jones reviled the saloon-keeper, describing him as “worse than a thief.” To the evangelist, the perfidy of the saloon-keeper and the “whiskey trust” was limitless; Jones argued that “there is nothing the liquor gang won’t do.”

Jones esteemed the “liquor trust” to be “the most damnable of all things in the world,” for “there is nothing too mean for this trust to do, and there are no depths to which it will not stoop to continue its sinful traffic.”

Despite his criticism of saloon-keepers, Jones was sympathetic towards alcoholics. “Don’t you pat a saloon-keeper on the back,” demanded the evangelist, “and then fine a drunkard in your court.”

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233 Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment*, pp. 21-22.
234 Jones, *Heritage of Faith*, p. 15
237 Jones, *Sowing and Reaping*, p. 35
hated liquor and the business.\textsuperscript{238} Jones was probably sympathetic towards alcoholics because his father and oldest brother were alcoholics. His father’s health was ruined by alcoholism, and “he gathered the rose from the cheeks of my mother when she was young.”\textsuperscript{239} Jones’ fight against liquor was personal. Having seen his family wrecked by alcoholism, he was fiercely antagonistic towards those who sold and fought to be able to continue to sell liquor.

Jones appealed to his audience’s sense of patriotism and masculinity, while capitalizing on white fears of drunken, unrestrained blacks, to argue for prohibition. After the passage of the 18\textsuperscript{th} amendment, he argued that “we have got to keep the laws in America whether we like them or not” and demanded that the “red-headed anarchist of a bootlegger had better quit singing ‘My Country, ‘tis of thee, sweet land of liberty.’”\textsuperscript{240} Jones explained that he did not want a “blue Sunday,” but a red, white, and blue Sunday to “preserve for our children the institutions that have made America the greatest country on God’s earth.”\textsuperscript{241} He argued that prohibition was patriotic, telling an audience in Wisconsin that if they were “patriotic and loved the American Republic, and had an interest in the American civilization” they would support prohibition.\textsuperscript{242} Jones also appealed to his audience’s masculinity. During a revival in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Jones confronted his audience, asking them, if they, the “men of Scranton” had the “manhood

\textsuperscript{238} “Bob’ Jones’ Sermon,” \textit{The Evening Independent} (St. Petersburg, FL), November 4, 1922; “Rousing Meeting at ‘Boots’ Saloon,” \textit{Macon Daily Chronicle}, October 13, 1913
\textsuperscript{239} Jones, \textit{Sowing and Reaping}, pp. 32, 33
\textsuperscript{240} “Buyer of Booze is Lower Down than Dirty Bootlegger Himself, Bob Jones Yells at His Revival,” \textit{El Paso Herald}, September 5, 1922.
\textsuperscript{241} Jones, \textit{The Unbeatable Game}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{242} Jones, \textit{Sowing and Reaping}, p. 28.
to stand up and say ‘Down with this damnable business forever.’” He made a similar appeal at a revival in Waukesha, Wisconsin, demanding that his audience “have manhood enough to demand that these damnable holes shut up one day out of the week.” Finally, in addition to appealing to patriotism and masculinity, Jones also used racial anxieties to support prohibition. During his campaign for prohibition in Montgomery County, Jones argued that liquor served to incite African American men to animalistic passions and encourage the rape of white women. Speaking to a northern audience, he stated that liquor “ruined” the South’s “colored population.” Patriotic, masculine men, argued the evangelist, should protect their wives and daughters, and their society, by supporting prohibition.

Bob Jones reveals that prohibition was a religious and a political movement. He argued that “it was a revival that put the whiskey trust out of the country. Education had taught the harmful effects of alcohol, but it was the religious revival that crystalized this sentiment into action.” Jones’ revival campaigns sparked prohibition campaigns, and, while his efforts were not always successful, the evangelist received credit for towns going dry. Even if the success of prohibition in towns like Fort Deposit, Dothan, Macon, Atchison, and Hartford City was not directly caused by Jones, the fact that newspapers attributed the prohibition to Jones’ campaign is significant. In Alabama and Georgia, prohibition failed when voters felt as though they had prohibition forced upon them. The

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244 Jones, *Sowing and Reaping*, p. 29.
246 “Eight Thousand Men Respond,” *The Scranton Truth*, January 20, 1913
emotionalism of a revival campaign created the perception of a grass-roots movement for prohibition, even when prohibition may have benefited middle-class whites. Prohibition was not just a “peevish” pseudo-reform; individuals genuinely believed it was a moral necessity.

Jones’ rhetoric also explains much about why individuals supported prohibition. Instead of focusing on the economic or financial benefits, Jones emphasized the benefits to individuals, families, and communities. In fact, he supported prohibition, heedless of the cost. Jones explained that he “would rather ruin business than to see one mother’s son sent down to hell.” This fact should be unsurprising. Jones, motivated by personal experiences with alcoholism, took a position which emphasized the human benefits of prohibition. While doubtlessly prohibition offered benefits for businesses seeking to cultivate a sober, punctual, and efficient work force, Jones’ campaign for prohibition was personal. As an evangelist, Jones played upon the heartstrings. His methods were not highly rational; rather, they were designed to elicit an emotional response among the hearers. Jones was not a philosopher of prohibition, but a prophet, a “voice crying in the wilderness.” Understanding the religious and emotional justifications for prohibition is essential to explaining the success of the prohibition movement.

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248 “Revival Meetings Continue at Macon,” La Plata Home Press, October 16, 1913.
III. CHAPTER TWO: “IF OUR WOMEN REMAIN PURE”: BOB JONES AND THE
FUNDAMENTALIST CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY

Bob Jones believed that America’s continued existence was dependent on the
continued “purity” of women. He declared that “all the forces of evil can never destroy
America if our women remain pure.” Gender roles, and particularly the role of women,
were one of Jones’ primary emphases throughout his career. As gender roles, particularly
in the South, evolved in the early twentieth century, Jones campaigned against anything
he perceived to be a threat to women’s role as preservers of society. Jones also pleaded
with males to embrace a manhood characterized by piety and sobriety. His admonitions
to men, however, lacked the urgency of those to women. Jones’ fight for the “purity” of
women was existential; he believed the fate of the nation, if not the world, depended on
women’s adherence to traditional mores.

Bob Jones’ focus on gender roles reflected popular concerns about
changing gender roles in late nineteenth - and early twentieth - century America. Social,
political, and economic changes forced men and women to re-evaluate gender roles. At
the turn of the century, historian Gail Bederman observes, “middle-class men were
unusually obsessed with manhood.” Social change threatened male dominance, and
men hurried to respond to these challenges. Gender, a “historical, ideological process,”
placed men and women within culturally defined roles, which were in turn challenged
and reconstructed by men and women. The contested nature of gender roles at the turn of

250 Gail Bederman, Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States,
the century gave added urgency to the social construction of gender, especially in the South.251

Ante-bellum southern women, argues Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, “relied upon family membership to define their identities, for they normally did not have access to other, more abstract roles that would offer competing sources of identity.”252 Historian Jean E. Friedman notes that this “family-centered community which defined sexual roles characterized southern social structure into the twentieth century.”253 She suggests that church discipline “reinforced traditional sexual roles and deterred formation of independent women’s organizations.”254 Anne Firor Scott, in The Southern Lady, argues that the image of the southern lady, a “submissive wife” who was “physically weak” and “timid and modest, beautiful and graceful,” was supported by evangelical theology.255 Scott asserts that “religion confirmed what society told her – namely, that she was inferior to men.”256 The South’s defeat in the Civil War and subsequent social changes as a result of Reconstruction, Scott suggests, “undermined the patriarchy.”257 As Friedman points out, gender roles resist the periodization imposed by traditional narratives of southern history; Scott acknowledges that “the image of the lady was slow to die.”258

251 ibid., p. 7.
254 ibid., p. 8.
256 ibid., p. 13.
257 ibid., p. 96.
258 ibid., 221.
Gender roles did, however, evolve during and after the Civil War. Drew Gilpin Faust explains that “the necessities of changed economic and social circumstances and the self-knowledge gained from four years of crisis gave white southern women the bases for inventing new selves erected firmly upon the elitist assumptions of the old.”

Women in the New South increasingly challenged traditional definitions of women’s roles. C. Vann Woodward, in *The Origins of the New South*, suggests that the post-Reconstruction South offered increased opportunities for women to achieve political and economic independence. He notes that the Grange and the Farmer’s Alliance allowed women to be members, providing them with “their first real opportunity for direct action.”

Women, as well as children, were increasingly forced to work in factories to supplement their family’s income. In the New South, women began to move outside the home and farm.

The women of the New South, Edward Ayers acknowledges, “belied the stereotypes of languid Southern womanhood.” The Civil War, Reconstruction, and the associated collapse of plantation life created change and uncertainty, especially for younger southern women. These young women “seemed to live faster . . . than their elders.”

Women became increasingly involved in the church as committee members, where they gained a certain amount of authority. Women raised funds for foreign missions, maintained church buildings, and provided resources and administration for

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259 ibid., 254
261 ibid., pp. 226-227.
262 Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, p. 28
263 ibid.
church benevolence ministries.264 As women became more involved in churches, they also began to seek employment in town. Edward Ayers reports that “in the 1880s, white working women became more numerous and visible in Southern cities.”265 In the New South, women’s place in society began to change.

Even as the role of women unavoidably changed, Southern men relied on traditional gender roles to provide stability. Historian Daniel Singal, in The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919 – 1945, notes that Victorians “believed in an orderly universe.”266 Southerners combined the Cavalier mythology of the antebellum South, which emphasized “order, stability, and cohesion,” with capitalism, creating a new form of Victorianism.267 Purity was central to the Victorianism of the New South. Singal observes that the Victorian “impulse was to strive for purity in all things.” The Victorian emphasis on purity was intended to defend “civilization” against savagery and irrationality.268 Women’s purity, in a Victorian context, was essential to “civilization” and order. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese argued that in the New South white womanhood was “the highest embodiment of southern culture and values.” Alleged threats to the purity of white women were used to justify social reforms, such as prohibition and campaigns against dancing and theatres, as well as “white man’s

264 ibid, p.169
265 ibid., p. 77
267 ibid., pp. 9, 22-23
268 ibid., p. 7
domination over her and over all black people.”

As women’s roles in the New South began to change, southern men found order and stability in Victorian gender ideologies. Men’s roles did not remain unchanged in the New South. As men left their farms in search of wage labor in the cities, their claim to be lords over the earth became increasingly tenuous. Middle-class men found little confirmation of their manhood in their careers. In the 1890s, young men who began their careers as low-level clerks were unlikely to achieve promotion to management positions, and from 1873 to 1896 a series of economic depressions challenged the economic basis of male control.

Men turned to social institutions to reclaim the role prescribed by Victorian culture. Men reasserted male control in churches in late-Victorian America. As historian Susan Curtis observes, “ministers and their female parishioners articulated a culture based on nurture, sentiment, and indulgence.” While this “feminization” of Protestantism supported Victorian ideals of domesticity, it failed to reinforce masculinity. Middle-class Protestant men, especially those who embraced the social gospel, promoted masculinity in the church. They presented an image of Jesus as the “hearty carpenter-reformer of Galilee.” The reimagining of Jesus by Protestant men was an important part of redefining masculinity in twentieth-century America. Religious piety, far from being a “feminizing” influence, was an important part of Victorian manhood. A new “muscular Christianity” appealed to

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men. “The definition of masculinity for late-Victorian men,” Curtis notes, “was conditioned by cultural expectations, experiences in childhood, and their own redefinition of religion and culture.”

Victorian culture redefined men’s relationships within the family. Middle-class manhood rejected “traditional male prerogatives and behaviors” such as gambling, drinking, and “emotional coolness” and embraced a “distinctive middle-class culture” which defined separate roles for men and women, promoted wifehood and motherhood and “companionate relationships between husbands and wives.” Race played an important role in white middle-class men’s construction of manhood. White men defined their gender role in contrast to African-American men, and viewed white supremacy as the cornerstone of white manhood. The New South construction of masculinity shaped social relationships, altering the ways that middle-class white men related to each other, to women, to their families, and to African Americans.

In *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present*, historian Margaret Bendroth argues that gender issues are central to fundamentalism. Fundamentalists challenged the Victorian feminization of religion and focused on men’s piety. “The message of fundamentalism,” Bendroth suggests, “was primarily a masculine one.”

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275 Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, p. 5
277 ibid., p. 13
revivals provided women with access to the public sphere, fundamentalists appealed to men by promoting a confrontational Christianity.\textsuperscript{278} Fundamentalism’s appeal to men was successful; Bendroth notes that “by the early twentieth century, evangelical religion was losing many of its feminine trappings.”\textsuperscript{279} Bendroth argues that fundamentalist anti-feminism was part of a “pursuit of order.” As the fundamentalist movement matured, leaders in the movement began to insist on more formalized practices.\textsuperscript{280} Their position on women’s rights was shaped by doctrinal debates concerning biblical inerrancy and dispensationalism.\textsuperscript{281} Dispensationalists, who believed that biblical history is divided into distinct “dispensations,” or “specific temporal periods” which are defined by different ways God relates to humans, asserted that Eve was by her nature created for man and therefore subordinate to men. Bendroth asserts that dispensationalism led fundamentalists to associate women and the women’s movement with apostasy.\textsuperscript{282}

In contrast to Bendroth, Randall Balmer argues that women were placed on a pedestal by evangelicals in the nineteenth century. Women were to be “moral guardians of the home, in charge of the religious instruction and nurture of the children.” As men increasingly worked outside the home and the farm, women were tasked with “the inculcation of virtue into their daughters, sons, and husbands.”\textsuperscript{283} Balmer contends that Victorian “notions about female spirituality” continued to shape fundamentalist beliefs

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{278} ibid., pp. 14, 19  \\
\textsuperscript{279} ibid., p. 24  \\
\textsuperscript{280} ibid., p. 32  \\
\textsuperscript{281} ibid., p. 41  \\
\textsuperscript{282} Bendroth, \textit{Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present}, p. 47  \\
about women into the twentieth-century. Instead of finding evidence of a shift away from the “Victorian myth of feminine spiritual superiority” in the “machismo posturing” of evangelists and other fundamentalist leaders, Balmer suggests that attempts to reconstruct the church as a masculine institution only demonstrates the pervasiveness of Victorian ideas of feminine spirituality.

Betty DeBerg, a religious historian, argues for the centrality of gender in the early history of fundamentalism in *Ungodly Women*. She notes that fundamentalists’ “arguments even about Christian doctrine or interpretation were simply rhetorical tactics used to strengthen their case for maintaining Victorian gender roles.” DeBerg views fundamentalism as a response to social and cultural changes in the early twentieth century, instead of a theological or religious movement. As industrialization and urbanization challenged Victorian gender roles, Protestant fundamentalism defended the Victorian “separate spheres” gender ideology. Like Bendroth, DeBerg suggests that fundamentalists, who had “inherited a feminized church,” attempted to “regain the church for men.” DeBerg contends that fundamentalists defended traditional gender roles, and this defense “profoundly influenced” fundamentalist doctrine.

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284 ibid., p. 53  
285 ibid.  
287 ibid., pp. 2-7  
288 ibid., pp.42, 43  
289 Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, pp. 75, 76  
290 ibid., pp. 141, 143
Historian Catherine Kerrison suggests that southern women were able to “resist notions of their inferiority” through evangelical religion. Women “claimed for themselves instead the emotive powers of religion.” Kerrison argues that women were able to create a social world by drawing on the concept of “evangelical womanhood.” The southern evangelical woman was characterized by domesticity and “a capacious piety.” Women became “the moral and mental preceptors of the family.”

Some scholars argue that women’s roles in churches and other religious organizations provided a valuable avenue for southern women to participate in society. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall observes that Protestant, and especially Methodist, missionary societies and the Young Women’s Christian Associations allowed women to enter public life. She suggests that the “domesticity, piety, and seriousness, and commitment to benevolent action” of the “evangelical woman” could enable social activism. The evangelical experience allowed some women to escape the rigid gender roles prescribed by Victorian America. Memoirist Shirley Abbot remarks that “women shaped the churches in the same way that men did – by joining them.” She also acknowledges that “men and women approached Christ as equals.” Fundamentalist churches, suggests Abbot, were allies to women “in their quest for a good man.”

292 ibid., p. 103.
293 ibid., p. 102.
296 ibid., pp. 66-67
298 ibid.
men’s behavior through church discipline. Vernon Burton observes that women, “using the ideas of patriarchy and honor to their own advantage,” attempted to “transform their spouses into better persons.”

Fundamentalists, as Bendroth observed, appealed to men, not only because of their belief that men were “more vulnerable to secular temptations,” but also in reaction to the perceived “feminization” of evangelical Protestantism. Fundamentalism’s focus on men often reduced the number of female converts. Bob Jones found that his campaigns failed to attract women converts. During a campaign in Dallas, Texas in 1909, Jones explained that “contrary to popular belief, the problem of the church today is how to reach women, not men.” The evangelist claimed that he had witnessed the conversion of three men for every one woman. Jones was not alone in recognizing that revival campaigns were failing to reach women. Other evangelists, including Billy Sunday and Gipsy Smith, also attracted more men than women. Jones attributed revival campaigns’ success among men to evangelists’ special efforts to evangelize men.

Bob Jones believed that the “goodness” of society was based on the “goodness” of women. He argued that “there is no hope for the world when women cease to be good.” Jones declared that “the goodness of our women” has been “the hope of the world.” He perceived a lowering of standards among women as a social crisis. He declared that “the woman who sins is not looked upon with scorn, but tolerated and even

299 Burton, In My Father’s House, p. 133.
300 Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, p. 13.
301 DeBerg, Ungodly Women, p. 96
302 “Says Women are Harder to Convert Than Men,” Dallas Morning News, March 8, 1909;
303 “Need Old-Fashioned Grandmother Today, Bob Jones Declares,” Miami Herald, April 22, 1922.
flattered.” According to Jones, society failed to define morality, resulting in a blurring of “black” and “white,” “pure” and “impure,” resulting in the creation of “shadow women,” who were “impure” but yet aspired to and often achieved respectability. The evangelist argued that by accepting “the woman who acts as she pleases,” women were lowering “the standard of womanhood.” He condemned the “sexualization” of American culture. Jones believed that the “sex emphasis” could be found “in women’s costumes, in modern dances, in shop windows, at the theatre,” and “between the covers of novels.” He declared that “the percentage of good women in America is on the decrease.” Jones alleged that American women had lost their innocence. He suggested that a “16-year-old girl” knew more about sexuality than “her grandmother,” and condemned the girls who are “old before they are grown” and “are loud, and immodest.”

While Jones inveighed against drinking, gambling, and sexual promiscuity when speaking to men, the evangelist targeted other sins in services for women. Jones, like other evangelists, attacked card playing, dancing, and theatre going. Evangelists’ positions on these activities were so well known that it was expected that they would warrant Jones’ condemnation. Even though Jones believed that ability as an actor “was God-given,” he dismissed theaters, since “the Devil has a mortgage on the

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After Jones held a campaign in Springfield, Illinois in 1921, the town voted to adopt an ordinance banning Sunday shows. Card playing was subject to Jones’ disapproval. During a campaign in El Paso in 1922, Jones “scored” church women who played cards for money. After a sermon “to ladies” in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1909, two hundred women in attendance signed an agreement pledging to combat “the dance, social cards, and theatres.” Pledges were a common tool Jones used to combat vice. Women’s appropriate behavior was linked to place in El Paso, where the evangelist declared that “girls can’t dance and drink in Juarez in those hell holes and be good girls.”

Like other fundamentalists, Jones condemned popular dances for their “lewdness and excessive sensuality.” On one occasion, the evangelist banished from the choir any members who would not renounce dancing. Jones compared the danger posed by dancing to that of open saloons. He warned that the “twinkling feet” of dancers would “carry their owners over into the abyss.” Jones argued that “something has to be done to save our women from the damnable, voluptuous modern dance.”

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317 DeBerg, *Ungodly Women*, p. 104
no “excuse for modern dancing.” The popular dance was connected to sexual impropriety and ultimately spiritual destruction.

Jones associated popular dances with threats to women’s sexual purity, the maintenance of American homes, and even the lives of young women. He warned women that dancing caused many women to become prostitutes. Jones claimed that half of the “three-quarters of a million fallen women” in America had “fallen” because of dances, and that seventy percent of prostitutes in Mansfield, Ohio had turned to prostitution because of “the modern dance.” Jones believed that dancing led women to reject traditional sexual mores and ultimately embrace the nadir of female sexuality, prostitution. The evangelist also blamed “modern dances” for endangering the home, since popular dances, according to Jones, caused divorces. He argued that dancing disrupted normal family relationships, professing his confusion at “how a little music in the room gives me the right to hug your wife or your sister.” Popular dances, in Jones’ perspective, threatened the home by breaking up marriages and allowing strangers to invade the intimacy of familial relationships. He even warned audiences that popular dances could lead to women’s deaths. He cautioned against going to a dance and then taking an automobile, since, as Jones ominously intoned, “You can go to hell mighty fast

in an automobile.” Popular dancing, argued Jones, could lead to the sexual debasement of women, the destruction of homes, and women’s deaths. Dance halls, “where whites and negroes commingle,” were also associated with fears of racial mixing. Dancing was a threat not only to white women’s sexual purity, but also to white society’s racial purity.

Chief among Jones’ prescriptions for women were those relating to dress. He complained that “if God had meant women to dress as they do, he surely would have covered their backs with hair.” Jones mocked what he perceived as the absurdity of modern fashion; he declared “it’s the funniest thing to me to see a woman at a dance with nothing on where she should be covered.” Jones believed that sexual impurity was associated with women’s fashions. During a campaign in New York City in 1914, he railed against “the New York girl’s attire” which he alleged served “the one single concentrated purpose of sex appeal.” He believed that “bare arms and legs at the sea shore, undraped bosom and gossamer apparel in the ballroom . . . lead to marriages which are not built on respect and wholesome love.” Jones protested “the vile, voluptuous styles being dumped upon our American women by the hands of France, damning and ruining the best of our womanhood. The evangelist also criticized the use of cosmetics. “Instead of the flower for the blush of youth,” Jones exclaimed, “you now use paint.”

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He condemned “flapperism,” criticizing “the painting face, frizzy haired, devilish, cigarette-smoking girl of today.” The evangelist compared modern women to his mother, who he esteemed to be “a happier woman than the painted, bejeweled, childless New York wife of to-day.” Jones pleaded for respite from “the loud-mouthed, half-dressed woman,” and begged for “the old-fashioned American woman.”

Bob Jones’ critique of “elaborate, costly, immodest dress” was based on three main arguments. First, he suggested that men would be led to think “impure” thoughts. Second, Jones was concerned that poor women would be tempted to copy current styles, even when they lacked the financial wherewithal to do so. Finally, he asserted that husbands had “broken down under the strain” of providing a stylish wardrobe for their wives. The evangelist reasoned that men would be forced to work until life meant nothing in order to provide their wives with “extravagances.”

Bob Jones argued that women had no right to be offended when subjected to sexist remarks on the streets, if she was “clothed like an immoral woman.” He contended that since woman had “deliberately stepped off her pedestal,” they should not be surprised when they lose the respect of men and blamed women for “a wave of immorality among men.”

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333 “Business Men Hear ‘Excuses’,” *St. Petersburg Times*, November 9, 1922.
335 “Business Men Hear ‘Excuses’,” *St. Petersburg Times*, November 9, 1922. It’s worth noting Jones’ association of “old-fashioned” women with patriotism.
women’s dress, Jones quoted a man who, after seeing a young woman wearing “a most immodest dress,” sneered that “yet they hang men in this country for rape.” He argued that men could not be expected to be pure “until women dress decently,” and suggested that the way to prevent the unwanted advances of men was for “the women to dress decent.” He claimed that women who adopted modern fashions would be “hugged and slobbered over by every lizard in town.” The implication of his rhetoric is clear: women are responsible for restraining men’s sexual urges, and when men are unable to control themselves, it is surely the result of the failure of women to comply with Jones’ requirements for women’s fashion.

Ironically, Jones argued that women’s fashions resulted in the objectification of women. He believed that women, who had “been demanding that men pay attention to her head, that they admit it to be as good a head as their own,” undermined their efforts by drawing focused to their feet by wearing expensive shoes and short skirts, “so that the general public shall have every opportunity to see her ankles.” Jones insisted that women were slaves to the decrees of “Dame Fashion.” Rosemary Daniell in Fatal Flowers explained the evangelical obsession with “decent dress” by suggesting that “the female body, imperfect, was made to be covered, and how it was covered mattered.” Jones’ arguments for “decent dress,” though, were associated not with female imperfection, but rather with concerns about men’s inability to control their sexual urges.

Bob Jones’ prescriptions for women’s clothing are not unique among evangelical Protestants. Richard Baxter, a seventeenth-century Puritan minister, cautioned Christians to be careful in their dress, since they “must walk among sinful persons, as you would do with a candle among straw or gunpowder.”343 The concept that women are in some way responsible for men’s lechery continues to shape evangelicals’ positions on women’s fashion. C.J. Mahaney, the president of Sovereign Grace Ministries, based in Gaithersberg, Maryland, until April 2013, and a leading figure in Evangelicalism, urged women to dress “modestly” since men are “grateful for women who serve them by helping them fight the temptation to lust.”344

Jones’ and other evangelicals’ tendency to blame women for men’s inability to exercise self-control has been criticized by some within the evangelical movement. In December 2014, Godly Response to Abuse in the Christian Environment (GRACE), an organization founded by Boz Tchividjian, the grandson of Billy Graham and law professor at Liberty University, issued a report, commissioned by Bob Jones University, condemning Bob Jones University’ teachings on sexual abuse. This report specifically quoted one of Bob Jones’ sermons, demonstrating the continuing impact of Jones’ teachings on fundamentalists’ and, more broadly, evangelicals’ beliefs about gender and sexuality.345

Bob Jones condemned card-playing. He emphasized that even though card playing was associated with “high society,” it was still gambling. Jones asserted that “the jeweled fingers of a high-bred society woman can’t make a deck of cards decent.”\textsuperscript{346} The evangelist warned that women card players could entice their sons to become poker players and gamblers. Jones saw ruin in a deck of cards. He saw the clubs as reminders of broken heads, the hearts as reminders of “hearts that are crushed,” and the spades “as a reminder of the graves that they dig in every cemetery in the world.”\textsuperscript{347} Jones blamed “society women” who played cards for creating gamblers. He harshly condemned women who played cards, declaring that mothers who played cards would “send their boys to hell” and “damn them.” Jones accused card playing women for “this country going to hell.”\textsuperscript{348}

Jones rebuked women who read novels. He asserted that the primary emphasis of novels was sex. He claimed that “a young girl who falls in love the immoral rake who is the hero of a novel cannot herself be pure at heart.”\textsuperscript{349} He described the “modern woman” as someone who was a “sex-novel reader.”\textsuperscript{350} Jones said that “all she reads is the society page of the newspaper and novels.” He argued that “novels are written for women,” and that “many of our modern novels are nothing but filth.”\textsuperscript{351} Jones’ critique of novels is consistent with the trivialization of novels as mere romances. Catherine Kerrison,

\textsuperscript{346} “Jones Tells of Sins of Mansfield,” \textit{The Mansfield News}, September 17, 1915.
\textsuperscript{347} “Jones Tells of Sins of Mansfield,” \textit{The Mansfield News}, September 17, 1915.
\textsuperscript{348} “Need Old-Fashioned Grandmother Today, Bob Jones Declares,” \textit{Miami Herald}, April 22, 1922.
\textsuperscript{350} “Need Old-Fashioned Grandmother Today, Bob Jones Declares,” \textit{Miami Herald}, April 22, 1922.
\textsuperscript{351} Bob Jones, \textit{The Modern Woman: A Sermon to Women} (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 191?), p 15
however, believes that “they gave women opportunities to image a world different from they knew.” Novels provided women with an escape from domestic drudgery.\textsuperscript{352}

Bob Jones’ argued that women should be mothers and wives.\textsuperscript{353} He, like other fundamentalists, believed that “women’s new career was marriage.”\textsuperscript{354} He objected to those women who supported suffrage who were “merely restless and impatient of restraint.” He argued that “the normal woman should marry early and have a child every two years . . . that is the existence which is best and happiest for her.” While Jones declared his “sympathy” for women who were required to work in “offices and shops,” he also insisted that these women were not “normal.” Jones contended that “wives and mothers ought to be forced neither into politics nor into business.”\textsuperscript{355} He stated that “bossy” women were becoming more common. During a campaign in Atchison, Kansas, he described “the woman who begins by bossing her home, and progresses until she attempts to boss the government.” Jones criticized suffragists who, in “demanding your rights” denied men “that blessed privilege . . . of giving a woman her rights.”\textsuperscript{356} In 1923, he declared that he “never was for woman suffrage,”\textsuperscript{357} contradicting his earlier claim that he “did not mind their having the ballot.”\textsuperscript{358} Jones seemed to have adopted a more moderate position on women’s suffrage than other southern men, who “equated ballots

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{352} Kerrison, Claiming the Pen, p. 111
  \item \textsuperscript{353} “Bob Jones to Women,” The Atchinson Daily Globe, November 3, 1917.
  \item \textsuperscript{354} Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present, p. 96.
  \item \textsuperscript{355} Marguerite Mooers Marshall, “Woman Has Stepped Off Her Pedestal, Declares Bob Jones, the Young Evangelist,” The New York Evening World, July 21, 1914.
  \item \textsuperscript{356} “Bob Jones to Women,” The Atchinson Daily Globe, November 3, 1917.
  \item \textsuperscript{357} Bob Jones, The Modern Woman (Chicago, IL: Good Tidings Publishing, 1923), p. 12.
  \item \textsuperscript{358} “Passing Throng,” Montgomery Advertiser, June 30, 1916.
\end{itemize}
for females with a terrifying threat to society.” He believed that “now it is in the interest of good government for every good woman to vote” to “counteract” the influence of “bad women.” Jones and other fundamentalists criticized “bossy” women, instead emphasizing the leadership of husbands within the home and men in general outside the home.

Jones’ ultimate focus, however, was sexual impropriety. He argued that “the great American sin is the one symbolized by the scarlet letter.” Jones believed that the responsibility for society rested solely on women, for “nations have become great through the purity of their women who became wives and mothers.” Women could be the embodiment of virtue; the evangelist once proclaimed that “the best thing outside of heaven is a good woman.” He, however, also announced that “the meanest thing outside of hell is a mean woman.” Jones, like other Victorians, both “deified and degraded women.” Middle-class men had “transcendently powerful” yet ambivalent feelings about women. Victorian perspectives on women emphasized the dichotomy between “women who were chaste and all good or seductive and all bad.”

Sigmund Freud, writing in the early twentieth century, emphasized the commonness of dualistic thinking.

361 Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present, p. 103.
about women in his formulation of the “Madonna/Whore complex,” a kind of psychological impotence (psychische impotenz).\textsuperscript{367} It would be a mistake, however, to reduce Jones’ beliefs about women to a mere psychological complex. Instead of confirming the stereotype of Victorian repressiveness, Jones frankly discussed sexuality, often earning him the disapprobation of critics.\textsuperscript{368} Jones did not hesitate to prescribe proper sexual activity for women. Sexual intimacy was not unlawful or illicit; rather, Jones condoned and promoted sexual activity, for both men and women, within the confines of marriage. The “purity” promoted by Jones was not celibacy.

Jones, despite his suspicion of women’s participation in politics, enlisted women in campaigns to reform society. In Bloomington, Illinois in 1917, he appealed to women to eliminate the “red light district.” Women volunteers pledged to distribute 2,000 petition cards for “signatures in two days.\textsuperscript{369} Jones formed broad coalitions in his campaigns against vice. In the campaign in Bloomington, the “Protestant clergy of Bloomington, the leading Catholic priest of the city, the Woman’s Club, the D.A.R., and thousands of others” signed card petitions.\textsuperscript{370} In Charlotte, North Carolina women expressed their opposition to dance halls by standing at Jones’ invitation.\textsuperscript{371} Jones’ wife, Mary Gaston Stollenwerck Jones, mobilized women to support social reforms. In 1919, Mrs. Jones, writing on behalf of the Women’s Missionary Society of the Court Street

\textsuperscript{368} Bob Jones, The Modern Woman: A Sermon to Women (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 191?), p. 23
\textsuperscript{369} “Preaches on the Crucifixion,” The Bloomington Pantagraph, February 5, 1917.
\textsuperscript{370} “Sermon on the Death of Jesus,” The Bloomington Pantagraph, February 9, 1917.
\textsuperscript{371} Mamie Bays, “Women Opposed to Dance Halls, Express Themselves at Invitation,” Charlotte Observer, September 20, 1919.
Methodist Church, pled with Alabama legislators to support Alabama Senate Bill 414, which would mandate “the reading of the Holy Bible in the public schools.” Mary Gaston’s political activism was based on her adherence to traditional gender norms. She appealed to legislators in “the name of the motherhood of Alabama” to support the legislation.\textsuperscript{372} Bob Jones’ appeal to women to become politically active was not inconsistent with the fundamentalist position on women. Most fundamentalists allowed women to serve in supportive roles.\textsuperscript{373}

Jones’ condemnation of the “modern woman” provoked outrage from some. A columnist for the \textit{New York Evening World}, Marguerite Mooers Marshall, compiled the complaints of readers who were “intensely interested in the woman of to-day” and were “by no means ready to agree with the indictment.” One reader, “Mrs. M. W.,” responding to Jones’ allegation that “immorality among men is caused by the suggestive dress of women,” urged men to “learn a little self-control,” explaining that men would gaze at any woman whose “face is pleasant to look upon.” She applied Jones’ beliefs about modesty to men’s dress and explained that “women do not gaze at men simply because they have on white trousers turned up to show ten or twelve inches of fancy sox and a pair of new shoes.” Another reader, “A. de F,” defended women’s right to drink, smoke, and dance, arguing that “drinking moderately is no sin,” that “there is nothing wrong” in smoking, and that “dancing . . . is most graceful and conducive to beauty, health, and happiness.” She also cheered short skirts, claiming that “the exposure” would clear the brains of men.

\textsuperscript{372} Mary Gaston Stollenwerck Jones Letter, September 5, 1919, SPR 244, Alabama Department of Archives and History
\textsuperscript{373} Bendroth, \textit{Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present}, p. 57.
of “foolish fumes.” Still another reader, “M.A.R,” responding to Jones’ indictment, challenged the hypocrisy of men, who had “been a great preacher in what woman should be and do, and has demanded of her virtue, purity, and superior moral virtue,” and yet needed women to buttress “his tottering moral temple.” In a separate column where she interviewed Jones, Marguerite Mooers Marshall concluded by suggesting that “some of us with no more agree with Mr. Jones’s idea of normality than with his biology or his theology.”

Northern urban women apparently had no hesitation in responding to Jones’ criticism. In contrast, women in the New South metropolis of Atlanta seem to have relied on men to answer the evangelist’s indictment of women. After Jones addressed a meeting for women, H.R. Bernard, auditor of the board of missions of the Georgia Baptist Convention, responded to his remarks by describing them as “somewhat philippical.” Bernard especially took offense at Jones’ assertion that “any woman who has been shadowed should never be received again into society.” Instead, he insisted that a “shadowed woman” should be forgiven, since, Bernard argued, Jesus said “I love you, shadowed as you are.” Jones replied to Bernard’s criticism, explaining that he “said nothing of the woman who is truly repentant.” The evangelist contended that, even though he had “worked among fallen women” and had “preached in the red light district,” he thought that “we owe most of all to the pure and the good, and should do all

376 “Dr. H.R. Bernard Replies to Sermon of Rev. ‘Bob’ Jones,” The Atlanta Constitution, June 4, 1912.
in our power . . . to keep our young daughters, wives, and sisters.” In this exchange, Jones seemed to prioritize preservation over redemption. The contrast between the criticism of the readers of the Evening Herald and H.R. Bernard’s reply to Jones’ sermon is significant. The readers of the Evening Herald who objected to Jones’ indictment of women were women themselves. They responded to Jones’ rhetoric by “shaming” men for their supposedly unrestrainable lust and arguing for the benefits of the activities and habits condemned by Jones. H.R. Bernard, however, attempted to rebut Jones’ argument by relying on theological proofs. Bernard’s criticism warranted a response from Jones, who first provided his credentials as someone who had worked with so-called “shadowed women” before appealing to middle-class fears of social and moral disgrace as a result of associating with “shadowed women.” The fact that Jones responded to Bernard suggested that Jones viewed Bernard, who held a position in religious organization, as an equal. Jones apparently did not respond to the criticism from readers of the Evening Herald.

Significantly, when E. Dean Ellenwood, pastor of the First Universalist Church in Atlanta and the self-described “self-respecting son of an average woman,” defended Atlanta women, Jones did not respond. His silence can be explained in two ways. First, Jones would have been reluctant to legitimize Ellenwood’s contribution to the discussion. Since Ellenwood was a Universalist, Jones may have viewed Ellenwood as an apostate and therefore unable to contribute to a religious discussion. Second, Ellenwood’s comments reflect not only a religiously based rejection of Jones’ attack on women, but also a class-based criticism of Jones’ career as an evangelist. Ellenwood suggested that “the average audience which ‘falls’ for the clever advertising scheme of a ‘women only’
or ‘men only’ preacher” deserved to be slandered. He then assaulted Jones’ background, remarking that he could not “help wondering where the man has been raised, and what sort of folks he has been accustomed to associate with.” Ellenwood contrasted the women of Jones’ background with “the average woman of Atlanta,” who “is not the sort of person so pessimistically pictured” by Jones. As a final jab, Ellenwood proposed that “it may be well to seriously consider . . . whether the religious forces . . . actually use good business judgment in importing men, who . . . so often depress, discourage, and disgust their hearers.”

Jones’ failure to respond to Ellenwood’s defense of the women of Atlanta can be explained either as a rejection of Ellenwood’s legitimacy as a religious authority, or result of the Universalist minister’s implicit challenge of Jones’ class status, or, simply because Jones lacked the time or the interest to continue the debate in the Constitution. Nevertheless, Jones’ response to Bernard, an official in the Baptist church, and his failure to respond to the women readers of the Evening Herald and to Ellenwood does suggest that Jones believed that neither women nor “apostates” deserved an answer.

Bob Jones believed that manhood was defined by adherence to evangelical mores. He defined the “good man” in a variety of ways. “Good men,” contended Jones, “keep good company.” Speaking in El Paso, Texas, the evangelist insisted that “you can’t . . . take part in debaucheries in Juarez and be a good man.” Men, no less than women, were cautioned against venturing to communities deemed inappropriate by Jones and white middle-class Americans. The “good man would rather be at church than in the company of a crowd of bad men” argued Jones, and the “good man would rather be in a prayer

377 “Pastor Defends Atlanta Women,” The Atlanta Constitution, June 6, 1912.
meeting than to be at a card meeting.” He believed that being “as pure as a woman” was “a man’s job”; he masculinized sexual purity. Historians Elizabeth and Joseph Pleck observe that calls for men to emulate the supposed “purity” of women were common between the Civil War and World War I. They note that “the stated goal of much sexual doctrine was to raise men to women’s standard.” In contrast to women, Jones defined the “sins of men” to be “social sin,” “impurity of thought and word,” “whiskey drinking,” “gambling,” and “Sabbath breaking.” He also criticized “the sin of profanity” and telling “dirty” jokes. Jones condemned men who would “tell smutty jokes that . . . drag pure womanhood into his filthy words.”

Bob Jones cautioned men against sexual impropriety. Frequently, his admonitions to men were not based, however, on the perceived immorality of actions, but on their physical consequences. Elizabeth and Joseph Pleck suggest that while “ministers had frightened men with visions of hell,” in the early twentieth century “doctors predicted blindness and impotence” for men who violated Victorian sexual mores. The threat of immediate physical consequences apparently was more effective than the distant menace of eternal damnation. Jones warned audiences of the danger of venereal disease “as a result of our sin of adultery.” He told horror stories of children who were born blind, women who were rendered infertile, women who had “female trouble,” and women who

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had died, all because of gonorrhea. Jones begged doctors to warn men of the dangers of venereal disease.\textsuperscript{384}

Jones located himself within culturally defined boundaries of manhood. He professed that he liked “baseball, swimming, and a little boxing.” Jones even taught his son, Bob Jones Jr., to box, to ensure that no one would “run over him.”\textsuperscript{385} The pugilistic evangelist relied on his self-proclaimed prowess to respond to threats made against his campaign. During a campaign in Honesdale in Wayne County, Pennsylvania, after Jones received a note warning him to leave the town “or we will get you,” he shrugged off the threat, explaining that he was “too old a cat to be played with by a kitten.” The evangelist did offer to take the author of the missive “behind the church and do my best to convince him that letter writing is not his natural forte.”\textsuperscript{386} Jones argued that religious conversion did not mean renouncing manhood. He declared that “confessing God never made me a sissy . . . it need not make anyone effeminate.” In fact, Jones claimed that religious conversion had confirmed his manhood by give him “pose and some sense.”\textsuperscript{387} Resembling other fundamentalist leaders, Jones exhibited an “exaggerated masculine demeanor.”\textsuperscript{388} Journalists frequently commented on Jones’ physique. One columnist noted that Jones “possesses a pair of football shoulders.”\textsuperscript{389} Another commented that he was “six feet tall, weighs 198 pounds and expends every ounce of his energy in his

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  \item \textsuperscript{384} Bob Jones, \textit{Sowing and Reaping: A Sermon to Men} (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 1914), pp. 36-38.
  \item \textsuperscript{385} “Jones Sounds His Warning Against Sin,” \textit{El Paso Herald}, September 26, 1922.
  \item \textsuperscript{386} “Threat Letter Received by Evangelist ‘Bob’ Jones,” \textit{The Citizen}, January 24, 1913. Jones’ claim that he was “too old a cat” is interesting, since he was not yet thirty.
  \item \textsuperscript{387} “Jones Sounds His Warning Against Sin,” \textit{El Paso World}, September 26, 1922.
  \item \textsuperscript{388} DeBerg, \textit{Ungodly Women}, p. 88.
  \item \textsuperscript{389} “Need Old-Fashioned Grandmother Today, Bob Jones Declares,” \textit{Miami Herald}, April 22, 1922.
\end{itemize}
sermon delivery.” The Bloomington, Illinois Pantagraph described Jones’ appearance at length, observing that “he is strictly ‘a man’s man,’” for he is masculine strength and brawn and muscle in all his six feet two inches of height and his more than two hundred pounds of weight.” The Pantagraph also noted that Jones had “a broad square jaw and broad shoulders and big strong hands and a reach like a prize fighter.” The emphasis on Jones’ masculinity was in part a response to the perception that ministers were neither male nor female. He contended that manhood and piety were complementary values.

Jones and other fundamentalists advocated a martial Christianity. In a campaign in Bloomington, Illinois, he recalled an anecdote regarding a son who volunteered to serve in the Union Army, and subsequently died on the battlefield. Jones insisted that Christians, like Christ, should be willing to sacrifice their lives, and be willing to have their loved ones sacrifice their lives. Jones welcomed soldiers and veterans to his revival meetings. In 1917 in Grand Rapids, Michigan, he held a special meeting for soldiers, where he urged men to “enlist for God and country,” encouraging “every manly Christian to line up in battle with the other fellows.” To the evangelist, service in “Christ’s army” and the military were complementary. Jones suggested that “it is a noble thing to be wounded in the battle in which the Christian engaged.”

The martial Christianity Jones promoted is demonstrated in The New Make Christ King, a song book

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390 [Untitled], The Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 16, 1914.
392 Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, p. 65
393 “Sermon on the Death of Jesus,” The Bloomington Pantagraph, February 9, 1917.
396 “Plaudits of World Do Not Always Go to Best Man,” The Montgomery Advertiser, November 22, 1911.
compilation compiled by E.O. Excell, W.E. Biederwolf, and other prominent fundamentalists. Jones and his song leader, Loren Jones, were assistant editors. Many songs in the collection applied military metaphors to the Christian experience. The song book encouraged Christians to “be enlisted as a volunteer,” to “enlist, for the Lord wants you,” and “with sword and armor bright, strike out bravely for the right.”\textsuperscript{397} Jones’ call for “Christian soldiers” is certainly not unique in the Christian tradition. His adoption of military metaphors is consistent with Paul’s injunction to “take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day” (Ephesians 6:12). Jones encouraged a martial Christianity, which appealed to men.

The martial spirit encouraged by fundamentalists also served to reinforce a “cult of comradeship” which supported the Victorian ideal of separate spheres. The “cult of comradeship” was demonstrated in body building, athletics, and paramilitary organizations for boys.\textsuperscript{398} Jones appealed to the “cult of comradeship” by holding special meetings for men. He designated certain nights of a campaign as “churchmen’s night.”\textsuperscript{399} He also invited fathers and sons to special revival meetings.\textsuperscript{400} Jones endorsed male friendships among Christians who sought to live a strenuous life by resisting worldly temptations.

Jones advocated for a Christianity that was unquestionably, unequivocally, “manly.” The evangelist contended that as he supposed Peter the Apostle must have

\textsuperscript{397} E.O Excell et al., eds., \textit{The New Make Christ King} (Chicago: The Glad Tidings Publishing Company, 1917), No. 18., “As a Volunteer,” No. 49., “Hark! There’s a Call to the Brave,” and No. 60., “Be a Hero.”
\textsuperscript{398} Pleck and Pleck, eds., \textit{The American Man}, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{399} “Sermon on ‘Prayer’ and One on ‘Home Problems’ at Tabernacle Thursday,” \textit{The Watchman and Southron} (Sumter, SC), May 5, 1915.
\textsuperscript{400} “Moral Weakness Condemned by Evangelist Bob Jones,” \textit{Montgomery Advertiser}, June 15, 1921.
sweated in fighting for Jesus, so preachers should sweat and in turn make his audience sweat.\textsuperscript{401} As with women, Jones insisted that “modern dances” were evil. For men, however, the danger of dancing was not in their susceptibility to be corrupted, but in the possibility that men may be unable to control their urges. When men danced with women, Jones argued that their “passions caught the fire of hell.”\textsuperscript{402} He contended that “the man who says he dances these modern dances and never has an evil thought is one of these things: He is more than a man, less than man, or a liar.”\textsuperscript{403} Men were inherently susceptible to “impure thoughts,” and in order to resist these urges, a man would have to be divine or superhuman, or he would have to be effeminate (and thus not interested in women, presumably), since “normal” men were subject to irresistible sexual urges. Jones embraced the Victorian perspective on male sexuality which contended that “men . . . were beset by powerful gusts of sinful sexual desires.”\textsuperscript{404} He believed that “a man has to fight harder than a woman to be good.”\textsuperscript{405} This paradigm firmly established women as the keepers of men’s virtue, which in turn requires that men must ensure that women must be protected from pollution. Preserving the purity of women, “keeping our women pure,” was reshaped as an existential struggle, not only for souls of women, but also for the souls of men themselves.

\textsuperscript{401} “Sermon on the Death of Jesus,” \textit{The Bloomington Pantagraph}, February 9, 1917.
\textsuperscript{402} “Would Convert 3,000,000,” \textit{The Macon Beacon} (Macon, MS), July 31, 1914.
\textsuperscript{403} ibid.
\textsuperscript{404} Quote from Bederman, \textit{Manliness & Civilization}, p. 48; also see Rotundo, \textit{American Manhood}, p. 227. Rotundo suggests that in the nineteenth century there was a growing tendency to see men as animals or savages.
Jones blamed an “excess of leisure among young men” for contributing to social problems, decrying what he perceived as the scarcity of manhood. He even associated laziness and unproductiveness with certain fashion choices. During a campaign in New York City, Jones mocked offices where “crowds of young men in pink silk hose” and “crowds of young women in low-cut transparent blouses” and the only competition was “between the office mirror and the office clock.” He argued that “it takes real manhood to be a Christian, and that is why there are not more of them.” Jones blamed “the war, as well as women” for “the outcropping of the bestial” in men. He cited prize fights and cock fights as evidences of the increasingly bestial nature of men. Jones and other southerners contrasted the “ideal type of the Christian Gentleman” with both W.J. Cash’s archetypal “hell of a fellow” and the effeminate white-collar office dweller. Jones believed that men who were masculine were characterized by their striving to live a virtuous life, which required strenuous labor and sacrifice. Jones believed that masculinity and piety were not incompatible. He related that during World War I an army officer had told him that “a soldier was a better fighter when he did not have too much religion and was a cusser.” Jones challenged that assertion, arguing that Alvin York, “a red-headed mountain boy from Tennessee” who was “a religious fanatic” was the “greatest hero and the best fighter of the whole army.”

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407 [No Headline], State Times Advocate (Baton Rouge, LA), October 29, 1914. This quip was widely reported across the country, even as far away as Arizona (“Good Jokes,” The Tombstone Epitaph, January 17, 1915.
408 “Take Gangsters Off the Street,” The Scranton Truth, January 8, 1913.
410 “Jones Denounces Sinners in a Hot-Shot Discourse,” The Evening Independent, October 19, 1922
southern men to live “lives of temperance, moderation, hard work, and fear for their immortal souls.”

Social historian Charles Rosenberg observes that “the Christian Gentleman” was “one way of legitimating the lives which so many Americans had necessarily to lead: lives of economic virtue, sexual prudence, of a chronic need to evaluate and reassert appropriate lifestyles.” Jones endorsed a type of manhood well-suited to the needs of the New South that was defined by strenuous labor and virtuous living.

Jones based his criticism of other denominations on his construction of appropriate “manhood” and “womanhood.” In the case of Russellism, or Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Christian Science, Jones suggested that the founders of these denominations had abandoned what he believed to be their proper gender roles. He attacked Charles Taze Russell, the founder of Russellism, who, despite being “one of the most wonderful advertisers in the country,” had been divorced by his wife. Jones explained that he did not know “whether he was guilty or not of the things of which she accused him,” before noting that “Mrs. Russell was a fine women.” Jones contrasted Russell, who he accused of being a deceitful huckster, with his reputable wife. To Jones, Russell was discredited because his own wife divorced him. Jones’ criticism of the First Church of Christ, Scientist was also based in his belief that Mary Baker Eddy, the

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413 Bob Jones, *False Religions* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1970), p. 12. This sermon was originally preached during and after World War I. In 1917, Jones delivered this sermon in Grand Rapids Michigan.
discoverer and founder of Christian Science, had abandoned her “proper” roles as a wife and a mother. He condemned Eddy for divorcing her husband, and he suggested that Eddy “was not even a mother to her own son,” even though “all over this country thousands of men and women call Mrs. Eddy ‘Mother.’”

Bob Jones was not unique among fundamentalists in his condemnation of female religious leadership. As historian Betty DeBerg notes, fundamentalists, who believed that allowing women to assume leadership roles in the church violated the Bible, associated women with apostasy. Jones also alleged that a “Christian Scientist must smile under all circumstances.” He argued that this “requirement” led to women being unable to fulfill their responsibilities to mourn for their dead husbands. Jones used contemporary beliefs about appropriate roles to attack Christian denominations. Religion was used to define “manhood” and “womanhood,” and adherence to gender roles separated orthodoxy from heterodoxy.

Bob Jones addressed Kiwanis clubs, Rotary clubs, and other fraternal orders and social clubs. Evangelical revivals had traditionally focused on the business culture of cities, and some of revivalism’s earliest successes were among businessmen. Jones often invited business men to be guests at revival meetings. During a campaign in St. Petersburg in 1922, he held a “Business Men’s Night” attended by “more than 500 business men from all walks of business.” In November 1925, he was the principal

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414 ibid., p. 22.
415 Deberg 85
416 Jones, False Religions, p. 19
417 Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present, p. 20.
418 “Business Men Hear ‘Excuses’,” St. Petersburg Times, November 9, 1922.
speaker at the “High Noon” club, a Masonic club in Pittsburgh. Jones, who The
*Pittsburgh Press* described as “a prominent southern Mason,” was to address “Masonic
activities in the south.” He frequently welcomed members of fraternal orders to his
revival meetings. When Jones addressed businessmen, he usually discussed topics
relevant to his audience, such as “The Secret of Success.” Jones embrace of fraternal
orders and secret societies challenges Margaret Bendroth’s claim that fundamentalists
viewed these organizations as rivals for the male attention. Fraternal orders played an
important role in Victorian America by “providing solace from the psychic pressures of .
. . new social and institutional relationships.” Fraternal orders allowed middle-class men
to escape his changing environment and, as a refuge from the pressures of the
bourgeoning capitalist economies, served a similar function as churches. While the
message of fraternal orders and churches supported middle-class values, they helped to
insulate middle-class men from changing class and gender roles by promoting
egalitarianism among men and male supremacy over women. Fraternal orders played an
important part in the Victorian campaign to revitalize masculinity, and Jones’

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cub was founded in the spring of 1923 by 4,000 district Masons. (“Masonic Club Opens Its Winter
Season,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, November 10, 1923.)
420 “Scorner Worst of All Bad Men,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 25, 1919; Jones invited members from
Woodmen of the World and Women’s Auxiliary circle, Odd Fellows, Junior Order United American
Mechanics and Daughters of America, Improved Order of Red Men, Knights of Pythias and Royal
Arcanum, Masonic Orders and Eastern Star auxiliaries, Modern Woodmen of the World, Elks and Moose,
U.C.T.’s and T.P.A., and Patriotic Order Sons of America to assigned nights during a campaign in Charlotte
in 1919 (“Evangelist Bob Jones Extends Invitation to All Fraternal Men and Women,” *Charlotte Observer*,
September 14, 1919).
422 Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present*, p. 25.
423 Mark C. Carnes, “Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde
Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago:
participation in these organizations demonstrates the compatibility of Jones’ message with the goals of fraternal orders.424

Jones’ evangelistic team also held special meetings for businesswomen.425 In Montgomery in January 1920, Jones spoke to the Association of Business and Professional Women on the subject of “The Secret of Success.”426 His revival team also held talks for women employed in factories and as nurses.427 Even though he argued that women should be wives and mothers instead of businesswomen, Jones seemingly endorsed businesswomen and other professionals and their pursuit of professional success. His advocacy of Victorian gender roles conflicted with the pragmatic need to evangelize career-minded women.

At the center of Jones’ rhetoric concerning manhood and womanhood were his beliefs about the home. Jones insisted that the home should be a sacred refuge. In a sermon preached at the Winona Lake Bible Conference in Winona Lake, Indiana, in 1920, Jones explained that homes should be a place of service, rest, shelter, recreation, and prayer.428 Family prayer was central to his idea of the home as a sanctuary. Family prayers served to symbolically consecrate the home, creating a sacred space that complemented the church, and, in some cases, even replaced the church as the center of

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424 Bederman, Manliness & Civilization, p. 16.
religious activity. Jones instructed his audience to erect “battlements,” or protections for the home against “the world.” These “battlements” included reverence for the Bible, “consistent Christian living,” a family altar (a time a prayer and Bible reading), and family discipline. In late nineteenth - and early twentieth-century America, men, faced with an increasingly complex and confusing society, turned to the home to provide order and security.

Jones emphasized the importance of the home as a refuge by suggesting that even the heroes of the New South depended on the sanctuary of the home. He related an anecdote about Henry W. Grady, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who would (according to Jones) return to his old family home in North Georgia in search of refuge from the business of Atlanta. His elderly mother would serve him supper, consisting of “old-time southern biscuits,” country ham, and “old-time gravy,” before sending him off to bed, where she would read to him from the Bible, and Grady would say his prayers before drifting off to sleep. Jones’ story of Grady’s recuperative trip to his boyhood home seems to suggest that Jones’ considered the home to be a place where busy men could return to childlike insouciance, where their spiritual and physical needs would be cared for by women. Jones’ insistence on the ideal of the home as a refuge meant that

429 DeBerg, Ungodly Women, p. 62
men would have no share in the troubles or concerns of their wives; he instructed women
to “try to smile” instead of complaining about “a headache” or a sick child, since the
home should be a shelter from the cares of the world.\(^{433}\) Jones and other fundamentalists
believed that the home was a fortress, maintained by a “godly mother.”\(^{434}\)

The “destruction of home life” was a cause of social problems.\(^{435}\) Jones argued
that “lawlessness in America is started at the fireside of the American home.” He
complained that “children are not taught obedience anymore.”\(^ {436}\) Like other
fundamentalists, he believed that the home must be protected, as Betty DeBerg notes,
“not only because it was holy but because society and nations depended on the home for
strength and stability.”\(^ {437}\) The home, as the most fundamental order of society, demanded
the most vigorous defense of fundamentalists. Fundamentalists’ opposition to women’s
suffrage and early feminism was based on a belief, shared by Southern antisuffragists,
that “the world was an integrated whole.” A threat to the family and traditional gender
relations would destabilize the whole edifice of society, challenging accepted beliefs
about gender as well as race and class. Changes in home life were viewed as an
existential threat to traditional society, leading opponents of suffrage and supporters of
Victorian gender roles to describe changes to the American home in apocalyptic terms.\(^ {438}\)

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\(^{433}\) ibid., p. 259.
\(^{434}\) Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, p. 100. Bendroth quotes evangelist Robert G. Lee, who argued
that the home was a man’s “fortress in the warring world.”
\(^{436}\) Bob Jones, “The Battlements of the House,” in Winona Echoes: Notable Addresses Delivered at the
Twenty-Fifth Annual Bible Conference (Winona Lake, IN: Winona Publishing Company, 1919), p. 263;
“Sermons on Sins of America Delivered in Tabernacle,” The Evening Independent, October 19, 1922.
\(^{437}\) DeBerg, Ungodly Women, p. 66
\(^{438}\) Elna Green, “‘Ideals of Government, of Home, and of Women,’: The Ideology of Southern White
Antisuffragism,” in Virginia Bernard, et al, eds. Hidden Histories of Women in the New South (Columbia,
Naturally, then, Jones condemned divorces. At a campaign in Bloomington, he berated an audience for their “low moral sense” because of what he judged to be a large number of divorces in the county. Jones suggested that “fast” women and divorced women should be humiliated and ostracized. He believed that “the Lord recognizes only one ground for divorce, unfaithfulness.” The home, the sanctuary of middle-class men and the basis for middle-class society, was foundational to Jones’ beliefs about gender.

Jones’ campaign against “vices” was a bourgeois attack on the habits of the upper class. After members of the upper class in Hartford City, Indiana, criticized his revival meetings, he lashed out at “women in this town who think they are society women.” These women, according to Jones, accused him of being provincial and coarse. The evangelist replied that even though “they think they . . . are so nice, and so refined and so elegant,” the women played cards and “gamble all right enough.” Jones, however, was an uncertain populist. The high-class status of his wife, Mary Gaston Stollenwerck, a belle from an upper-class family in the black belt of Alabama, provided Jones with a claim to elite status. In response to his critics in Hartford City, Jones replied that those “who turn up their noses at Bob Jones ought to come and get a look at the woman I married.” He warned of “the man who belongs to a swell club, wears nice clothes, holds up his head, shines in society” and drinks alcohol, since that man would “drag to the drunkard’s ditch the young manhood” of a town. Social class to Jones, however,

443 ibid..
was ultimately based on spiritual experience. He declared in one of his famous aphorisms that “nobody is high born who is not born from on high.” Social status was immaterial without a conversion experience. Jones believed that manhood and womanhood was threatened by sin.

Digital methods can provide further insight into Jones’ beliefs about gender. Text analysis allows for a more in-depth understanding of Jones’ sermons. Comparing Jones’ sermon to women, “The Modern Woman,” with one of his sermons to men, “The Unbeatable Game,” helps to illustrate the differences between Jones’ teachings to men and to women. Using Voyant Tools (http://voyant-tools.org/) to analyze “The Modern Woman” reveals that, unsurprisingly, that “women” and “woman” were the most frequently used words. Significantly, “man” is the third most frequently used word, which illustrates that, for Jones, womanhood is primarily defined in definition to manhood. “Girls” and “mother” are frequently used (43 times and 33 times, respectively), reflecting Jones’ belief that motherhood was an acceptable and commendable role for women to occupy. In contrast with mothers, Jones associated girlhood with irresponsibility. “Dance,” one of the great moral dangers facing women, according to Jones, was used 30 times. “Good” and “great” were commonly used, demonstrating Jones’ belief that women were responsible for the moral integrity of society.

A similar analysis of “The Unbeatable Game” further emphasizes the differences in Jones’ messages to men and women. In contrast with his sermon to women, “sin” is

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446 “Moral Weakness Condemned by Evangelist Bob Jones,” Montgomery Advertiser, June 15, 1921.
the most frequently used word. Jones’ dualistic beliefs about women’s role as the moral protectors of society and men’s inherent “sinfulness” is clearly demonstrated here. “Man” is the second most common word, but, unlike the previous sermon, “woman” or “women” are not frequently used. “God” is the third most common word. Text analysis of “The Unbeatable Game” suggests that Jones believed that men were primarily defined in their relationship to God, while women were primarily defined by their relationship with men.

Fundamentalism primarily developed as a response to social, cultural, political, and religious changes. Modernism and theological liberalism challenged traditional Protestant beliefs, threatening to deny believers the solace provided by a literal interpretation of the Bible.\(^{447}\) Evolving gender roles upended the “world of timeless and unambiguous social categories rooted in absolute physiological laws” and endangered an ordered society founded on the traditional ideas of the family and the home.\(^{448}\)

\(^{447}\) Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy*, p. 35
IV. CHAPTER THREE: “I BELIEVE IN WHITE SUPREMACY”: BOB JONES AND FUNDAMENTALIST SUPPORT OF WHITE SUPREMACY

Race, more than any other issue, has come to define Bob Jones’ legacy. His racist demagoguery during the 1928 presidential campaign and his opposition to integration unavoidably linked Bob Jones University and fundamentalism with racial intolerance. Jones’ racial ideology, enshrined as doctrine at the university he founded, became a source of controversy. Bob Jones University, because of fears of miscegenation, only began to admit married African-American students in 1971 (unmarried African-American students were first admitted in 1975). It refused to admit applicants who were engaged in an interracial marriage or known to advocate interracial marriage or dating. In 1976, the Internal Revenue Service revoked Bob Jones University’s tax-exempt status because of this racially discriminatory admission policy. After the US District Court for the District of South Carolina ruled that the revocation of the University’s tax status exceeded the delegated powers of the IRS, the US Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reversed the decision of the District Court and upheld the revocation of the University’s tax-exempt status. Bob Jones University then appealed the decision of the Circuit Court. In 1983, in the case *Bob Jones University v. United States*, the Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the Circuit Court, declaring that “the fundamental, overriding interest in eradicating racial discrimination in education . . . substantially outweighs whatever burden denial of tax benefits places on petitioners’ exercise of their religious belief.”


Despite the loss of its tax-exempt status, Bob Jones University refused to end its racially discriminatory policy. After presidential candidate George W. Bush visited the University’s campus on February 2, 2000, he was fiercely criticized for failing to denounce the ban on interracial dating, and US House and Senate Democrats introduced a resolution on February 29 condemning Bob Jones University for intolerance. On March 3, the president of the University, Bob Jones III, announced that the University had dropped the rule against interracial dating in order to dispel the belief that Bob Jones University was a “racist school.” In November 2008, the University issued a “Statement About Race at BJU,” which apologized for upholding racially discriminatory policies, including the interracial dating ban. In the statement, the University expressed regret for its policies, stating that “we conformed to the culture rather than providing a clear Christian counterpoint to it.” As part of its attempt to repudiate its reputation for racial intolerance, in 2011 Bob Jones University also renamed a residence hall which was named for Bibb Graves, an Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan, a Governor of Alabama, and a founding board member of Bob Jones College.

Bob Jones, who was born in 1883, came of age in an era of renewed racial intolerance in the South. C. Vann Woodward, in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*,

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describes how policies of proscription, segregation, and disfranchisement that characterized the “Jim Crow South” developed in the 1880s and 1890s. He challenges the assumption that these race policies were “immutable ‘folkways’” caused by Reconstruction “and a necessity of the times.” The Woodward thesis argues “first, that racial segregation in the South in the rigid and universal form it had taken by 1954 did not appear with the end of slavery, but toward the end of the century and later; and second, that before it appeared in this form there occurred an era of experiment and variety in race relations of the South in which segregation was not the invariable rule.” Woodward contends that alternatives to the extreme racism of the Jim Crow era were available to southerners after Reconstruction. Racial conservativism, a philosophy of paternalism and noblesse oblige ascribed to by Wade Hampton and other Redeemers, contended that “negro degradation was not a necessary corollary of white supremacy.” Proponents of racial conservativism believed their position to be balanced between racial liberalism and extreme racism. Another approach to race relations was adopted by Populists, who sometimes sought to form a pragmatic political alliance with African Americans. Populists believed that southern yeoman farmers and African Americans shared “a kinship of a common grievance and a common oppressor.”

Insurgent white democracy increased demand for Jim Crow laws from lower-class whites competing with African Americans for jobs. Woodward notes in the Origins of the New South that “the

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458 ibid., 42-43
barriers of racial discrimination mounted in direct ratio with the tide of political democracy among whites." 459 At the end of the nineteenth century, white supremacy was used to reconcile the North to the South and reunite the fractured Solid South. Racial intolerance was codified into law through statues decreeing segregation and the disenfranchisement of African Americans. 460

Joel Williamson in *The Crucible of Race* describes three “mentalities” of southerners about African Americans. The first mentality, racial liberalism, was characterized by optimism about the future of African Americans. Liberals supported integrating African Americans into white society through education and missionary work. 461 The second mentality, racial conservatism, was the dominant ideology in the ante-bellum South and after Reconstruction. Conservatives focused on “place,” not only for blacks, but also for whites. While conservatives assumed black inferiority, they promoted a paternalistic relationship towards African Americans. 462 Racial radicalism, the final mentality proposed by Williamson, believed that African Americans were retrogressing towards savagery and bestiality. Radicals sought to control African Americans through segregation, disfranchisement, and mob violence. Williamson challenges C. Vann Woodward’s contention that southern whites used African Americans as scapegoats to reunite the Solid South. Instead, he argues that psychosexual factors, such as white fears of “the menacing black male,” encouraged the rise of radicalism. 463

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460 Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, pp. 65, 80
462 ibid., pp. 5
463 ibid., p 182
Williamson suggests that while racial radicalism declined after 1915, the mentality shaped white southerners’ beliefs about African Americans by reducing their visibility to southerners.\footnote{ibid., p. 7}

Protestant churches in the South reinforced cultural assumptions about race, instead of challenging the \textit{status quo}. Protestantism, through what Winthrop Jordan described as “religious equalitarianism,” offered equality for African Americans by recognizing the essential sameness of African Americans and European Americans on a metaphysical level and by erasing differences between different ethnic groups within the church.\footnote{Winthrop Jordan, \textit{White Over Black}: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1555-1812 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012 (second edition)), pp. 212-214} Churches, however, more often supported the racial order. Lillian Smith, in \textit{Killers of the Dream}, criticized the seeming powerlessness of religion in the South, which “stays out of controversies.”\footnote{Lillian Smith, \textit{Killers of the Dream} (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 48.} Religion was used to legitimize racial inequality. Apologists for Jim Crow believed that “racial inequality is the work and the will of God.” Segregationists turned to the worn-out heresy of the curse of Cain, which found cause for African Americans’ supposed inferiority in divine judgment. Religious supporters of Jim Crow did not rely on well-reasoned proofs to support their argument. Rather, they insisted that African Americans’ subordinate role in American society was a result of divine will.\footnote{L.A. Newby, \textit{Jim Crow’s Defense}: \textit{Anti-Negro Thought in America} (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), pp., 83-84, 89-90.} While Protestantism may have encouraged southerners to be more benevolent towards African Americans, it supported the established racial order by conferring divine sanction on segregation. Historian Paul Harvey describes this practice
as “theological racism,” which he defines as “the conscious use of religious doctrine and practice to create and enforce social practices that privileged southerners of European descent.” Harvey argues that “this Christian mythic grounding” for racism was “unstable,” which, by the 1960s, led supporters of Jim Crow to abandon theological arguments. Harvey contends that a “progressive denominational elite” challenged the racist assumptions of southerners. Laypeople, however, “were not about to follow” these progressive leaders “in sacrificing the embattled customs of the white South.” Because of the “determination of segregationist churchmen to silence suspect ministers,” Harvey notes, “it is hardly surprising that the white church appeared to lack a moral conscience.”

Progressive churchmen’s theological liberalism often provided ammunition for segregationist ministers who sought to discredit their egalitarianism. Conservative religious leaders like Jones were unable to disassociate liberalism from racial progressivism. Jones’ doctrine would have made him reticent to associate with groups like the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, since the membership of most organizations was composed of liberal Protestants. Jones challenges Harvey’s claim that southerners abandoned theological racism. Bob Jones, and Bob Jones University, continued to defend segregation on theological grounds into the 1980s.

Bob Jones, like many other southern Protestants, did not challenge race relations in the South. While he sought to reach African Americans, in their own churches and as part of revival campaign, he resisted integration and racial equality. Furthermore, Jones

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469 ibid., pp. 235-236
did not hesitate to resort to demagoguery and race-baiting when it suited his agenda. He became an ally of the Klan when Prohibition was threatened, and his became a rabid supporter of segregation when challenged by Billy Graham and other integrationist ministers. By refusing to challenge racism, Jones sacrificed an opportunity to recognize the essential humanity of African Americans in order to accomplish his own political and ecclesiastical goals.

Bob Jones preached in African-American churches. Even though he believed in segregation, Jones was concerned for the spiritual needs of African Americans. He preached at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, in July 1909 while its pastor, Reverend R.C. Judkins, was absent. The *Pensacola Journal* suggested that Jones’ decision to preach at the Baptist church was a demonstration of “rapid restoration of a cordial feeling among the whites and blacks of the south.”470 On another occasion, he spoke at special meeting at an African-American church, Day Street Baptist Church, in Montgomery. The *Advertiser* reported that the church members had prepared a “special program of music.” The African-American congregants reserved a section of the church auditorium “for white people.”471 Jones’ relationship with African-American churches extended beyond addressing their congregations. During a campaign in Charlotte, an African-American minister read one of Bob Jones’ sermons to his congregation, and “many of the people present shouted at the conclusion of the reading of

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the sermon.” Jones also held segregated meetings for African Americans during his campaigns. During one campaign in Sumter, South Carolina, in 1915, he held a special service for African Americans.

While Jones preached at African American churches and held special meetings for African Americans, he set up segregated sections in his revival meetings for African Americans. Mrs. Mary Gaston Stollenwerck Jones, Bob Jones’ second wife, recalled that “Dr. Bob always loved the Negro.” As proof of this affection, she noted that “he had a special section reserved for them in all his big campaigns, and he never failed to acknowledge their presence.” In Sumter, a “small section of the tabernacle” was reserved during each revival meeting “for the negro pastors of the city.” Jones often had African American audience members perform spirituals for the white audience members. At one revival meeting, Jones pressed “the negro portion of the congregation” into singing hymns for the rest of the congregation. His wife recalled that he frequently requested African American audience members to “sing some of their Spirituals, as only they can.”

Bob Jones insisted that he did not support “social equality.” He did, however, believe that the souls of African American needed rescuing. He condemned “white people” who were “neglecting the negroes.” Jones believed that “every soul, white or black was valuable to God,” and he “admonished the people to discuss Christianity with

476 “Several Hundred Hit Trail at Bob Jones Tabernacle,” Montgomery Advertiser, May 31, 1921.
477 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 163
their servants in an endeavor to convert them.” 478 Jones promoted a form of religious paternalism that asserted African American inferiority while emphasizing the importance of white southerners’ protection of African Americans. He reject the idea that a temporal solution could be found for “the race problem.” Jones believed that “Jesus . . . is the only solution of the race problem.” 479

Bob Jones was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, and he became a political ally of the Invisible Empire. The Ku Klux Klan experienced a revitalization in the early twentieth century. Founded in 1915 by William Joseph Simmons, a de-frocked alcoholic Methodist minister who had become enamored of the ritualism and comradery of fraternal orders, the New Era Klan was inspired by D. W. Griffins’ Reconstruction era drama, The Birth of a Nation, and the Knights of Mary Phagan, a lynch mob formed in Marietta, Georgia in August 1915 in response to the rape and murder of Mary Phagan, a fourteen-year-old factory worker. Leo Frank, a Jew from New York, was falsely convicted and sentenced to death, but, after civil liberties groups denounced Frank’s death sentence, the governor of Georgia commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. On August 16, the Knights of Mary Phagan abducted Franks from a prison farm and hanged him. Two months later the group burned a giant cross on Stone Mountain, a granite monolith eighteen miles east of Atlanta. 480

479 “Recent War Not Last One Declares Evangelist Bob Jones,” The Charlotte Observer, September 12, 1919.
Simmons and thirty-four members of fraternal orders that included members of the Knights of Mary Phagan and the Reconstruction Klan, chartered the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan on October 26, 1915. On Thanksgiving, 1915, Simmons and fifteen Klansmen trudged up Stone Mountain. Once the group reached the summit, Simmons lit a sixteen-foot tall wooden cross and administered the Klan’s oath to the members. Even at the birth of the order, Simmons made appeals to Protestantism. He had his members construct an altar on Stone Mountain, and Simmons used a Bible as a relic of the Klan. From the altar to the Bible to the fiery cross itself, Simmons solidified the Klan’s relationship to religion.

Historians’ interpretations of the 1920s Klan have evolved from an insistence on the Klan’s atavistic and savage nature which emphasized the order’s vigilantism to a populist or civic interpretation of the Klan which posits that the Invisible Empire was representative of mainstream post-World War I society and characterized by community-building. Early studies of the Klan depicted the order as an unreasonable and violent reaction to modernity. John M. Mecklin in The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind, published in 1924, argued that the Klan was “a refuge for mediocre men, if not weaklings,” an organization composed of ignorant bigots, religious zealots, economically marginalized individuals, and other outcasts. The so-called Mecklin thesis explained the rise of the Klan through “a combination of rural ignorance and small town monotony.” Mecklin believed in the essential “otherness” of the Klan. The Invisible Empire waged

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481 Wade, The Fiery Cross, p. 144.
war against an incomprehensible world in which they could never fully participate. This interpretation, historian Thomas Pegram notes, “characterized the Invisible Empire as an anachronistic holdover from the nineteenth century.”

David Chalmers, in *Hooded Americanism*, portrayed the 1920s Klan as a response to a threat to the “American village whose formal mores . . . were those preached from the Protestant pulpits.” The order opposed the “increasingly rapid erosion of small-town, heartland America.” Chalmers’ explains the Klan’s success in cities by suggesting that urban growth was fueled by migration to the city from small towns and rural areas. He contends the Klansmen joined the Invisible Empire to fulfill a psychological need to belong. Chalmers argues that “the great fraternal lodge of America was the Ku Klux Klan, successfully acquiring and feeding upon the characteristics of a Protestant, gregarious, xenophobic, small-town subculture.”

Early critics of the Klan found in the order an American cousin to fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism. Journalists compared the Klan to the secret police of imperial Russia, dictators, and Italian fascists, a comparison adopted by historian Nancy Maclean and others. Maclean, emphasizing the similarities between the Klan and other radical right-wing movements, describes the 1920s Klan as the “largest and the most

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significant right-wing mass movement in American history.”

Situating the Klan within a long lineage of intolerance provides useful insights into the group’s formation, but, as recent studies of the Klan suggest, this argument from analogy is perhaps unable to adequately describe the complexities of the movement.

Studies of local and regional Ku Klux Klan organizations challenged the interpretation of the Klan as an anachronistic and irrational response to change that primarily appealed to the uneducated and disfranchised. Leonard Joseph Moore, in *Citizen Klansmen*, a study of the Klan in Indiana, provides the clearest statement of what has been described as the “populist” interpretation of the Invisible Empire. He argues that the Klan “is best understood not as a nativist organization . . . but rather as a populist organization.” He also rejects the belief that Klansmen were “marginal men”; rather, Moore asserts that Klan members “represented a wide cross section of white Protestant society.” An earlier study of the urban Klan by Keneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, refuted Mecklin’s insistence that the Klan was a movement of ignorant country bumpkins by examining the growth of the Klan in cities. Jackson proposes that the Klan “was not alien to American society or un-American.”

Regional studies of the Klan challenged the Mecklin thesis. Robert Alan Goldberg, in his study of the KKK in Colorado, contends that “Klansmen were drawn from all sections of the socioeconomic class spectrum,” and suggests that the Klan declined because “what had been mysterious and exciting” had become “banal and inane” as the Invisible Empire’s goals were “met or

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486 ibid., p. 1
488 Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, p. xv.
thwarted.” Goldberg observes that, in Colorado, “the urban-rural dichotomy provide useless as a guide to understanding the secret society.”

Thomas Pegram affirms the populist interpretation of the Klan in *One Hundred Percent American.* He argues that “there was an ordinary, everyday quality to the Klan’s presence.” Pegram depict the Klan as a reflection of post-war America. Patriotism was often equated with an endorsement of native white Protestant rule. Pegram asserts that few Americans “questioned their own sense of racial superiority.” He argues that “the Invisible Empire’s doctrine of racialized Americanism . . . was an exaggerated . . . extension of well-established racial norms.” While the Klan is most associated with perpetrating mob violence against African-American men, most of its time was consumed with policing community moral standards, especially against Catholics, immigrants, and impious Protestants. Public reaction against the Klan, then, Pegram contends, was not a reaction against the Klan’s beliefs, but against the violence of their methods.

Nancy Maclean emphasizes the reactionary nature of the 1920’s Klan in *Behind the Mask of Chivalry,* a study of the Klan in Clarke County, Georgia. She argues that the Ku Klux Klan was characterized by a form of reactionary populism. Maclean contends that the Klan’s “program hitched Protestant fundamentalism, conservative sexual politics, and vitriolic racism to an avid middle-class populism.” The “Klansmen’s idyll” was threatened by social change in the 1920s. Youth culture challenged Victorian social

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492 ibid., p. xiii.
norms, African Americans resisted the regime of Jim Crow, and Catholics, Jewish Americans, and “native-born allies” frustrated white Protestants’ attempts to ensure their worldview’s dominance.\(^{494}\) While Maclean emphasizes the reactionary nature of the Klan, she observes that the Klan “was not the haven of the dispossessed and despised.”\(^{495}\) Fundamentalism, or at least what Maclean defines as fundamentalism, is central to her analysis of the Klan. She argues that, to the Klan, fundamentalism was “more than a religion: it provided the encompassing philosophy necessary to meet the scale of the challenge they perceived, and gave divine sanction to their secular agenda.”\(^{496}\) While it would be more accurate to argue that conservative Protestantism, rather than exclusively fundamentalism, was an essential part of the Klan’s ideology, Maclean’s observation of the centrality of Protestantism to Klan beliefs is important.

The 1920s Klan co-opted the symbols and rhetoric of Protestantism to define their organization and to appeal to Protestants. As Klansmen literally wrapped themselves in white robes, so the Klan shrouded itself in Protestantism. Faith was an essential part of the Klan’s nationalism. The kleagles, recruiters for the Ku Klux Klan, specifically targeted Protestant ministers for support. After W.J. Simmons hired the Southern Publicity Association, a marketing partnership of Elizabeth Tyler and Edward Young Clarke, in 1920, the Klan co-opted Protestant churches to serve as recruiting centers for new members. Clarke offered Protestant ministers free membership, and, according to the Klan, by 1924 thirty thousand ministers were members. The Ku Klux Klan appealed to

\(^{494}\) ibid., pp. 63-64.  
\(^{495}\) ibid., p. 152.  
\(^{496}\) Maclean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, p. 48.
Protestants by adopting religious terminology, by supporting causes, such as prohibition, which Protestants embraced, and by co-opting ministers and churches to serve as their spokesmen and recruiting stations.

Religious scholar Kelly Baker argues in *Gospel According to the Klan* that “Klansmen and Klanswomen were part of the religious mainstream.” The Klan attempted to unite Protestants “by providing an arena for Protestants to gather solely as Protestants.” Baker’s assertion that the Klan appealed to Protestants generally contradicts Nancy Maclean’s claim that the Klan was primarily a fundamentalist organization. Examining Bob Jones’ involvement with the Klan does little to resolve this contradiction. Even though Jones is certainly a fundamentalist, the distinction between conservative Protestants and fundamentalist Protestants is difficult to define in the early twentieth century, especially in the South. While the Klan would be less receptive to liberal Protestants, the Christianity embraced by Invisible Empire would alienate few Protestants.

Bob Jones’ relationship with the Klan seems to support the populist interpretation of the Klan. Jones, who was himself a middle-class white male, believed that the Klan was composed of “respectable,” white Christian males. While race was definitely an issue for the Klan, Jones focused more on the organization’s support of prohibition and Americanism. His relationship with the Klan emphasizes the extent to which the Klan used Protestant leaders to communicate their message. He was the frequent recipient of

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the Klan’s generosity, which was either “a mark of the favor which the particular minister enjoys with the Klan, or of the favor which the Klan seeks” from the minister. The Klan’s donations to Jones were certainly a sign of the Klan’s approval, but the evangelist also often used the occasion of a Klan donation to defend the Invisible Empire.

At a rally in St. Petersburg, Florida, in 1922, seven representatives of the Klan interrupted the meeting’s “song service,” and handed Loren Jones, Bob Jones’ choir leader, an envelope. While some in the choir and the audience initially applauded the Klansmen, members of the audience called for them to remove their masks. “Take those masks off: you will be ashamed to look God in the face,” yelled one audience member. Some in the audience even attempted to remove the Klansmen’s masks themselves. Jones soon silenced the audience, allowing the Klansmen to leave “without being molested.” When he opened the envelope, he found fifty dollars and a brief note, which commended Jones for his “untiring efforts to raise the standard of morality” and “to encourage a greater love for our country and respect for its constitution and laws.”

After thanking the Klan for its donation, Jones defended the Klan. He explained that despite W.J. Simmons’ attempt to personally recruit him when Simmons organized the Ku Klux Klan, he was “not a member . . . “ and he had “never been a member of the organization.” Jones declared that he knew “Colonel” Simmons, who, according to Jones “was very brilliant as a young man” and “honest and trustworthy in every particular.” Simmons explained to Jones that the Ku Klux Klan supported “the teachings of

498 “The Ku Klux Klan and the Church,” *The Literary Digest*, April 8, 1922, p. 38
499 “Ku Klux Klan Sends Money to Bob Jones.” *St. Petersburg Times*, November 10, 1922.
Christianity . . . white supremacy and . . . pure, unadulterated Americanism.” Jones reported that after he asked Simmons if the Klan “was intended to oppress the colored people,” the former Imperial Wizard assuaged Jones’ concerns by assuring him that “the organization would be a sympathetic friend to the colored race . . . to protect the colored man from every form of oppression and at all times befriend him.” Simmons justified the order’s support of white supremacy by explaining that “when two races live side by side, one of them has to be dominant.”

Jones informed his audience that, according to Simmons, the Ku Klux Klan’s anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism was not based on religious intolerance. Instead, the organization opposed Catholic attempts to “get control of our government to help the pope in his temporal ambitions,” and the Klan refused to admit Jews because the organization “stands for the teachings of the Christian religion.” When Jones asked Simmons about the alleged vigilantism of the Klan, he replied that the organization had never taken the law into its own hands, and that “we propose to work through constituted authority.” Since one of the major concerns of anti-Klan groups was that Klansmen wore masks, Jones repeated Simmons’ explanation for the order’s hoods. According to Simmons, the masks were intended to protect Klansmen from criticism and to ensure their anonymity as they searched for “disloyalty to the government.” Jones declared that he had found that the Ku Klux Klan had “never been convicted in any community of taking the law into their own hands.” He praised Klansmen, many of whom were “outstanding Christian men of the community, the men that go to prayer meeting.”
Jones concluded his remarks on the Klan by stating that “if the K.K.K. is what my old friend, Mr. Simmons, says . . . if what hundreds of outstanding Christian men are members of the organization have told me is true, if what many of the gospel who belong to the organization is true,” namely, that the Klan “is a patriotic organization, 100 percent American,” then “I am for it.” He declared that “if the organization stands for what Simmons says it does, I wish it well.” Jones finished by thanking the Klan for its donation, and explaining that he “talked about the Klan to quiet your feelings.” He then had the audience sing “My Country, ‘Tis of Thee.”

In 1923, in Greenville, Alabama, the Greenville Klan gave “an offering of $25 to the Alabama Sunday School Association.” Jones read the letter included with the Klan’s donation, which said “that the organization stood for the things he had been preaching.” He took the opportunity to defend the Klan and announced that, rather than “a bunch of cut throats,” the Klan “stood for right living and was against lawlessness.” To defend his belief that Klansmen were law-abiding citizens, he insisted that the Klan was innocent of the murders of two men in Mer Rouge, a settlement in Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, in 1922.

The Klan in Morehouse Parish was headquartered in Bastrop, a neighboring town. Historian Thomas Pegram observes that Mer Rouge was “a political rival of Bastrop . . . the target of hooded anti-vice raids . . .” and “the locus of anti-Klan sentiment in the

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500 “Ku Klux Klan Appears Here in Tabernacle,” The Evening Independent (St. Peterburg, FL), November 10, 1922.
region.” Klansmen abducted five prominent citizens from Mer Rouge. Three of the kidnapped men were later found, alive but brutally beaten. The bodies of the other two men, Watt Daniels and Thomas Richards, were found in Lake Lafourche. Forensic pathologists testified that the men were “subjected to torture in what was believed to have been a viselike contrivance which broke their bones at equal distant intervals.”

Dr. Charles W. Duval, professor of pathology at Tulane University, remarked that “the evident torture of these men was beyond believing.” Later reports found that the bodies had in fact been crushed by heavy machinery. After the bodies were discovered in Lake Lafourche, the exalted cyclops of Morehouse County, J.K. Skipworth, brazenly declared that “it was the wish of the entire membership of the Morehouse Klan that no stone be left unturned in ferreting out and bringing to justice the guilty parties.”

Skipworth, Dr. B.M. McKoin, ex-mayor of Mer Rouge and a leading Mer Rough knight, and other Klansmen were accused of the murders. Public hearings in January 1923 garnered national interest in the case, but the state government was ultimately unable to make a conclusive case.

Bob Jones “hooted Coco,” the state attorney general prosecuting the Mer Rouge case. In contrast to his criticism of A.V. Coco, Jones “was loud in his praise for Captain Skipwith.” He said that Skipwith “was a friend of his and a high toned Christian

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505 Pegram, One Hundred Percent American, p. 173; Wade, The Fiery Cross, p. 194.
506 “Says Positive Evidence is Lacking in Identity,” Corsicana Daily Sun, December 27, 1922.
507 Pegram, One Hundred Percent American, p. 173
gentleman." Jones’ support for Skipwith is puzzling. Skipwith was notorious for his reign of terror in Morehead Parish. He used flogging, deportation, and other brutal tactics to enforce morality, even going as far to interrupt telephone service between Bastrop and Mer Rouge. Jones’ support of Skipwith, and his disdain of Coco, suggests that he naively accepted the assurances of Klan leaders that the Invisible Empire did not embrace vigilantism, that he remained willfully ignorant of the atrocities perpetrated by the Klan, or, less charitably, that he tacitly supported Klan violence in order to uphold public morality and suppress “vice.”

Bob Jones was a frequent recipient of the Klan’s charity. On the last night of a campaign in El Paso, the Klan donated five-hundred dollars to Jones. During a campaign in Andalusia, Alabama, the Klan bestowed on Jones a gift of $1,568. Even during the national Klan’s decline after 1925, local klaverns supported Jones. At the conclusion of a campaign in Bellingham, Washington, in 1927, he was “presented with a bag of money representing the offering of the K.K.K.” Jones publically thanked the Klan, noting that even though the Klan had not been invited to be special guests during the campaign, the organization had given generously. Jones remarked that the Klan was usually on “the right side” of any issue.

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508 “Evangelist Jones Has Good Word for Ku Klux Klan,” Daily Herald (Biloxi, Mississippi), March 3, 1923
509 Pegram, One Hundred Percent American, p. 173
510 “Pagina Del Redactor,” Atalaya Bautista: Semanario Evangelico Bautista, October 19, 1922.
511 Wade, The Fiery Cross, p. 177.
512 “Dangers of Backsliding Stressed by Evangelist Bob Jones in Closing His Four Weeks’ Revival Campaign,” Bellingham Herald, December 5, 1927.
During a campaign in El Paso, Texas, in 1922, Jones extended an invitation to all Klansmen would be special guests. At that meeting, Jones defended the Klan, reiterating that he supported the Klan if it stood for the things “my old friend, Col. Simmons, of Atlanta, Ga., said it stands for.” Jones repeated that even though Simmons had asked him to join the Klan, he had been “prevented from accepting by his own work.” He informed the audience in El Paso that “the purposes of the organization were three-fold: for the teachings of Christianity; for white supremacy, and for pure, unadulterated Americanism.” Jones explained his beliefs about white supremacy, stating that “the colored man hasn’t a better friend than Bob Jones, but I believe in white supremacy.” He concluded his remarks on the Klan by noting that “the Klan . . . is here to stay” since “it is composed of enough outstanding, God fearing men to keep it steady.”

Jones listed his reasons for presenting his statement on the Klan, explaining that he thought it “was just that a clear statement be given to El Paso in fairness to the Klan,” and that he believed that “the best way to cure religious intolerance is for all religious groups and factions to state their position and issues.” After Jones was criticized by the El Paso Times for being a pawn of the Klan, he responded by insisting that the Invisible Empire had not made him its “goat.” The evangelist noted that even though he had consulted “five men, two or three of whom may have been Klan members,” he had written his statement about the Klan independently of the order. Jones was generously rewarded by the Klan for his support. On the last night of the campaign, the Ku Klux

513 “Jones to Talk to Patriotic Societies Tonight,” El Paso Herald, October 2, 1922
516 “All Border Ports May Close Early, Says Bob Jones,” El Paso Herald, October 6-7, 1922
Klan gave him five-hundred dollars, and, in a letter, praised Jones for “the stand he has taken for Christianity, law enforcement by constituted authorities, Americanism, and his efforts to make El Paso a better place in which to live.”517

During a campaign in Galveston, Texas, in 1923, Bob Jones held a special meeting for Klansmen. He invited members of the Ku Klux Klan to “be his guests at the tabernacle . . . and hear a sermon especially prepared for them.” A “Ku Klux Klan night” during Jones’ campaign in Galveston in 1922 had been the “biggest event of the revival.”518 The Galveston Daily News recorded that “a fiery cross ten feet high and scores of American flags and banners adorned the tabernacle.” The evangelist denied that he had ever been a member of the Klan, but he declared he was agreed with the “principles of the organization.”519 On the last night of the campaign, the Galveston branch of the Ku Klux Klan donated $250 to Bob Jones. Included with the donation was a letter, which stated that Klansmen had donated to Jones’ campaign throughout the week.520

Ku Klux Klan chapters across the country presented Jones with signs of their approval. At a meeting in Covington, Ohio, Ku Klux Klan members from the Covington Klan gave the evangelist a silk American flag.521 During a later campaign meeting in Covington Jones discussed the Klan. He repeated his frequent claim that he was not a member of the KKK, but he informed the audience that he knew “many Protestant

517 “Jones takes Final Whack at Juarez; Gets $5900,” El Paso Herald, October 9, 1922.
members who are active members and some of them are my personal friends.” According to Jones, the Klansmen he knew were “a splendid type of Christian men.” He enumerated what he believed to be the principles of the Klan: “the Christian religion . . . the separation of church and state . . . free public schools . . . the protection of pure womanhood . . . a closer relation between capital and labor . . . and the prevention of unwarranted strikes by foreign agitators.” Significantly, Jones did not include white supremacy among Klan beliefs; perhaps he altered his summary of Klan positions to appeal to a Northern audience. Jones concluded his remarks by predicting that the Klan would, “inside of five years,” have twenty-five million members. The Cincinnati Enquirer reported that “each of the clergymen’s statements was answered by roars of applause.”

Klansmen distributed literature at Bob Jones’ revival campaigns. During a revival in Dallas in 1924, Klansmen, described by the American Mercury as “Nordic Blond evangelists,” distributed a circular which described the Klan as “a Searchlight on a high tower,” “the Recording Angel’s Proxy,” and “the foe of Vice, the friend of Innocence, the rod and staff of Law.” At the end of a special meeting for Ku Klux Klan members in El Paso in 1922, Klansmen circulated a flyer which listed the oath of the KKK and the oath of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic organization. The oath of the Knights of Columbus printed in the pamphlet, however, was not actually the oath of the Knights of Columbus, but a falsified oath designed to incite popular sentiment against the

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522 “Growth of Ku Klux Klan is Assured,” Cincinnati Enquirer, October 27, 1923
organization. The “oath” of the Knights of Columbus was popular with Klansmen and their supporters, with some “country preachers” even distributing printed copies of the “oath” from their pulpit. Even when Bob Jones did not directly address the Klan, members of the Invisible Empire were able to spread their message.

Bob Jones and the Ku Klux Klan were political allies. In 1924, Jones supported L.B. Musgrove against U.S. Senator Oscar W. Underwood in Alabama’s Democratic Party presidential primary. Musgrove, a Klansman, a prohibitionist, and a millionaire owner of coal mines, banks, and newspapers, was supported by the Ku Klux Klan. Bibb Graves, a Klansmen and an American Legionnaire, managed his campaign. His opponent, Underwood, opposed progressive reforms and prohibition. Musgrove, in contrast to Underwood, was a former chairman of the national Anti-Saloon League, and a supporter of women’s suffrage and the right of workers to organize. Musgrove’s identification with progressive causes encouraged William Jennings Bryan to support his candidacy by campaigning for Musgrove throughout Alabama. Musgrove was able to form a temporary coalition of women, evangelicals, organized labor, farmers, and the Klan, but he was ultimately unable to defeat Underwood. Jones condemned Underwood’s supporters, describing them as “the whiskey people, the Roman Catholics, and the lawless foreigners.” In the 1927 mayoral election in Montgomery, Alabama, Bob Jones, along with the Klan and Governor Bibb Graves, supported J. Johnston Moore, a

524 “Bob Jones Pleads for Religious Tolerance,” El Paso Herald, October 5, 1922
local druggist and a Klan Cyclops. The Klan attempted to unseat W.A. Gunter, a twelve year incumbent. Jones accused Gunter of corruption.\textsuperscript{527} Despite Jones’ allegations, Gunter defeated Moore 4,278 to 2,338.\textsuperscript{528} In the 1920 presidential primary and in the 1927 Montgomery mayoral race, Jones became a political ally of the Klan.

Jones’ support of Musgrove and Moore suggests that his backing of candidates may not necessarily be linked to Ku Klux Klan endorsement. Both Underwood and Gunter were part of an oligarchy that represented the “planter/industrialist clique.”\textsuperscript{529} Jones, who campaigned for prohibition throughout his career, and who seemed to have been influenced by populist and progressive ideas, would not have been out of place in the de facto alliances that developed in opposition to the Black Belt-Big Mule Coalition, regardless of Klan involvement. Jones’ political alliances with the Klan emphasize the complexity of the Klan’s position in the South in the 1920s. While Jones doubtlessly identified with the Klan’s support of white supremacy, his association with the Klan was related to positions more salient to Jones’ identity. The Ku Klux Klan’s patriotism, populism, and support of public morality and prohibition would have made the Klan an attractive ally for Jones. Jones’ association with the Klan suggests that southern progressivism often made for strange bedfellows.

In 1924, Bob Jones was a spectator at the turbulent 1924 Democratic convention in New York City. His reasons for attending the convention are unclear. The convention, which lasted from June 24 to July 9, was characterized by controversy. Divisions

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{527} “US is Drifting Towards Atheism, Says Rev. Bob Jones,” \textit{The Dothan Eagle}, December 31, 1929.
\textsuperscript{528} “Klan Candidate for Montgomery Mayor Beaten Two to One,” \textit{The Columbus Enquirer-Sun}, May 17, 1927.
\textsuperscript{529} Feldman, \textit{Politics, Society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1919-1945}, p. 64.
\end{footnotes}
between rural and urban delegates, religious disagreements, the debate over prohibition, and host other problems fractured the Democratic Party. Additionally, while William Gibbs McAdoo, a lawyer from California, and Al Smith, the governor of New York, emerged as front-runners, because of confusion in the party nearly every state had favorite sons as nominees. In “the snarling and homicidal roughhouse known as the Madison Square Garden Convention,” competing candidates and politically dangerous issues contributed to destroy any unity in the Party.\(^5\)

Chief among the issues contributing to the fragmentation of the party was the Ku Klux Klan. McAdoo was supported by the Klan, and, because his support largely was in the South, declined formally to renounce the Klan. McAdoo was also endorsed by prohibitionists. Smith was supported by anti-Klan delegates, and, as a notable “wet,” was opposed by prohibitionists. The Committee on Platform and Resolutions did not include any condemnation of the Klan in its proposed platform. A minority report which recommended the inclusion of a plank specifically denouncing the Klan provoked a lengthy debate.\(^6\)

The last delegate to speak on the minority plank was the “Great Commoner”, William Jennings Bryan. Serving as an at-large delegate from Florida, he supported the majority plank. Bryan criticized anti-Klan Democrats for being willing to divide the party because of the Klan issue, declaring that endorsers of the minority plank considered the inclusion of “Ku Klux Klan” more important than “the welfare of a party in a great

\(^6\) ibid., 86-88; Arnold S. Rice, “The Southern Wing of the Ku Klux Klan In American Politics, 1915-1928,” PhD Diss., Indiana University, 1959, pp. 149-150.
campaign.” Bryan believed that the Catholic Church, “with its legacy of martyred blood,” and the Jews, with “Elisha, who was able to draw back the curtain and show upon the mountains an invisible host,” did not need the protection of the Democratic Party. He declared that “the Ku Klux Klan does not deserve the advertisement” of censure in the Democratic Party platform. Bryan’s speech was met by hisses, boos, and jeers.\textsuperscript{532} He was forced to pause twice because of the uproar.\textsuperscript{533} Bob Jones' son, Bob Jones, Jr., recalled that he and his father had sat in the gallery in Madison Square Garden to hear William Jennings Bryan address the convention.\textsuperscript{534} He remembered that “the Tammany Hall rabble booed him and tried to laugh him off the platform,” stating that “it was . . . apparent that those who set themselves against him were ruffians beneath contempt.”\textsuperscript{535} The New York Times credited Bryan with defeating the censure of the Klan in the 1924 Democratic Party platform, stating that “it was to the Commoner that credit went for keeping denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan by name out of the party’s platform.”\textsuperscript{536}

The Ku Klux Klan’s political power was fully on display at the convention. After McAdoo conceded, the Klan opposed Oscar Underwood from Alabama and Al Smith, leading to the nomination of compromise candidate John Davis from West Virginia.\textsuperscript{537} On July 4, 20,000 Klan members gathered at nearby Long Branch, New Jersey, for a Tri-State Klorero. Klansmen, women, and children “pounded to a battered pulp an effigy of

\textsuperscript{532} “Text of the Klan Debate: Arguments For and Against Censuring the Order by Name,” The New York Times, June 29, 1924.
\textsuperscript{533} Murray, The 103rd Ballot, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{534} Jones, Jr., Cornbread and Caviar, p. 38
\textsuperscript{535} ibid.
\textsuperscript{536} “How Bryan Defeated Move to Denounce the Ku Klux Klan by Name in the Convention,” The New York Times, July 27, 1925.
\textsuperscript{537} Wade, The Fiery Cross, pp. 198-199.
Governor Smith.” After an airplane, carrying a photographer, landed near the crowd, a near-riot ensued, since the Klansmen assumed that the photographer, “Bobby” Keough, was a Smith supporter. Later, Judge C. J. Orbison of Indianapolis assured the gathered Klan members that only a Protestant could be president or vice-president. He dubbed the convention the “Democratic Klonvention” in “Jew York,” emphasizing the influence of the Klan in the 1924 Democratic Convention.538

During the convention, Bob Jones campaigned against Al Smith. At a meeting held in the West Side YMCA, he joined Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, Governor William Sweet of Colorado, and Wayne J. Williams, Colorado attorney general, in denouncing Smith. Jones asserted that “the reason Americans are against Al Smith is that the bootleggers are for him.” He threatened that if the Democratic Convention nominated Al Smith it would “split the Solid South,” adding that “if you want the Solid South with you, you will nominate a dry man.” The evangelist concluded his remarks by stating that “Al Smith is the worst hated man in America.”539 Jones’ condemnation of Smith, and his association with the Klan and its supporters, provided a glimpse of his reaction to the Smith’s nomination in 1928.

Bob Jones became most closely allied with the Klan during the 1928 presidential election. In 1928 the Alabama Ku Klux Klan succeeded in dividing the Democratic Party. The Alabama Klan proved that it had not died by initiating a civil war between the Black Belt/Big Mule coalition and a loose confederacy of “Hoovercrats.” Alabama Klansmen,

allied with the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, succeeded in electing most of the Klan candidates as delegates to the Democratic Convention in the May primaries. Before the Democratic Convention, Jones campaigned against Smith, making “klan speeches over the state.”

Before the Democratic National Convention, Emperor and Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evan outlined the Klan’s plan to fight Smith. He declared that the Klan would resist Smith because “he is a Roman Catholic,” because he opposed Prohibition, “because he is a product of the ‘boss system,’” and because he was supported by immigrants. The Klan’s arguments, in addition to race, which was introduced later in the campaign, would serve as the basis for many southerners’ opposition to Smith.

After Al Smith was nominated at the Democratic Convention in Houston, the Alabama Klan “responded . . . as if its very life were imperiled.” In what was referred to as the 1928 “bolt,” many lifelong Democrats from Alabama broke party rank and supported Hoover, without becoming Republicans. Bob Jones was among those who bolted and became a Hoovercrat. On August 13, 1928, a group of anti-Smith Democrats met at the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham to organize the Alabama Anti-Smith Democrats. Jones was among those who spoke at the rally. He addressed the “bolters” and appealed to the “religious issue.” Jones declared that he would “rather see a saloon on every corner in every city in the United States than see Al Smith, the candidate of the foreigners, president.”

540 “Religion Brings Wild Applause in Bolters’ Meet,” The Dothan Eagle, August 14, 1928.
543 “Religion Brings Wild Applause in Bolters’ Meet,” The Dothan Eagle, August 14, 1928.
among Americans. In El Paso in 1922, he argued that “it is the foreigners coming to America who are destroying our Sabbath.” Jones attacked Smith, comparing him with Chicago’s mayor, Bill Thompson, and the devil, and condemned the” Happy Warrior” “on political, moral and religious grounds.” He declared that “New York with its preponderance of foreign population is everything bad, and Chicago worse.” During the meeting in Birmingham, Jones said that “he would rather vote for a negro than for Al Smith.” He continued, alleging that Smith was Mussolini’s candidate. Jones warned his audience that Al Smith would allow “hordes of foreigners” to enter the United States if he was elected. He also attacked Smith for allegedly having “a drink every day.”

Bob Jones campaigned against Smith across Alabama. He justified his political activism by explaining that “my country is in danger. There is a conspiracy to deliver this government to the Pope at Rome.” Jones told an audience in Dothan that Smith, who he believed to be “the nominee of Tammany Hall, the Catholic machine,” was “the usurper of the nomination,” bluntly stating, “He stole it. Took it.” He declared that he believed that the pope “sits on a throne with his eyes on the nations of the world, seeking temporal power . . . dreaming of the day when he will control every country on the face of the earth.” Both loyal Democrats and Hoovercrats who bolted turned to race-baiting. Race surpassed prohibition, nativism, and anti-Catholicism as the main issue of the campaign. At a rally in Headland, Alabama, Jones howled that Smith was “the greatest

546 “Religion Brings Wild Applause in Bolters’ Meet,” The Dothan Eagle, August 14, 1928.
‘nigger’ lover and ‘nigger’ boot licker of the country” and that “he was a believer of the inter-marriage of the white and black races.” The evangelist was parroting similar race-baiting used by Hugh A. Locke, state chairman of Anti-Smith Democrats, who denounced Smith as a “negro lover” and a “negro boot licker.” Bob Jones threatened that Smith would “Tammanyize and Romanize the South within four years or less.”

Jones’ campaign against Al Smith attracted national attention. The Greensboro Daily News noted the importance of Jones’s attacks against Smith, explaining that in Alabama “religion is about the only subject that is receiving attention.” The newspaper stated that the campaign was “being paramount by the klan, the Republican leadership . . .” and “by Bob Jones, evangelist.” The Washington, D.C. Evening Star also observed that the Anti-Smith Democrats in Alabama had no qualms about the “religious issue.” According to the Evening News, “Those who oppose the election of a Catholic to the presidency do not whisper here; their campaign is a shouting campaign.” The article stated that “for months now Rev. ‘Bob’ Jones, an Evangelist, has been pleading with the voters in public speeches not to put a Catholic into the White House.” The New York Times also took note of the importance of religion in the 1928 presidential election. In describing the inflammatory rhetoric used by “Klan politicians and preachers in Methodist and Baptist pulpits,” the newspaper observed that “Dr. Bob Jones . . . is

549 “Headland Preacher Won’t Indulge in Politics After Decrease in Crowd,” The Dothan Eagle, October 9, 1928.
551 “Headland Preacher Won’t Indulge in Politics After Decrease in Crowd,” The Dothan Eagle, October 9, 1928.
making 100 speeches for Hoover in Alabama.” He attempted to terrify audiences with threats that “Catholics regard the children of non-Catholic parents as illegitimate,” and that “a Protestant-married couple would have to be remarried by a Catholic priest.”

Jones, the Times reported, “has repeated said ‘I’d rather see a saloon on every corner than a Catholic in the White House.’” The evangelist was also “fond of saying that he’d ‘rather see a nigger’ President than Smith. Jones warned his listeners that “in Italy the watchword of the priests is ‘If you can’t convert ‘em, kill ‘em.’”

Bob Jones’ rabid anti-Catholicism is incongruent with his relationship with Catholics during his early career. During a campaign in Waverly, Pennsylavnia, in 1915, Jones condemned strife between Protestants and Catholics, contending, “It would grieve the Master to come back here and find us quarrelling among ourselves.” He declared the ‘God loves the Roman Catholics just as much as He does the Methodists.”

The Methodist evangelist cooperated with a Catholic priest, Father Michael Weldon, in Bloomington, Illinois, in 1917 to campaign for the close of the red light district. Jones proudly listed Father Weldon, the leading Catholic priest of the city, among his allies in the anti-vice campaign. These early examples of ecumenism provide a stark contrast to his vitriol-laden attacks against Smith’s Catholicism in 1928. This shift suggests that Jones’ anti-Catholicism was shaped by politics and nativism, not decreed by doctrine.

556 “Sermon on the Death of Jesus,” The Pantagraph (Bloomington, IL), February 9, 1917.
Jones’ decision to campaign against Al Smith resulted in a loss of credibility for the evangelist. He was described by the Dothan Eagle as a “political evangelist.”

Jones was frequently accused of being mercenary. Circuit Court judge Leon McCord, an Al Smith supporter, taunted Jones, calling him “the only minister who ever grew wealthy.”

The Montgomery Advertiser attacked Jones, naming him the “plutocratic evangelist.” The newspaper criticized Jones, stating that it always cost “a wad of money to hear Bob speak no matter whether he was saving one’s soul or one’s country.”

After Jones was not allowed to use the Methodist Church or the public park in Headland to make a political speech, the Dothan Eagle mockingly gave a ‘Free Ad for Brother Bob.’ The newspaper warned attendees at Jones’ political rally to “go prepared to dig into your pocket when Brother Bob passed the hat,” noting that “the money isn’t for his use, to be sure, but for his college at Lynn Haven, Fla.” The Eagle concluded its attack against Jones, stating that Jones “maybe, after Gov. Smith is elected, Brother Bob will find time to go back to the duller if less remunerative business of saving our souls.”

Bob Jones fired back, dubbing the Advertiser a “polecat,” and calling the Dothan Eagle the “Dothan Buzzard.” He claimed that “the Montgomery Advertiser is in the conspiracy with the Pope of Rome,” describing the newspapers as “that dirty sheet.”

Jones support of Hoover also provoked criticism from his relatives. His wife’s family, upper-class planters

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557 “Headland Preacher Won’t Indulge in Politics After Decrease in Crowd,” The Dothan Eagle, October 9, 1928
558 “Judge M’Cord Launches Fight in Wiregrass,” The Dothan Eagle, September 8, 1928.
559 Sellers, The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, 1702 to 1943, p. 207
560 “Free Ad for Brother Bob,” The Dothan Eagle, August 22, 1928.
561 Sellers, The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, 1702 to 1943, p. 207
from the Black Belt, insulted Jones, since, according to Bob Jones, Jr., “They were embarrassed to have an in-law campaign for Herbert Hoover.”

Bob Jones’ involvement in the 1928 Presidential campaign was described as “his most famous foray” into politics. His anti-Catholicism and racism in the campaign shaped public perceptions of the evangelist. In 1968, after his death, the New York Times’ obituary was subtitled “Fundamentalist Was Known for Attacks on Catholics in 1928 Campaign.” The article stated that “he attacked Catholicism bitterly,” and repeated his claim that he would prefer a saloon on every corner or an African-American president to a Catholic in the White House. Jones’ bigotry doubtlessly influenced public perceptions about fundamentalism and Bob Jones College, and limited his effectiveness as an evangelist.

Bob Jones’ clearest statement of his beliefs about race is presented in a sermon delivered on Easter Sunday 1960 titled “Is Segregation Scriptural?” He prefaced his remarks by alerting his audience that the sermon would be “one of the most important and most timely messages I have every brought.” The fact that Jones chose to present a defense of segregation on Easter Sunday emphasizes his belief that the sermon was important. Jones’ defense of segregation was based on biblical inerrancy, the belief that “whatever the Bible says is so.” He turned to Acts 17:26, which states “And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.”

563 Jones, Jr., Cornbread and Caviar: Reminiscences and Reflections, p.18
566 ibid.
interpreted this verse to be a divine endorsement of segregation. Jones believed that God had established a racial order. He argued that each race had a special purpose and qualities given by God.\textsuperscript{567} Jones declared that “the Bible is perfectly clear on races.” He believed that God had “fixed the bounds of their habitation,” restricting racial and ethnic groups to specific geographic locations.\textsuperscript{568} He challenged the idea that the United States should be a “melting pot,” contending that “God never meant for America . . . to rub out the line between the nations.”\textsuperscript{569} Jones believed that “God is the author of segregation . . . He . . . drew the boundary lines between races.”\textsuperscript{570} Segregation was part of “God’s established order.”\textsuperscript{571}

Since Jones believed that segregation was divinely decreed, he also believed that attempts to challenge segregation were satanically inspired. He saw the Civil Rights Movement as part of “a subtle, Satanic effort to undermine people’s faith in the Bible.” He argued that “race turmoil” was “contrary to Scripture.”\textsuperscript{572} Jones contended that the Civil Rights Movement was “an effort . . . to disturb the established order.”\textsuperscript{573} He believed that “racial disturbance” was “not of God.” He condemned the belief that “God is the Father of everybody” as a “Satanic lie.” Jones believed that God is only the father of those who are “born again.” He characterized the Civil Rights Movement as “outside agitation.” Jones attacked the “false piety” of civil rights activists.\textsuperscript{574} He thought that the

\textsuperscript{567} ibid., pp. 8, 18
\textsuperscript{568} ibid., pp. 4, 8
\textsuperscript{569} ibid., pp. 15
\textsuperscript{570} ibid., p. 19
\textsuperscript{571} ibid., p. 32
\textsuperscript{572} ibid., p. 3
\textsuperscript{573} ibid., p. 10
\textsuperscript{574} ibid., p. 11
Civil Rights Movement was “a Satanic agitation striking back at God’s established
order.”\textsuperscript{575} Jones associated the Civil Rights Movement with “religious liberals,” who he
believed to be “the worst infidels in many ways in the country.”\textsuperscript{576} He declared that “a lot
of this agitation comes from evangelists of a certain type who have never gone into this
situation.” and who preached “a sentimental, soap-bubble, anemic kind of a religion.”\textsuperscript{577}
Jones argued that the Civil Rights Movement was an “outside, Communistic, Hellish
influence” which threatened to “set this country back . . . for twenty-five to fifty
years.”\textsuperscript{578}

Bob Jones characterized movement for integration in apocalyptic terms. He
warned his audience that “we are facing serious dangers today – more serious than we
can ever imagine.” Jones declared that “when you run into conflict with God’s
established order racially, you have trouble.” He believed that “we are facing dangers
from abroad and dangers at home” because “we have got away from the Bible of our
forefathers.” He cautioned his listeners against allowing “religious liberals,” who were
“blowing bubbles of nothing over your head,” to “get you upset and disturbed.” Jones
insisted that “enemies are being made now that are dividing this country as it has never
been divided in its history.” He threatened his audience that “the darkest day the world
has ever known will be when we have one world like they are talking about now. The line

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{575} ibid., p. 15
\item \textsuperscript{576} ibid., p. 17
\item \textsuperscript{577} ibid., p. 29
\item \textsuperscript{578} ibid., p. 21
\end{itemize}
will be rubbed out, and the Antichrist will take over.” For Jones, integration presaged the apocalypse.579

Ironically, Bob Jones called for African Americans and white southerners to resist the “outside agitation” together. He believed that “there is no trouble between a born-again white man and a born-again colored man.”580 Jones declared that African Americans and white southerners had “gotten along together harmoniously and peacefully, and everything has come along fine.”581 He emphasized white support of African Americans, noting that “the white people have helped the colored people build their churches.”582 Jones explained that “there has never been a time . . . when the white people in the South were so eager to help the colored people build their schools.” He informed his audience that he had planned to found a school for African Americans, but that “this agitation” had made it impossible.583 Jones believed that “the good white folks have always stood by their good colored friends.”584 He asserted that “good, Christian colored people in the South . . . are trying to fight back the subtle, Satanic disturbance we have in this country.”585 Jones depicted a paternalistic relationship between whites and African Americans, and he turned to African Americans to resist integration.

Bob Jones’ commitment to segregation was, at least in part, a reaction to other evangelical Protestant leaders’ support of integration. His personal dislike of Billy

579 Bob Jones, “Is Segregation Scriptural?,” p. 31
580 ibid., p. 4
581 ibid., pp. 9-10
582 ibid., p. 10
583 ibid., p. 17, 24
584 ibid., p. 10
585 Jones, “Is Segregation Scriptural?,” p. 17

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Graham, who advocated for integration, influenced his defense of segregation. Graham, at his mother’s urging, attended Bob Jones College, located in Cleveland, Tennessee, in 1936. His “expansive nature” was ill-suited to the school’s regimen of rigorous discipline. Graham, who “never liked to be told what to do,” chafed against the institution’s strict rules.\textsuperscript{586} Bob Jones College, Graham recalled, was “so rigidly regimented that it shocked me.” Despite his dislike of the College’s regulations, Graham remembered that “we also loved Dr. Bob . . . we could not help but sense that he had our best interests at heart in all the policies he imposed.” Graham also “didn’t like the weather,” and he “didn’t like it because the school had no baseball team.”\textsuperscript{587}

After enduring one semester at the school, Graham informed Bob Jones that he would be transferring from Bob Jones College to the Florida Bible Institute in Tampa, Florida. Jones lambasted Graham’s decision, remarking that if Graham was “a misfit at Bob Jones College,” he would “be a misfit anywhere.” He threatened Graham that if he left Bob Jones College, he would only “amount to . . . a poor country preacher somewhere out in the sticks.”\textsuperscript{588} Graham left Jones’ office “disillusioned and dejected.”\textsuperscript{589}

Despite Graham’s decision to leave Bob Jones College after one semester, and Jones’ angry response to Graham’s defection, Jones and Graham maintained an amicable

\textsuperscript{588} Frady, \textit{Billy Graham}, p. 100.
relationship. Graduates of Bob Jones College (and later, Bob Jones University) served in key positions on Graham’s evangelistic teams. Cliff Barrows, Graham’s music and program director, and his wife, Grady Wilson, a vice-president of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA), and T.W. Wilson, an associate evangelist with the BGEA had all attended Bob Jones College.\textsuperscript{590} Willis Haymaker, a long-time member of Jones’ evangelistic team, became Graham’s campaign manager. Herb Hoover, a soloist and song leader who appeared on Billy Graham’s \textit{Hour of Decision} television program, earned a master’s degree in sacred music from Bob Jones University, and was the director of the school of music.\textsuperscript{591}

Musical groups from Bob Jones University performed at services led by members of the BGEA,\textsuperscript{592} and the Bob Jones University Choir appeared multiple times on Graham’s \textit{Hour of Decision} program.\textsuperscript{593} Bob Jones University’s movie and television studio, “Unusual Pictures,” produced television shorts for Billy Graham.\textsuperscript{594} The University conferred an honorary doctorate on Graham in 1948.\textsuperscript{595} Jones and Graham maintained regular correspondence, and Bob Jones recalled that during Graham’s 1949 campaign in Los Angeles the young evangelist remarked that “all I know about evangelism, I learned there [at Bob Jones College],” and requested that Jones would call

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[\textsuperscript{591}] “Bible Baptists to Have Series of Meetings,” \textit{The Kokomo Tribute}, June 13, 1956.
\item[\textsuperscript{592}] “Graham Aide to Speak at N. Syracuse Services,” \textit{The Post-Standard}, July 25, 1953
\item[\textsuperscript{593}] BGEA: Walter F. Bennett & Company - Collection 54, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College.
\item[\textsuperscript{594}] Nate Wegodsky, “Bob Jones College is Unusual in Many Respects,” \textit{Kingsport Times}, September 6, 1952.
\item[\textsuperscript{595}] Turner, \textit{Standing Without Apology}, p. 168.
\end{enumerate}
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Graham “one of your boys.” During his early career, Graham was compared to Jones; he was described as a “‘sawdust’ evangelist preaching the prevalence of sin and damnation in the tradition of . . . Bob Jones.” In 1950, at the invitation of Bob Jones, Jr., Graham held a rally on the campus of Bob Jones University, and the Joneses entertained Graham, as well as members of Graham’s evangelistic team and Strom Thurmond, in their home.

Billy Graham’s relationship with Bob Jones soon soured. As early as 1951, Jones questioned the legitimacy of Graham’s revivals, remarking that “people are flocking to his meetings because they want something to which to tie.” Theodore Mercer, a former registrar of Bob Jones University who was fired in June 1953 for disobeying school policies, claimed that Bob Jones Jr. described Graham as “shallow and superficial, and not having real revival.” The Joneses’ disagreement with Graham is difficult to explain. Historian Mark Taylor Dalhouse suggests that perhaps the Joneses’ resented Graham’s “meteoric rise,” or that Graham’s continued involvement in the National Association of Evangelicals, and his support of “neo-evangelicalism,” conflicted with the Joneses’ condemnation of the NAE. R.K. Johnson, Bob Jones’ biographer, rejected that Jones clashed with Graham because of personality. Instead, Johnson argued “the

596 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 274.
598 Dalhouse, Island in the Lake of Fire, p. 81
600 Dalhouse, Island in the Lake of Fire, p. 81
601 ibid., p. 82.
Billy Graham issue is a spiritual issue. It deals with the compromise evangelism in which God’s Bible-believing people are being led to join hands with God’s enemies.”

Bob Jones’ disagreements with Graham became most pronounced during the months leading up to Graham’s 1957 campaign in New York City. The campaign was sponsored by the Protestant Council of New York, an ecumenical association affiliated with the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Graham announced that he was “coming to get the people to dedicate themselves to God and then to send them to their own church – Catholic, Protestant or Jewish.” Bob Jones Jr., in a 1956 letter to Ralph W. Mitchell, a member of the BGEA, criticized Graham for his decision to partner with the Protestant Council and threatened that “seeking the sponsorship of modernists and liberals” would “leave orthodox churches, if they cooperate, spineless and emasculated.” Mitchell was convinced that the Joneses were intractable, and encouraged Graham not to “concern yourself unduly about such critics.” The Joneses, John R. Rice, and other prominent fundamentalists opposed Graham’s campaign in New York. Bob Jones condemned Graham’s ecumenism. He believed that the younger evangelist was “prostituting his role by turning his wards to the wrong churches.” He declared that “Billy is sacrificing the permanent on the altar of the immediate.” Jones denounced Graham for “giving the tools for capturing souls to the liberals, even the

602 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 273.
606 Graham, Just As I Am, p. 303.
radicals.” He prophesied that “when their houses come tumbling down, his will collapse, too.” 607

Fundamentalists’ attacks against Graham’s ecumenism were “painful” to the evangelist. Graham recalled that the criticism of Jones, Rice, and other leaders, who Graham “admired . . . and respected,” “hurt immensely.” He remembered that “their harshness and lack of love saddened me.” Graham, however, believed that he was right in being “willing to work with all who were willing to work with us.” 608 He “won the gamble that he could appeal to a larger audience” without the fundamentalists. He adopted a more expansive view of Christianity. Graham, addressing the 1957 NAE convention, stated that he believed that “born-again Christians” did not have to use “our shibboleths” or “know our particular evangelical language.” 609 Graham explained that his earlier fundamentalism was based on “ignorance,” noting that he “had not had the opportunity to fellowship with people in other communities before.” 610 Graham’s decision to cooperate with mainline Protestants, Catholics, and people of other faiths seems to echo Jones’ willingness to promote inter-denominational cooperation during his early career. Both Jones and Graham were willing to defy denominational boundaries during evangelistic campaigns. Despite this similarity, Jones attacked Graham for his ecumenism, even going as far to accuse him of “playing into the hands of the Communists.” 611

608 Graham, Just As I Am, pp. 302-303.
The disagreement between Jones and Graham became the defining feature of early disagreements between fundamentalism and new evangelicalism. The *Greensboro Record*, in October 1958, reported that Graham and Jones “have been feuding for years.” The newspaper was unclear about the exact causes of the feud, suggesting that it was “something about theological concepts.” The column informed readers that a Graham source in Charlotte testified that seven Bob Jones students were expelled after “Dr. Jones caught them eating Graham crackers.”612 This tongue-in-cheek report illustrates both how deeply Jones and Graham disagreed, and how incomprehensible the disagreement was to most observers.

Billy Graham’s support of integration strengthened Bob Jones’ resolve to defend segregation. Jones, who had remained silent about segregation, began to attack Graham for his integrationist beliefs after 1957. In the early 1950s, Graham, sandwiched between culture and conviction, slowly came to believe that segregation was morally wrong. After 1954, the BGEA abandoned segregated services.613 The integration of Graham’s revival services coincided with his move towards new evangelicalism. As he rejected the rigid beliefs of fundamentalism, so Graham challenged the restrictions of segregation.

Billy Graham, in an article in the October 1, 1956 edition of *LIFE* magazine, asserted that “the vast majority of the ministers of the South . . . feel that segregation should be ended now on buses, in railroad and bus stations, hotels and in restaurants.”

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He believed that “where men are standing at the foot of the Cross, there are no racial barriers.” Graham appealed to his readers to treat all men with “neighbor-love,” declaring that “we must dare to obey the commandment of love.” He refuted the arguments used by “segregation extremists,” and cautioned supporters of segregation of the “mistake of pleading the Bible to defend it.” He called on churches to “lead in confession” for the “transgression of neighbor-love.”

In April 1958, Bob Jones attacked Graham for his position on integration. He argued that racial unrest was “being used by the Communists . . . to break down an established Southern order.” He contended that “when Billy Graham insists that he will not hold a meeting anywhere unless the races are desegregated he is playing into the hands of the Communists.”

After a two and a half month visit to Africa in 1960, Graham reported that segregation “was an increasing embarrassment to Americans in Africa.” His trip to African “strengthened his conviction that Christianity must free itself of racial restrictions.” On Good Friday, April 15, 1960, Graham, in an article written for UPI, formally condemned segregation. In what one writer described as his “Easter message about race relations,” Graham argued that “the white race cannot possibly claim to be the chosen race nor can the white race take for themselves promises that were applied to

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ancient Israel.” He announced that “Jim Crow’ must go.” Graham professed that he was “concerned about some clergymen . . . that have made the ‘race issue’ their gospel.” He explained that “the gospel is the good news that on that first Good Friday Christ died for our sins and that He rose from the dead on the first Easter morning – and that God is willing to forgive our sins.” Graham called on readers to “go out of our way to extend courtesy and friendship on a personal basis to those of another race.”618 Jones, who had already criticized Graham for his support of integration, responded to Graham’s denouncement of segregation and his call for ministers to not make race relations their gospel by preaching a sermon supporting segregation on Easter Sunday.

In contrast to his racist demagoguery during the 1928 presidential campaign and his defense of segregation, Bob Jones expressed affection towards African-American employees. Bob Jones retained various African American cooks and maids throughout his career. One African American maid employed by the Jones family was Emma Hunt, whom Bob Jones, Jr., described as “a large black woman” who was “housekeeper, cook, nursemaid, laundry woman – a kind of general factotum in the household.”619 Emma travelled with the Jones family. During a campaign in Bloomington, Illinois in 1917, the local newspaper, The Pantagraph, reported that “Emma, the colored maid with the Bob Jones family,” who “had never been north of the Ohio river until the Joneses brought her up into Yankee land” was able to see the first snow of the winter in St. Louis. Emma, according to the newspaper, “became quite gleeful over it,” remarking that “you white

619 Bob Jones, Jr., Cornbread and Caviar, p. 17, 27
folks can take yo’ Florida and Alabama and yo’ sweet magnolia and wintah roses, but jes’ give me snow.”

When the Jones family would travel by train, since the open part of sleeping cars were segregated, the Jones family would travel in the drawing room with Hunt instead. Bob Jones spoke at Hunt’s funeral. Mary Gaston Stollenwerck Jones, Bob Jones’ wife, said, “We loved Emma. She was a wonderful asset to the family.”

Bob Jones was a racial conservative, as defined by Joel Williamson. Place and order were the most important issues for Jones. African Americans were limited to certain occupations – the idea of an African American president would have seemed to be ridiculous to him, as it doubtlessly would have to other white southerners. Yet African Americans, to Jones and other racial conservatives, had their place in society. He harbored no antagonisms against African Americans as long as they stayed in their proper place – in their own churches and in segregated sections at revival meetings. This concern for place extended not only to African Americans but also to white men and women, as discussed in the previous chapter. Jones was paternalistic. He genuinely believed that he had the best intentions towards African Americans. His defense of segregation in 1960 helps to demonstrate his belief that God had established a racial order. Jones’ racial demagoguery during the 1928 presidential campaign would seem to challenge the idea that Jones was a racial conservative. His racist rhetoric, though, was being used to attack Al Smith, a Catholic and an opponent of Prohibition. As discussed previously, Jones was an ardent supporter of Prohibition, and he would have responded to

620 “Bob Jones Says We’ve All Got Ego-Mania,” The Pantagraph, January 5, 1917.
621 Bob Jones Jr., Cornbread and Caviar, p. 27
622 Johnson, Builder of Bridges, p. 161
any threat to nation-wide Prohibition. Jones turned to race-baiting in support of broader
goals. Bob Jones’ racial conservativism was enshrined into doctrine at Bob Jones
University. As late as 1986, the official position of Bob Jones University on race was
Jones’ position.623

V. CONCLUSION

Bob Jones’ career, especially before 1930, demonstrates the influence of
evangelicalism, especially fundamentalist evangelicalism, on the New South. His beliefs
about the secret of success emphasize the Protestant focus on God’s calling. Jones argued
that the secret of success was found in doing God’s will. While this is certainly not an
unqualified endorsement of greed, it does mean that material success can be sanctified, as
long as a Christian is “doing God’s will.” Jones’ support of accepting God’s calling made
even the most mundane careers divinely sanctioned and approved. This belief is

especially important in the industrializing South. Even factory labor and farming was doing God’s will. Jones applied God’s approval to the work of wage laborers.

While Bob Jones’ beliefs about the nature of success supported the New South ideology, his campaigns were influenced by the organizational principles of industrial America. Jones’ multi-week campaigns were meticulously organized. From the erection of the tabernacle to the advertising of the campaign and even transportation, Jones’ campaigns were planned efficiently and comprehensively. These campaigns were result-oriented. Reports about each campaign emphasized how many people attendance, how many people were converted, how many people joined churches, and how much money was raise. Jones’ campaigns were a product of industrialization.

Bob Jones supported the development of the New South by campaigning for prohibition. He was supported prohibition in Alabama and through the United States. Even though prohibition and temperance were an important part of inculcating work discipline and creating a new middle class value system which emphasized frugality, hard work, and sobriety, the rhetoric Bob Jones used to argue for prohibition suggest that he was motivated to support prohibition because of humanitarian concerns. Jones believed that liquor threatened the health of individuals and the integrity of families. His personal experiences with his father’s and older brother’s alcoholism influenced Jones to condemn the “damnable liquor traffic.” Instead of campaigning for prohibition to save souls, Jones supported prohibition to protect lives and families.
Even though Jones supported industrialization and was influenced by ideas of organization and efficiency, he participated in the effort to preserve white male supremacy. Jones contended that women ought to be mothers and wives. He condemned “bossy” women and opposed suffrage. He believed that women were responsible for preserving the sexual purity of men. Bob Jones also encouraged men to be pious and sober. He criticized gambling, drinking, and use of profanity. Jones attacked the habits of elite women, condemning dancing and card playing. He promoted a reconstruction of both manhood and womanhood, proposing that both men and women should be defined by piety, sobriety, and sexual purity.

Bob Jones defended white supremacy. He argued that African Americans could never be the social or political equals of white southerners. Jones supported the Klan and segregation. He upheld the racial order which denied equality to African Americans even within the church. Jones, instead of challenging the racial status quo, supported white supremacy. Even while he supported modernization and industrialization, Jones insisted on white male dominance.
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