

BILLY GRAHAM: A RHETORICAL STUDY IN ADAPTATION

by

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DEDICATION

The "incipient action" of this dissertation began many years ago in a speech class on the campus of Bethany Nazarene College. The "scene" is vivid in my memory.

It was one of those rare times when I was in class...early. Several of the fellows and I were in one corner sharing "properties" when a coquettish brown-eyed freshman entered the room. The conversation stopped. Silence ensued which was broken only by my hushed inquiry: "Who is she?" A name was whispered in my ear and I, as a determined "agent," broke away from the group of fellows and, with "purposive motion," moved across the room in her direction in hopes of gaining "strategic answers" that would enable me to give "signs" of "identification" which would create real "socialization."

Time passed and the "locus of motives" was established. Through careful "adaptation" to her varying moods in varying circumstances, it became possible for "consubstantiality" to be achieved. In the "symbolic action" of a minister, the highest level of "unity" became ours.

This dissertation marks the completion of the fourth academic degree for this writer since the "act" of our marriage. Little did she realize seventeen years ago when she whispered: "I do," the "exigences" which awaited her. Little did I truly realize the depth of character, the quality of personality I was receiving in her which would enable me to meet those "exigences."

I dare say that this dissertation would never have been written had she not been my wife. This is not false modesty, but a realistic appraisal. She offered me an academic goal and challenged me to make it mine. She has been my mental stimulus, my spiritual strength. This dissertation would never have been a reality without her encouragement, her willingness to dare, her cheerful cooperation, her unwavering faith, her limitless capacity to love. In lavish measure, she has given me the "good life."

To put Kenneth Burke aside (shame that should ever happen), I feel there can be no better way to conclude this dedication than with this prayer:

God, thank You for Ruth.
Thank You that she is mine.
Amen.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, meditative man has relentlessly searched for Truth to explain the mystery of his existence. All religions have attempted to provide this Truth, assuring man, one way or another, that he does not, and cannot stand alone. He is vitally related with and even dependent on powers external to himself. Dimly or clearly, he knows that he is not an independent center of force capable of standing apart from the world.

Most men, from primitives in the jungles to members of societies far advanced in culture, do not think that man is all that matters. To think this is to run counter to the deep feeling that man depends for life and fullness of being on forces outside himself that share in some sense his own nature and with which he must be in¹ harmony. The harmony thus sought is sometimes a harmony in action, as in primitive religions; it is a complete and final identity, as in most of the religions of India and

¹ W. D. Frith, World Religions (New York: Pierce and Porter, 1932), p. iii.

the Far East; or it is a moral and spiritual harmony, as in
the great religions of the Near East.²

Hume has pointed out that this propensity toward
religion seems to be

the chief differentiating characteristic
of man. Some animals may surpass some
men in certain abilities such as keenness
of sense perception, practical construc-
tiveness, companionability, and economic
productiveness but no animal has, to
human knowledge, displayed any evidences
of religious life.³

This keen interest in religion has been a promi-
nent factor in American history. So intense was their
yearning to find a moral and spiritual harmony that the
Puritan fathers of our nation heard two hour-long sermons
daily on the six-week voyage from England.⁴ In colonial
America, worshipers sat weekly in crude log buildings for
as long as two hours listening to doctrinal preaching and
exhortation. Religious concern had to be coupled with
strong physical endurance for such questings after Truth.⁵

²
Wilfred Cantwell Smith, The Faith of Other Men
(New York: Mentor Books, 1965).

³
Robert Ernest Hume, The World's Living Religions
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 1.

⁴
DeWitte Holland, Preaching in American History
(New York: Abingdon Press, 1969), p. 11.

⁵
Ibid.

Since that time, there have been shifts in emphasis and method, but the strong religious interest of the American people has continued. The United States Bureau of the Census, in 1970, estimated the population of The United States to be 204,251,326. By comparison, the 1970 edition of The Year Book of American Churches gives the total church membership of The United States to be 128,469,636. Weekly, sermons are preached in 318,886 Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish pulpits in America. Such statistics give credibility to Gaius Glenn Atkins' facetious statement: "Being preached to is one of the principal indoor occupations of the American people."⁶ Judged quantitatively, one must concede that preaching occupies a very large place in the twentieth century culture of America. "No other kind of public speaking holds nearly as large a place."⁷

This may seem strange when one considers that the twentieth century has been filled with years of ferment and rapid change in all of American life. This is the century of two great world wars, new technologies producing ways of life strikingly different from those of previous generations,

⁶ Gaius Glenn Atkins, Preaching and the Mind of Today (New York: Harper Publishing Company, Incorporated, 1964), p. 2.

⁷ Holland, Preaching in American History, p. 11.

sit-ins for racial equality, draft card burnings in protest to U. S. involvement in Viet Nam, freedom rides, assassinations of prominent political figures, college riots, a new morality, discotheques, seminary professors announcing that God is dead. Roger Shinn, in his intriguing book, Tangled World, has written that

Men seek freedom, economic advancement, a voice in determining the direction of history. All of us hear constant talk of revolutions -- in politics, production of material goods, racial relations, population, communication, sexual behavior, urban living, and in almost anything else a person could mention. Clearly the world is on the move. 8

But with all these changing mores and ideologies, the search for religious truth in America has remained constant even though its manifestation is often new. Although impressive, the statistics of the American church in 1970 do not represent all of the seekers after moral and spiritual harmony. They do not include those listening to religious rhetoric in coffee houses, beach pads, Jesus' people communes, radio, television, and mass crusades. In some ways, the focus on religion may be greater in this century than in any other. If this be true and "the big story of the twentieth-century America turns out to be religion, then. . .the big name in

8

Roger L. Shinn, Tangled World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 7.

that story is likely to be Billy Graham."⁹

Billy Graham of Montreat, North Carolina, has been described as "a man who will sum up in himself the yearnings of his time -- a man. . .empowered to interpret to his own generation their needs."¹⁰ Graham has probably commanded attention with a wider scope than any religious speaker in history, especially if this attention is measured in terms of sustained public interest, audience size, and television, radio, film influence. It has been estimated that his crusade preaching alone has been heard by more than 20,000,000 people within the United States. An estimate given in 1970 was that more than 20,103,000 people have heard Graham in person outside the United States. The statistics on his radio broadcast, "The Hour of Decision," indicate that he is heard on more than 1,000 stations each week. More than 80 moving pictures have been produced featuring the sermons of Billy Graham, and these have been shown around the world. Graham has been among the top ten of of Gallup Polls' "Most Admired Men" for sixteen successive

⁹ Stanley High, Billy Graham: The Personal Story of the Man, His Message, and His Mission (New York: McGraw Publishing Company, 1956), p. 12.

¹⁰ Charles T. Cook. The Billy Graham Story (Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1954), p. 11.

years since 1955.¹¹ His widest influence comes through coast-to-coast television. His face is one of the best known in the country, and his message reaches into American homes as that of no other preacher in history.

Statement of the Problem

The theological stance of Billy Graham is similar to that of the evangelist, John Wesley, who deliberately cultivated a broad theological base for his ministry in order to identify with Christians of all denominations. He felt that opinions and private interpretations should not hinder the work of God and sought fellowship with all who declared their love and fear of God.

In 1960, Graham wrote: "I am now aware that the family of God contains people of various ethnological, cultural and class and denomination differences."¹² Graham, therefore, does not limit his ministry to a denomination or a group of denominations. He insists that crusade invitations come from representatives of all churches in the community. His cooperative posture has grown

¹¹
Lois Blewett, Bob Blewett, 20 Years Under God Proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the World (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1970).

¹²
Billy Graham, "What Ten Years Have Taught Me," The Christian Century (February, 1960), p. 186.

increasingly firm with the years.

He attempts to appeal to people of all cultures so that his speaking takes him around the world. He also attempts to challenge people of all age brackets and does not limit himself to the formal speaking situation. For example, when thousands of college students travelled to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, for their spring vacation in 1961, impish pranks and violence became the "order of the day." In alarm, Mayor Edward Johns phoned Graham and begged him to come and speak to the youth. Graham clearly understood that these collegians were not in Fort Lauderdale to listen to preaching. His acceptance of the assignment was with reluctance. "I could easily have been the biggest misfit in a throng of misfits," he said.

As the police took us to the meeting place, we did not know whether there would be ten people or a thousand. To our amazement, over ten thousand students thronged the platform at the main beach intersection. They listened reverently and attentively as any audience I have ever addressed anywhere in the world. At the conclusion there was a silence like the hush in a great cathedral. 13

The ministry of Billy Graham is a conviction that for any generation and for all kinds and conditions of

13

Billy Graham, "Youth in Rebellion," sermon quoted by David Lockard, The Unheard Billy Graham (Waco: Word Publishing Company Incorporated, 1971), p. 115.

people, "the discovery of the reality of God is not chiefly an intellectual, but an empirical achievement."¹⁴ To bring his auditors to this "empirical achievement" is his goal. And to achieve this goal, he must create his sermon from the prevailing qualities in his audience. Whether he is speaking to a lively polyglot of college youth on a holiday or the conservative people in the "Bible Belt" or the sophisticated people of New York, or the aristocracy of England or a Catholic audience in Communist Yugoslavia, Graham must adapt himself to that specific audience. He must constraintly strive

to link his propositions to their value systems, and the value systems differ with age, sex, educational development, economic class, social strata, political heritage, specialized interest, and so on. The speaker is a selector. He must exclude certain arguments and include others. He must decide how to order details and the thought patterns into which material is to be cast. All this is determined by the audience for which the speech is designed. 15

This is a difficult but imperative task. And the way in which Billy Graham handles this task would seem a subject

14
High, Billy Graham, p. 2.

15
Marie K. Hochmuth (ed)., A History and Criticism of American Public Address, III, (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1955), p. 10.

due careful consideration.

The purpose of this study is to examine the New York Crusade of 1957, the London, England Crusade of 1966, the Zagreb, Yugoslavia Crusade of 1967, and the Knoxville, Tennessee Crusade of 1970, with the goal of identifying, along lines suggested by Kenneth Burke, the adaptation of Billy Graham. These four crusades were chosen because of their wide diversity. The conservative Bible-believing atmosphere of Knoxville, Tennessee, would stand in stark contrast to the more liberal metropolitan atmosphere of New York City. These two American cities would stand in contrast to the formal, calvinistic setting of London, England. An even wider contrast might be seen when these three crusades are placed in juxtaposition with the predominantly Catholic atmosphere of an audience in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, behind the Iron Curtain.

Definition of Terms

Billy Graham is not the first minister in America to understand the urgency of linking his interests with those of his audience. Thomas Foxcroft, one of Boston's most famous ministers, said in 1717:

Ministers must use great wisdom and discretion in the managing of their Public Discourses. They must see to it that the Subject be adapted to the present

circumstances and necessities of their Hearers. They must preach necessary truths and seasonable. . .the people's wants being always to govern 'em (sic) in the choice of Subjects and not their own ease, nor fancy. 16

Nathanael Emmons, who trained more than a hundred preachers in his own home, stressed audience adaptation as a cardinal element in good pulpiteering. At an ordination service, he stated that "the wise preacher who means to improve the minds of his hearers will always apply his discourse according to their particular characters."¹⁷

Although Emmons did not spell out the components of the "particular characters" of an audience, his context indicates that he would agree with Osgood's ingredients of selective perception: "we see and hear with a previously established set of values, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious."¹⁸ We are not, however, equipped only with general sets of established values,

16

Thomas Foxcroft, A Practical Discourse Relating to the Gospel-Ministry (Boston, Printed for Nicholas Buttolph, at his shop at the Lower End of Cornhill, 1718) p. ii. (sic).

17

Nathanael Emmons, A Discourse Preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Eli Smith, November 27, 1793. Printed at Worcester, Mass., by Leonard Worcester, 1794), p. 1. (sic).

18

Charles E. Osgood, Method and Theory in Experimental Psychology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 292ff.

we often also have specific predispositions regarding the subject being discussed. The rhetorician discovers his potentials for persuasion in a wise regard for the prevailing attitudes in the audience. Although he need neither compromise his integrity, nor bow in subservience to an audience, he does need to understand the operating forces in the audience and select arguments that induce persuasion. He must remember that his choices are conditioned by the audience. The poem may be written with the audience thrice removed from the creator, for the poet creates from his experience with his subject. But the speech-maker must compose his speech from the available potentials in his audience. 19

It is interesting to note that this perception of the imperative of audience adaptation did not wait until the "knowledge boom" of the twentieth-century to be discovered. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we find preachers who advocated its use.

Let us address ourselves with all that variety of manner which [each audience's] diverse characters and conditions require . . . Thus the minister may work to remove prejudice, to allay the passions, to conciliate regard, to obtain a hearing, and to open the way for the admission of truth into the heart. 20

There has been, of course, some discussion as to whether the formulation of a communication strategy is ethically

19

Hochmuth, A History and Criticism of American Public Address, III, p. 10.

20

Abiel Holmes, A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of the Reverend Thomas Brattle Gannett, January 19, 1814 (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1814), p. 8.

defensible: should a speaker "plot" and "scheme" to find his best tools for effecting some change within an unsuspecting audience? Would it not be better, some ask, simply for a speaker to speak his mind and let the audience respond in whatever manner they care to? Basically, the question is: is it fair to strive for audience adaptation so that one may manipulate people?

Theodore Clevenger has explored this concept and asserts that a speaker cannot avoid making choices that affect the outcome of his communication. Even when he does not consciously think of his audience in the preparation of his speech, he makes certain assumptions unconsciously and these may be harmful -- not only to the success of the speech -- but to the audience to which there was no appeal.

Think of the legislator who wants a particular bill passed because of the good it will do for farmers. The bill also will benefit city consumers and retailers, but the legislator is not as strongly motivated by these considerations as he is by the benefits to farmers. So in addressing city audiences, he presents his reasons for adoption, ignoring the benefits to them. In permitting his auditors to develop a distorted view of their relation to the bill, due to the differences between their orientation and his, has the legislator followed an ethical course of action? 21

This example clearly delineates the problems incurred by the speaker who merely "speaks his mind" without regard for his audience's orientation and it also underlines the problems incurred by the audience who respond to the presentation and are thus denied the benefits they could have received had they understood the bill from the point of view concerning the city dwellers. Preachers have long felt that the attainment of their goals usually works for the best interest of the audience.

Harvard Professor of Rhetoric, Edward T. Channing, wrote that

The object of eloquence is always the same -- to bring men, by whatever mode of address, to our way of thinking, and thus make them according to our wishes. . . [The speaker must therefore] fall in with the tastes, accommodate himself to their wants, and consult their prejudices and general tone and habits of thinking. 22

Daniel Webster underlined this concern when, in 1826, he said: "True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. . . It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion."²³

22
Edward T. Channing, Inaugural Address, Delivered in The Chapel of The University in Cambridge, December 6, 1819. (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1819), p. 1.

23
Daniel Webster, A Discourse in Commemoration of the Lives and Services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson Delivered in Faneuil Hall (Boston: Hibbard, 1831), p. 3.

The successful speaker must have a keen sensitivity to his audience so that he can guide them through intellectual and emotional responses to the goal of his address. This can only be translated from theory into experience when the speaker, subject, and audience are amalgamated into a unity.²⁴ In a sermon handbook, preachers were admonished to "address men according to their actual character, and in that mode in which their habits of mind may render them most accessible."²⁵

Speakers can never allow themselves the luxury of being concerned with their personal views of the world. Instead, their orientation must always be: "How does my audience see their world?" The effective speaker never considers: "How do I communicate my view of the world to these people?" He is consumed with the one question: "How do I induce the listener to alter his perceptions so that he will understand, feel, believe, and act as I have become convinced he should because thereby he or we will

24

Clarence E. Lyon, "Audience Consciousness," Quarterly Journal of Speech, (June, 1931), p. 380.

25

Henry Ware Jr., Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching (Boston: Hillard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins Publishers, 1831), p. vi.

26
benefit?"

Thomas Skinner, professor at Andover, evaluated
in 1883 that

many a speech has been deemed, and rightly
deemed, of wonderful power, not because it
was intrinsically well wrought, or because
it was very well pronounced, but because
the speaker was wise in suiting his object
to the particular state and needs of his
hearers. 27

No matter how diverse some of the views of speaker
and audience may be, there are always some common speaker-
listener values which align the two. An excellent example
of this is the first formal speech made by the late Robert
F. Kennedy as attorney general of The United States. Ken-
nedy, an articulate integrationist, was invited to speak
to the predominantly segregationist audience of the law
professors and students at The University of Georgia on
their "Law Day." Although the major view of Kennedy was
in strong contrast to the predominant view of this audience
in this locale, the attorney general limited his speech
to specific aspects of civil rights legislation on which

26
Clevenger, Audience Analysis, p. 14.

27
Thomas Skinner, The Elements of Power in
Public Speaking (Boston: Pierce and Parker Publishing
Company, 1833), p. 7.

he felt he and his audience would share common feelings. His speech was enthusiastically received. The reason:
28
effective audience adaptation.

Ebenezer Porter, president of Andover Seminary, urged preachers in 1834 to focus on propositions agreeable to the hearer. When established as a "logical man" because of these propositions, he will be more likely to listen to
29
the "illogic" of views diverse with his own.

30 "The highway to the heart does not lie. . . through logic" seems to be a concept worth considering. An alignment of interests is the primary rule of good speaking for "man is not a reasoning being."
31
Roger Longrel put it in these words: "A sermon is not a sermon unless the heart of the speaker beats in unison with that of his

28 Thomas A. Hopkins (ed.), Rights for Americans: The Speeches of Robert F. Kennedy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 13-26.

29 Ebenezer Porter, Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching (Andover, Flagg, Gould and Newman, 1834), pp. 136-148.

30 H. B. Gislason, "The Relation of the Speaker to His Audience," Quarterly Journal of Speech (January, 1916), p. 45.

31 Ibid., p. 44.

32
hearers."

The speech texts tell us that such an accomplishment may best come through the use of language which is "vivid" and "concrete." And yet language in itself is not universally vivid or concrete. It would seem that the only solution to this dilemma would be to arouse vivid and concrete memories in the listener through language and any other available means in the development of ideas for communication. The importance and influence of listener experiences in determining outcomes of attempted communication cannot be overstated. Nor can one exaggerate the importance of knowledge and use of any salient listener experiences in the audience-image of the would-be effective speaker. Charles Brown succinctly captured this when he wrote this commandment to young preachers: "You are to speak 'to every man in the tongue in which he was born.'" 33

From this brief tracing of thought, we see that the ministers in America, from earliest beginnings, have been concerned with the task of securing acceptance of their message by connecting it to the hearer's beliefs,

32
Roger Longrel, The Sermon (Boston: Peirce and Parker Publishers, 1901), p. 42.

33
Charles R. Brown, The Art of Preaching (New York: Harper Publishing Company, 1926), p. 120.

and desires. For this concept, many have used the term, "audience adaptation."

Kenneth Burke would choose different terminology. He feels, too, that persuasion can be realized only through a linkage of interests. But he terms this linkage identification:

A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are. . . 34

Burke believes that "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents,"³⁵ is the basic role of rhetoric. "It is clearly a matter of rhetoric to persuade a man by identifying your causes with his interests."³⁶ Burke also maintains that words or actions not specifically intended to foster identification "may have an unintended emotional effect of considerable

³⁴ Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), p. 20.

³⁵ Ibid., 1945, p. 41.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

magnitude."³⁷ Thus, a discussion of rhetoric and its uses should be able to "include unintended effects as well as intended ones."³⁸

Burke believes that rhetorical activity is intended to "do something"³⁹ for the speaker or listener. "Art is a means of communication. As such it is certainly designed to elicit a response of some sort."⁴⁰ The most pertinent dictums may be made about rhetoric when it is conceived as the "embodiment of an act,"⁴¹ or as "symbolic action."⁴² Words must be considered as "acts upon a scene"⁴³ and a

³⁷ Kenneth Burke, Counter-Statement (New York: Hermes Publications, 1931), p. 156.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1941), p. 89.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 235,236.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁴² Ibid., p. 8.

⁴³ Ibid., p. vii.

44

"symbolic act" is beginning action. Such action is selected. Because he is autonomous, man will choose a specific reaction toward each situation in which he finds himself. He will either assent to it or repudiate it, and this assent or repudiation will be affected in some way by his own beliefs and interests. He cannot avoid responding in a specific manner: whether coolly or heatedly, halfheartedly or wholeheartedly, enthusiastically or indifferently. For this reason, he analyzes the situation, responds to it, and then takes steps to circumscribe the situation, to solve it, and to adapt his response to it. . . . Certainly whatever solution or selection is made will always be made in light of personal concerns as a social being who is a part of some kind of group with whom he would like to identify.

Kenneth Burke believes that man's rhetorical responses to situations are "strategic answers,"⁴⁵ the adopting of various strategies for the encompassing of situations.⁴⁶ These "strategic answers" or strategies

44
Ibid., p. 9.

45
Ibid., p. 1.

46
Ibid., p. 109.

are means whereby one may "size up the situations, name their structures and outstanding ingredients, and name them in a way that contains an attitude towards them."⁴⁷

Any exposition of a problem or any description or solution to it is an attempt at socialization, and socialization is a strategy:⁴⁸ when the speaker attempts to identify his interests with those of his audience, he is involved in the process of socialization, and he must create a method to socialize with others and attain identification with his group. A speech or sermon is just as much a strategy to solve a social or spiritual problem as is the building of a bridge a strategy to encompass a geographical or physical problem.⁴⁹ The major difference is that in the first case the strategy is symbolic and in the second case it is literal.

Any strategy which is to be successful, any thesis which the speaker advocates, must fit the mores of his particular group if the thesis is to be acceptable to

47
Ibid.

48
Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1954), p. 24.

49
L. Virginia Holland, "Kenneth Burke's Dramatic Approach in Speech Criticism," Quarterly Journal of Speech (December, 1955), pp. 352, 358.

50
his audience. If the audience should change, that is, certain age groups or certain people who place greater values on certain motives than do other groups, the speaker will likewise assert that his motives fit within those of the new and acceptable scheme, and his strategies, similarly, will change in an effort at adaptation.

Burke feels that all rhetorical strategies are answers to questions posed by the situation in which they arise.⁵¹ This is the definition that will be used for the purposes of this study. As mentioned previously, the answers will be affected by the motives of the speaker, his assessment of the motives of the group to whom he is speaking. In this respect, his answers will be stylized and formulated to specifically fulfill the necessities of the situation, the audience and himself. For it is only when a speaker can show a group that his situation overlaps their situation that they will agree with his selected strategy of encompassment and feel a sense of identification with him.⁵² This sense of "identification," we see, is

50
Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 24.

51
Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 2.

52
Ibid., p. 64.

the key term in Burke's rhetoric and his theory of persuasion can be summarized: The speaker, by using linguistic common ground which gives "signs" to his hearers that his interests are similar to, or identical with their interests, achieves identification. . .and a speaker persuades an audience only by the use of identification.⁵³

The philosophical context in which Burke discusses identification is unique. However, the concept itself is not unique as we have seen from the tracing of thought among American homileticians since 1717. Each of the men cited were saying, in effect, that the speaker must associate or identify his purpose with the knowledge, interests, and motives of his audience. The difference between Burke and the preachers is that the latter admits only conscious factors in appeal, whereas Burke allows both conscious and subconscious motives.

If the concept called "adaptation" by the homileticians is, in the main, identical to the concept called "identification" by Burke, may the dilemma be

resolved by abandoning the term "adaptation" in favor of "identification?" I think not. Both terms are equally important and should be defined.

For the purposes of this study, I would like to accept Burke's term "identification" and his definition (very simply: a linkage of interests) which includes all of the concepts presented by the ministers.

To consider, then, a definition of the term, "adaptation," as used in this study, some other concepts of Kenneth Burke must be explored.

Burke's view of man is that he is always a communicator. His ways or means of fulfilling his biological needs, his choices for the solutions of social problems, and his ways of communicating or presenting his choices are not static; they are always changing. As his surroundings change, he can and does select varying vantage points from which to view phenomena, define experience, and fulfill his needs. In such activity, he constantly adapts and adjusts to the everchanging situation about him.

Although man basically is a biological animal, he is also basically a social animal; as such he becomes specifically a symbol-using animal. This is true because it is through symbols that man is able to communicate with

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other men. As a result, his human attributes are fundamentally located in the symbol-using facility which he most commonly exerts through the medium of language. 55

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Because he is a symbol-using animal communicating chiefly through language, man is obligated to operate ethically. That is, his language is always expressing a selection, is always indicating a choice of specific goals or ideologies. Burke explains:

An 'ideology' is like a god coming down to earth, where it will inhabit a place pervaded by its presence. An 'ideology' is like a spirit taking up its abode in a body: it makes that body hop around in certain ways; and that same body would have hopped around in different ways had a different ideology happened to inhabit it.

I am saying in one way what Paul said in another when he told his listeners that "Faith comes from hearing." He had a doctrine which, if his hearers were persuaded to accept it, would direct a body somewhat differently from the way it would have moved and been moved in its daily rounds under the earlier pagan dispensation. 57

54
Burke, Permanence and Change, pp. 234-236.

55
Kenneth Burke, Language as Symbolic Action (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 4.

56
Ibid., p. 3.

57
Ibid., p. 6.

The choice of symbols indicates man's ideology and goals. Even the refusal to make a selection or chart a plan of action is in itself a negative selection of passive acceptance or of resignation to the situation. Similarly, since man acts out his life in terms of his specific selection of goals, Burke asserts that the fundamental unit in the human body is purposive motion.⁵⁸ Man is purposively moving toward some chosen goal. Burke maintains that man's philosophies, or opposing remedies, which he has created to meet societal situations, is much less diverse in its essence than it appears on the surface. He believes that we could, with justification, assume a constancy of message throughout history to the degree that the physiological purposes of the human genus have remained a constant. He feels that the messages or ultimate purposes of the human genus toward which man moves, through the medium of philosophical solutions is the fulfillment of the "good life."⁵⁹

Burke argues that throughout the various historical epochs, man has worked out a method of survival. He links

58

Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall Incorporated, 1945), p. 61.

59

Burke, Permanence and Change, pp. 234-236.

man's goal, the "good life," with his fundamental activity and purpose. In this regard, as Burke declares, human activity is diverse from the type of change in which the physicist is interested, the change involved in motion and position. Secondly, man's goals may be described on a scale dividing good and evil as opposites. ⁶⁰ The quality of man's responses on that scale are best revealed by such terminology as "action" in place of "inaction," "participation" in place of "non-participation," "cooperation" in place of "non-cooperation," or "communication" in place of "non-communication." In fact, Burke believes that such ⁶¹ words are most descriptive of man's essence.

Due to the fact that Burke perceives of man as communicating, cooperating, participating, acting, he considers human beings and human behavior more realistically expressible in "dramatistic terms." That is, man is an actor, and human conduct is the act or activity he performs in the ultimate drama of life, in order to attain the goal or objective of the "good life." ⁶²

⁶⁰
Ibid., p. 235.

⁶¹
Ibid., p. 236.

⁶²
Kenneth Burke, Attitudes Toward History, I, (New York: The New Republic, 1937), pp. 139-140; 213-226.

Burke's selection of the dramatistic metaphor is an appropriate one, for from it the study of human relations is approached. The dramatistic metaphor removes the error of placing man's essence within too narrow limits. It encompasses the "quick-change quality" of man's makeup. When viewed as an actor, man can take any one of an infinite number of roles, all of which are accounted for under the name of actor. Burke would assert that, although Freud may have been accurate in characterizing man as a sexual animal, or Marx may have been correct in designating him a biologic organism having specific needs totally dependent upon the economic structure, and Hobbes may have had justification in labeling him a selfish, warring animal, nevertheless it is an error to assume that any of these philosophers had exclusive perception. Each only dealt with a specific facet or characteristic of man. It is the metaphor of Man as Actor which permits him to encompass all these roles, and an infinite number of others. Consequently it is more inclusive in scope; it is more accurately descriptive of man's nature.

Burke emphasizes man's purposive nature, in which he is portrayed as acting out his role toward a conclusive

climax or goal which he, himself, in part decides. When thus visualized, man is not perceived as a puppet in actor's costume whose strings are controlled, and whose actions are totally selected by the force of the Unseen Director. Man is a human being; he makes selections; he is an ethical being. Man has no control over his biological and social necessities demanded by the neurological structure with which he came into the world. But the selection he makes of the ways of solving his problems, the patterns of human conduct he chooses in order to best adapt to his changing environment are his to control.

In the light of Burke's concept of the meaning of man, the definition given to the term "adaptation" for the purposes of this study will be: The choosing of changing strategies of identification for changing environment. When a speaker uses one set of identification strategies in one setting and another set in another setting, these uses may be placed in juxtaposition and the contrast clearly seen. This, for this study, is "adaptation."

Burke has always been concerned with methodology. In understanding his rhetoric, methodology cannot be

omitted if one is to understand his thinking. Consequently, we move now to a consideration of methodological devices which the speaker or the communicator utilizes to achieve identification.

One basic principle seems to point out Burke's specific method of identification. In order for one's interests to be asserted as "identical" with those of another, it is imperative to show that the interests of both have the same "substance."⁶⁵ For the critic to locate the "substance" of the situation, Burke has suggested his "dramatistic method" which is called the "Pentad System" in his book, A Grammar of Motives. The Pentad indicates relationships between things or situations and their causes or motives.

The Pentad, from Burke's viewpoint, will realistically and correctly describe or chart, as a map through charts describes the geographical areas of the country, any situations which cause or motivate man's action, regardless of whether the response is overtly or symbolically expressed.

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The Burkeian Pentad focuses on man's human

65
Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 1950, p. 21.

66
Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. xv.

conduct from five interrelated motivational points of view. It considers the Act⁶⁷ (names what took place, in thought or deed), the Scene⁶⁸ (the background of the Act, the situation in which it occurred), the Agent (the actor, or kind of person who performed the act), the Agency (what means or instruments he used), and the Purpose (Motive or cause which lay behind the act). In the Pentad Approach, Burke asserts that he has simplified the entire subject of human motivation.⁶⁹ "All statements that assign motives can be shown to rise out of [the Pentadic terms] and to terminate in them."⁷⁰ The view is encompassing: The Agent (man as actor), because of some self-selected, motivated Purpose performs an Act (human conduct) through an Agency (symbolical linguistic methods and strategies as well as literal physical means) against the backdrop of the historical Scene in which he finds himself.

Burke's Pentad is a methodological device which

67
Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. xv.

68
Ibid.

69
Ibid., p. xvi.

70
Ibid.

helps the speaker analyze a situation or an artifact, so that he has a way of describing or explaining the nature of its circumstance. Burke believes that viewing phenomena from the dramatistic terms of the Pentad will make it possible for men to be more objective because they may more realistically, more consciously deal with the bias and prejudice which is always present. It will place man in a better position to eliminate these elements and to comprehend what the true substance or nature of a situation may be.

The Approach of the Study

This writer proposes to set up this study in adaptation using the approach suggested by Kenneth Burke in his methodological strategem, the Pentad, which focuses on the interrelatedness of the act, the scene, the agent, the agency, the purpose as defined below:

In the words of Burke, the "locus of motives" is found in the "act."⁷¹ In relation to the whole dramatic Pentad, the analysis of the act is part of the explicit and systematic use of the Pentad which is designed to bring out the strategic moments of motivational theory. The "act" in this study will be: The Crusade organization

⁷¹
Ibid., p. 64.

with all of its operating strategies of identification as structured in New York; London, England; Zagreb, Yugoslavia; and Knoxville, Tennessee.

Burke uses the following synonyms of "scene:" "background character," "scene of ideas," "climate of opinion," "society," and "environment." All of these terms reveal the time and place something is done.⁷² According to Burke, scene is the historical time and place of an act.

When a public speaker makes a statement about policy, he is usually acting in response to the situation. The scene,⁷³ then, may be thought to be a "fit container for the act." Concerning the relationship between scene and action, Burke contends that scene can be considered in two ways: It can be applied deterministically in statements that a certain policy had to be adopted in a certain situation, or it may be applied in hortatory statements to the effect that a certain policy should be adopted in conformity with the situation.⁷⁴

⁷²
Ibid., p. xv.

⁷³
Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁴
Ibid., p. 12.

From Burke's point of view, one may say that the scenes of this study are New York City, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970.

Although human motivations are ever complex, in a study of motivations, according to Burke, one must consider what kinds of persons perform acts.⁷⁵ "The agent is an author of his acts," Burke says, "which are descended from him, being good progeny if he is good, or bad progeny if he is bad, wise progeny, if he is wise, silly progeny if he is silly."⁷⁶ In the agent, one may place personal properties that are assigned motivational value. Burke explains further the relationship between the person and his motivations:

Meanwhile, we should be reminded that the term agent embraces not only all words general or specific for person, actor, character, individual, hero, villain, father, doctor, engineer, but also any words for the motivational properties of agents, such as 'drives,' 'instincts,' 'states of minds.'⁷⁷

⁷⁵
Ibid., p. xv.

⁷⁶
Ibid., p. 16.

⁷⁷
Ibid., p. 20.

Thus "agent" contains general terms like "speaker" or "preacher," but it also contains a consideration of inner drives, impulses, and states of mind of the agent. In applying the Burkeian scheme in this study, the agent will be the preacher, Billy Graham.

A study in human motivation must inquire into the strategies by which speakers attempt to encompass situations to which they respond. Virginia Holland, in her examination of the rhetorical theory of Kenneth Burke, stated that "there are as many strategies for encompassing a situation as there are ways of reacting to or responding to a situation, and there are as many strategies within an over-all strategy of encompassment as there are ways of putting this over-all strategy across. In considering the myriad of strategies available, Burke is concerned with "naming." He believes that when a speaker "names" or "identifies," he relates specific characteristics to a situation or object; therefore he perceives criticism as the pentadic strategy of locating the true "name" for a situation or object. However, he conceives rhetoric to be a strategy of "naming" so that identification can be

attained with the group. Such rhetoric, according to Burke, is a composite of many specific strategies such as "Talking a Common Language," "Symbolic Intensity," etc. The following example may explain this point: in a situation in which people are filled with frustration, fear, and guilt, the evangelist, Billy Graham, may feel an imperative to respond to the situation with a sermon (his "symbolic linguistic agency") in which he presents a remedy which he believes will ameliorate the frustration, fear, and guilt of his audience. Although his "over-all strategy" for encompassing the situation may be a sermon of exhortation, he will have utilized many "specific strategies" to achieve identification with his audience. The "specific strategies" discussed in this study will be: The Strategy of Form, The Strategy of Symbolic Intensity, The Strategy of "Property," The Strategy of Talking a Common Language, The Strategy of Focusing on Problems.

The Strategy of Form

Burke defines form as the "creation of an appetite in the mind of the auditor, and the adequate satisfying of that appetite."⁷⁹ For example, when Graham

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Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 31.

talked about the guilt frustrations of his audience, he presented his solution of faith in the death of Christ for atonement for sins. He then gave an illustration of his solution in action:

You. . .receive. . .God's forgiveness. And what a wonderful thing this forgiveness is. It's different than yours and mine. His forgiveness means that God puts all your sins behind His back. You see, there are no yesterdays. You cannot relive one hour ago. God says: 'I forget your sins of yesterday; I bury them in the depths of the sea; they are gone forever.' And even God cannot see them nor find them when it is in Jesus Christ. . .That can be your experience tonight and you can go home to live a new life. Free of the burden of guilt forever. 80

If he presented his solution in such a way that he satisfied the desires of his audience, Billy Graham would have been evidencing form. The more skilled the speaker, Burke feels, the more form he uses, because skillful use of form is an important strategy. 81

Burke feels that there are several ways whereby a speaker can bring an audience from the "creation of an

80
Billy Graham, Sermon preached July 2, 1966, London, England.

81
Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 37.

appetite" to the satisfaction of that appetite.⁸² Some of these strategies of form are (1) syllogistic progression, (2) qualitative progression, (3) repetitive form, and (4) conventional form.

By syllogistic progression, Burke means the form of a perfectly conducted argument, advancing step by step.⁸³ Graham used this type of progression in the sermon outline of this study. He set up his problem early in the sermon and moved step by step demonstratively to his proposed solution.

Qualitative progression is sequential like syllogistic progression, except that a quality of plot prepares the audience for what follows.⁸⁴ For example, the quality and depth of God's love to Adam and Eve in the early days of life on earth might prepare an audience for the concept of that quality of divine love available to them in the twentieth century. Graham, in each preaching of this sermon,

82
Ibid., p. 124.

83
Ibid.

84
Ibid., pp. 124, 125.

utilized this type of qualitative progression in addition to a series of illustrations of mans' problems. The dramatic quality of these illustrations anticipated the drama of his concluding solution to mans' problems.

Repetitive form is "restatement of the same thing in different ways."⁸⁵ Graham used this form when he wished to show that the root of all mans' problems was sin. He drew upon a succession of examples which, though different, all created the impression that all human frustrations were outgrowths of sin.

Conventional form is the appeal of form as form.⁸⁶ The form is sought for its own sake. Any form can become conventional and be sought for itself - whether it be as complex as the exordium in Greek-Roman oratory, as ritualistic as the processional and recessional of the Episcopalian choir, or as simple as the invitation at the conclusion of an evangelistic sermon. These are all examples of conventional form with varying degrees of validity today. Burke points out that one of the important aspects of

85
Ibid., p. 125.

86
Ibid., p. 126.

Conventional form is the inherent "categorical expectation."⁸⁷ Whereas the anticipations of progressive and repetitive forms arise during the listening moments, the anticipations of Conventional form may be anterior to the listening. If one attends a Beethoven symphony, he enters the door with a "categorical expectation" of the Beethoven finale. It is anticipated before the first note of music is played. Likewise, Graham's use of the Conventional form of the invitation could utilize this expectancy: even before he stepped into the pulpit, some auditors could look forward to the invitation which would be an opportunity to seek a proposed solution to problems.

Although Graham used the progressive and repetitive forms discussed above, these did not reveal adaptation. Conventional form was the only utility of this strategy which proved his adaptation to particular situations. In each locale, Graham carefully studied his potential audience, the climate of the situation, the customs of the specific culture.⁸⁸ From this study, he used the strategy of the .

87
Ibid., pp. 126, 127.

88
Lois Blewett, Bob Blewett, 20 Years Under God (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1970), p.28 ; Curtis Mitchell, Crusading in Italy and Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1967), p. 134; Curtis Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1966), p. 7.

Conventional Form in a peculiarly fitting manner, thus adapting himself to each particular situation.

The Strategy of Symbolic Intensity

Symbolic intensity,⁸⁹ according to Burke, develops when the speaker attains identification with his audience, when he develops specific content that is "electrified" or "charged" by the situation, as when Graham discussed juvenile delinquency in New York or when, in Knoxville, Tennessee, he referred to the aborted flight of Apollo 13 earlier that year. This strategy is effective because it focuses on subject matter "charged" by the listener's situation outside the sermon.⁹⁰

In his discussion of this strategy, Burke cited an example of a vaudeville actor using symbolic intensity. When Spain was "lethargically enduring an unpopular dictatorship," and had not spoken in opposition to its political leader for several years, the actor opened his act in a Madrid theatre by raising the curtain on an empty stage.

89

Burke, Counter-Statement, pp. 163, 164.

90

Ibid.

When the stage remained empty for several minutes, the audience became impatient. Finally, when their impatience was becoming loudly vocal, the actor appeared. He held up his hand for silence; the audience quieted; and he spoke rebukingly: "I don't see why you couldn't wait a few minutes. You have been waiting now for seven years."

Burke points out that this remark was "Symbolically charged."⁹¹ Its impact was dependent upon the current political situation in Spain. Alter the situation of the audience and the witticism falls flat; it becomes meaningless. Burke then asserts that "to an extent, all subject matter is categorically "charged" in that each word relies for its meaning upon a social context."⁹² When applied specifically to rhetorical exigences, this is a strategy which can foster identification.

The Strategy of "Properties"

Metaphysically, Burke asserts, a thing is identified by its "properties." He defines the term "properties" as any sensation, idea, experience, etc., which we use to identify "substance."⁹³ Thus "property" in the

91
Ibid.

92
Ibid., p. 164.

93
Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 1950, p. 23.

realm of rhetoric, may often be in the most materialistic or in the intangible sense of the term. Burke says that Samuel Coleridge, in his poem, "Religious Musings," adds a third dimension when he derives "property" from the workings of "Imagination." But Burke limits his discussion to the materialistic and the intangible. Burke feels that "in the surrounding himself with properties that name his number or establish his identity, man is ethical. . . Man's moral growth is organized through properties, properties in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship and love."⁹⁴

No matter how "ethical" such an array of identifications may be when considered in itself, problems arise when confronted with other "entities" that are likewise forming their identity in terms of property. Such confrontation, Burke maintains, can lead to "turmoil and discord"⁹⁵ which is a "par excellent" topic for a rhetoric concerned with identification. A strategy dealing with "properties" is the "answer" to such situations.

94
Ibid.

95
Ibid.

Burke asserts that such a strategy must first declare "consubstantiality." He considers things to be "consubstantial" if they are united in a common interest, if they partake in some way of common "substance." Burke is convinced that in "acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, and attitudes that make them consubstantial."⁹⁶ Any sensation, concept, image, idea, or attitude (i.e. properties) which we share in common with others may be said to be "consubstantial."

Therefore, Burke admonishes that to persuade, the speaker must identify his "properties" with his hearers' "properties."⁹⁷ To do this, he must give his hearers the appropriate "signs" in his speech. An example of Graham's utility of this strategy may be seen when, in Knoxville, Tennessee, he invited Bill Pierson as a platform guest.⁹⁸ Pierson, a football player at San Diego State College, had singlehandedly withstood 1500 dissident students who attempted to lower the American flag to half-mast at the college in protest of the war in Viet Nam. By publicly bringing Pierson to Knoxville and appearing within and without the

⁹⁶
Ibid., p. 21.

⁹⁷
Ibid., p. 24.

⁹⁸
Dianne Barker, Billy Graham in East Orange County (Knoxville: East Tennessee Crusade, 1970), p. 68.

service with the young man, Graham hoped to give a "sign" that his "properties" of citizenship and those of many conservative Southerners in Knoxville were "consubstantial."

The Strategy of Talking a Common Language

Kenneth Burke explicitly believes man to be a symbol-using animal.⁹⁹ The language symbol is the primary tool for effective communication. Man's essence is founded in his capacity to "name" things. Burke is convinced that the best approach to the study of man is in terms of what he does and what he says.¹⁰⁰ Burke calls this the "dramatistic approach."¹⁰¹ One cannot know what a man is, how he feels, and thinks about a situation or item until he can understand the "name" he applies to the situation or item. In addition, one must interpret how he relates himself with the given "name." Through a man's verbal and non-verbal acts, one may make these discoveries. For these reasons, Burke is convinced that a major strategy

99
Burke, Language as Symbolic Action, pp.3-9.

100
Holland, "Kenneth Burke's Dramatistic Approach in Speech Criticism," p. 352, 358.

101
Ibid.

for achieving identification is talking a common language. He states: "you persuade men only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his."¹⁰² In other words, to persuade, one's utility of language must be designed in such a manner that it gives "signs" of the identification between speaker and hearer.

The Strategy of Focusing on Problems

Identification may be achieved when the speaker acknowledges his awareness of problems which beset his auditors. This seems to be especially valid to the preacher. Harry Emerson Fosdick has said: "Every sermon should have for its main business the solving of some problem -- a vital, important problem."¹⁰³ At the height of his preaching career, he wrote

Every problem that the preacher faces thus leads back to one basic question: how well does he understand the thoughts and lives of his people? That he should know his Gospel goes without saying, but

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Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 1950, p. 55.

103

Roy C. McCall, "Harry Emerson Fosdick: A Study in Sources of Effectiveness," ed. Loren Reid, American Public Address (Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri Press, 1961), p. 61.

he may know it ever so well and yet fail to get it within reaching distance of anybody unless he intimately understands people and cares more than he cares for anything else what is happening inside of them. Preaching is wrestling with individuals over questions of life and death, and until that idea of it commands a preacher's mind and method, eloquence will avail him little and theology not at all. 104

People have an overwhelming absorption with their own problems. To address himself directly to these problems was a strategy that Graham developed in all four settings of this study. He dealt with personal problems such as divorce, hatred; he discussed situational problems such as crime rate, collegiate unrest; he considered national and world problems such as the War in Viet Nam and the aborted space flight of Apollo 13. He combined the frustrations of these problems into the universal questions of life, sin, and death. His assertion was that the solution he proposed to the universal questions would ultimately solve the world, national, situational, and personal problems of his auditors.

From ten strategies of identification found in the four preachings of the sermon of this study, these

five cited above were those which best demonstrate Graham's adaptation. In chapters four and five, these strategies will be utilized in an effort to set forth the adaptation of Billy Graham.

Purpose may be defined, according to Burke, as ¹⁰⁵ that for which a thing is done. Graham's purpose in each of his crusades, although expressed in different terminology, all contain the same basic goal:

We have not come to put on a show or an entertainment. We believe that there are many people here tonight that have hungry hearts -- all your life you've been searching for peace and joy, happiness, forgiveness. I want to tell you, before you leave Madison Square Garden this night of May 15, you can find everything that you have been searching for, in Christ. He can forgive every sin you've ever committed. And He can give you the assurance that you're ready to meet your God, if you will surrender your will and your heart to Him. I want you to listen tonight not only with your ears, but the Bible teaches that your heart also has ears. Listen with your soul tonight. Forget that there's anyone else here. Forget me as the speaker; listen only to the message that God would have you to retain from what is to be said tonight. Shall we pray: Our Father and our God, in Christ's Name we commit the next few moments to Thee, and we pray that the speaker shall hide behind the Cross

until the people shall see none, save Jesus. And we pray that many tonight will re-evaluate their relationship to God, others will consider, for the first time perhaps, their need of God, and that many shall respond and surrender themselves to Him as they did two thousand years ago on the shores of Galilee; for we ask it in His Name. Amen. 106

Justification of the Study

Competent critics have assessed that Billy Graham has preached to more people than any man in history. In the years, 1970 and 1971, Graham ranked second in the Gallup Poll of "Most Admired Men" following the President of the United States, Richard Nixon.¹⁰⁷ He has preached in all fifty states of America and in more than forty other countries of the world.¹⁰⁸ Thus there is prima facie evidence that Graham has affected the world through the medium of speech. A careful analysis of the speech adaptabilities of such a man appears to be worthwhile.

106
Billy Graham, Sermon preached May 15, 1957, New York City.

107
George Gallup, "Nixon Heads Admired List," The Sunday Oklahoman (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Publishing Company, January 2, 1972), p. 20.

108
Blewett, Blewett, 20 Years Under God.

Kenneth Burke has been hailed as "the most profound student of rhetoric now writing in America." ¹⁰⁹ Although he denies having created a "new" rhetoric, he certainly has "extended" the "old" rhetoric with his development of the dramatistic pentad and his clear-cut analysis of identification which is the necessary ingredient in audience adaptation. Burke's methodological structures would seem to be the logical tools with which to attempt an analysis of adaptation.

The four scenes were selected because of their diversity and obvious contrast. The agency of one sermon ("For God So Loved the World" based on the Biblical text, John 3:16) preached in four differing locales was chosen because it would clearly point up the strategies used for audience adaptation. When Graham takes the same sermon text, the same sermon outline and prepares to preach it in diverse scenes, the changes he makes should be motivated by a desire to adapt to his particular audience. Had dissimilar sermons been chosen for the study, or had more than

109

Marie Hochmuth, "Kenneth Burke and the 'New' Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, (April, 1952), p. 144.

one series of more than one sermon been chosen, the items of adaptation could not be so clearly distinguished.

The Materials of the Study

The sermons preached in the four contrasting scenes were recorded live by The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota and were stored in their library. Recorded copies of these sermons were prepared by Esther LaDow, personal secretary to George Wilson, Executive Vice President of The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. These tapes were mailed to this writer for use in the study by special permission of Mr. George Wilson. These sermons were transcribed and checked for accuracy by the writer. The transcriptions are found in the appendices.

Other materials necessary for structuring the Act, composed of the four Crusades, were obtained from newspapers, magazines, Crusade programs, books, and personal letters and telephone calls with members of The Billy Graham Team and with people who live in the various locales and participated in the Crusade.

Precis of the Study

Chapter II: Billy Graham, the Agent, will be studied in the scrutiny of Burke's emphasis upon "inner

drives," "instincts," and "states of mind." From an understanding of these personal motivations, the choices he makes in strategies for encompassing changing situations may more clearly be seen.

Chapter III: The Burkeian scope of "Scene" and "Act" will be narrowed, for the purposes of this study, to the "situation" of Lloyd Bitzer. In this focus, the "rhetorical exigence" existing in the situations of New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, will be structured.

Chapter IV: The strategies of this study which revealed Graham's adaptation outside the sermon will be explored and their implications discussed.

Chapter V: Although the text and outline of the sermon (the Agency) was the same in all four situations, analysis will be made to discover how strategies of adaptation were utilized in each presentation. Effort will be made to discover the reasons for and the results of such adaptation.

Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusions: This chapter will compactly present the findings of this Rhetorical Study.

Previous Studies

This study is not unique in focusing on the preaching of Billy Graham. The earliest of these studies is Lawrence Lacour's study of the techniques of several American revivalists from 1920-1955.¹¹⁰ Here Lacour identified the revivalistic strategies of attention, motivation, and suggestions, as they occurred under the preaching of Billy Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson, and Billy Graham. Another study, conducted in 1959, by John Baird, concentrates on the speaking of Billy Graham. He established criteria for pastoral preaching taken from homiletics texts and compared this with the preaching of Graham. His goal was to find the differences between pastoral and evangelistic pulpit ministry.¹¹¹ Karen Garvin wrote her master's thesis on the manner in which Billy Graham handled the diverse settings

110

Lawrence Leland Lacour, "A Study of the Revival Method in America: 1920-1955, with Special Reference to Billy Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson, and Billy Graham" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1956).

111

John E. Baird, "The Preaching of William Franklin Graham" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1959).

of (1) a gathering of businessmen at a civic luncheon sponsored by the Kiwanis Club and (2) the students of The University of Minnesota.¹¹² Donald Waite initiated an analysis of the preaching of Billy Graham in the first ten years of his Crusades: 1949-1959.¹¹³ Aubrey Leon Morris set up the psychological agents of textbooks as criteria by which to evaluate the preaching of Billy Graham.¹¹⁴ In 1968, this writer wrote a master's thesis studying the New York Crusade of 1957 using some of the thinking of Kenneth Burke.¹¹⁵ The most recent study¹¹⁶

112

Karen Jeanne Garvin, "Billy Graham in Minneapolis, 1961," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The University of Minnesota, 1964).

113

Donald A. Waite, "The Evangelistic Speaking of Billy Graham: 1949-1959" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1961).

114

Aubrey Leon Morris, "A Study of Psychological Factors in the Evangelistic Preaching of Billy Graham," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Southern Baptist Seminary, 1966).

115

Bill Vaughn, "A Burkeian Analysis of The Billy Graham New York Crusade of 1957," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The University of Kansas, 1968).

116

Cyril H. Dickinson, "The Billy Graham Crusades: An Analysis of Crusade Organization," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Denver, 1968).

was conducted by Cyril Dickinson who attempted to identify the nature of organization of The Billy Graham Crusades and what bearing might such organizational methods have on influencing "decisions" for Christ.

The significant differences between this study and its predecessors are the Burkeian analysis (with the exception of this writer's thesis) and the probing for audience adaptation with the same rhetorical tool (one sermon outline) in diverse settings of the world. The man with such a phenomenal scope of audience for his rhetoric will surely provide a significant subject for study in adaptation.

CHAPTER II

THE AGENT: BILLY GRAHAM

The ultimate goal of Billy Graham, evangelist, is to win the acceptance of all while alienating none. His main problems, therefore, are first: selecting strategies which will foster identification with an audience and, secondly, adapting those strategies to audiences in diverse situations. Although Graham is famous and entertains wide interests, he cannot effectively establish identification without knowledge of and consideration for audiences with different beliefs and goals. For this reason, in an ever-changing pulpit scene, Graham can hope to succeed only by astute adaptation of his discourse to diverse audiences and to changing situations. To understand this adaptation, however, we must first understand his basic positions. Only as we perceive his personal philosophies based on his "inner drives," "instincts," and "states of mind," can we begin to understand how Graham adapts himself to changing situations.

AUTHORITY

Billy Graham feels that his authority springs from three sources: the Bible, the God of the Bible, a divine call which sets him apart from other men. Graham

does not consider himself merely a professional man earning a living for his family; he is a man called of God -- separate -- unique. He has the right to speak with authority. Graham has discussed these founts of his authority in detail in his writings and in his sermons. In Chapter V, his utility of these three sources of authority, in diverse scenes, will suggest his adaptation.

The Bible

For Billy Graham, the Bible is the divinely inspired Word of God. Every word, every line has divine authority; therefore he preaches it "without equivocation or apology."¹ Graham has written: "I believe that the Bible is the Word of God. By that I mean the full verbal inspiration of the Scriptures."²

In his best selling book, Peace With God, Graham asserts that no true Christian can deny any part of the Bible, for all the doctrines of Christianity are contained in the Book and no one should attempt to tamper with it. He concedes that other important documents of men, such as The Constitution of the United States, may be amended, but

¹ Stanley High, Billy Graham (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 39, 41.

² Billy Graham, "My Beliefs," The Boston Traveller (April 3, 1950), p. 3.

such is not possible with the Bible. "We truly believe that the men who wrote the Bible were guided by the Holy Spirit, both in the thoughts they expressed and in their choice of words. As Peter said, 'For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake³ as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' (II Peter 1:21)."

Robert Oliver, a longstanding student of persuasion, has written that "in a broad sense, all human knowledge is based upon experience. The experience that is most effective in influencing thought and actions is that which is most immediate, most vivid, and most vital."⁴ Graham speaks from personal experience of his use of the Bible as a source of authority. In the year, 1949, just before Graham was catapulted to fame, he reached a crisis point where he felt he had to find Truth. Although his early training assured him of the veracity of the Bible, he felt that he was confronted with contradictions in the Scriptures. There were concepts which he could not reconcile with his restricted picture of God. And when he preached the Bible as Truth,

³
Billy Graham, Peace With God (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1953), p. 27.

⁴
Robert Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech (New York: Longman's, Green and Company, 1957), p. 214.

he writhed inwardly that he might be propounding an error of his evaluation. It was a painful time, he confessed, as he waged the intellectual battle of his life.⁵

One afternoon he took a walk in the woods where he resolved to settle the issue.

I duelled with my doubts, and my soul seemed to be caught in the crossfire. Finally, in desperation, I surrendered my will to the living God revealed in Scripture. I knelt before the open Bible and said: 'Lord, many things in this Book I do not understand. But Thou hast said, The just shall live by faith. Here and now, by faith, I accept the Bible as Thy Word. All I have received from Thee, I have taken by faith. I take it all. I take it without reservation. When there are things I cannot understand, I will reserve judgment until I receive more light. If this please Thee, give me authority as I proclaim Thy Word, and through that authority convince men of sin and turn sinners to the Saviour.'⁶

This moment changed Graham's ministry. He stopped trying to prove that the Bible was true. And because his faith was unquestioning, he communicated that certainty to his audience. This was the beginning of his famous repetitive phrase: "The Bible says."

Immediately after accepting Biblical authority, Graham found his ministry changing:

⁵
Billy Graham, "Biblical Authority in Evangelism," Christianity Today, I (October 15, 1956), p. 61.

⁶
Ibid.

I found that the Bible became a flame in my hands. That flame melted away unbelief in the hearts of the people and moved them to accept Christ. The Word became a hammer breaking up stony hearts and shaping them into the likeness of God. Did not God say, 'I will make my words in thy mouth like fire? . . .and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?' (Jeremiah 23:29). I found that I could take a simple outline and put a number of pertinent Scripture quotations under each point, and God would use this mightily to cause men to make full commitment to Christ. I found that I did not have to rely upon cleverness, oratory, psychological manipulation of crowds, or apt illustrations or striking quotations from famous men. I began to rely more and more upon Scripture itself and God blessed.⁷

Soon after this experience, Graham went into the Los Angeles Crusade where famous singer, Stuart Hamblen, was converted; gangster, Mickey Cohen, asked for prayer; and William Randolph Hurst issued the order for his newspapers to "puff Graham" and the evangelist was suddenly national news. Graham maintains that the reason for this success was neither Hamblen, Cohen, nor Hurst. It was his new note of authority that came from his belief of the Bible as the Very Word of God. "The people were not coming to hear great oratory," Graham says,

nor were they interested merely in my ideas . . .The world longs for authority, finality, and conclusiveness. . .It is weary of theological floundering and uncertainty. Belief

⁷
Ibid.

exhilarates the human spirit; doubt depresses . . . From my experience in preaching across America, I am convinced that the average American is vulnerable to the Christian message if it is seasoned with authority and proclaimed as verily from God through His Holy Word.⁸

Sociologist Jesse Bernard believes that the industrialization of the twentieth century has dissolved old ties and thus has made Americans "a lonely crowd attempting to escape from freedom."⁹ Bernard suggests that there is a relationship to Christianity: the concept of alienation "is in some ways a counterpart to the Christian concept of being 'lost' or 'unredeemed' or 'cut off from God.'"¹⁰ Erich Fromm also suggests that this "lonely crowd" searching for "escape from freedom" may yearn to hear words of authority which will give them a feeling of love, rules for life, and security.¹¹

⁸
Graham, "Biblical Authority in Evangelism,"
p. 7.

⁹
Jesse Bernard, American Community Behavior (rev. edition, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1926),
p. 18.

¹⁰
Ibid.

¹¹
Erich Fromm, The Heart of Man (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

So it may well be that "the key to Billy Graham's revivals. . .lies. . .in the social and theological milieu in which he works." ¹² The people of the twentieth century may be seeking for someone to speak with the voice of authority. Billy Graham is that one. There is authority in the forthrightness of his declarations. There is authority in the total absence from his preaching of words of equivocation such as "if," "maybe," or "perhaps." There is authority in his phrase, "The Bible says," for behind it is his implicit belief that the Bible is the Word of God.

This allows no room for Biblical criticism. He considers the findings of modern Biblical scholarship to be "temporary conclusions" that are full of errors in which he does not participate.

Hundreds of old volumes fill our libraries right now saying Moses could have never written the first five books of the Bible as is claimed because writing had not even been invented up till that time. Now tablets and inscriptions have been found which were written several hundred years before Moses. The Bible was right and the scholars wrong. And then many volumes fill libraries today about John's Gospel. They state that he could not have written it and that it was not written until the third or fourth century. Now [a fragment

12

William G. McLoughlin, Billy Graham: Revivalist in a Secular Age (New York: The Ronald Press, 1950), p. 7.

of John's Gospel found in Egypt dating about 100 A.D. presents] proof that the Gospel of John existed in the first century. The Bible was right and the scholars were wrong. 13

In a world of complexity, dissenting opinions, confusion, Graham speaks a simple message with direct faith. Where most preachers would say "According to the Bible," leaving a small seed of doubt in the listener's mind, Billy Graham states authoritatively "The Bible says." Thus "his preaching is marked by the air of conviction and power to persuade."¹⁴

God of the Bible

Graham's concept is that "God is Spirit." He first memorized this description of God at the age of ten in The Shorter Catechism.¹⁵ Although fully accepting this statement, he concedes its mystery:

To discover what spirit really is, and what Jesus meant when He used that particular word we must turn again to the Bible to the scene where Christ, after His resurrection, says,

¹³
Billy Graham, Sermon preached in Chicago, Illinois, June 6, 1962.

¹⁴
Charles T. Cook. London Hears Billy Graham (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1954), p. 126.

¹⁵
The Shorter Catechism (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, Printers and Publishers, n.d.).

'Handle Me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' (Luke 24:39) Therefore we can be sure that spirit is without body. It is the exact opposite of body. Yet it has being and power. This is difficult for us to understand because we are trying to understand it with finite, body-limited minds. 16

But Graham's concept of God goes beyond The Shorter Catechism. He asserts that the Scripture presents God as a personality. He is more than Spirit. He is a holy and righteous being. And as such, he is too holy to touch sinful men or tolerate sinful living. "The holiness of God regulates all other principles of God." ¹⁷ It was this holiness which demanded the "exacting penalty of death" and thus motivated the death of Jesus Christ.

Graham believes that Christ was perfect God and at the same time perfect man. By his death on the cross, he made possible the redemption of all men to God. Graham appeals, in his sermons, for his listeners to accept Christ in absolute faith and to follow Him in full obedience. "It is actually the deity of Christ that above anything else gives to Christianity its sanction, authority, power,

16
Graham, Peace With God, p. 28.

17
Billy Graham, quoted by David Lockard. The Unheard Billy Graham (Waco: Word Book Publishers, 1971), p. 35.

18
and its true meaning."

Graham notes that Christ always spoke with authority and finality. "He spoke as though He knew. . .and He did!"¹⁹ Upon the authority of the Bible and the authority of Christ Himself, Graham accepts the incarnation and the uniqueness of Christ. He concedes mystery in the Incarnation, but takes the Biblical account "completely by faith."

Jesus taught with such authority that the people of his day said, 'Never man spoke like this man.' Every word that he spoke was scientifically true. Every word that he spoke was ethically true. There were no loopholes in the moral conceptions and statements of Jesus Christ. His ethical vision was wholly correct, correct in the age in which he lived and correct in every age that followed it. 20

Graham believes that Christ set the perfect example which he is to follow to the best of his ability. This is true in his personal life and also in his ministry.

18
Billy Graham, World Aflame (Garden City: Doubleday Publishing Company, 1965), p. 111.

19
Billy Graham, The Secret of Happiness (Garden City: Doubleday Publishing Company Incorporated, 1955), p. 92.

20
Graham, Peace With God, p. 92.

Although the first to admit his own fallibility, Graham believes that his call, and his Gospel, are of divine origin; hence he may, like Christ, speak with authority.

His Personal Call

Billy Graham is a man who preaches with the voice of authority. The dictionary defines authority as one who has "the right to command, judge or determine given to him by an accepted source."²¹ Billy Graham has an unswerving faith in his "right to command, judge or determine" because he implicitly believes that his right was given to him by an accepted source," which he would identify as the God of the Bible.

This belief in a divine call of God for ministers came to him from his parents. Both his father and mother had wanted to be ministers in their early lives. On the first night of their honeymoon, the couple knelt in their room and dedicated their family to God.²² When their first child, Billy, was born, his father "prayed that God would anoint his son to be a preacher of the Word, a wish devoutly

21

The American Everyday Dictionary (New York: Random House Publishers, 1955), p. 31.

22

George Burnham, Billy Graham: A Mission Accomplished (Westwood, New Jersey, Fleming H. Revell Publishers, 1955), p. 154.

shared by his mother as well."²³

Graham showed little interest in religious concepts until his teens. In a revival with a fiery evangelist,²⁴ Mordecai Ham, Graham made a public commitment to Christ. For seven years following that time, Graham's mother prayed at a specific time each day that her son would enter the ministry.²⁵ Both at home and in church, Graham was constantly reminded that a person can receive a special, distinct call from God to preach.²⁶ One of Graham's biographers, Noel Houston, said that this pressure from parents and community "planted a spiritual bomb in Billy Graham. The right set of circumstances would trigger it off."²⁷

²³ Charles T. Cook, The Billy Graham Story (Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1954), p. 28.

²⁴ High, Billy Graham, p. 71.

²⁵ Billy Graham, "God Is My Witness," McCall's, XCI (April, 1964), p. 124.

²⁶ Robert S. Michaelson, "The Protestant Ministry in America: 1850 to the Present," The Ministry in Historical Perspectives, ed. H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel Williams (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing Company, 1956), pp. 259, 271.

²⁷ Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," Holiday, XXIII (February, 1958), p. 64.

But Graham's "triggering" was not as instantaneous as Houston infers. He finished high school with no "call in his life."²⁸ After one semester at Bob Jones University, Graham went to The Florida Bible Institute in Temple Terrace.²⁹ Here he was commanded by the dean of the college, John Minder, to try his hand at preaching. There was no hint of greatness in his first endeavor. Graham preached through four sermon outlines in eight minutes. By his own admission, "nobody ever failed more ignominiously."³⁰

But the influence of the Institute was strong. Graham recalls: "I will never forget one day of my three years at Trinity College in Tampa, Florida. God was speaking to me, but as yet I had not made my decision to go into the ministry." On this particular day, Dean John Minder had challenged his students to "go out and spread the Word of God." Graham knew that he was at a crossroads;³¹ he had to make a decision.

28

Lockard, The Unheard Billy Graham, p. 14.

29

The Institute later became Trinity College, Clearwater, Florida.

30

Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 200.

31

Cook, The Billy Graham Story, p. 29.

He was not here concerned with his personal choice of a vocation. Instead he indicates his only desire was to find God's plan for his life. He felt he had to be "called of God:"

Let me explain about being 'called.' It is my view that whoever serves God in the pulpit of a church should be called of God. Like conversion, it comes to a person in various ways. If God summons, you know it; you feel it, and you cannot do other than obey it. 32

Graham clearly believed that he would receive some kind of definite sign or audible "call." This belief possibly stemmed from his early internalizing of The Shorter Catechism: "The decrees of God are his eternal purpose. . . whereby, for his own glory, he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." ³³ Although not a confirmed believer in predestination per se, Graham did (and does) believe in "providential signs." ³⁴ Now at this decisive time of his life, Graham was determined not to make a choice of his life career unless he had a "sign" or a "call."

On Fridays of each week, a gentleman came to the campus to select a student to preach at his mission. Graham often prayed to be chosen, but was always overlooked. One

³² Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 201.

³³ The Shorter Catechism, p. 13.

³⁴ High, Billy Graham, p. 147.

Friday, he was cutting grass when he saw Mr. Corwin walking down the sidewalk. Quickly, Graham darted behind a bush where he prayed for an invitation to preach on Sunday which would be his "sign" from God. When he looked up from prayer, Mr. Corwin had moved off the sidewalk and was coming toward the kneeling Graham.³⁵ An invitation to preach in that place, at that time, was, to the young student, a "sign" of God's call.³⁶

With his divine call came an "irrepressible God-sent compulsion" to preach.³⁷ Graham began to preach, not only behind pulpits, but to passersby on the street.

It was not an original idea; Jesus had preached outdoors in Galilee. Dean Minder had told me, 'You learn to preach by preaching. Go out to a mission. Stand on street corners. Be on fire for God's word, and maybe you'll kindle a fire in your audience.' That first day, I preached seven out-door sermons, and every weekend for two years, I preached in front of bars and taverns and on Saturday nights in the Tampa City Mission on Franklin Street. At long last, I knew where I was going and what God wanted me to do. 38

35
Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 201.

36
Billy Graham, "I Was Born Again," The American Weekly (January 16, 1953), p. 9.

37
Billy Graham, "My Answer," The Christian Herald (October 16, 1954), p. 263.

38
Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 201.

Graham's response to what he feels is a divine calling as a "chosen servant" to the people of the mid-twentieth century has endowed him with fervor and conviction which underlie his urgent delivery. H. L. Hollingworth, author of The Psychology of the Audience, has affirmed: "It is this type of oracular evidence, the dogmatic assertion of a respectable person, a book, or a newspaper, upon which the conclusions of the average man are based and his acts determined."³⁹ Graham is often introduced as "God's man for the hour" or "the man with a message for this crisis." In this way, Graham has reaffirmation of his personal conviction that he is preaching at divine directive so that his auditors may have the opportunity of eternal salvation.⁴⁰ Homilectitions agree that this impetus gives "the power of forcible utterance" so vital in a sermon.⁴¹ Tizard maintains that such power cannot come except through a minister's personal feeling and his will to share the urgency of his

39

H. L. Hollingworth, The Psychology of the Audience (New York: American Book Company, 1935), p. 119.

40

Alfred Ernest Garvie, The Christian Preacher (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 418.

41

John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons ed. Jesse Burton Weatherspoon (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), p. 7.

42
call with his auditors. Hoyt underlines this concept
with the comment that authority is the imperative of
preachers if they are to have a hearing.⁴³

Billy Graham believes that he was "called of God
to preach the Gospel."⁴⁴ Such a divine call gives him a
sense of personal authority when he preaches. This "state
of mind" is an important consideration in a study of
Graham's adaptation.

Other aspects of personal philosophy which are
valid in an analysis of his sermonic preaching are Graham's
views of man, sin, and conversion. In his effort to
persuade men to abandon sin and accept conversion, his
views of the definitions and scope of these terms are
important influences in his selection of strategies for
adaptation.

Man

Man is the crowning act of God's creation in

42
Leslie J. Tizard, Preaching: The Art of Com-
munication (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp.
34-38.

43
Arthur S. Hoyt, The Work of Preaching (New York:
The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 122.

44
Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 122.

45
Graham's opinion. This gives value to man because he was
46
created in the image of God. He wrote in World Aflame:

This was not a physical image, for God is a spirit and does not have a body. Man bears the image of God in his rational and moral faculties and in his social nature. God gave to man freedom of the will. Man differs from all other creatures in the world. He belongs to the same order of being as God himself. Thus, because we are made in God's likeness, we can know him. 47

Graham believes literally the account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. He asserts that when this first pair used their power of choice for evil, the entire human race was thrust into the problem of sin:

Adam stands as the federal head of the human race. When he failed, when he succumbed to temptation and fell, the generations yet unborn fell with him, for the Bible states very clearly that the results of Adam's sin shall be visited upon everyone of his descendants. 48

Graham would contend that man is the sum of three components:

45
Graham, Peace With God, p. 71.

46
Version). The Holy Bible: Genesis 1:27. (King James

47
Graham, World Aflame, pp. 62, 63.

48
Graham, Peace With God, pp. 42, 43.

intellect, soul, and will which have all been affected by sin. Man's focus on the body in the twentieth century has⁴⁹ shut out the fact that his spiritual needs are vital. Until conversion, Graham believes that the intellect and soul of man are ineffectual. The intellect is "clouded" by evil;⁵⁰ the soul is "dead." Man's will is the faculty for "deciding for Christ." But this can become ineffectual⁵¹ through continuous sinning.

Sin

Graham learned his basic concept from his mother's teaching of The Shorter Catechism which indicates that all "descended from [Adam] by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression."⁵² Having internalized this teaching at an early age, Graham's own definition builds on this concept. Graham defines sin as

lawlessness, the transgression of the law of God (I John 3:4). God established the

49

Graham, The Secret of Happiness, p. 14.

50

Graham, Sermon, Chicago, Illinois, June 6, 1962.

51

Graham, Peace With God, p. 73.

52

The Shorter Catechism, p. 53.

boundary line between good and evil, and whenever we overstep that boundary, whenever we are guilty of intrusion into the forbidden area of evil, we are breaking the law. Whenever we fail to live up to the Ten Commandments, whenever we go contrary to the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, we have transgressed the law of God and are guilty of sin. 53

Graham believes that the entire human race was infected by the disease of sin when Adam and Eve chose to defy God.⁵⁴ For this reason, all men sin. There are none who are exempt from its evil. Thus every person, from the age of accountability, is in a lost state, estranged from God, until he is "born again" or converted.

Graham does not usually pinpoint specifics as sin. Occasionally he asserts some which he feels are itemized in the Bible: "You and I are sinners. We have broken God's law. We have a tendency to lie; we have a tendency to steal; we have a tendency to lust; we have all the capacities of hate and prejudice."⁵⁵ These are all actions of disobedience to God's law. This disobedience is sin which

53

Graham, Peace With God, p. 53.

54

Billy Graham, Sermon preached May 22, 1972, Knoxville, Tennessee.

55

Billy Graham, Sermon preached July 2, 1966, London, England.

Graham considers to be man's one great problem.

Conversion

In the beginning of most of his sermons, Graham graphically presents a montage of the problems caused by sin. The solution to all of these problems may be found in what Graham calls "conversion," "the new birth," or "accepting Christ." Graham's theology is that man was alienated from God and his only hope of returning was through God's mercy. God had promised that the wages of sin is death and because God is just, "he can't just come along in his moral universe and pat you on the back and say you are forgiven. . .somebody has to pay."⁵⁶ Christ took upon himself the form of man, suffered, and went to the cross bearing the sins of man. And when he died on that cross, the debt was paid, "the plan of redemption was complete."⁵⁷ Graham believes that through the death of Christ the solution to man's problem is achieved:

My sin was committed against God. If God
is content with what Christ has done on my

56
Ibid.

57
Ibid.

behalf and is willing to pardon me, then I have nothing more to worry about. I am redeemed; I am reconciled; I am forgiven; I am assured of heaven -- not because of any goodness or good works of my own. It is only because of the love and mercy of God in Christ on the cross that I have any claim on heaven at all. It was God who permitted Christ to die as my substitute. It was God who accepted His sacrifice when he died. 58

Graham's invitation to his audiences is always couched in terms of "accepting Christ." This not only means taking
59
by faith what Christ accomplished on the cross but also involved a yielding of oneself. Some of the Scriptures that he uses to prove this last point are: "Consecrate yourselves today to the Lord." (Exodus 32:20). "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed by the renewing of your mind." (sic) (Romans 12:1,2). Graham believes these Scriptures demand that one's entire life be given over to the lordship of Jesus Christ. "Jesus . . . requires all. We must surrender our total personality; our intelligence, our emotions, our wills, our bodies,

58

Graham, World Aflame, p. 120.

59

One of Graham's more complete discussions in this regard may be found in Graham, Peace With God, pp. 88-91.

60

everything we have must go when we come to Jesus Christ.

When Graham walked to an altar in a revival meet-
ing, he felt that his conversion was instantaneous: ⁶¹

Have you ever been outdoors on a dark day when the sun suddenly bursts through the clouds? Deep inside, that's how I felt. The next day, I'm sure, I looked the same. But to me, everything - even the flowers and the leaves on the trees - looked different. I was finding out for the first time the sweetness and joy of God, of being truly born again. ⁶²

Graham is convinced that man undergoes, in conversion, a radical spiritual and moral change brought about by God himself. He believes that the solution for man's problems is inherent in the experience he calls "conversion."

In chapters four and five, the terminology of his content, the approach of his persuasion, the invitation to his auditors to be converted will reveal strategies of adaptation operating within Graham's "state of mind" on these three vital points of his theology.

61

He does not advocate that type of experience for everyone; however he does assert that there is a "moment" when one ceases to be "lost" and becomes "converted," whether one is conscious of that "moment" or not. Cf. Graham, Peace with God, pp. 106, 107.

62

High, Billy Graham, p. 106.

Two other important concepts in Graham's personal philosophy which have a bearing upon his choice of rhetorical strategies are his views on race and ecumenicity. Although adaptation may be seen in his utility of the ideas presented earlier in this chapter, this is not true with these two. Graham's position in both areas is unchanging and this stance will influence his choice of strategies; therefore his views on race and ecumenicity should be included.

Race

In 1952, Graham began a thorough study of the Biblical teaching on race and came to the conclusion that it allowed for no feelings of superiority or inferiority. All men were created equal. As a result, he decided he would take a public stand against segregation and would refuse to speak before segregated audiences. On March 15, 1963, more than a year before the famous Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, Graham began his first deliberately integrated Crusade at Chattanooga, Tennessee. Every subsequent Crusade has been integrated.

63
Cort R. Flint, ed. The Quotable Billy Graham
(Anderson, South Carolina, Droke House Publishers, 1966),
p. 243.

Graham asserted that "where men are standing at the foot of the cross, there are no racial barriers."⁶⁴

He gave a statement of his position for U.S. News and World Report:

Many of those, especially in South Africa, who believe in racial superiority quote the Bible. How they can twist and distort the Scriptures to support racial superiority is beyond me. Most of them quote the passage from the last portion of the ninth chapter of Genesis, where it is recorded that Noah cursed Canaan and his children to be servants. There is no proof that Canaan was ever dark-skinned, and it is most certainly debatable. In fact, the whole trend of scriptural teaching is toward racial understanding. 65

Graham has made these personal feelings clear in his life. In Dallas, in 1953, he met a Negro friend in the hotel lobby. They chatted and Graham said they would go up together. The Negro answered that he was not allowed on the elevator, but would use the back stairs.

Graham was shocked. "Nonsense," he said, "you come with me."

The Negro stepped into the elevator with Graham, but the bellman intervened. Adamantly Graham told him: "Either he rides with me or I go to the back and walk up

64

Billy Graham, "Billy Graham Makes Plea for an End to Intolerance," Life, (October 1, 1956), p. 138.

65

Billy Graham, "No Solution to Race Problems at the Point of Bayonets," U.S. News and World Report (April 25, 1960), pp. 94, 95.

with him. You can take your choice."

The assistant manager, realizing the problem, hurried to his famous guest and assured him that he could take his Negro friend with him.⁶⁶

Intense in his feelings, Graham is outspoken on the issue:

I burned inwardly when once I stopped at a West Coast motel and saw them turning away a Mexican -- just because he was a Mexican. I burned again, when on the East Coast, I saw a sign over a restaurant saying "Gentiles Only." Can a Christian stand aside and say, 'Let these people suffer those indignities?' We must enter into their difficulties and problems, and their burdens must be our burdens if we are to fulfill the law of Christ. 67

And the "law of Christ" to which Graham alludes is the commandment that men "love one another." He frequently refers to the story of the Good Samaritan as the ideal of man's relationship with man. "God's command goes beyond requiring justice. We dare not stop short of love."⁶⁸

66

John Pollock, Crusades: 20 Years with Billy Graham (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1969), p. 108.

67

Graham, "Plea for End to Intolerance," p. 138.

68

Ibid., p. 140.

Graham points out that nowhere in the Bible can you find a commandment to limit neighbor-love to the fellowship of Christians or to those within your own racial group.⁶⁹ But Graham is convinced that this kind of real neighbor-love is possible only from the life that has experienced the "new birth."⁷⁰ He points this out in his book, World Aflame:

A day or two after the 1964 Civil Rights Bill was passed, the then Senator Hubert Humphrey came over to the table where I was sitting in Washington and said: 'Billy, legislation alone can't do it. It must ultimately come from the heart.' How right he was! It takes love, understanding, forbearance, and patience on the part of both races. 71

Basically, Graham's message is one of love: love for God, love for all men. It is this universality that has made his record on intolerance, injustice, and discrimination unassailable.⁷² It is this universality that has integrated his team and his platform guests in every Crusade. This is a constant influence in his selection of strategies.

69

Ibid.

70

Ibid.

71

Graham, World Aflame, p. 7.

72

Houston, "Billy Graham," p. 135.

Ecumenicity

In the conservative climate of his home in North Carolina, Graham was reared to suspect religious views that differed from his own: "I remember meeting a group of Lutherans one day and being warned by my father that they held very strange beliefs."⁷³ Anybody who was not of his parents' faith was considered an "outsider." Prior to his enrollment at Wheaton College in Illinois, Graham had faced few diverse concepts and was completely oblivious of many of the complexities relative to religion and the world. He had never been fully challenged to think for himself.⁷⁴ But High observes that Wheaton began "to turn him away from that kind of strait-jacketing religion which for lack of intellectual exposure might have become in him, as it has in others, religious bigotry."⁷⁵ Thus the exposure to the intellectual climate at Wheaton nurtured tolerance so complete that Graham learned to associate with persons who disagreed with him and often to learn from

73

Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 125.

74

Gordon Gould, "A Crusader Returns to Wheaton," Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 29, 1959, p. 3.

75

High, Billy Graham, p. 113.

76
their comments.

One of those who disagreed with him theologically was Ruth McCue Bell. The daughter of a Presbyterian missionary to China, Ruth led Graham even farther in his ecumenical feelings. They were married in August, 1943. Although she was urged by many to join the Southern Baptist Church, of which her husband was a member, she declined. Their children have been granted the freedom to choose their church. Their children also chose their own mode of baptism although Graham shares the views of the Baptist church on immersion.

Graham moved from the rigid narrow concept of Christianity belonging only to those who looked, spoke, and believed as he did to a much more encompassing position:

. . .After a decade of intimate contact with Christians in the world over, I am now aware

76
Billy Graham, "What Ten Years Have Taught Me," The Christian Century (February 17, 1960), p. 188.

77
Ruth Graham experienced a "gradual-growth" type of conversion. She did not agree with Graham's or his denomination's insistence upon "instantaneous" conversion. She, more than any other, enlarged Graham's personal concept of conversion. Cf. Graham, Peace With God, pp. 106, 107.

78
Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 205.

79
"For Adults Only?" Time, (October 27, 1961), p. 62.

that the family of God contains people of various ethnological, cultural, class and denominational differences. I have learned that there can even be minor disagreements of theology, methods and motives but that within the true church, there is a mysterious unity that overrides all divisive factors.⁸⁰

Thus with a broad base, Graham was equipped to move into the national scene at a time when America was ready for a nationwide revival. Reinhold Niebuhr, the theologian, said in 1950 that

the evidence of 'mass' conversions under the ministrations of popular evangelists who arouse the religious emotions and elicit religious commitments with greater success than at any time since the days of Billy Sunday ⁸¹

was proof of the quest of America for a revival of religion. And Billy Graham was the evangelist. Because of his ecumenical feelings, Graham will not accept an invitation to speak in a city where he is not backed by every major denomination. This unyielding position not only influences the scenes to which he chooses to go, but it influences his focus, terminology, and approach. In these ways, adaptation will be shown in chapters four and five as a result of his ecumenical position.

80
p. 78. Billy Graham, "What Ten Years Have Taught Me,"

81
McLoughlin, Billy Graham: Revivalist, p. 68.

Kenneth Burke said that man is an actor who chooses a conclusive climax or goal and determines to work toward it. The selection he makes of the strategies with which he shall reach that goal is stimulated by "motivational properties of [the agent] such as 'drives,' 'instincts,' 'states of minds.'" ⁸² This has been a discussion of the "motivational properties" of the agent, Billy Graham. Their bearing on his choices of adaptation will be seen in chapters four and five.

CHAPTER III

THE RHETORICAL EXIGENCE: SITUATION

Kenneth Burke believes that the "locus of motives" is found in the "act"¹ of his methodology, the Pentad. The "act" is "contained" in the "scene"² of the Pentad whose essence is "background character," the "climate of opinion" prevailing in a historical time and place. According to Burke, "Political commentators now generally use the word 'situation' as their synonym for scene, though often without any clear concept of its function as a statement about motives."³ He feels that clarity may best be obtained in a view of the interrelatedness of the "scene" as a "fit container for the act."⁴ From Burke's point of view, one may say that the "act" of this study, the Billy Graham

¹
Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (New York: Prentice Hall, 1945), p. 64.

²
Ibid., p. xv.

³
Ibid., p. 12.

⁴
Ibid., p. 3.

Crusade, was "contained" in the "scenes" of New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970.

Lloyd Bitzer, in his article, "The Rhetorical Situation,"⁵ argues that Burke's encompassing spotlight on "scene" and "act" is entirely too wide. In his discussion of the rhetorical situation, Bitzer narrows the focus. He maintains that the function of rhetoric is to create action or change in the world. In short, Bitzer asserts that "rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action."⁶ This change is accomplished through rhetoric so designed that the listeners who hear it will become mediators of change. Bitzer feels that this type of rhetoric can only take place in the true "rhetorical situation" which he defines as a "natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance."⁷ Categorizing the constituents of any true rhetorical

⁵ Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," Philosophy and Rhetoric (January, 1958), pp. 1-14.

⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

situation, Bitzer says that three elements must exist: the exigence, the audience, and the constraints.

An exigence is a situational demand which calls for immediate action or attention: urgent, pressing, critical. There are many such situations which are not rhetorical, Bitzer cautions; e.g. death is an exigence, but it cannot be changed or modified by rhetoric or any other factor: thus it is not a rhetorical exigence. An exigence can be rhetorical only "when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse or can be assisted by discourse."⁸

Since discourse, in the rhetorical situation, may produce change by influencing the decision and action of its auditors who, in turn, may function as mediators of change, it follows that rhetoric always requires an audience. This term must be differentiated from a mere aggregation of listeners however; for "properly speaking," Bitzer maintains that a rhetorical audience may consist "only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change."⁹ For example, if one were to

⁸
Ibid., p. 7.

⁹
Ibid., p. 8.

deliver an address in a penitentiary urging the audience to go to polls to vote, one could not consider the hearers becoming mediators of change. This group, no matter how attentive, could not be truly called an "audience" in that rhetorical situation because they were not free to perform the action requested. The rhetorical audience, Bitzer asserts, has to be "capable of serving as mediators¹⁰ of the change which the discourse functions to produce."

The constraints that Bitzer feels are imperative to the rhetorical situation are made up "of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action¹¹ needed to modify the exigence." He further identifies standard sources of constraints to include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests,¹² motives and the like." When the speaker takes his place in the situation, he adds the important constraints of his own personal character, his proofs and his style. For

10
Ibid.

11
Ibid.

12
Ibid.

the purposes of this study, the examination of Graham's strategies of adaptation in the "scene" and "act" will be limited to the narrower focus of Bitzer's true "rhetorical situation."

The evangelist, Billy Graham, considered New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, to be exigences demanding utterance because he believed his message of Jesus Christ would be the rhetoric needed in the troubled climate of each city in that time. He was convinced that each exigence was capable of positive modification which could be achieved or assisted by his rhetoric.¹³

In New York, 1957, the populace was experiencing a rising rate in crime. Of greatest concern in the swelling wave of violence in New York that summer was the number of youth involved in violence of all kinds. Mayor Wagner appointed a committee to recommend emergency measures and Governor Harriman expressed official concern. The problem seemed insoluble. Because of the city's fragmented

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Graham expressed this Bitzer "imperative" in different words, but the essence remains the same: "I preach because I have the solution for man's problems: all of them. Jesus Christ can do for man what legislation can never do. Jesus Christ can change the heart. Crime, hate, war, infidelity, murder cannot be legislated out of existence. The change has to first come from within." Billy Graham, quoted in "Why I Preach," The Sunday Tribune (New York: The Sunday Press, 1967), p. 1.

life and heterogeneous nature, it was difficult for officials to compose a program that would have a significant effect on crime and juvenile delinquency. In 1957, five million New Yorkers were immigrants or the children of immigrants. There were more Italians in New York than in Rome; more Irish than in Dublin, more Puerto Ricans than in San Juan and more than a sixth of the Jewish population of the world.¹⁴ Many of the sixty different nationality groups maintained their own specific life-styles, mores, and controls. They were suspicious of people outside their small national culture and resented interference. More often than not, they refused cooperation with the police. When juvenile gangs arose within these populations, the police often faced a silent, sealed wall of national loyalty. Thus New York¹⁵ faced baffling problems in law enforcement.

Graham considered New York, 1957, an exigence demanding utterance because he believed his message could evoke necessary change. Even though fifty-eight per-cent

¹⁴ Billy Graham, "New York and I," Look, (October 15, 1957), p. 37.

¹⁵ Curtis Mitchell, God in the Garden (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 167.

of the peoples of New York did not attend church, even though the Protestants were a "submerged" minority within the forty-two per-cent of church people,¹⁶ Graham was determined to speak.¹⁷ He was quoted by Newsweek as saying: "I believe the Lord has given me a burden for New York that I have never had for. . .any other city."¹⁸ In discussing his goal in the Crusade, he said: "Our object is to win people to Christ. Secondly, I hope the whole city will become God-conscious. . .This current problem with youth can only be solved through people accepting Christ. I want people to begin to understand this, to talk about it."¹⁹ In an article for Look, he spelled out another objective:

Another factor in our decision to go to New York was that it is a strategic city, a consideration that has always been borne in mind by the Church. In New Testament

¹⁶ Graham, "New York and I," p. 37.

¹⁷ Billy Graham quoted in Billy Graham in New York (New York: Revivalist Press, 1957), p. 1.

¹⁸ Billy Graham, quoted in "The Billy Graham 'Invasion,'" Newsweek (May 20, 1957), p. 68.

¹⁹ Graham quoted in Billy Graham in New York, p. 2.

days, the Holy Spirit directed Paul to move his base of operations from Jerusalem to Antioch. Antioch was the crossroads of the world in Paul's day, a melting pot of the then-existing nations. People who were won to Christ in that great center carried the good news of salvation east and west to the ends of the earth. Since God is primarily interested in people, He often makes special, spirit-led attempts to gain the attention of people in the great concentrations of populations, such as Nineveh, Sodom, Capernaum, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, London or New York. 20

In London, England, 1966, the citizenry "though not rich were better off than at any time since the war. . . Their homes were sprouting telly aerials, their fridges were crowded with frozen foods, and Rolls Royce was planning a car twenty feet long." ²¹ Materialism was the consuming passion of the adult generation of Britons; religion was ²² shrinking into nonexistence. Earlier in the decade, Queen Elizabeth had sensed the coming exigence and had spoken:

I am sure that what is best in our country-men comes from the habits and wisdom bred in them by centuries of Christianity. But

20
Graham, "New York and I," p. 37.

21
Curtis Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1966), p. 7.

22
"Britain's Religious Sickness," The British Weekly and Christian World (February, 1966), p. 14.

it may be that we are, in a sense, living on the moral capital which past generations have built up. Traditions which have no living basis soon become meaningless, and our children will suffer if we have no more to offer them than the virtues which we ourselves owe to an age of greater faith.

It would be their greatest service to mankind if the British peoples, who set the standard of law and justice for so many countries. . . should also be pioneers of a moral and spiritual revival without which all their great material achievement will have been in vain. 23

Such revival was not forthcoming and the Queen's prophecy concerning the suffering of "our children" was fulfilled. The adult generation continued to live "on the moral capital which past generations have built up" and their children found such traditions "meaningless." In an analysis conducted by The British Weekly, these facts were found in Britain, 1966:

Church membership was dropping. The Methodists, for example, were losing about 10,000 members per year.

Fewer children were enrolling in Sunday schools. The Congregationalists, for instance, were losing ground at the rate of 8,000 per year.

24

All denominations were short of ministers.

Although these statistics indicated the decline of religion, what was most alarming to people concerned with the future of religion in Britain was the finding that the majority of British youth had no interest in or respect for the church. They considered it an "irrelevant" institution. They admitted they found no "purpose" for living outside the church, but had found the church equally void of providing "purpose." A general comment was "The fact is that so often preaching is not merely irrelevant to the world, but is an insult to human intelligence."

John Stott, London minister, summarized it succinctly:

"The church is simply not cutting any ice in our country."

The book, Generation X, was on the news stands

24

"Britain's Religious Sickness," p. 14. "The average age of the minister in Britain was 52; 29% were over 65." K. S. Latourette, The 20th Century in Europe, IV, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1961), p. 414.

25

Ibid.

26

John Stott, quoted by Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 11.

27

Charles Hamblett, Jane Diverson, Generation X (London: Anthony Gibbs and Phillips, Ltd., 1964).

also describing the youth of Britain. It reported that a majority were convinced that the church had nothing to offer; it was an "obsolete" institution. Their parents had nothing to offer; their lives were "suffocating" in materialism; they felt there had to be "more to life." The general consensus of youth seemed to be: "I'm lonely; I'm unhappy; I'm bored; I find no point in living. . . unless you consider sensual pleasure a point." ²⁸ Many of the youthful generation had turned to sex, alcohol, and narcotics. Rejecting the religion of the church, rejecting the materialism of their parents, the youth of Britain, 1966, found "no point in living." John Stott told Graham: "[The thing] England needs more than anything else is for a man to preach the Gospel clearly and forcefully and in the power of the Holy Spirit. Not gimmicks, not jazz masses, not God-is-dead compromises with secular man. Instead, the missing ingredient was (sic) what Paul called 'the foolishness of preaching.'" ²⁹

When the invitation to come to London for a

²⁸ Billy Graham, reviewing Generation X, "Why I Preach," p. 2.

²⁹ Stott, quoted in The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 11.

Crusade came to Graham officially, he decided to undertake a personal reconnaissance. He flew to London and, in his four-day visit there, talked with the inviting Committee, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and Southwark and with the then Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home and with Mr. Harold Wilson, the then Leader of the Opposition. At the conclusion of this visit, he said he felt a "divine compulsion" ³⁰ to go to London in June, 1966. He explained the basis of this "divine compulsion" in his first press conference held in the lounge of the steamship Queen Mary when he docked in Southampton for the Crusade:

I believe that the Bible is far more relevant today than it has ever been before. I have read Generation X and understand that your youth are questioning: What is life all about? Where did we come from? Where are we going? What is the ultimate destiny of history? All this is outlined in the Scriptures and I have come to present this Gospel which I believe is. . .authoritative, relevant, and inspired by God. The Bible is as relevant as television or the newspaper, and it's telling me what is going to happen tomorrow and which way the human race is going. 31

30
p. 6. Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade,

31
Graham, "Why I Preach," p. 2.

In further discussion of the book, Generation X, Graham discussed the "escape measures" of narcotics: "This is youth's search for a vital experience. Let me tell you, I believe that a personal experience with Jesus Christ is the most exciting, thrilling experience in the world."³²

Graham, who had been to London in a Crusade in 1954, responded to the exigence in 1966. His purpose was to present discourse which he felt could so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.

Yugoslavia, 1967, was a land where its Marxist government considered religion "the opiate of the masses."³³ Grudgingly the officials permitted some worship, but limited it only to government-approved churches and further limited all church activities to offically owned church property.³⁴

³²
p. 12. Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade,

³³
Curtis Mitchell, The All-Britain Crusade of 1967 plus Crusading in Italy and Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1967), p. 138.

³⁴
Lois Blewett, Bob Blewett, 20 Years Under God (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1970), p. 82.

"What kind of evangelism could one practice in such a land?" This was the question facing Slavic Christians and their answer had been: "If distribution of tracts is forbidden, there are other opportunities. If there is no chance to preach in the streets, we can preach in our churches and invite our friends. If we cannot witness from house to house, we can give testimony in the houses of our friends or in friendly everyday conversation. If we are willing to witness, we can find an open door anywhere. If it is impossible to fish for men's souls with the large nets of mass evangelism, we can still have the privilege of fishing³⁵ patiently with a rod."

However some Slavic people kept dreaming of fishing for men's souls "with the large nets of mass evangelism." They considered the "master fisherman" to be Billy Graham.

Taking an "audacious risk," this group of Slavic Christians invited Graham to come to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, behind the Iron Curtain without asking permission of the³⁶ "atheistic government." They were certain that the

³⁵
Mitchell, The All-Britain Crusade of 1967 plus Crusading in Italy and Yugoslavia, p. 134.

³⁶
Ibid., p. 136.

official response would be a "flat turn-down."³⁷ Risking imprisonment or worse, these Slavic people proposed to plan a Crusade without governmental permission. Their letter to Graham was poignant:

Sow no hatreds but teach us to love Christ and our fellowmen. Only if you teach us to love our enemies can we be armed against all their attack and be enabled to overcome them and bring them back home. Convince us that God exists and that He loves us. Demand of us unswerving faithfulness. Give us, who are forced to live in the mud of atheism, Christian self-awareness and pride. Liberate us from the inferiority complexes that are systematically forced upon us. Send us, in His name, the fire of love. 38

This was only one of the dozens of invitations Graham had received from Communist communities.³⁹ "Despite repression," there were reports that the tide of spiritual hunger in countries behind the Iron Curtain was high. "In one Communist nation, estimates placed the percentage of praying persons at 42 per-cent of the population. Another

37
Ibid.

38
Ibid., p. 131.

39
Ibid.

reported that only one-third of its citizens would deny⁴⁰ the existence of a Supreme Being." From the many invitations from Communist communities, Graham chose to go to Yugoslavia, to the city of Zagreb which is the "cultural and financial capital of the least rigid nation of the Communistic bloc."⁴¹ Although this characteristic of a degree of relaxed rigidity may have been a factor in Graham's decision, he did not say so. When asked by a reporter why he chose to accept this single invitation from behind the Iron Curtain, Graham replied: "I can't answer that question because I really don't know. But in my heart I knew it was right."⁴² The evangelist had been praying for years for guidance concerning his obligation to people in Communist countries, and he never felt "it was right" to go until he received this invitation.⁴³ For an inner "unknown" reason, he felt constrained to respond to the exigence described by Christians living in Communistic Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967.

⁴⁰
Ibid., p. 13.

⁴¹
Ibid., p. 132.

⁴²
Ibid., p. 131.

⁴³
J. D. Douglas, "Moment in Yugoslavia," Decision (October, 1967), p. 8.

Billy Graham had been invited repeatedly to Knoxville, Tennessee, for a Crusade over a period of seven-⁴⁴teen years. He had never felt a sense of "divine compulsion" to accept. In 1969, one of the officials of The University of Tennessee, Ralph Frost, became alarmed at the "spiritual falling away" of university young people. He headed a committee which created a personal petition signed by 129,000 people, including state, local officials and⁴⁵ the president of The University of Tennessee, asking Graham to "stem the growing tide of agnosticism by presenting the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Prior to the invitation in 1969, Graham had already received his "divine compulsion." In 1968, he told team member, Lane Adams, as he pointed to his⁴⁶ heart: "God's telling me here I must go to Knoxville." As a result of this personal feeling, Graham accepted Frost's invitation and agreed to come to Neyland Stadium on the campus of The University of Tennessee in May,

44

Dianne Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country (Knoxville, East Tennessee Crusade, 1970), p. 10.

45

Garry Wills, "How Nixon Used the Media, Billy Graham, and the Good Lord to Rap with Students at Tennessee U," Esquire (September, 1970), p. 119.

46

Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country, p. 15.

47
1970.

Graham believes that he is a "chosen servant of
48 God," and as such, he lives by divine directive. He
feels that God places him in each place in each moment of
history by design. Although the exigence presented to him
at the time of the invitation was a "spiritual falling away"
and a "growing tide of agnosticism," Graham's response was
based on an inner directive that instructed him to go to
Knoxville before that exigence was presented. It is Graham's
theology that God knew of the specific exigence that would
exist in May, 1970, in Knoxville, Tennessee, and that his
"divine compulsion" which came in 1968 was ordering him
49
for that specific exigence.

In the United States, 1970, the entire nation was
suffering severe dissonance over U.S. involvement in Viet
Nam. In April, 1970, the Viet Cong launched their spring

47
Ibid.

48
See Chapter II of this study for full discussion
of Graham's personal philosophies of his "divine call" and
its implications for his ministry.

49
"That is why I am here tonight: I can answer
the pressing questions of your life. I can give you the
answer." Billy Graham, Sermon preached May 22, 1970,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

offensive and killed 380 Americans. Those opposed to the involvement of the U.S. stepped up their campaign to get American soldiers home. Those in favor of the war vigorously demanded more freedom to extend and expand the war.

President Nixon, in May, announced the extension of U.S. forces into Cambodia. The reaction to this news by the opponents of U.S. involvement was explosive. Many college campuses across the nation erupted into violent clashes between students and police. A confrontation on the campus of Kent State University in Ohio ended in death for four young people -- a tragedy that shocked the country. The students on the campus of The University of Tennessee staged a three day strike in protest. There were no violent confrontations with police because the president of the student body, Jimmie Baxter, kept warning the students that "they were outgunned by the cops." Classes resumed without major incident and final examinations were scheduled; however an aura of unprecedented crisis hung over the campus. Graham felt that this crisis situation called for discourse and he decided, in spite of warnings, to speak in response. He was convinced that God had prepared him

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for this hour. He determined to create discourse for
the exigence and he further determined to give President
Nixon, his personal friend, an opportunity to speak
directly to university students who were hostile to his
policies. He felt that through meeting with and listening
to the President, understanding could be possible. 52

There were those who did not believe in his
conviction or his motivation. Garry Wills, in an article
in Esquire magazine, declared that Graham's Crusade was a
political plot. He stated that the site was chosen because
"the campus had to be large and 'representative,' yet
relatively safe. The University of Tennessee was fine,
Knoxville campus just fine. 53
54 In the midst of a religious
Crusade held on this large, "representative," "safe"

51
p. 15. Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country,

52
p. 8. "Presidential Visit," Decision (May, 1970),

53
p. 119. Wills, "How Nixon Used the Media, Billy Graham,
and the Good Lord to Rap With Students at Tennessee U,"

54
Tennessee law forbids anyone to disrupt a
religious service.

campus, Graham could invite the President of the United States who could prove that in spite of his war policy, he could "still go onto a campus" and leave it in "tranquility."⁵⁵

A committee of university students asked their Chancellor to refuse permission for Graham to come to the campus of The University of Tennessee. The officials responded that the "open speaker policy" of the university permitted the Graham Crusade.⁵⁶ Graham was warned that demonstrators would ruin his entire campaign, but in spite of these negative factors, Graham went to Knoxville to speak because, although demonstrably not wanted by many collegians, he remained convinced that his "divine call" gave him the authority to plan strategy and to present discourse which could ameliorate the exigence existing in May, 1970, Knoxville, Tennessee.⁵⁷

55
Ibid., p. 122.

56
Ibid., p. 119.

57
"I do not believe that any of you are here by accident. You are here by design and purpose and this may be the night for which you were born. This may be the most important hour that you will ever spend. And I hope that you will listen reverently and prayerfully to. . . God's message tonight. . . Here is the answer to life." Billy Graham, Sermon preached May 22, 1970, Knoxville, Tennessee.

In the four scenes of this study, Graham felt a rhetorical challenge. In the following chapters, a study will be made of his personal strategies of adaptation within the "act" and the "agency" as he attempted to make his diverse audiences "mediators of change."

CHAPTER IV

THE ADAPTATION OF BILLY GRAHAM OUTSIDE THE SERMON

Billy Graham felt that rhetorical exigences existed in the "scenes" of New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970. Such rhetorical exigences called for discourse which could change or modify the current emergencies. Prior to the creation and presentation of his discourse, some of Graham's team members went to three of the four scenes to plan strategies of adaptation.

Advertising

More than any modern minister,¹ Graham recognizes that the Church's evangelistic mission, to succeed in the twentieth century, must follow contemporary "marketing practices." Insurance companies advertise their offerings of leisure, early retirement, and old-age security. Airlines offer romantic holidays in exotic lands in full color ads. They are selling ideas. Graham is also concerned about "selling an idea."² The idea he offers is "new

¹ Curtis Mitchell, God in the Garden (New York: Doubleday and Company, Incorporated, 1957), p. 163.

² Ibid.

birth, new strength, divine guidance, escape from hell, peace and satisfaction, and the promise of life beyond the grave."³ That is quite a package and Graham believes that by "any reasonable ethic," he is completely correct in presenting it to the public with "the same dignity, efficiency, and regard for the common good that characterizes the marketing practices of any reputable business."⁴ Therefore he carefully plans the advertising program and policy of introducing each Crusade to the public.⁵ Some members of his team go to each city and study it; they then make recommendations of policy, but the final word is always given by Graham himself. The ultimate effort at adaptation in this important element is his.⁶

In Yugoslavia, Graham's coming had not been approved by the government;⁷ therefore none of the

³
Ibid.

⁴
Ibid.

⁵
Ibid.

⁶
Ibid., p. 76.

⁷
Curtis Mitchell, The All Britain Crusade of 1967 plus Crusading in Italy and Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1967), p. 132.

Graham team went into the country prior to his arrival. Although the Slavic people inviting Graham did not have governmental permission for the Crusade, they carefully planned the Crusade within governmental regulations.⁸ They prepared only official church property for the services and limited their advertising to word of mouth, news beamed into the country on missionary radio, small signs on the doors of churches, and one large sign "daringly"⁹ erected in a churchyard at a busy intersection. All of the pre-discourse steps in Yugoslavia, 1967, had to be left up to the Slavic people. Neither Graham nor his team were consulted or involved; however in the other three cities included in this study, Graham and his team were in full control of the planning of strategy to best fit the "constraints" of the rhetorical situation.

In the other three scenes, Graham's "on-the-spot" team members studied the people of each locale, their habits, their manner, their interests.¹⁰ They investigated

⁸
Lois Blewett, Bob Blewett, 20 Years Under God (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1970), p. 82.

⁹
J. D. Douglas, "Moment in Yugoslavia," Decision (October, 1967), p. 9.

¹⁰
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 163.

subway and bus schedules, charted church and theatre attendance at various hours, and analyzed the advertising techniques used by local professionals. Ultimately, in each scene, the team decided on their proposed policy of initiating and advertising the up-coming Crusade. Graham's final choice was based upon his, and his team's, evaluation of what was most appealing to the local populace.¹¹ Thus through adaptation to each scene, Graham could best strive for identification.

In New York, the citizenry was a busy, hurried, impulsive people¹² who were accustomed to a constantly changing selection of attractions. The home of the famous theatres on Broadway, the Metropolitan Opera House, Radio City Music Hall, illustrious art galleries, museums, sports arenas, the smorgasboard of entertainment opportunities was a many-faceted, constantly-changing menu. With so much from which to choose, the advance planning of the average New Yorker was brief, Graham's team decided. In light of this assessment, the advertising policy in New York was set

¹¹
Ibid.

¹²
Billy Graham, "New York and I," Look, (October 15, 1957), p. 37.

up to use all of the budget in a media-encompassing blast-¹³
off campaign immediately prior to opening night.

In London, England, the temperament of the people was different from the populace of New York. One observer said: "The atmosphere of London is saturated with history. It seems that wherever you step, you are walking with history. It has a steadying effect. The pressured New Yorker would be a displaced person in London. No two cities could be more opposite."¹⁴ London, then the world's largest city,¹⁵ had equally famous opportunities for entertainment and activity, but its atmosphere was different. "The English mind is deliberative, controlled,¹⁶ careful to weigh decisions." Impulse was not a strong motivator, Graham's team observed. Therefore they decided to choose advertising policy that let the news of the coming

¹³ Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 167.

¹⁴ Bennett Diert, quoted by John Pollock, Crusades: 20 Years with Billy Graham (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1969), p. 73.

¹⁵ Curtis Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1966), p. 4.

¹⁶ Pollock, Crusades: 20 Years With Billy Graham, p. 73.

Crusade sink in slowly, methodically. Early in 1966, billboards were placed in strategic locations all over London as well as on the walls of Underground stations. Double-decker busses carried large placards; cars carried bumper stickers.¹⁷ Slow but thorough was the policy.

In Knoxville, Tennessee, there is a co-existence of generations.¹⁸ The "older" generation are those who staunchly sided with William Jennings Bryan when he pleaded for the prosecution of a teacher who taught the theory of evolution in the public schools. These people are slow-speaking, carefully-deliberate, evangelical-fundamentalists. In contrast, there is a "younger" generation which agrees that Tennessee approached a milestone when they recently revoked the law prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools. Rushing through life in metropolitan affairs or in academic pursuits on the campus of The University of Tennessee, they find many pulls of activities,

17

"Greater London Billy Graham Crusade -- June 1-July 2, 1966," Decision (May, 1966), p. 16.

18

Garry Wills, "How Nixon Used the Media, Billy Graham, and the Good Lord to Rap with Students at Tennessee U," Esquire (September, 1970), p. 119.

many options for entertainment. As Graham's team considered
this scene with its diversity of lifestyles,¹⁹ they chose
to combine the methods of New York and London: advance
work should be done, but a last-minute thrust would be
essential.²⁰ Some billboards, bumper stickers and flyers
were placed in strategic locations in February. In March,
George Beverly Shea, Tedd Smith, and Cliff Barrows, the
Graham team musicians, came to Knoxville for two concerts in
the Civic Coliseum and played to capacity crowds. Other
team members, Steve Musto and Ted Cronell, presented musical
programs for junior and senior high school assemblies. In
April, a daily fifteen minute radio broadcast was begun.
Team members were available for speaking engagements in all
types of organizations.²¹

One other aspect of adaptation in advertising may
be seen in the use of the "Visitation." In both London
and Knoxville, the week prior to the opening of the Crusade,

¹⁹
Ibid., p. 122.

²⁰
"Beginning in Tennessee," Decision Magazine
(August, 1970), p. 7.

²¹
Dianne Barker, Billy Graham In Big Orange
Country (Knoxville: East Tennessee Crusade, 1970), p.26.

volunteers were organized to knock on "every door" in these cities personally inviting people to the Crusade. This strategy was not employed in New York where people do not speak unless formally introduced. Graham was cognizant of this characteristic of New York. Prior to his Crusade in New York, he wrote:

One evening I was visitng with a man in his skyscraper office when the charwoman came in to clean up. . . 'Hello,' I said to her, 'how are you this evening?' Immediately her whole face lit up and she said, 'Why I'm fine, thank you. Yes, I'm feeling better right now. You know, hardly anyone every says anything to me.'

My brother-in-law lives in one of New York's crowded apartment houses. He says that he doesn't even know the people on his floor. He also says that in the months he has been riding in the subway, only a half dozen people have ever spoken to him. This sounds unbelievable to people in smaller towns. 23

For this reason, the "Visitation" which was considered effective in London, 1966, and Knoxville, 1970, may have been considered of negative value in America's largest,

22
Ibid., p. 16.

23
Billy Graham, "Why New York is My Greatest Challenge," This Week Magazine (April 21, 1957), p. 12.

24
Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 7.; Dianne Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country, p. 8.

perhaps most personally distant city in 1957. It was not used in Graham's more recent New York Crusade in 1969.

In some minds, Billy Graham is a "religious huckster."²⁵ He conscientiously applies himself to the task of advertising his product, religion, and this invites attack. A Graham team member said: "A businessman can spend fifteen million dollars a year to persuade people to smoke or wash themselves and there's no criticism. But let a minister spend a million offering eternal life to people and he gets kicked all over the lot."²⁶ In spite of the criticism and name-calling, Graham gets a hearing. "Despite the expensive clamor of TV, movies, radio, baseball, football, Rock-and-Roll, bridge, bingo, and the continuing thunder of H-bomb tests, he gets a hearing for God's word."²⁷ Utilizing professional advertising techniques and consciously adapting these specifically to each locale is one of the major keys to the success of the Graham Crusades.²⁸ He

²⁵ Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 163.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ James N. Wallace, "Efficient Evangelist: Billy Graham Unites the Bible, Business Methods as He Starts New York Crusade," The Wall Street Journal (May 10, 1957), p. 1.

feels he would be remiss to be anything but efficient in this regard. "The Bible says all things should be done decently and in order. . .It is a bad reflection on our Christianity to have anything but top efficiency in our work."²⁹

Although Graham made the final decision on advertising strategy, the team members were the ones who studied and recommended techniques and initiated their fulfillment. But when Graham personally arrived in each city, he, too, strove to utilize adaptation.³⁰ This may be seen in his development of strategies in each scene.

Focusing on Problems

One of the strategies which Graham developed in each of the three Crusades* was his desire to focus on

29

Billy Graham, quoted by Wallace, Ibid.

30

"Like the great apostle, I will strive to be all things to all men in order to save some. . .Personal adjustment is my goal." Billy Graham quoted in "Why I Preach," The Sunday Tribune (New York: The Sunday Press, 1957), p. 1.

*

In Yugoslavia, 1967, Graham's only activity was the sermon. Due to the laws of the Communist government, he did not have opportunity to work for adaptation outside the sermon. Even inside the service, outside the sermon, everything was handled by the Slavic people.

the problems creating the exigence at that time in that place. He has said:

If we are going to touch the inner life of our communities we must know their sorrow, their trials, their temptations, and we must stand with them in their heart-aches. Jesus Christ entered into the arena of our troubles, and He wept with them that wept and rejoiced with them that rejoiced. Any man who cares enough to want to bless the lives of people must somehow sit where they sit. 31

This was the approach of Jesus Christ. He did not stand in the Temple proclaiming Truth. He knew that those who needed his Truth most were not in the Temple. Jesus "came eating and drinking and they [said], Behold . . . a friend of publicans and sinners."³² Following Jesus' example, Graham refused to simply stand in the carefully prepared arenas of the Crusades and present his prepared sermons. He recognized that it could never be effective until the people needing change were exposed to it. Many of these would never be found in the Crusade services; therefore he decided to try to go to them, to also attempt to be known as "a friend of publicans and sinners."

31

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in 1967, quoted by W. David Lockard, The Unheard Billy Graham (Waco: Word Publishing Company, 1971), p. 140.

32

Matthew 11:19, The Holy Bible, King James Version.

Of course, Graham was aware that his efforts would be covered by mass media.³³ He was followed by coveys of journalists and television cameras wherever he went. Some newspapers assigned their reporters as many as two stories per day on Graham. His every action was considered news.³⁴ This may have given Graham additional incentive to contact people "in the arena of [their] troubles" for this would not only be a means of fostering identification personally but all people reading of or observing him "in the arena of [man's] troubles" could be influenced.

In New York, 1957, where juvenile delinquency was a major concern, Graham personally went out on the streets and made contact with teenage gang leaders.³⁵ By seeking them out individually, and spending time with them, he was attempting to establish identification with the young boys. They were seeking a thrill; Graham assured them he could tell them of "the greatest thrill"³⁶ in the

33
Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, pp. 16, 58, 69; Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country p. 82; Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 38.

34
Ibid.

35
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 148.

36
A. N. Clark, Billy Graham in New York (New York Revivalist Press, 1957), p. 14.

Crusade service. He promised music to their liking; he reserved sections in Madison Square Garden for each gang. He discarded some previously prepared sermons and created new ones beamed specifically to this problem and these groups. He wrote about juvenile delinquency for the New York press.³⁷ He invited popular disk jockeys to help fill the Garden with rock-and-roll fans.³⁸ He held a press conference for the mass media and was flanked by twelve youngsters with "doubtful backgrounds," most of whom had court records. He asked the boys to tell how Christ had already worked in their hearts. They responded by telling of their lives in gangs "stealing, fighting, drinking." Then change came. As one boy, nineteen-year-old Bill said it: "I found that God really did love me and then he helped me to win out over my bad habits."³⁹

The exigence in New York, 1957, was crime generally and especially juvenile crime. "The headlines of

37
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 148.

38
Ibid.

39
Ibid.

every Manhattan paper were dripping with the gore of teen-age violence. Their crimes were brutal, senseless, and malevolent. Newsboys screamed, 'Teen-agers on Crime Spree!' 'Kid Killers on Rampage!' 'Teen Gangs Wage War!'"⁴⁰ Graham was convinced that the solution to the emergency lay in his Gospel message. In an attempt to adapt to this specific exigence, Graham tried to establish identification with the problem groups and get them into the religious services.

When Graham arrived in London, 1966, he considered the exigence to be the disillusionment of youth with the church and the sharp turning away from religion and traditional standards of morality. In his first press conference, while still aboard the Queen Mary, Graham discussed personal and corporate disenchantment of British youth as described in the book, Generation X. After his assertion that he had the answer to the problem, a newsman asked: "Would you go to Soho?" Graham had no idea what or where was Soho, but he responded: "I will go anywhere to preach the Gospel."⁴¹ His answer went to press under the headlines:

⁴⁰
Ibid., p. 147.

⁴¹
John Pollock, Crusade '66 (Grand Rapids: Zonder-Publishing Company, 1966), p. 47.

"Billy Will Visit a Strip-tease Club."⁴² Graham quickly discovered the characteristics and location of Soho.

As days went by, journalists speculated as to whether Graham would keep his promise. They pressed Graham's press officer to select a date.⁴³ Some of Graham's advisors urged him not to go. But he finally decided that if he had the answer for the problems of the religiously disillusioned, he should go and tell them. He would not wait for them to come to him. So he announced that he would go to Soho. He made it clear that he did not plan to attend a strip-tease club,⁴⁴ but he would walk the streets and invite people to Earl's Court.

The waiting crush of television cameras and Pressmen forced a change of plan for his "leisurely stroll." A half hour before Graham's scheduled arrival, Old Crompton Street was blocked. Although the stroll was not leisurely, Graham did walk in Soho, which has been described as the

42
Ibid.

43
Ibid.

44
Ibid.

"Mecca of the hedonist and the red light area of London."

He smiled, shook hands, chatted, and finally climbed onto a car and gave a "200 second" sermon which ended in his effort to "avoid being kissed by an adventurous mini-skirted strip tease artiste, in front of TV cameras."⁴⁶ Ruth Graham, wife of the evangelist, drove with friends to Soho. When they got to the edge of the crowd, Mrs. Graham rolled down the window of the car and asked a by-stander what was the meaning of the crowd up the street. He replied: "That's Billy Graham just getting rid of his frustrations!"⁴⁷

Through his visit to Soho, Graham hoped to establish identification with those beset with the frustrations of disillusionment with religion. He said: "I went there [to Soho] for two purposes: to let the people know there is a Crusade at Earl's Court and that they are welcome. Secondly, to tell them that God loves them, that Christ died for them, and that Christ could forgive their sins. I was able to make those points."⁴⁸

⁴⁶
Pollock, Crusades: 20 Years With Billy Graham, p. 225.

⁴⁷
Pollock, Crusade '66, p. 49.

⁴⁸
Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 79.

Graham did not go to London with the plan of going to Soho. But when he began to consider that many people who composed much of the exigence in London, 1966, were in that area, he adopted the strategy with a great deal of personal fear.⁴⁹ He said, after his return, "I might have been wrong going down there. I'll never know whether it was the right thing or not."⁵⁰ But it seemed to be the right strategy for the particular exigence and he dared to try it.

That it was an effective strategy became apparent the next night at Earl's Court. After the respondents had come to the front of Earl's Court in response to the invitation, Graham directed them to the counseling rooms. A young woman went to him and said: "Thank you for coming to Soho. That's why I'm here tonight."⁵¹ In the counselling sessions, there were several who said that they had come as a result of seeing and hearing Graham in Soho.

But probably an even greater proof of the effectiveness of Graham's visit to Soho was the entertainer, Lance Percival's, comment on a television show that

49
Ibid., p. 80.

50
Ibid.

51
Ibid.

Graham's presence and all the publicity "makes people talk about religion, which. . . is terribly important: that we've got somebody at last who makes people think and talk even if they don't go to Earl's Court. . . They think."⁵²

Although Graham's ultimate goal is for the masses to accept his solution for the exigence, he made a significant achievement when, through his willingness to go to a problem area, he stimulated discussion and thoughtful consideration of his solution.

In Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, the exigence was campus protest to President Nixon's recent decision to push the war into Cambodia.⁵³ In an attempt to adapt to this specific emergency, Graham met with twenty college and university presidents to discuss ways to keep protest non-violent.⁵⁴ He talked with university students and faculty members. Graham invited President Nixon, who was on his way to the western White House in San Clemente, California,

52
Pollock, Crusade '66, p. 28.

53
The World Almanac (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Publishing Company, 1970), p. 915.

54
Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country
p. 64.

for the Memorial Day weekend, to visit the Crusade.⁵⁵ Nixon
accepted the invitation and was greeted by what has been
assessed to be the largest attendance in the history of
the state for any event.⁵⁶ Both men surely knew that this
appearance on a university campus, his first after the
Cambodian announcement, could add fuel to the flame. But
they also surely knew that problems can never be solved
unless an attempt is made at communication between people
of opposing views. Introducing the President prior to
his speech, Graham said: "I have read the biographies of
most of the Presidents of the United States and I know that
all Presidents have had to make hard, agonizing decisions
that are often unpopular -- but which they think are in the
best interest of the country. . .the American presidency is
the world's loneliest and toughest job. All Americans may
not agree with the decisions a President makes -- but he is
our President. . .[and he] deserves. . .understanding."⁵⁷
If such "understanding" could be obtained, even those who
disagreed with Nixon's policies would not be so violent.
But that "understanding" could never be approached so long

55
Ibid., p. 43.

56
Ibid.

57
Ibid., p. 50.

as there were no lines of communication. With Nixon in the White House and the students on the campus, there was no hope for "understanding." Only through a face-to-face confrontation where the President was able to admit that he knew "there are things about America that are wrong," that he "approved" of the dissent of those who did not agree with existing policies, that his goal was, also, peace⁵⁸ could there be hope of developing "understanding." The president of the student body at The University of Tennessee, John Smith,* must have agreed with the potential of the strategy because he sent Nixon a telegram, prior to his visit, inviting him to the campus in the name of the student body.⁵⁹ After the service in which Nixon spoke, Smith met with the President aboard Air Force One. After the interview, Smith said that although he and Nixon did not agree on all subjects, he believed "the President is sincere in his

58

"Presidential Visit," Decision, p. 8.

*

Jimmie Baxter, as cited in Chapter III, was president of the student body at the time of the Kent State tragedy and the subsequent strike by the students of The University of Tennessee. His office expired and the new president of the student body, John Smith, assumed office one week prior to the beginning of the Crusade.

59

Wills, "How Nixon Used the Media, Billy Graham, and the Good Lord to Rap with Students at Tennessee U," p. 120.

efforts."⁶⁰ Belief in the sincerity of one's opponent is a big step toward "understanding" which would seem to be Graham's goal in bringing the President to the Knoxville Crusade, 1970.

"Properties"

Kenneth Burke asserts that to persuade, the speaker must identify his "properties" with his hearers' "properties."⁶¹ He defines "properties" as any sensation, idea, experience, etc., which we use to identify "substance." When a speaker surrounds himself with properties, "properties in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship and love."⁶² Graham worked to develop this strategy in each of the three scenes where it was possible. Outside the Crusade, Graham strove for adaptation with his social contacts with the "hierarchy" of particular locale. In New York, he lunched with the mayor

⁶⁰ Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country, p. 55.

⁶¹ Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall Publishing Company, 1950), p. 24.

⁶² Ibid., p. 23.

of the city, Robert Wagner.⁶³ In London, he dined with Queen Elizabeth.⁶⁴ In Knoxville, he met with the 86th State Legislature and the city mayor volunteered to sing in the Crusade choir.⁶⁴ Socializing with the highest officials in each scene was an excellent "property" of "acquaintanceship," "position or status" which could foster identification with those who admired and respected these notables.

In the services of the Crusade, outside the sermon, Graham also strove for adaptation in his use of "properties." He sought to surround himself with people whose appeal would be of specific benefit in each local exigence.⁶⁵ In New York, he selected people for his platform guests and special speakers who had direct appeal for delinquent youth who admired toughness and physical skill: Carl Erskine, pitcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers; Lou Nova, heavyweight boxer, Red Barber, sportscaster, Andy Stanfield, Olympic

⁶³ Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 24.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 74.

⁶⁵ "The people appearing with me, supporting me, are many times my most important asset." Billy Graham, "Why I Preach," p. 2.

66
star. Another type of "property" used in New York was a juvenile delinquent turned Christian who sat on the platform with Graham and gave his testimony prior to the sermon. "Cliff Barrows. . .said his name was Zeke, a juvenile delinquent with a police record of eighteen offenses. He⁶⁷ looked like what he was. He talked like what he was."

Licking his lips and twisting his fingers, he said:

I don't know where to start except where it all began. Things were pretty bad. I didn't care about anybody. Somebody would come up and talk -- I'd just as well hit him with a pipe. . .Then. . .God decided to put himself in my heart. I felt Him there; I knew He was there. . .Now, my before and after. The first part was my bein' tough. You had to be tough. Nobody could push me around, I'm a big man, see! But now I want to respect people and have them respect me. Before, my reputation was to be a big shot. Now I want my reputation to say, 'There's Zeke. He's a nice boy. He's gonna get married. He's gonna raise a nice family.' I'm working. I didn't wanta work. Work was out, strictly out. I wanted the money, but I didn't want the job. Now I'm working steady. To tell the truth, I kinda like it a little bit. Well, what I gotta do now is thank the Lord for looking after me. And I thank you people for listening tonight. 68

66
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 149.

67
Ibid., p. 145.

68
Ibid.

By "surrounding himself" with "properties" which already had established identification with his audience, or an important segment of his audience, Graham was himself fostering identification.

In London, 1966, Graham adapted to the exigence by selecting the entertainment idol of the British youth,⁶⁹ Cliff Richard. Speaking the language of youth, Richard wrote the following advertisement:

Down at Earl's Court, Billy Graham, the world-famous evangelist, is making religion a real-live, switched-on thing. Don't miss an evening you'll never forget. Hear Billy Graham speaking to 20,000 young people on things you care about: love and sex, money, war and peace, getting the most out of life. You'll rave about the lively Gospel music too. 70

Dressed in corduroy jacket and flannels, wearing horn-rimmed glasses, Richard sang and gave his testimony for Christ. He appeared with Graham within and without the Crusade

69

"As an entertainer, he stood almost alone in his class. Like the Beatles, he had emerged from a basement coffee bar with a beat group. . . He had twice been given the title, "No. 1 Box Office Star." His recordings had earned four golden records, with sales of one million or more each, plus 19 silver records. Twenty-three countries held his fan clubs. He had starred in the biggest hit to show at the London Palladium in 80 years. . . His salary.. . was \$300,000 per film." Curtis Mitchell, The All Britain Crusade of 1967, p. 112.

70 Pollock, Crusade '66, p. 8.

71
services.

On the campus of The University of Tennessee, in the exigence of collegiate unrest, Graham attempted to adapt his use of "properties" specifically. He asked The University of Tennessee Pride of the Southland Band to perform in the Crusade. He invited Bill Battle, Head football coach, University of Tennessee football players,⁷² and the national singing star, Johnny Cash, backed by his entire troupe. Cash has been called the person "number one in communicating with young people."⁷³ Since this was Graham's goal in adapting to the exigence of Knoxville, Cash was a "property" of value.

Graham identified himself with "properties" which held the highest social and political status in each of the three "scenes." His association with the New York City mayor, the Queen of England, the Tennessee State Legislature, as well as the President of the United States, gave Graham the reputation of a man who, as Kipling wrote, "had walked

71
Ibid.

72
Barker, Billy Graham in Big Orange Country,
p. 66.

73
Blewett, Blewett, 20 Years Under God, p. 115.

with kings but never lost the common touch." This could be an excellent "property" to foster identification. Graham also surrounded himself with "properties" of specific value to each rhetorical exigence and thus tried to enhance the listening potential of his audience when he presented, in discourse, his solution to each current emergency.

Invitation

Perhaps the clearest evidence of Graham's adaptation to changing scene may be observed in his development of the Conventional Form: the invitation. In New York and Knoxville, the traditional American invitation was given. At the conclusion of the sermon, Graham asked his audience to stand. Then he asked all who needed a change in their lives to come forward to stand in front of his pulpit as "an outward sign of an inner decision." His pianist and organist played while the choir sang the traditional hymn: "Just As I Am." This was the type of invitation to which Graham had responded as a youth in 1934.⁷⁴ This was the type of invitation used in the Southern Baptist

⁷⁴
Biography John Pollock, Billy Graham: The Authorized
(New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1966),
p. 6.

denomination, of which Graham is a member. ⁷⁵ This was the pattern which he adopted within his own ministry from its beginning. There had been no deviations in this form in Graham's Crusades until London, 1966. ⁷⁶ Here Graham was facing the "most organized body of criticism" of his ⁷⁷ ministry. His invitation, which was radically different from the formal methods of the Church of England, was his most vulnerable point. He was attacked in the press ⁷⁸ and on television:

Graham's first London studio appearance in 1966, shortly before the opening night, was a frame-up. He was invited by the BBC to discuss [the newly released biography written by John Pollock]. . .but instead found two of his most violent critics, with an avowed anti-Christian in the chair, who consumed the time with attacks on [Graham's] integrity. ⁷⁹

⁷⁵
Ibid., p. 28.

⁷⁶
p. 47. Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade,

⁷⁷
Ibid., p. 34.

⁷⁸
Ibid., pp. 13-15.

⁷⁹
p. 227. Pollock, Crusades: 20 Years with Billy Graham,

One of the men charged that the Graham invitation was a "calculated manipulation of emotion and mass response." The other had called Graham "psychologically sick, a man on the run from an ever-threatening sense of depression . . . Psychiatrists call it manic depression."⁸⁰

Prior to the opening of the Crusade, Graham spoke on the campus of Oxford University. He was greeted with posters such as "What Makes Our Billy Boil? . . . High Speed Hell Fire." Some stood at the door of the building where Graham was to speak giving out leaflets. One read: "Danger, Psychologist at Work. . . the man you are about to hear. . . may appeal to your emotions rather than your intellect." In an interview, Graham said: "Probably the thing I sense in Britain this time, different from 1954, is pronounced⁸¹ opposition."

In his Crusade in London, 1954, Graham had used his traditional American invitation. Then Graham had been a novelty which gave his diverse approaches "sparkle."⁸²

⁸⁰ Pollock, Crusade '66, p. 18.

⁸¹ Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 16.

⁸² Ibid., p. 13.

Vincent Mulchrone, reporter for The Daily Mail, wrote:
"In 1954, he was a crusader. Familiarity has made him something cozier. After 12 years. . .we've grown accustomed to his faith."⁸³ Graham realized that he was going to have to adapt more carefully than in 1954.

Graham was cognizant of the British dislike and distrust of obvious emotional display.⁸⁴ He began to consider how he could change his traditional invitation to best speak to the citizenry of London. He wanted to make the appeal as "passionless and as matter-of-fact as possible."⁸⁵ Graham prayed about it; he discussed it with his team. He did not make a definite decision until the final moments before the first service. Finally he decided to change the Conventional Form for the first time in his ministry. He asked the choir, the pianist, and the organist to be silent during the invitation. There was no musical background. The only sound during those minutes, besides the voice of the evangelist, was the sound of British

83
Ibid.

84
Ibid., p. 47.

85
Ibid.

shoes bringing respondents forward.

The effectiveness of Graham's adaptation may be seen in the statistics that his Crusade services in London, 1966, were attended by 1,055,218 with 42,273 responding to his invitation.⁸⁶ There were over 12,000 more respondents⁸⁷ in 1966 than his Crusade attracted in 1954.

In Yugoslavia, 1967, Graham realized that he faced a situation where his traditional invitation would be alien to a majority of his audience. Seventy-four per-cent of Slavics were Catholic: the custom of confession of sins was done privately to a priest. In an attempt to adapt, Graham again decided to deviate from his typical form. He did not have music because his invitation was so brief that there was no time for music. He did not invite his auditors to change positions: He did not ask them to stand or to come forward. He only asked that, after heads were bowed, "If you would like to make a commitment to Christ, raise your hand." He did not elaborate on that simple invitation except to say: "I may not see it, but God will see it and that

86

Ibid.

87

Ibid.

is what is important. He knows your heart."

He did not ask his audience to take any of the public actions that he does in other crusades. He only asked for the raising of hands and then concluded. There was no time for consideration. Only those who were eagerly awaiting some type of solicited response could have possibly made this overt action in the time he allowed (the space of one sentence). His prayer for the repentant was brief: only seven sentences long. The service was over.

It could be said that the reason for this unusual invitation was because the Lutheran church in which the service was held was so crowded that moving to the front would have been impossible. Pictures of that service do indicate crowded conditions, although there were aisles and movement was possible. However, crowded conditions could be ascribed as a major reason if there were not further evidence.

The service in which this sermon was preached was the second service in Yugoslavia. The remaining two services were held on a church soccer field. Pictures of these services show abundant space about the platform and yet, in

both services, Graham only asked for the "raising of hands" ⁸⁹ in response to his invitation. From this evidence, we cannot ascribe the change in strategy to crowded conditions. In all of his services in Yugoslavia, Graham did not ask his auditors to change positions in a "public statement" of their private decision to accept Christ as is his custom.

The reason seems to lie in Graham's desire to adapt. He was in a Communist country whose officials did not respect his political or religious beliefs. ⁹⁰ Graham was also speaking to an audience composed primarily of Catholics. In neither instance did the traditional invitation seem advisable.

In a Communist country, religion was only grudgingly tolerated. Not only was Graham and his message unwelcome by governmental officials, those who attended his services could be held suspect. "People had slipped in from all over the Balkans." ⁹¹ Many had travelled two or three days ⁹²

⁹⁰ Blewett, Blewett, 20 Years Under God, p. 82.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 82.

⁹² J. D. Douglas, "Moment in Yugoslavia," p. 8.

walking carefully, furtively over many miles. Aware of such people in his audience, Graham may not have wanted them to feel pressure to, in any way, call attention to themselves.

In the structure of the Catholic church, the traditional Protestant invitation is an unknown form. Confession of sins is done privately, not en masse. Overt physical response to any plea would have been alien to tradition and custom. Cognizant of this problem, Graham modified his invitation to a form more acceptable to this audience.

The Conventional Form of the Invitation had been a standard entity in the ministry of Billy Graham until his Crusade in London, 1966. There, accused of "engineered emotion,"⁹³ he adapted to British reserve by deleting all music. In Yugoslavia, 1967, in adaptation to a predominantly Catholic audience in a Communist-governed country, he did not ask for a change of position in response to his invitation. In his effort to adapt to changing people and scenes, Graham revised the most standard form of his entire message: the invitation.

Billy Graham strove for identification with potential listeners outside his sermon content in four diverse

settings: New York, London, England, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and Knoxville, Tennessee. His goal never changed, but the means of making that goal attractive were, in some instances, quite different. In such diversity, we find his utility of adaptation.

CHAPTER V

THE ADAPTATION OF BILLY GRAHAM INSIDE THE SERMON

The evangelist, Billy Graham, considered New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, to be exigences demanding utterance because he believed his message of Jesus Christ would be the rhetoric needed in the troubled climate of each city at that time:

I preach because I have the solution for man's problems: all of them. Jesus Christ can do for man what legislation can never do. Jesus Christ can change the heart. Crime, hate, war, infidelity, murder cannot be legislated out of existence. The change has to first come from within. ¹

Not everyone agreed with his conviction. One of the sharpest attacks on his ministry came when he appeared on BBC-TV in London, 1966. One questioner charged that Graham's emotional oratory had the same kind of hypnotic effect on a mass audience as had Hitler's. ² "Cooly," Graham replied that Winston Churchill had also used all the tricks of popular oratory. "Jesus Christ himself, and the Apostle

¹ Billy Graham, quoted in "Why I Preach," The Sunday Tribune (New York: The Sunday Press, 1967), p. 1

² "Billy in London," Time (June 10, 1966), p. 24.

Paul, talked to great crowds of people," he added.³ Graham did not apologize for his deliberate use of rhetorical strategies. It has always been his goal to develop the creation and presentation of his message "to the utmost of my ability."⁴ This chapter explores his development and adaptation of rhetorical strategies within his "message."

Speaking the Common Language

In preparing his discourse for each of the four situations of this study, Graham did not adapt the level of his language. The evangelist is convinced that his preaching must be in "utter simplicity."⁵ Although such preaching might not cause identification with more sophisticated listeners, Graham feels that most of his auditors are "religiously illiterate."⁶ He has been criticized for disregarding theological problems in his sermons, but he is convinced that his audiences are made up largely of unchurched people who could not comprehend theological

3

Ibid.

4

Graham, "Why I Preach," p. 2.

5

"Billy Graham Answers His Critics," Look (February 7, 1945), p. 5.

6

Ibid.

problems or vocabulary. For this reason, he keeps his language simple wherever he goes.⁷ This was true in the four sermons of this study.

However Graham did attempt to adapt himself to the "peculiar language of his geographical sector."⁸ In London, he referred to his ushers as "stewards." When discussing a book he was offering to send to his listeners, he avoided the use of the word "mail" and told them not to look for the book "in Monday morning's post." When he was illustrating the small worth of the human body, he said: "You have enough lime in your body to whitewash a chicken coop. . ." and then realizing his desire to talk the "common language," he paused and asked: "Do you call chicken coops over here chicken coops?" There was a resounding response of laughter. Graham also talked about bathing in a "tin tub" and admitted his excessive drinking of tea. He mentioned his admiration of Sir Winston Churchill and quoted words from Queen Elizabeth and the Prime Minister of Britain.

7

Ibid.

8

Martin P. Anderson, Wesley Lewis, James Murray, The Speaker and His Audience (New York: Harper and Row Publishing Company, 1964), p. 94.

In Yugoslavia, he did not change specific terminology; but this may have been unnecessary since his interpreter may have done this for him. However, he spoke of his rural background: "I was reared on a farm; I used to have to take care of the pigs and milk the cows." In spite of increasing industrialization, the country of Yugoslavia was predominantly agricultural; therefore this was a way in which Graham tried to "speak a common language."

Graham also used this strategy when he mentioned that Jesus was born of "the blessed virgin Mary, the most blessed of all women. She gave birth to a little child. They called his name, Jesus. She never knew a man because she was given that child by the Holy Spirit." This was the only preaching of this sermon where Mary was mentioned, even in passing. Graham is a Protestant minister whose theology does not place the mother of Christ in the revered position of Catholic theology. In the other three scenes, his listeners were predominantly Protestant and the human agent for Christ's coming into the world was not mentioned. When, in Yugoslavia, where seventy-four per-cent of those who

profess a religion are listed as Catholic, Graham repeatedly refers to the "blessed virgin," adapting to this unique Crusade audience.

Graham also deviated from his basic outline in Yugoslavia to discuss the cross in detail. Only in passing is it mentioned in the other three scenes. But in Zagreb, he graphically describes the crucifixion: "They put nails in his hands; they put a crown of thorns on his brow; they put a spike through his feet and man's sin was so great that they put the Son of God to earth; they spit on him; they hated him." He later stated that "while he was on the cross, a mysterious glorious thing happened: God took your sins and your sins and my sins and laid them on Christ." He repeatedly reiterated the importance of the cross in the plan of salvation and discussed the significance of the cross as symbolized on the spire of "every church in Zagreb"¹⁰ and around the necks of the Slavic clergymen seated in his audience. Again, Graham, a Protestant minister whose theology stressed the empty tomb more than the heavily-laden cross, was attempting to adapt to the many Catholics in his audience whose most revered symbol of Christianity is the cross.

10

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 8, 1967.

Another way in which adaptation to theological background may be seen is in his phraseology in his nightly prayer that "all those whom thou hast chosen in Christ. . .will be saved." This particular phrase, from Calvinistic theology, was included in his prayer in New York, London, and Knoxville. It was omitted from the prayer in Yugoslavia.

Graham used speaker-hearer dialogue, an essential experience for meaningful communication,¹¹ in all of his preachings in a general way. In attempting to establish the feel of "common language," he asked questions he felt his auditors might be asking and then proceeded to answer them. In three of the Crusades (New York, London, Knoxville), Graham dialogued on a first-name basis:

'Oh,' you say, "Billy, I believe. I believe in Christ and I believe in God and I believe in the Bible. Isn't that enough? No! Wait a minute! As many as received him to them gave he power to become the sons of God."¹²

The first-name dialogue could have established a more personal sense of identification within his audience. This,

¹¹ Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, Incorporated, 1942), pp. 249, 250.

¹² Billy Graham, Sermon preached in New York City June 1, 1957.

however, was not utilized at all in Yugoslavia. Graham appeared strained in his preaching in Zagreb. His usual smooth flow of words was marred at times by pauses, stammerings. It is possible that the difference in his use of dialogue is not evident of adaptation. His personal feelings of uneasiness may have made it too difficult for him to strive for a feeling of comradeship and familiarity with his audience; however it is also possible that, with an audience whose predominant religion was rigidly formal, he may have felt such informality would have been out of place. It is not possible to know for certain, but it may be that, in omitting first-name dialogue, Graham was attempting to adapt to listeners accustomed to formality in church.

His care in using explanation/definition to insure a "common language" may show adaptation. In London and New York, there was some evidence of this caution, but it was not extensive. In Knoxville, there was little-to-no evidence of its use. In Yugoslavia, however, Graham was carefully meticulous on this point. When he used a theological term, he immediately explained or defined:

We are all infected by the disease of sin. Sin means that you come short of God's requirement. Now you may not believe in God, but you live a good moral life. You are a good person; you do good; is that enough? The Bible says that God is a holy God; his requirements are very high; some of us come up this far; some come a little bit farther, but all of us

come short of God's requirements and coming short of God's requirement is called sin in the Bible.

In his conclusion, he carefully spelled out his interpretation of "commitment,"

Will you make your commitment to Him? Now such a commitment means to follow Christ and to follow Christ is costly; to follow Christ means that you must deny self and take up the cross. 13

In the quantity of usage of explanation, adaptation may be seen. To audiences with backgrounds and religions similar to his own, he felt that common language was fairly well assured. To an audience in a Communist country whose dominant religion was Catholicism, Graham felt explanation imperative to his utility of "common language."

In Knoxville, Graham was in his element in the development of the strategy of talking a common language. This was his country; this was his native "lingo." In his introduction, he told a humorous illustration about a bear hunter from East Tennessee which brought a round of laughter.

Graham introduced his text of the evening by asserting: "I was born and reared on a farm. . .and [my mother] gave us a bath every Saturday night. She claims

she gave us a bath twice a week, but I can't remember except the Saturday night because the Saturday night bath was when she bathed behind our ears and I never liked that!"

Here, Graham was aligning himself with many of his audience who currently lived on a farm or had memories of childhood on a farm. The reference to the Saturday night bath is a standard joke in American rural humor. The hatred of having one's ears washed is a universal of all children whether they are being bathed on a farm or in a city. So in this brief passage, Graham talked the common language of a majority of his audience and received an expansive laugh in response.

When Graham prepared to go into the serious part of his sermon, he used vernacular common to the South. "Now many people are asking questions today. They are saying: 'Oh yeah, you mean God loves the world?" In another place, he said: "Sin is a pleasure for a few years. . .but then it all catches up with you and hits you smack in the face and knocks you down and destroys you." Graham used a national idiom when, after quoting Scripture that if one should gain the whole world and lose his own soul, he said: "It would be a terrible bargain." In bargain-conscious America, he was speaking a "common language."

Adaptation might be seen also in Graham's presentation of heaven and hell in "common language." It has been noted that the only serious "deliteralizing" of the Bible are his comments in this regard.¹⁴ He has conceded that hell is "an eternal separation from God, but not necessarily a literal, localized fire and brimstone."¹⁵ Although his literalism originally included these concepts, he no longer describes a materialistic heaven that is sixteen hundred miles in length, width, and height.¹⁶ His sermon, as preached in New York, London, and Yugoslavia bear this "deliteralizing" out. Graham defined hell as "separation from God." However, in Knoxville, Graham reverted back to a more literal interpretation which he felt would be accepted to the audience in the South. He stated that "The Bible talks about heaven and the Bible talks about hell. They are other worlds out there." Adapting to a more conservative audience, Graham inferred the literal definition of Scripture. In this setting, Graham considered

14 Paul Tillich, "The Relevance of the Ministry in Our Time and Its Theological Foundation," Making the Ministry Relevant (ed. Hans Hoffman, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 30-36.

15 Ibid.

16 Stanley High, Billy Graham (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1957), pp. 63, 64.

this to be common language.

In New York, this strategy was not overtly developed. However, adaptation might be seen in omission.

In Yugoslavia, London, and Knoxville, Graham went into graphic, detailed description and assertion of the Second Coming of Christ. This is a basic concept in Catholic, Church of England, and "Bible belt" creeds. But when Graham preached this sermon in New York to a "polyglot" audience whom he considered "totally untutored" in theology, there was no reference to the Second Coming. That this was not merely an accident may be inferred by a quoted entry from his diary in New York. Referring to this Crusade sermon, he wrote: "I preached on the Person of Christ. I emphasized his virgin birth, his glorious atonement and his victorious resurrection. The Lord honored it and brought many to the Saviour." He was obviously aware of the omission of the Second Coming concept. There may have been other reasons for his not including the description of this prophetic event in his sermon in New York, however it is possible that, in an effort at adaptation, he felt it wiser to present to a "totally untutored" "polyglot" audience only those concepts which he considered essential to their salvation.

Homilectician Charles Brown wrote this commandment to young preachers: "You are to speak 'to every man in the tongue in which he was born.'" ¹⁸ Graham tried to fulfill this commandment in at least three of the scenes of this study. Although not overtly evident in the preaching in New York, it may be seen that Graham did strive to adapt to changing situation in his use of language in the other sermons.

Authority

Another way in which Graham sought to speak a "common language" was in the source of authority from which he delivered his sermon. In the four Crusades, Graham used his Bible as a tangible symbol; however his use of authority in his sermon content indicates his desire to adapt.

In New York, speaking to a "polyglot audience," Graham used the Bible as his major source of authority. He relied, in the main, on one verse of Scripture, the text: "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life." ¹⁹ At no time in this preaching did Graham cite another Scriptural reference. He did use

¹⁸

Charles R. Brown, The Art of Preaching (New York: Harper Publishing Company, 1962), p. 120.

¹⁹John 3:16, The Holy Bible, King James Version.

Biblical language, but he only documented it from "the Bible:" "The Bible teaches that God commended his love toward us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us, not willing that any should perish." A person familiar with Biblical phraseology would know that this is a direct quotation from Romans 5:8; Graham did not believe that his New York audience, for the most part, would be familiar enough with Scripture for the citation to have meaning. In this, and every other example of his use of Biblical language, he omitted specific reference to particular verses. In analysis of his use of authority in this sermon, it was found that seventy-two per-cent was reliant upon the Bible.

Graham's major use of the God of the Bible in this sermon was descriptive:

God is a spirit. Now God doesn't have a body like you and I have. God is a spirit. He is not bound nor limited by a body. If God had a body, God could not be everywhere at the same time -- but God can be everywhere at the same time because he does not have a body. God is a spirit.

Although this illustrated his most prevalent reference to

A quantitative study was made of each sermon to assess the extent of usage of each of the three types of authority in which Graham believes. The study results indicate his diverse utility of authority. For full discussion of Graham's belief in regard to authority, see Chapter II.

the God of the Bible, he did place twenty-five per-cent of his basis of authority in a member of the Godhead: "Jesus said: 'I am the way, the truth and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me.'"

Aware that his New York audience would probably not be impressed with his concept of personal authority, as a divinely-called minister of God,²¹ Graham utilized this facet in only three per-cent of the times he referred to authority. He even down-played this aspect of authority in New York while stressing an authority which he felt would be most acceptable to this audience:

Jesus said -- Billy Graham didn't say --
Jesus said: 'Except ye repent, ye shall
likewise perish.' The holy loving Son
of God said that. 22

However there were times when his belief in his divine appointment as "God's man for this hour" was stated: "I am going to answer your questions tonight." However, in a later discussion of the questions of life, when he stated: "I am going to answer that tonight," he immediately added: "Not my own answer -- but the Biblical answer." Therefore it does seem clear that Graham's major use of authority

21

See Chapter II for discussion of this belief.

22

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in New York,
June 1, 1957.

in New York, 1957, was the Bible. This was developed through his alluding phrase, "The Bible says."

When Graham prepared to preach this sermon in London, 1966, he was cognizant that fifty-five per-cent of the British people belonged to the Church of England which is a liturgical church with emphasis on catechism and memorization.²³ From this fact, Graham could assume that many Britons would know or be familiar with significant verses of Scripture. In London, Graham chose the Bible as his source of authority in sixty-six per-cent of his uses, but he employed it in a way that contrasted to his preaching in New York. Probably because of the preponderance of the adherants to the Church of England in his audience,²⁴ Graham chose to divide the weight of the use of the Bible as authority between his alluding phrase,

23

"A good general goes into battle only after studying the whole situation. For two years prior to his arrival in London, Graham read the Almanac, London Newspapers, books, and dozens of reports sent to him by confidential correspondents." Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade, p. 10.

24

Some 1800 ministers were involved in preparing the Crusade. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists were less fully represented than the Anglicans and the Archbishop of Canterbury called upon all Anglicans to pray for the Crusade and to nurture its converts. Pollock, Crusade '66, p. 12.

"The Bible says," and the development of strings of quoted passages from the Bible, complete with citations, which might be familiar to his audience:

The Bible also teaches that God is a holy God. Leviticus 19:2: 'I, the Lord, your God am a holy God;' Psalm 111:9: 'Holy and reverent is his name;' Psalm 140:5: 'The Lord is righteous in all of his ways and holy in all of his works;' Habakkuk 1:13: 'Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil and canst not look upon iniquity.'

It is interesting to note that all of these verses were drawn from the Old Testament. Possibly by way of explanation, Graham goes on to say:

You will never understand the Bible; you will never understand the Old Testament and all the sacrifices in the Jewish religion unless you understand one thing: God is a holy and righteous God and God hates moral evil because he is absolute holiness; he is absolute purity; he is absolute righteousness.

Through the sermon, he quoted or cited twenty-six verses of Scripture other than the text. Of these, fourteen were from the Old Testament so no obvious preference for one section of the Bible was indicated.

Graham placed thirty-three per-cent of his use of authority in the God of the Bible:

Jesus said: 'For out of the heart proceedeth evil thoughts and murders and false witnesses and blasphemies.'

Now God said: 'There is a penalty.' God said: 'You have broken the law; you have to pay for it.' 25

Speaking from a slightful fuller consciousness of his position than in New York, Graham allocated four percent of his utility of authority to his "divine right to speak": "I tell you your life can be changed completely.' There was no evidence of the qualifying phrases that his assertions did not stand alone, but were dependent on another authority, as in New York. His few allusions to his own authority were undefended.

In spite of a slightly higher dependence upon other sources of authority in London than in New York, he still chose the Bible as his chief authority. His development, with strings of quoted verses, was different.

In Yugoslavia, 1967, Graham used only one cited verse of Scripture, his text, and reiterated his phrase, "the Bible says," frequently. However, this combined to only thirty per-cent of his reliance upon authority. The only evidence of his use of himself as an authority was in one sentence: "That is the question I will answer tonight." Attempting to adapt to his audience, Graham chose, as his major source of authority in Yugoslavia, the God of the Bible. He felt that these people in a Communist country

were looking for something more concrete than the authority of a man who was only going to be in the country three days; they were looking for something more concrete even than authority symbolized by a Book. This is evidenced by this assertion:

Man is caught in a trap; he cannot get out. . .What can we do? Nothing. . . There's nothing you can do; nothing I can do; nothing a minister can do; nothing even this Book can do. . .what did God do? How could God communicate? You know what He did? God became a man. And that's who Jesus Christ was.

Here, Graham asserts that there is nothing that he, as a minister, can do to help his auditors. There is nothing, even, that words in a Book can do. Help can only come through the Personality of God on earth, Jesus Christ. Graham attempted to fulfill this need by placing sixty-nine per-cent of his reliance upon authority on words attributed to the speaking Voice of God:

[Jesus] taught the people and he spoke with authority and he made some astounding claims. He said: 'I am the unique Son of the living God. I and the Father are one.' How that must have shocked his audience and yet how it must have thrilled them: here was God among them.

In presenting the concept of repentance and forgiveness, the authority is placed directly in the Godhead: "God requires that we repent." He then presents the description of Christ's death on the cross which makes forgiveness possible and again places authority in direct words of God:

None of us really knows what happened in that holy moment. But [Jesus] took your death, your judgment, your sins on the cross and because He did that, God can say to you: 'Your sins are forgiven. I will forgive you. I will come into your life.'

The Slavic invitation had pleaded: "Convince us that God exists and that He loves us." Graham responded by presenting this message, not as quotation from a Book, but through the words of an existing God who "loves" people living in the "mud of atheism:"²⁶

He [God] gives you inward joy. . .helps you to face the problems of life; helps you to face temptation. . .[God] will give you a supernatural power that will live within you and give you a strength and a power stronger than you've ever known. 27

In Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, Graham adapted to his setting with gusto. This was the "Bible Belt" of the United States and he was speaking to people, in the main, whose backgrounds were similar to his own. He felt

26

Curtis Mitchell, The All-Britain Crusade of 1967 plus Crusading in Italy and Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: World-wide Publications, 1967), p. 131.

27

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 7, 1967.

confident that many would share a common belief in the authority of the Bible and he relied upon it thirty-eight per-cent of the time. He was certain that a majority of his audience would believe in the personal concern of the God of the Bible with modern man and he placed twenty-one per-cent of his authority here. But, as in none of the other scenes of this study, he was convinced that many would believe in the divinely-given authority of the minister who represented God on earth.²⁸ He developed this in forty-one per-cent of his uses of authority in Knoxville. An example of this which brought extensive laughter from his audience is when he asserted that the root of all of the world's problems was Sin:

That is what it is called: a three letter word s-i-n. That's what is the trouble in the world. You know the President does not need to appoint a Commission to find out what is causing the crime. I can tell him. I have told him. Sin.

Perhaps his strongest assertion of his own authority was:

That is why I am here tonight. I can give you the answer to those pressing questions. I have the answer.

Another way in which he developed this strategy in Knoxville, which was not apparent in the other preachings, was his alliance of himself with the other sources of authority:²⁸ "Jesus taught it; the Bible teaches it; and I must warn you."²⁹ Thus he placed his own authority on the same level as the Bible and Jesus. He could do this with hope of effectiveness in Knoxville; he was probably aware of its ineffectiveness in the other three scenes.

Adaptation may clearly be seen in Graham's use of authority. Although he used the Bible as his major source in both New York and London, he developed it in peculiar ways; i.e. in scripturally unlettered New York, he worked through allusion; in orthodox London, he employed strings of verses. In Communist Yugoslavia, Graham used the God of the Bible as his chief authority; in conservative Knoxville, he relied heavily upon personal authority. Such contrast highlights Graham's efforts to adapt to changing scene.

28

The personal belief of Graham in the authority of the Bible, the God of the Bible, and his own "divine call" is discussed in Chapter II.

29

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in Knoxville, Tennessee, May 22, 1970.

Focus on Problems

Graham, in the creation of his sermonic content, worked with another strategy in his attempt to adapt. This was his desire to focus on the problems of his specific audience in that time and in that place. This strategy showed adaptation in three of the four scenes.

In Yugoslavia, Graham almost ignored the strategy. Either Graham did not know the problems of the Slavic people to whom he was speaking or, in an effort to adapt to a hostile political system, he did not want to spell the problems out. One cannot know whether this omission was caused by adaptation or a lack of Graham's knowledge, although the latter is not characteristic of his other Crusades. The only certainty is that this strategy, developed heavily in the other three preachings, was delegated an almost non-existent role in Yugoslavia.

In each of the other three situations, he focused on the problems of the particular exigence in his sermon content. In New York, he asserted: "Newspapers here in New York have been carrying stories of sordid crimes and murder in the last few days." This directly related to the upsurge of juvenile delinquency which had panicked New York in June, 1957. Throughout the sermon, he mentioned the problems of gang fighting, cheating, mass murder which were

major concerns in the New York scene.

In London, 1966, where the exigence centered upon youth "bored" with life, seeking ways of escape from reality, ways of fulfilling inner cravings, Graham presented his thesis that only God could be the answer. He said: "You cannot find peace and you cannot find fulfillment. And many of you try in many different kinds of directions: sex experience...dope...alcohol...all kinds of escapisms." He dealt extensively with the futility of all directions except the God-direction he offered.

In Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, Graham discussed U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. He cited his own experiences in visiting the hospitals there and observing the wounded soldiers. The horror that so many felt for the war had been highlighted by the bizarre murders of American prisoners of war earlier that year ³⁰ and Graham articulated the horror of war and shared it with his audience. Then pushing on into the immediate exigence of May, 1970, he considered war in Cambodia. Only a few days before, four young people had been killed on Kent State University campus in Ohio because of the dissent over this advancement of the war. When Graham

emotionally questioned in his sermon: "Why does God not stop the war in Cambodia?," it was adaptation in a most astute sense.

Graham's focusing on problems in his sermon content went beyond the immediate exigence. Speaking in the year when the first civil rights bill since the Reconstruction era had passed, when Governor Faubus and others were threatening disobedience, Graham, in 1957, dealt with this concern: "We are seeing a rising racial tension. . . Many people are asking: 'What's going to be the end of it? Are we going to have a bloody revolution in this country and racial war?'"

In 1966, the British people were becoming increasingly hostile to the position of the English government toward the war in Viet Nam. The official approval of U.S. involvement was distasteful to a majority of Britons who were beginning to pressure governmental leaders for a change of policy. Graham addressed himself to this problem, culminating in the anguished question: "Why does there have to be war and preparations for war? . . . Why doesn't God come and stop it all and clean up the mess that the world has gotten itself into?"

In January, 1970, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, warned that "Extremist,

all-Negro, hate-type organizations, such as the Black Panther party, continue to fan the flames of riot and revolution." ³¹ He warned that 1970 would be a year of riots and racial tension. The Black Panthers soon gave credibility to Hoover's prophecy. This group was finally charged with plotting to bomb public places, possession of illegal weapons, attempted murder, and attempted arson. In the trial, the defendants called the judge "pig," gave the clenched fist salute, shouted, and caused so much unruliness that their trial was discontinued until they agreed, in writing, to observe courtroom decorum. Graham discussed the fear incited within his auditors because of this problem of society. He addressed himself to the "suffering" of the era and culminated in a poignant question as to "Why" God did not stop all the rioting and end all the race prejudice.

Within the sermon content, Graham attempted to follow Christ's example by "entering into the arena of man's] troubles." He concerned himself with the exigental problem of each scene: juvenile delinquency in New York; the disillusionment of youth and the decline of the church in London; the war in Viet Nam and Cambodia which was the

31

Ibid., p. 915

major issue in Knoxville, Tennessee, May, 1970. Graham went beyond these problems to probe into other areas of concern and offer the solution which he felt would ameliorate each situation.

Symbolic Intensity

Inherent in Graham's use of the strategy of focusing on problems in sermon content was his use of the strategy of symbolic intensity.³² Although Graham's discussion of the causes of the exigences existing in each scene was "focusing on problems," he also was using language that was "electrified" or "charged" by the situation. When specific content is "charged" by the listeners' situation outside the sermon, it is called the strategy of symbolic intensity.³³

Thus the strategy is inherent in any attempt to focus on problems; however symbolic intensity can stand alone. Graham tried to increase the level of symbolic intensity within his sermon above and beyond his treatment of current issues. Therefore it will be considered in this study as a separate entity.

32

For definitions and discussion of the two strategies and their differences, see Chapter I.

33

Kenneth Burke, Counter-Statement (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1954), pp. 163, 164.

Symbolic intensity was used in Yugoslavia, but it was not developed in specific ways; however we see it in action in the other three sermons. In New York, in the year that the Space Age opened and fear was rampant that Russia would outstrip us in nuclear warfare, Graham made a point through an allusion to the fact that "the H-Bomb could destroy a city like New York in the space of a few seconds." In another place, in another time, the allusion would have been meaningless.

In Graham's first press conference in London, 1966, aboard the Queen Mary, he was asked: "If you have a chance, would you speak to the seamen?"³⁴ This was a political issue, for England's waterfront was strike-bound and many of the Queen Mary's crew were already leaving her. Graham responded that he would do whatever the committee in London told him to do.³⁵ When, in his sermon, Graham questioned: "Why are there strikes and poverty and hatred?" his question was using language "charged" in that particular time.

On the campus of The University of Tennessee,

³⁴
p. 12. Mitchell, The Billy Graham London Crusade,

³⁵
Ibid.

Graham was speaking to people deeply concerned about all types of violence, the little value placed by many on human life, the reality of death. When Graham stated: "Students are asking about death. Oh yes, you listen to the songs of the rock music, listen to the lyrics; nearly one-fourth of them deal with suffering and death. Young people are concerned about death," his comments were "symbolically charged." Their impact was enhanced by the current national situation within the United States.

Another way in which symbolic intensity was used by Graham was in his illustrations. The most important illustration in this sermon was his development and explanation of the lost estate of man. Desiring to graphically portray man's total inability to help himself in contrast to God's desire to save him, Graham, in all four scenes, used illustration.

In New York, London, and Yugoslavia, he told the same anecdote:

I have a little nine-year-old boy. And when he was very small, we were walking along and we stepped on a hill of ants and many ants were killed; some of them were wounded; their house was destroyed. And I stopped for a moment. I said to my little boy: 'O, I am very sorry about that. I wish we could go help those ants rebuild their house.' My little boy stood there and he said: 'Daddy, I wish we could,' but he said, 'how can we? We're too big and they're too little,' I said: 'That's right.' But I thought to myself: 'Suppose I could suddenly become an

ant and crawl around among them and tell them I wanted to help them?' But I couldn't. The mighty God of heaven, looking down on this little planet, saw us, like little ants on the planet, hurting, crying, weeping, suffering in our sin. What did God do? How could God communicate? You know what He did? God became a man. 36

Within Graham's basic sermon outline, he did not attempt to utilize the strategy of symbolic intensity in his key illustration. In New York, London, and Yugoslavia, he told a simple story which explicated his point. But in Knoxville, Graham was speaking in 1970, the year in which his auditors had vicariously experienced the terror of being "lost men in space" with the two astronauts of Apollo 13. The concern over the aborted flight and its inherent dangers had been deep. Graham was speaking, in this Crusade, near the site of Oak Ridge, the government's Nuclear Development Program staffed by many scientists. Statistics indicated that 65 buses from Oak Ridge nightly brought people to the Crusade.³⁷

Striving to adapt to the current year in the current setting, Graham deleted his traditional "ant story" for

36

Billy Graham, Sermon preached in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 7, 1967.

37

"Beginning in Tennessee," Decision (August, 1970)
p. 7.

one carrying symbolic intensity. Maintaining his same goal to illustrate man's lost condition, Graham asserted that

We are very much like that space ship Odyssey when Jim Lovell came on the microphone to Mission Control in Houston and said: 'We are in trouble. It feels like we have had an explosion.' And a thousand scientists began frantically to work in Houston and in other places around the country. And in other universities they began to work, to plan, to try to get those men back. They went into Aquarius and the whole world watched and prayed. And even the Russians offered to help to get three men back. They didn't care about the space hardware that had cost \$325 million. They wanted those three men back.

Graham, then, described God's analagous efforts to save man from his lost condition.

Just like at Mission Control, they set about to save those men on Apollo 13. If they hadn't acted when they did, they would have missed the earth 20,000 miles after they had gone around the moon. But they worked and they worked and they planned. And the Bible tells us that it was something like that in heaven when man rebelled against God and man was lost in space. Heaven went into action and God came up with a fantastic plan. . . . God decided to become a man. 38

This illustration was "symbolically charged." Its

impact was dependent upon the vicarious experiences of the audience outside the sermon. Alter the situation and the illustration would have lost its power. When applied specifically in this time and place, the strategy of "symbolic intensity" held strong impact.

Graham did not change in goal in selecting the Apollo 13 illustration. In both the ant hill and space ship stories, he was striving to picture the total inability of man to redeem himself from sin, save himself from destruction. In contrast to this helplessness of man, he wanted to depict the love of God striving to work out a plan whereby man could be saved. God's solution is bound up in the last sentence of both illustrations: God decided to become a man.

In all four versions of this sermon, Graham's goal was the same. In the year of the aborted space flight, however, Graham sensed that this illustration would have more relevance, more "electrical" power for his audience than the simple ant story. He changed his selection in an effort at adaptation through the use of the strategy of symbolic intensity.

Graham preached the same sermon outline using the same text in four diverse settings: New York, London, England, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and Knoxville, Tennessee. His

ultimate aim never varied, but the strategies of creating discourse to make that aim more possible were, in some instances, quite different. In such diversity, we find ample evidence of his adaptation.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Billy Graham, evangelist, used the same basic sermon outline, based on the Biblical text, John 3:16, in four diverse situations: New York, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970. The thesis of this study has been that when Graham took the same sermon text, the same sermon outline and prepared to preach it in diverse situations, the changes he made were motivated by a desire to adapt to his particular audience.

Ten strategies of identification were explored in the four preachings of this sermon. When the use of these strategies were placed in juxtaposition, there were obvious changes in only five. But these five strategies demonstrate the adaptation made by Graham in the situations of this study.

In only three of the scenes were strategies outside the sermon left up to Graham and his team. In Zagreb, Yugoslavia, a Communistic country, all pre-sermon activities were developed and executed by the Slavic people inviting Graham. However, in the other three scenes, adaptation was evidenced outside the sermon in several ways.

In Advertising

In New York City, where people "live from explosion to explosion,"¹ the power of the entire advertising budget was used in a hard-hitting "blast-off" campaign prior to opening night; in London, England, whose tempo is much slower, the decision was to placard the city months in advance, under a policy of letting the news sink in slowly; in Knoxville, Tennessee, where "two generations co-exist,"² a combination of the above methods was employed. The campaign began months in advance, building in intensity. The advertising strategy of knocking on "every door" in the city personally inviting people to hear Graham, called "The Visitation," was used in Knoxville and London. Adapting to the more austere, personally-distant climate of New York, the "Visitation" was not used.

In Focusing on Problems

The local exigence in New York, 1957, was an upsurge of juvenile crime, Adapting to this, Graham went

¹ Curtis Mitchell, God in the Garden (New York: Doubleday Publishing Company, 1957), p. 167.

² Garry Wills, "How Richard Nixon Used Mass Media, Billy Graham, the Good Lord to Rap with Students at Tennessee U," Esquire, (September, 1970), p.119.

into the gang-infested streets of New York and made contact with tough young hoodlums. He told them his message of salvation could give them the "greatest thrill" of life. He reserved sections in Madison Square Garden for their gangs; for disk jockeys and rock-and-roll fans; he promised music to their liking; he had converted juvenile delinquents speak as platform guests and appear with him in a press conference for mass media. In London, 1966, when the exigence consisted of youthful "boredom" with life and disillusionment with religion, Graham made a much-publicized visit to Soho, the "sin capital" of the city. There, Graham climbed atop a car parked opposite a cinema billing Orgy at Lil's Place, and said: "I am not here to condemn anybody. I am come to tell you that God loves you so much that He sent His Son to die for you." In Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970, when the exigence was collegiate unrest, Graham met with administrative, faculty and student groups for discussion of ways to avoid violence. He brought President Nixon to the Crusade for the President's first public appearance following his controversial announcement of advancing the war into Cambodia. Graham knew how different it is when men encounter each other face to face, rather than just hearing about each other.³ He hoped, by bringing Nixon to the campus, he could

better foster "understanding" between collegians and the President.

In Surrounding Himself with "Properties"

In New York, Graham met with the mayor; in London, he dined with the Queen; in Knoxville, he visited with the 86th State Legislature. Thus he surrounded himself with "properties" of "position or status" in each locale. Within the services, in an attempt to adapt to specific exigence, he selected specific types of "properties" to serve as platform guests and special speakers. In New York, Graham had platform guests who were noted for their physical prowess: in London, the most popular movie star in Britain, Cliff Richard; in Knoxville, the famous entertainer of collegians, Johnny Cash, backed by his entire troupe, who said that his appearance at the Billy Graham Crusade was the "pinnacle of his career."

In the Invitation

In the invitation at the conclusion of his sermons, Graham evidenced adaptation. In New York and Knoxville, the traditional invitation was given: piano, organ, choir singing "Just As I Am." Graham had never broken this tradition until London, 1966, when he was harshly attacked for his "engineered emotion" in those moments. Attempting

to adapt to the reserved British temperament, Graham deleted all music during the invitation. The response to his adaptation was that there were more than 12,000 more respondents in his 1966 Crusade than in his 1954 Crusade held in London although the attendance statistics are much larger for 1954 because of a much longer Crusade. In Yugoslavia, again striving to adapt to a predominantly Catholic audience, in a Communistic country, Graham had no music and asked for no change of position, other than the raising of hands. He prayed for the penitent in their seats.

Within the structure of the sermon, Graham strove for adaptation to changing situations in all four scenes. His success may be seen in the following ways:

Talking a Common Language

In London, Graham used such British terminology as "post" for mail, "steward" for usher; in Yugoslavia, he used the language of agricultural people and Catholic terminology. He did not use first-person dialogue with his audience in Yugoslavia although he developed such dialogue in the other three scenes; he was very careful to explain his terminology in Yugoslavia. In Knoxville, Graham discussed such Tennessee traditions as the "Saturday night bath" and told a Tennessee "bear-killer" story. He also made reference to the "literal" meaning of the Bible on the subjects of heaven and hell that were omitted in other places. The

main obvious utility of this strategy in New York was his omission of his discussion of the Second Coming of Christ which he presented in graphic detail in the other three settings.

In the Use of Authority

In New York and London, Graham used the Bible as his major source of authority although he developed it in different ways; i.e. in New York, he worked through allusion to the Bible; in London, he employed strings of quotes and citations from the Bible. In Yugoslavia, although Graham again relied heavily on allusion to the Bible, his chief authority was the God of the Bible. In Knoxville, he developed prolifically his own authority as a divinely-called minister of God. This was almost non-existent in the other sermons.

In Focusing on Problems

This strategy was not obviously used in Yugoslavia; however it showed adaptation clearly in the other three scenes. In New York, Graham dealt with the exigental problem of juvenile delinquency within the content of his message in addition to other relevant problems such as the racial strife in the United States in 1957. In London, Graham dealt with exigental problems of youthful "boredom" and searchings for escape from reality in addition to

other problems of his auditors such as the rising British disapproval of the English governmental approval of U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. In Knoxville, Graham discussed the exigent problem of the President's decision to advance the war into Cambodia along with other relevant concerns such as "hate groups" causing internal stress in society, 1970.

In Symbolic Intensity

Although inherently present in the development of the above strategy dealing with the exigence, this strategy also worked alone. In each of the presentations of this sermon, points were made through allusions which could only have meaning in that particular place in that particular time. An example of this strategy at work is seen in Graham's use of his major sermon illustration: man's total inability to help himself and God's desire to save him from destruction. In New York, London, and Yugoslavia, an illustration of an ant civilization was given; in Knoxville, 1970, the year of the aborted flight of Apollo 13, Graham changed the illustration to compare man's plight with that of the astronauts "lost in space" in Apollo 13. The specific time and place of this sermon gave symbolic intensity to this change in illustration.

That the evangelist, Billy Graham, does strive to develop some strategies of adaptation to changing exigence may be seen; however this study would not be complete without considering the existence of strategies on which no attempt at adaptation was apparent.

The reason for some of Graham's rigidity in these areas of his ministry stems from some decisions of policy he made early in his Crusade ministry. Dreaming even then of "a worldwide ministry,"⁴ the young evangelist was concerned about the "bad odor of mass evangelism."⁵ In November, 1948, Graham and his team, then composed of Cliff Barrows, George Beverly Shea, and Grady Wilson, tried to identify the reasons for the infamous repote of evangelism. Their list included the anti-church position assumed by many evangelists, finance, and the lack of a follow-up program.⁶ With these problems in hand, Graham began to work out a program whereby he hoped to overcome "the bad odor of mass evangelism." And the plan which evolved is one that Graham rarely varies in any situation.

⁴
Billy Graham, "God Is My Witness," McCall's (April, 1964), p. 206.

⁵
John Pollock, Billy Graham: The Authorized Biography (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), p. 49.

⁶
Ibid.

For example, Graham's plan to overcome the "bad odor" of the "anti-church position" of many evangelists was to personally solicit the support of ministers and involve their congregations within the structure of the Crusade. When Graham accepts an invitation to a city, one of his first steps is to invite all of the ministers of the area for a meeting. The speech which he presents is stable: paying little attention to situation, paying no attention to theological problems, Graham asks the ministers to unite in war on a common foe, Satan. Hoping to weld the ministers, with widely diverse theologies, into a cohesive unity which will back him in the Crusade with their influence and congregations, Graham focuses on a common foe.

The only possible adaptation may be seen when, in Knoxville where he had enthusiastic backing of most of the ministers before his speech, he condensed his plea for attack on a common foe and added discussion of ways to communicate the Gospel in the twentieth century. Except for this one addition, however, he used the same approach in the three settings where he arrived prior to the Crusade.

After Graham's meeting with the ministers, his team moves into the city to begin planning strategies of adaptation and to begin initiating strategies which remain inviolate in all scenes. For example, the structure of the Crusade is virtually static. From the congregations of

the participating ministers, the team assimilates volunteers into choirs, corps of ushers, office personnel, prayer groups, etc. The arrangement of the site of the Crusade is the same; the responsibilities of team members for specific aspects of public relations remain the same. In short, the technical structure of the organization is set up in each scene with little obvious adaptation.

Graham has been harshly criticized on all fronts for his meticulously planned Crusades which move "like a steam-roller" into a city. The editor of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Observer defended the approach:

If Billy Graham needs any defense against those who object to his evangelistic work because they do not approve of his 'organized methods,' he can surely turn to St. Paul. . . . When Paul decided to evangelize that den of iniquity, Ephesus, he did not go at once. Instead, he sent two advance agents, Aquila and Priscilla, who had two years of experience in Corinth and before that in Rome. Their job was to organize the campaign and soften up Ephesus for the main event when Paul arrived.

They were helped by a brilliant young man from Alexandria named Apollos -- the kind of orator who could make an audience eat out of his hand -- who did much of the softening-up work after Aquila and Priscilla corrected his doctrinal errors.

Then came Paul, not alone, but accompanied by professionals, Timothy, Luke, and others, all of whom had been through the mill, fought with mobs, and spent some days and nights in prison.

From the names mentioned in the Epistles and in Acts in connection with the Ephesus campaign, it can be estimated that Paul had a team of about twenty persons, all experts, who knew their way around the business of evangelism.

If Billy Graham has too much organization, he has excellent precedents. ⁷

Graham was delighted with this statement and has used it repeatedly as defense. ⁸ "Like a general," he has planned a strategy of organization which has proven workable. Unlike a general, he makes few alterations in the structure in changing situations.

Another point causing "bad odor" to mass evangelism on which Graham made an unwavering decision was finance. He vowed to find a way to support Crusades and his team and their families other than the traditional "free-will offering." Under the corporation of The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, ⁹ he found a way.

Today there are two financial aspects to every Billy Graham Crusade. One has to do with the Crusade's local expenses; the other with the finances of Billy Graham and his team. Each Crusade is locally

⁷
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 96.

⁸
Ibid.

⁹
Graham, "God Is My Witness," p. 18.

incorporated under the laws of the particular state or country, with the board of directors made up of interested local business men, professional men, and clergymen. The actual money for the Crusade is almost wholly raised by the regular collections made at each Crusade meeting. These collections are now solicited from the platform by a local businessman or minister. The board of the local corporation prepares a budget for the Crusade; supervises the expenditures; and at the end makes a public accounting published in the local newspaper giving a detailed and audited financial statement. 10

It is through The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association Incorporated that the second aspect of the Graham operation is regularized: namely the financing of Graham and his team. All of the funds of the Association come from voluntary contributions of supporters of the Graham ministry.

Since its organization, the Billy Graham^o Evangelistic Association has received one contribution of \$50,000 from a foundation and one check for \$5,000 from an individual. These are the largest gifts ever received. Most contributions are so modest that the average runs to a little more than \$5.00 each. . .Graham's salary . . .is paid by the Association. So are the salaries of the other team members of the Billy Graham team, as well as all of the 125 Association employees in Minneapolis. 11

10

Stanley High, Billy Graham (New York: McGraw Hill Publishing Company, 1957), pp. 153, 154.

11

Ibid., p. 165.

Through the corporation, it is possible that Graham can hold mass revivals without ever receiving monies from the local people for his efforts. Neither he nor his team members receive any payment for their work in a Crusade. This policy never varies.

The other point of policy where Graham made a definite unwavering decision in his attempt to eliminate the "bad odor of mass evangelism," was in the area of following up the respondents of the Crusade. This was a difficult problem and he spent years perfecting it. But when it was complete, he utilizes it in every Crusade with little variation.

After an inquirer comes to the front, a trained counselor talks and prays with him. At the conclusion of the session, the counselor fills out a card indicating the church of the inquirer's choice. This card would become the trigger to a chain reaction of automatic but thoughtfully-planned steps of follow-up.

1. A copy of the card would go to the pastor of the church named, with a letter suggesting that the individual be visited within 48 hours.
2. A letter would be sent a few days later to the pastor to ask if the individual had been visited. This would be accompanied by a self-addressed and stamped postal, on which the pastor could report the results of his call.
3. A letter signed by Billy Graham would be sent to the one who had made his decision congratulating him on that decision and strengthening him in his resolution to follow Christ.

4. By phone, mail, or personal visit, the counselor who had assisted the inquirer to his decision would make a follow-up contact to see if a satisfactory church relationship had been established. ¹²

This plan would work only as well as the ministers of the community made it work. In 1957, Graham added a new phase. It was called "visitation evangelism" which has become a stable part of policy. With this plan, the city of the Crusade is divided into subdivisions, each with its own director. Using the familiar method of mail and personal appeal, churches would be asked to cooperate in a program of house-to-house visitation. Fourteen workers are chosen for each one hundred names of the "Responsibility List." Training sessions are held for the workers. Then the week following the Crusade, the workers meet, divide into pairs, receive their assignments, and go out to visit all of those who had made decisions during the Crusade. ¹³

Although Graham was convinced that these decisions in policy would, in large measure, remove the "bad odor of

¹²
Mitchell, God in the Garden, p. 182.

¹³
Ibid.

mass evangelism," he was still concerned about a best approach to creating an opportunity for the presentation of his message to the unchurched. He was convinced that he knew the answer to the ills of the world, but he knew that his personal conviction did little to heal the frustrations of those "in sin." Although his Crusades were well-attended, he knew that a majority of the people who needed his message were not only absent, but were unaware of the solution he could offer them. In a deliberate attempt to rectify this weakness, Graham made a decision which almost totally controls his schedule in pre-crusade days and, in some degree, affects his schedule during the Crusade: Graham determined to make personal contact with people.¹⁴

Immediately upon arrival in a city, which is usually about ten days prior to the opening of the Crusade, Graham makes himself available to mass media whenever they call. In each of the three scenes of this study where he arrived before the Crusade, he spent as many as sixteen hours a day working with people of the mass media. Even when, in London, 1966, his first television appearance turned out to be a "frame-up" where he was met by three men who attacked his personal ethics and called his Crusade an

14

A. N. Clark, Billy Graham in New York (New York: Revivalist Press, 1957), p. 14.

"evangelical roadshow," Graham remained available for every opportunity of mass media contact with the people of the city. This was standard policy; the only variance may be seen in the names of the television, radio shows and the banners of newspapers.

In the three scenes of this study where Graham was free to make personal contact, he went beyond the mass media to attempt to establish "common experiences" with which his potential hearers could identify.¹⁵ Both prior to and during the Crusade, Graham tried to participate with his potential hearers in "common experiences." The only variance, however, may be seen in the activities: In New York, he met with a group of show people for a luncheon; in London, he was a guest in a charity benefit for Barnardo Homes for children; in Knoxville, he met with a group of people who attended his Crusades around the world and always served him a breakfast of Tennessee ham, grits, and red-eye gravy. These are examples of the numerous invitations given to him in each locale. That he accepted indicates his desire to participate with potential auditors; it does not necessarily show adaptation.

15

Samuel Southard, Pastoral Evangelism (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1962), p. 151.

Another way in which Graham tried, in each scene, to make personal contact was to indicate personal interest in segments of society. Outside the Crusade, he made trips to meet with particular groups. For example, in all the scenes, he spoke for civic, youth, church groups, etc. In New York and London, he met with racial groups in their particular setting within the cities; in Knoxville, he spoke for the scientists at Oak Ridge. Although this may have been an effective strategy of identification, it did not prove adaptation to changing situation.

Once behind the pulpit, Billy Graham took the same text, John 3:16, with the same outline, and the same problem-solving structure. In the beginning of the sermon, Graham prolifically developed the strategy of focusing on problems. Often this was done in a montage of anguished questions which he knew were in the minds of many of his listeners. Although adaptation was shown clearly in his focus on specific problems of specific auditors, his explanation of the origin of the problems, no matter how diverse in nature, remained the same.

Now God gave man a choice. God said:
'If you love me and obey me and serve
me and obey moral law, we will build a
wonderful world together. You will be
happy. You will have paradise. But
of the tree of the knowledge of good
and evil, thou shalt not eat of it

because in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' God gave man a moral choice. And God stood back to see what man, this creature created in His Image, with the power of choice, would do. And for awhile, God and man were friends. They built their world. It was a wonderful world. You see, there were no jails. There were no police forces. There were no armies. There were no battles. There was nobody hating each other. There was no disease, no poverty, and nobody ever died. What a wonderful world it was to be. But man, one day, decided he didn't need God. He decided he could get along without God. So man deliberately broke God's moral law and rebelled against God. . .and that rebellion is called in the Bible: sin. . . and that is the reason [for all our problems]. 16

His solution to the problems of his auditors remained the same. In each presentation of this sermon, he asserted that there is one and only one solution to all of man's problems: Repent; believe on the Lord Jesus Christ; life will be transformed.

While in New York, Graham was accosted by a cab driver who told him that his solution was not relevant or adequate. "You'll never change New York," he said, "until you cure people of their love of money." Graham responded: "Of course I can't change New York, and I don't propose to, but I will be preaching truths about God that are

powerful enough to bring our desires into balance and make us the men we ought to be." ¹⁷ With this in mind, Graham offered the same solution, without equivocation, in each sermon. Although he was cognizant that problems changed with locale and time, he was convinced that the solution remained the same.

Within the sermon, the continuity, the Scriptural base, the language, to an amazing degree, remained constant. When one compares the sermon preached in 1957 to the sermon preached in 1970, the similarities are striking. For example, the prayer he prayed contains the same essence, and much of the same language:

In 1957, Graham prayed:

Our Father and our God, we pray in Christ's Name that all of those whom Thou hast chosen in Christ will surrender their wills to the Saviour tonight and we pray that the Holy Spirit will convict of sin and of righteousness and of judgment and point to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. We ask it in His Name. Amen.

In 1970, Graham prayed:

Our Father and our God, we pray that the Holy Spirit will draw those to Thyself whom Thou hast chosen in Christ. We pray that Thou wilt convict of sin and righteousness and draw men to the Saviour. For we ask it in Christ's Name. Amen.

Graham's message has not changed. His goal for the sermon in 1957 was the same in 1970. He considered

his proposed solution as much the answer for people in Knoxville as it had been in New York; therefore there were no significant changes in structure or language necessary for its presentation. Only in attempting to prove the relevance of his solution to immediate problems did he find adaptation necessary. And, in those instances, he strove to achieve it.

Billy Graham of Montreat, North Carolina, has been described as "a man who walks with God"¹⁸ by his admirers and as "a man on the run from an ever-threatening sense of depression"¹⁹ by his critics. Whatever the personal response to Graham, the facts indicate that he has commanded attention with a wider scope than any religious speaker in history. There are some who would assert that this command has come as a result of his "calculated manipulation of emotion and mass response."²⁰ Others have attributed his effectiveness to his skill as a speaker: "Billy Graham is that rare minister who can communicate to each audience on

¹⁸ Glenn Daniels, Billy Graham: The Man Who Walks With God (New York: Paperback Library, 1961).

¹⁹ John Pollock, Crusade '66 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Press, 1966), p. 18.

²⁰ Ibid.

its own level of need." ²¹ The purpose of this study has been to try to ascertain if, and in what dimension, this latter assessment is true.

Marie Hochmuth has written that

the speech-maker must compose his speech from the available potentials in his audience. He aims to link his propositions to their value systems, and the value systems differ with age, sex, educational development, economic class, social strata, political heritage, specialized interest, and so on. The speaker is a selector. He must exclude certain arguments and include others. He must decide how to order details and the thought patterns into which material is to be cast. All this is determined by the audience for which the speech is designed. ²²

The conclusions of this study strongly indicate that Billy Graham, evangelist, is a "selector;" he does attempt to "link his propositions" to the diverse value systems of changing audiences; that he does strive to adapt. If this be true, it could lead to the conclusion that "Billy Graham is that rare minister who [at least strives to] communicate to each audience on its own level of need."

21

Clark, Billy Graham in New York, p. 1

22

Marie Hochmuth (ed.), A History and Criticism of American Public Address, III (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1955), p. 10.

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The services of the following services were recorded live by The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota: May 22, 1970, Knoxville, Tennessee, July 8, 1967, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 2, 1966, London, England, June 1, 1957, New York, October 27, 1967, Tokyo, Japan, October 21, 1962, Buenos Aires, Argentina, March 9, 1969, Dunedin, New Zealand, June 6, 1962, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX A

"GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD"

Preached June 1, 1957

New York

I am going to ask that we all bow our heads in prayer. Every head bowed and every eye closed. And I am going to ask during the service this evening and the message that you open the ears of your heart as well as your physical ears. The Bible tells us that we not only have ears in our heads, but we have ears in our souls. And some of us haven't stopped long enough to listen to the Voice of God with the ears of our souls and our hearts and our spirits. It's been a long time since you've stopped and meditated about God.

There are many of you here in the Garden tonight that have problems that need solving. You have burdens that need lifting. You have sins that need forgiving. And you never dreamed when you came here a few minutes ago that your life could never be the same after being here. But your life can be altered and changed radically in the next few moments. Those of you who are tuned in never dreamed that tonight could be the glorious night that your life could be transformed or changed. And that you would take a totally new direction after tonight. Well, you can be changed. Your life can be transformed. You can be born into the kingdom of God tonight. And so while I am speaking, I want you to forget me. I want you to meditate and think on the message for while I am speaking, there will also be Another Voice speaking and that is the Voice of the Spirit of God. Let Him speak. Now shall we pray?

Our Father and our God, we pray in Christ's Name that all those whom thou hast chosen in Christ will surrender their wills to the Saviour tonight and we pray that the Holy Spirit will convict of sin and of righteousness and of judgment and point to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. We ask it in His Name. Amen.

Tonight I want you to turn with me to the most familiar passage in all of the Bible. It is only twenty-five words and someone has called it "the Gospel in a nutshell" and that is what it is. Night after night, I have asked you to bring your Bibles. Every night. I am not here giving a lecture on psychology or philosophy or politics. I am here giving you the message of God from this inspired Book.

This Book that we believe is God's Word for men today and so I am asking that you turn to this Book. Almost everybody has a Bible. You have a Bible in your home. We have Bibles in our hotel rooms. Almost everybody in America owns a Bible or has one available. But very few people are reading the Bible. There are few people who know what the Bible says. There are few people who know the real teaching of the Bible. And we have so many false conceptions and false ideas about it. So tonight I want you to turn to this ancient

Book, the Word of the living God, to our hearts tonight. John the third chapter - the Gospel according to John - John the third chapter and the sixteenth verse. And here we have it.

"For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life." I shall read it again. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

During the past few years, we have seen a mounting tension throughout the world. Newspapers here in New York have been carrying stories of sordid crimes and murder in the last few days. Many people are asking: "Why these murders? Why is crime on the increase? Why are our divorce courts filled? Why all these tensions and problems in the world today? Is there no answer? Is there no solution?" We are seeing today a rising racial tension throughout the world. Many people are asking: "What's going to be the end of it? Are we going to have a bloody revolution in this country and racial war throughout the world? What's the end of it? What's the cause of it? We've seen a riot on Formosa in the last few days. We're seeing today a policy in Algeria such as the world has rarely seen. We've seen brute policy in Hungary and we all live under the shadow of the H Bomb that could destroy a city like New York in the space of a few seconds. And we are asking ourselves: "What is the cause of it all? Do mortal men always have to fight and cheat and lie? Do they always have to have intolerance and hatred for each other? Do men always have to fight it out in every generation? Does there have to be gang fights, cheating, mass murder? What's the cause of it?"

Other people are asking, who are lying on hospital beds, tonight: "What's the cause of suffering? What's the cause of sickness? Why do all of these things come?" You have your own personal problems. There is not a person in this room tonight who doesn't have personal problems, personal dilemmas, personal bewilderments and problems that baffle you. And then when we think of life, we wonder where we came from, why we are here, and where we are going. We wonder what the whole answer is to this mystery of life. It seems that when we are in the very peak of life, we die and are carried to the grave and our life is over and we are forgotten and it is all over. What's the use of it all? Many people are asking.

Many are asking: "Why did God create man anyway? Man that has made such a hell in certain areas of his life and seemingly getting ready to destroy himself unless some miracle happens to stop this mad arms race that we are in. What is the end of it all? Why all this suffering? Why do two millions of people go to bed hungry? Millions of people

go to bed hungry every night in India and other parts of the world. Why all this suffering in the world? I'm going to answer your questions tonight. And I want to go back to the very beginning.

"For God" - "For God" - all right - if there is a God and we say that He is a God of love and this God that we all worship and believe in - if this God is the God of mercy and love and long suffering, why doesn't He stop all of this suffering? Why doesn't He end it all? Why doesn't He just kill the devil - if there's a devil! - and just stop it all? All right. I am going to answer that tonight. Not my own answer - but the Biblical answer. What does the Bible say about it?

First of all, the Bible tells us about God. The Bible tells us that God is the God of creation. He made the mountains; He dug the valleys; He made the stars and the moons and the sun. He is the great God of creation. He created you. The Bible also tells us that God is a spirit. Now God doesn't have a body like you and I have. God is a spirit. He is not bound nor limited by a body. If God had a body, God could not be everywhere at the same time - but God can be everywhere at the same time because he does not have a body. God is a spirit.

And then the Bible tells us that God is an unchanging God. We have an idea that God is changed. We have an idea in this modern generation that God has changed to accommodate himself to us. But that is not true. The Bible teaches that there is not a shadow of turning with God. The Bible tells us that God has not changed in the slightest and the same God that hated cheating and lying and stealing four thousand years ago when He gave the law to Moses has not changed. He is an unchanging everlasting God. The Bible tells us that He is from everlasting to everlasting. He never had a beginning. He never has an end and that he absolutely is changeless. We think that Americans are pets to God but I want to disillusion you. The Bible says that God is no respecter of persons. He is an impartial God. You may be a rich man. You may be an important man in your community. But in God's sight, you are like every other man. You may have white skin or dark skin. It makes no difference. The Bible says that God looks upon the heart and all of us are the same in the sight of God. The Bible teaches also that God is a righteous God. He is a holy God; He is a pure God. He is absolute righteousness and absolute holiness. His purity is such that no sin can stand in His Presence. The Bible says that His eyes are too pure to look upon sin. That is the reason that any sinner can - no sinner can stand in the Presence of Almighty God. He is so pure - He is so righteous - He is so holy no sinner can stand in His Presence. That is the reason that all sin is banished from His Presence - all impurity is banished from His Presence.

And then the Bible teaches that He is a God of judgment and just as surely as I am standing here on this platform this evening, as surely as you sit in your seat tonight, God is someday going to judge the world and every man outside of Jesus Christ is going to stand before him and one day, the Bible says, that everyone of us shall stand in the Presence of God to give an account of what we have done with Christ - to give an account of how we have put our days and our hours and our minutes in the probation period that He gave us. God shall judge the world and there are going to be many people in that day that will come to him and say: "But Lord, we cast out demons in your name. Lord, we did many wonderful works in your name." But He is going to say: "Depart from me, you cursed. I never knew you. You never received my son, Christ. You never repented. You never had an encounter with me. You were too busy while you were down there to have anytime for me. You never spent time in prayer. You never spent any time reading My Word and My Message to you. You never had any time for the church. You had no time for Me and I have no time for you now. Depart from me, you cursed. I never knew you."

Ladies and gentlemen, God is a holy and righteous God and shall judge you and the Bible says the wages of sin is death. The Bible says that the soul that sinneth, it shall die and that death spoken of there is banishment from the Presence of God. But God is something else. And I am glad that this last point can be made tonight.

The Bible teaches that God is a God of love and mercy - not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. The Bible teaches that God commended His love toward us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us, not willing that any should perish. And that's the very reason why God created the human race in the first place. God created the human race in the beginning because He is a God of love. He loves and love has to have an object and so God created another intelligent being in the world and that other intelligence was man. Now God didn't create us as a piece of machinery and we would jump and obey. He didn't do that at all. God created us---God created us with a will of our own. Now God gave to you a gift that He didn't give to any of His other creations. God gave it to you. It's the gift of free will. You can choose to serve God if you want to. You can choose to live your own life if you want to. Now the Bible teaches that.

So when He created Adam and Eve, He gave them wills of their own and God wanted us to serve Him and love Him because we chose to do it, because we wanted to - not because He pushed a button and made us do it. He created us so that we could return with love.

He loves you. He wants you to choose to love Him. So God created us in order to return His love. And He gave

us a paradise to live in. And God and man walked together in the Garden of Eden. They were friends. They talked together. I imagine they talked about atomic energy. I imagine they talked about all the wonderful things that could be built. I imagine they talked of all the wonderful things that they were going to build together. God and man. But in order for man to choose, he had to have something to choose. And so God gave him a test. And God put a tree in the Garden and God said: "Adam, you can have all the fruit in this Garden - all the vegetables in this Garden - but this one tree - if you eat of this tree - you will be saying to me, 'I don't need You, God. I disobey You, God. I'm going to build my own life and my own world without You.'"

And so God stepped back, as it were, to see what man, this intelligent creature, this creature with a will of his own, that could have intimate fellowship and friendship with God, what he would do - because God wanted him to return his love and wanted his obedience because he chose to do it. So man stood at that moment of temptation and the whole world and the Bible knows what happened. Man failed. Man decided to go his own way. Man decided to live his own life and man decided to try to build his world without God and so he deliberately broke the moral law of God. He broke the commandment of God and the Bible says that breaking the moral law of God is sin. That's one of the root meanings of the word "sin." Sin is a transgression of the law. And the Bible says that every son and daughter of Adam since then has broken the law of God. Now it's true that you are a moral lawbreaker by inheritance. You are a sinner by inheritance. You have come short of the glory of God. But God doesn't hold you accountable only because of Adam's sin. Don't blame it on Adam because when everyone of us reaches the age of accountability - when you reach the age where you know the difference between right and wrong - all of us, at some time, has deliberately sinned against God. We have deliberately broken the moral law. Now God said to Adam in the Garden of Eden: "In the day that thou eatest, thou shalt die. In the day that you break My law, you shall die."

What kind of death? Physical death, to be sure. But spiritual death and eternal death. Now there are three deaths spoken of in the Bible. Physical death. When a man dies, his body goes to the grave, but the Bible teaches that you have a soul - you have a spirit - and the Bible says that that soul, the spirit of yours, shall live on forever and ever. And spiritual death means that you are separated from God in this life by sin, but when we die, there will be eternal death when we are banished from the Presence of God. Three kinds of death spoken of in the Bible.

Now Adam sinned. Adam and Eve sinned. That immediately raised a barrier between God and man - a wall - a chasm - a barrier between God and man. Man said: "I don't need

You, God. I can build my own life the way I want to. I don't have to have You." And so the world was split between God and man. And millions of men and women over the face of the earth today - and all generations - have broken God's law, have broken the Ten Commandments: .

We have failed to keep the Sermon on the Mount. We have come short of the glory of God. Now to be sure, a man may be a good clean respectable moral man. He may look good on the outside. I can take a diamond and I can look at it with my untrained eye and it looks perfect. I take it to a jeweler and he says: "No, it is not perfect. It has imperfections in it." He puts on his glass and, in a little while, he lets me take a look. It still looks perfect to me. I've tried it. But to the trained eye of a jeweler, it comes short of being a perfect diamond. That's exactly what sin is. You may be a perfect gentleman or a perfect lady. You may be clean and moral and perfectly respectable but - we are morally imperfect. Everyone of us has a moral disease - that moral disease is called sin. And sin has built a wall between men and God, a barrier, a chasm between man and God. What can we do to have God? Because all of our problems and all of our troubles in the world come from the fact that we are separated from God. You see, we have a soul. And that soul of yours - that soul of yours - was made for God. And, as Saint Augustine said long ago: "It's restless until it finds its rest in God." And that's the reason that you can find a person who has reached the top of success and he's miserable and hungry down inside.

I have talked to men who had a million dollars and they have confessed to me, outside of Christ, that there is an emptiness and a misery down deep inside. And money hasn't made them happy and hasn't brought them joy. Now the Bible distinguishes between fun and joy. You can have fun. You can have pleasure and live any kind of a life you want - but you can't have joy, that inward joy and peace and happiness that Christ brings. "In Thy Presence is fullness of joy." "Thy right hand are pleasures forevermore." Why? Because we are separated from God. And the soul, that person that lives in you - now what I see there is only your body. But down deep inside of you - the real you - the personality - your memory - your intelligence is the soul, your spirit which lives forever and ever. How can you satisfy your body temporarily? Your body has hunger and thirst and all the rest and you can satisfy it temporarily, but your soul, made in the image of God, also craves satisfaction. It also craves joy and peace and happiness. And many times, your soul cries out for peace and you can't understand it. And so you go out and get drunk. And you think you will forget reality or you may take a lot of tranquilizing pills with a lot of aspirins thrown in between. Or you may try continual

amusement - some people have to be amused - and they have to have some sort of amusement all the time to try in order to keep their spirits up - to try to escape reality. We are all trying to escape today. I want to tell you tonight that there is a way back to God.

All of our troubles in the world come from the fact that men are sinners. I can take you down to Ecuador - the Auca Indians. I can study their society and I see hating and lying and cheating and killing. I can come to New York where we are thousands of years advanced culturally and socially over the Auca Indians and I will find lying and hating and cheating and killing. I find misery in the human heart just as I found there so that having money in our pockets and a lot of economic prosperity and having educational advantages are not all the answers to life. There is something else. What is that something else? It is the satisfaction in the soul that only God can give. What can you do? I'm going to startle you by what I am going to say. There is nothing that you can do about it. There is no way back to God of your own choosing and your own making. But God has done it for you. God looked over the battlements of heaven and he saw the human race in their sin and in their misery and all their troubles and their suffering. And the Bible says: "God so loved the world." "God so loved." He loves you. He loves me. He loves you. He loves you. He loves you. He loves you. He loves the whole world tonight regardless of your circumstances, regardless of how far away you have gotten from God. He loves you with an everlasting love and because God loves you, He decided to do something about it. What could He do? He was the great infinite God, pure holiness. You are finite man, sinful, unworthy. What can be done?

God decided to pay the death and the judgment and the hell that we deserved for the deliberate breaking of his law. God is a just God. Sin had to be paid for. If you break a law of the city of New York, you have to pay for it. If you are caught. And God catches all, as it were. We had sinned. We have broken His law. We have to pay for it and the penalty is spiritual death: separation from God. And we are all sinners. Every person here tonight is separated from God. What can be done?

I was walking along the road one day and I stepped on an ant hill and I killed a lot of ants and wounded a lot of others and messed up their little house. And I didn't mean to. I remember stooping down and I said: "Wouldn't it be wonderful if I could become an ant for a minute and I could crawl around down there and tell those people that I didn't mean to do that - that I didn't mean to kill and wound them and tear their little house up. But I could not do it. I was too big and they were too little and I don't understand ant language.

That's exactly what God did. The great everlasting infinite God looked down from heaven. He was so big and we were so little. How could the great God communicate with us? So God decided to become a man. And, that, ladies and gentlemen, is who Jesus Christ was. He was God. And He came for the express purpose because He loved and to seek and to save that which was lost. You're lost. Separated from God. Away from God. He came to bring you back. He came to bring you back to God. He came seeking you and tonight Jesus is seeking you and when I see Jesus Christ making the blind to see, I see God. And when I see Jesus Christ making the deaf to hear, I see God. And when I see Christ making the lame to walk, I see God. And when I see Christ feeding the poor, I see God. The compassion and the love and the mercy of God to everyone of us. But I see something else. I see Jesus Christ hanging on the cross and I see the spikes in his hands and a crown of thorn on his brow and a spear through his side and a spike through his feet and I hear Him in the agony on that cross saying: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And in that terrible and holy moment; in some mysterious way that no theologian has ever fathomed, I see God taking my sins and laying them on Christ - made to be sin for us, who knew no sin commending His love for us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. I see Christ shedding His blood in my place, taking my place on the cross, taking my judgment and my hell and my suffering on that cross and dying in my place. You see the penalty for breaking God's law is death.

Spiritual and eternal death, but in a mysterious and glorious way, Jesus took it on the cross. Christ died for our sins. That is the reason He came and that is the reason on every Catholic and every Protestant church, you will see a cross. The cross is the symbol of Christianity. Why? Because on that cross, Christ died for our sins. Not an accidental death. Our sins nailed Him there. Yours and mine. But I am glad to tell you that He did not stay on the cross. On the third day, He rose again and tonight He is a living Christ living at the right hand of God the Father. I don't offer you a dead Christ tonight. I don't offer you a Christ whose bones lie in a Syrian grave. I offer you a resurrected living victorious Christ tonight Who can change your life and transform you and make you a new person if you will come to Him. But while Christ was on that cross, one hand could take the hand of God and the other hand could take the hand of man. And He reconciled - God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. He was breaking the wall down - breaking the barrier down - breaking the chasm down - bridging it so that now we can come back to God. God has found a ground upon which He can forgive sinful men and

that is the cross. And that is the reason that God will never meet you anywhere but the cross. That's the reason that men who want to get to heaven - they have to come to the cross. If there had been any other way to save you, Christ would never have died. If there had been any other way to save a man from sin and from hell, Jesus Christ would have never died on the cross. When he was in the Garden of Gethsemanae, He said: "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." If it is possible to save men any other way except by me dying on the cross, please find it - but there was no other way. Only one road to heaven and that is by way of the cross. I want to ask you this: have you come by way of the cross? Have you had this encounter with God at the cross? Have you come to the cross? If you haven't, your sins are not forgiven and if you died, you would not go to heaven according to the teachings of this Book. Jesus said: "I am the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the father but by me." That is what God did. God gave His Son, Jesus Christ - "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him"- there we come to it! - "God so loved the world that He gave -- He gave -- He gave His" Son. He gave His Son to die for you. But you must do something. There is something that you yourself must do.

I have studied this book for twenty years. And according to the teaching of this book - not my own ideas - this Book - there are three things that you have to do before you can be forgiven of your sins - before you can get to heaven.

The first, Jesus said, "Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." Repentance. What is that? I've heard a lot about repentance, you say, what is it? All right. Repentance is this: I recognize that I have broken the law of God. I recognize that I have sinned. I am ready to acknowledge it. I am ready to confess it, but that is not all of repentance. It means that I must also renounce my sin. I must be willing to give up my sins. You cannot come to Christ with your pride. You have to humble yourself. You can't come to Christ and expect to keep your sins. You must renounce your sins - you may not have any ability of your own to turn from your sins. You don't have to have any. I don't have any either. Christ gives you the ability. And even in repentance, it is God giving you the ability to turn. In other words, here is what repentance is: I am going down the road and I turn around with the help of God and I start in a new direction. That is repentance. A new attitude. A new mind toward myself, toward God and toward my fellow man. That's repentance. Has that happened to you? Are you sure that you have repented? I tell you if I wasn't sure that I had repented of my sins, you couldn't drag me out of Madison Square Garden tonight till I was settled. If I wasn't

sure I had repented of my sins, you couldn't get me - you couldn't get me out of this Garden because Jesus said - Billy Graham didn't say - Jesus said: "Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." The holy loving Son of God said that.

Have you repented?

Secondly, you must receive Christ. Have you done that? "Oh," you say, "Billy, I believe. I believe in Christ and I believe in God and I believe in the Bible. Isn't that enough?" No. Wait a minute. "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believed on his name." Whosoever received him. Have you received Christ? Has there come a time in your life that you actually received him? Oh yes, you believe. Suppose I was going to give you this book now. I hand you the book. And I say: "I want you to have it." You say: "Yes sir. I believe that Billy Graham is going to give me that book." You go out and you say: "Billy Graham gave me a book." Where is the book? "Oh, it is lying up there on the pulpit." Didn't you receive it? "No, but I believe it." There are many of you who believe - but have you received? I'm asking you to receive tonight.

I'm asking you by a step of faith to receive Jesus Christ as your Lord and Master and Saviour and then the third step: you must be willing to obey Him. You see, the Gospel of Christ is vertical, but it is also horizontal. Jesus said: "You must love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, mind, and strength." But he didn't stop there. That is the vertical relationship. That is the receiving Christ. That is the returning of our love to God. But then he said: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We must be willing to leave here tonight to live for Christ -- to be living testimonies and living witnesses that Christ lives in our hearts. The courtesy, the sweetness, the graciousness, the love, the kindness that we have for people must be manifested in the way that we live so that when we go back to the shop on Monday morning or back to the office, everybody will say: "What's come over Jim?" When I go back home, they will say: "What's come over me? What's changed me?" Then I'll have an opportunity to tell them that Christ saved me. But it means more than that. It means reading your Bible every day. It means loving His Word because no one can grow except you read the Bible every day. The Bible says: "Study the Word that you may grow thereby." Secondly, spending part of every day in prayer. Talking to God every day in prayer. In fellowship and communion with Him. Thirdly, living the life by witnessing and taking a stand for Christ. If we confess with our mouths the Lord Jesus - that is standing up for Christ - no such thing as secret believing. We must acknowledge Him. And, lastly, getting into the church and getting to work for Him. Into any church where Christ is preached. And working into the fellowship of the church: helping, growing, strengthening the

church. That's what it means. Obedient. Obedient to Him. And Jesus said: "If you are not willing to denounce self and take up the cross and follow, you cannot be a disciple.

Lenin once said that a communist is a dead man on furlough. Jesus requires no less. He requires all. We must surrender our total personality: our intelligence, our emotions, our will, our bodies, everything we have must go when we come to Jesus Christ and He must become our Lord. He must become first.

Have you received Him? Are you sure that you have repented? That you have received? That is a definite act of the will. That is a definite act of faith. Has it happened to you? You say: "Well, Billy, how long does it take?" (He clicks his fingers.) That's it! I remember the night I received Christ twenty-three years ago. The man that led me to Christ is sitting on this platform tonight. Twenty-three years ago in Charlotte, North Carolina, I said: "yes" to Christ. I didn't have any special emotion. In fact, on the way home, I thought to myself: "I doubt if it will last." But the next morning when I woke up, I knew something was different. I couldn't articulate it. I couldn't tell you all about it. I couldn't give it in theological terminology. But I knew that it had happened. And it can happen to you tonight. Just as simply and wonderfully and quietly and reverently, you can receive Christ. And if you will, I am going to ask you to do something that you have seen thousands of people do in the last three weeks. I am going to ask you to get up out of your seat and come and stand here as an indication that you are receiving Christ into your heart tonight. If you are with friends and relatives, they will wait on you. If you have come in a delegation, they will wait on you. We ask you to come down here and we are going to give you a verse of Scripture, have a moment of prayer in the counselling room. We are going to say a word to all of you - give you some literature before you go. But coming forward is for this reason. When Jesus saw the man with the withered arm, Jesus could have healed him by speaking a word. But he didn't do it. Jesus said to this man who had never stretched his arm out, he said: "Stretch it forth now." If you had never stretched before in all of your life your arm, it would take an act of faith to do it, wouldn't it? He had tried a million times and failed. He had given it up long ago. But Jesus said: "Stretch it forth." And by faith, he did. An act of faith and he was healed. I am going to ask you to stretch your life forth now and give your life to Christ. I'm going to ask that every head is bowed. No one leaving the stadium, every eye closed in prayer while our

heads are bowed. I am going to ask the choir to sing softly: "Just as I am." I am going to ask you to come. You say: "Well, Billy, do I have to give my life to Christ tonight?" Yes. The Bible says: "Now is the accepted time; today is the day of salvation." You may never have another hour like this. There may never be another moment for you like this. This is your big moment with God. Don't you let distance keep you from coming. I know it is a long way in the balcony. Christ went all the way to the cross in your place. So that you can come a few feet and give your life to Him. Up there in those great balconies, you can come down by the escalators. We'll wait. There's plenty of time. And if you're with friends and any delegations, they'll wait. We won't keep you long. I'm going to ask you to come and stand quietly and reverently right now as an indication that God saves you and that you are taking Christ into your heart right now. You come right now. Quickly. While every head is bowed and the choir is singing softly. From up here and round there and over here, you come right now. Say: Tonight, I will give my heart to God. I will receive Christ right now."

Appendix B

"GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD"

Preached July 2, 1966

London, England

I would like to take this opportunity to respond to what General Wilson Haffington, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of this Crusade has already said and to welcome all of you to Wembley tonight. I have preached at this place on a number of occasions, as most of you know, and this is the first time we have had a beautiful evening. And I think this is typical English weather tonight. But we welcome all of you here. People are gathered here at this great Wembley stadium tonight from all over the nation to demonstrate their faith in God. Representatives from every part of Britain and many parts of the world, representing every color and class have come here to re-dedicate themselves to the faith of our fathers. This great audience tonight is saying to the world that God is not dead; He is alive; He is from everlasting to everlasting. And He is relevant to our situation in 1966. This meeting tonight declares that Christ is risen from the dead and reigns supreme as Saviour and Sovereign in the hearts of tens of thousands of people throughout Great Britain tonight. This meeting tonight says to the world that the Bible is the relevant Book for our generation - that it contains the only answer to the problems of a generation who is living in a troubled and insecure world. It says to men everywhere, in the words of Her Majesty, the Queen, that the Bible is the most precious possession this world affords. This Bible is the only Book in the world that describes a cure for both our agonizing international problems, our national problems, and our individual needs. Without the illuminating light of the Bible, man is submerged in darkness. It is, as Prime Minister Gladstone once said, the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture. Let every Christian here tonight vow to continue praying for a revival and for an awakening. Let every Christian here tonight write letters all over the world telling what God has done in Earl's Court and what He is doing here tonight in Wembley. This will encourage Christians around the world.

Thank you, General Wilson Haffington, the clergy, the executive committee, the leaders of this crusade, who have invited us here. This has been a historic month in our lives. We will never be the same. There's a new dedication in my own life, a renewed faith, a renewed hope, a renewed courage to go back to my own country in a few days and proclaim the Gospel from one end of that country to the other. Thank you. I'll be back to preach in a few minutes.

I'm going to ask that we bow our heads in prayer; every head bowed in prayer. I'm also going to ask that during the message which will be brief, briefer than usual, I'm going to ask that there will be no walking around, no moving. One person moving in a great audience like this will disturb many hundreds of people. There are thousands of people here tonight that have burdens that need to be lifted and problems that need to be solved and sin that needs to be forgiven. And thousands of you stand at the crossroads of your life. And this is an hour of decision for you. You must face yourself and your relationship to God. And you must face it squarely. And you must decide before you leave here what you are going to do about that relationship because you have the power of choice. And the choice is up to you. So you listen tonight, not only with your physical ears, but also with the ears of your spirit. For while I am speaking, you are going to be conscious of another Voice speaking and that other Voice will be the Spirit of God.

Our Father, we believe that Thou hast prepared certain people here tonight for this hour and we pray that all of those whom thou hast chosen in Christ will surrender to the wooing of the Holy Spirit for we ask it in Christ's Name. Amen.

Now I would like to say two things before I read my text. This has been largely, to this point, a youth crusade. And I would like to ask all of those under twenty-five years of age to stand up -- pardon me! -- wave your bulletins around. That will be easier. You're under twenty five now. Keep doing it a minute. Just keep doing it. You can see why I believe that tens of thousands of young people in Great Britain are ready to respond to the challenge and the disciplines of Christ. What a wonderful hope that is for the future and for all of those who are slightly over twenty-five, it is a tremendous encouragement.

The second thing I would like to say is that this service tonight is being telecast in color throughout the United States and to all of those watching by television that we would like to send to you, as a memento of this occasion, a seven-hundred page book entitled What The Bible Is All About. Every book of the Bible is analyzed, outlined, illustrations, sermon material for pastors and for Sunday school teachers and for Christians and for those whom you are trying to win for Christ. And for all who will write me in America, Billy Graham, Minneapolis, Minnesota. That is all the address you need.

And to all of you who are here, if you will put your name and address on that bulleting that you have in your hand, print it so we can read it, and give it to a steward, we will send you the book plus Decision magazine which will carry the

story of our Crusades, pictures of the Crusades, and will inform you of future evangelistic plans and strategy in Great Britain and other parts of the world. If you will put your address down and give it to a steward, or if you will just mail it in, I think the address is there. But we will send you this book. Now you won't get this book until September. So don't look for it in Monday morning's post. It's not available in Great Britain until September. But it is a grand new book that I think is the finest thing for Christians that I have ever seen. And we would like to give it to you as a memento of this great occasion tonight.

Now tonight, I want you to turn with me to the most familiar passage in all the Bible. And you don't really turn at all because all of you know it. It's the passage of Scripture that I learned while my mother was giving me a bath in a tin tub when I was five years of age on a Saturday night. And as she was scrubbing my ears and my neck, she taught me this passage. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life."

John 3:16. I want to see if we can all say it together. (Graham and the audience in unison recite Scripture.) "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life."

Now in this passage, it says: "For God so loved." But I can hear skeptics coming back and saying: But if God loves, why is there so much disease and hatred and poverty and war? And loneliness and boredom and psychological problems? Why are there strikes and poverty and hatred? Why does the world have to suffer generation after generation if God is a God of love? If God is a God of love and all power, why doesn't God come and stop it all and clean up the mess that the world has gotten itself into? I want to answer that question tonight. And I want you to listen very carefully because it is one of the great questions that disturbs people all over the world and it's a question that university students are constantly asking.

Now the first thing that this text says is: "For God." Now you see, we have a misunderstanding of God. Most of us have a caricature of God. We have created a God in our own thinking and in our own imagination and it is not the true God as revealed in the Bible at all. So we are actually idolators. We are worshipping false gods. Each of us has an idea of what God is like. And it may be different from what the other person thinks. And it is certainly different from what the Bible teaches. Now, of course, I have to admit, to begin with, that you cannot scientifically prove the existence of God. You cannot scientifically, in a laboratory, prove God. How do I know that God exists? I see abundant evidence

of the existence of God everywhere. In the universe. I sense God in my heart. It is instinctive to believe in God. Man, all over the world, is worshipping some sort of a God. We are worshipping creatures. And we cannot get away from it. I know there is a God because of my own personal experience. I never have a doubt about it although I cannot ultimately demonstrate it in a laboratory. Now one of your great philosophers said: "God can be proven philosophically." Certainly, most of us here tonight believe that there is a God. Now what kind of a God is He?

The Bible tells us that He is a Creator. The Bible never tries to prove the existence of God. The Bible assumes the existence of God. "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth." "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made and all the host of them with the breath of his mouth," says Psalm 33:6. God is the Creator of the entire universe. Secondly, the Bible teaches that Jesus taught that God is a Spirit. God is the Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. Well, now what is a Spirit? Well, a Spirit doesn't have a body like yours or mine. Because, if God had a body, he would be limited to one place at one time but because He is a Spirit, he can fill all the universe at the same time. He can be in China. He can be in America. He can be in Europe. He can be in Britain all at the same time. He is a Spirit. Now the Bible teaches that God is an unchanging God. Malachi 3:6: "I am the Lord; I change not." James 1:17: "In Him, there is no variableness; neither shadow of turning." You and I change and we may think God changes in order to accommodate himself to our twentieth century thinking. But God has never changed. He is the same. A thousand years ago as He is today; and a thousand years from now, He will still be the same. He hasn't changed in the slightest. The Bible also teaches that God is a holy God. Leviticus 19:2: "I, the Lord your God, am a holy God." Psalm 111:9: "Holy and reverent is His Name." Psalm 140:5: "The Lord is righteous in all of his ways and holy in all of his works." Habbakkuk 1:13: "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil and canst not look upon iniquity." You will never understand the Bible. You will never understand the Old Testament and all the sacrifices in the Jewish religion unless you understand one thing: God is a holy and righteous God and God hates sin. God hates moral evil because He is absolute holiness; He is absolute purity; He is absolute righteousness. The Bible also teaches that God is a God of judgment. Ecclesiastes 12:4: "God shall bring every work into judgment with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil." In Matthew 11, Jesus said: "It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you." Jesus said: "Every word that man

shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." Acts 17, the apostle Paul said: "He hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world." Romans 2:5: "But after thy hardness of heart, you treasure up unto yourself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God who will render unto every man according to his deeds." Yes, ladies and gentlemen, there is a day of judgment coming. There is a day coming when every secret thought will be revealed; your thoughts; your motives; your intents as well as your deeds will be brought before the holy and righteous God whom the Bible says is a judge. But the Bible also teaches that God is a God of love. I John 4:8: "For God is love." Jeremiah 31:3: "Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love." Malachi 1:2: "I will love you saith the Lord." Ephesians 2:4: "God who is rich in mercy for his great love wherewith he loved us."

God loves you. God loves the world. God is love. Now that is the reason why God created man and put him on this planet. Have you ever wondered why we are here? Have you ever wondered why God created the human race? Well, the reason is: God is love. And He wanted some other creatures made in His image that He could love, but who would choose to return that love to Him. That is the reason He created man. Many students ask the question: Who am I? I will tell you who you are. You are an individual important to God, created by God, for fellowship with God. And when God created you, He gave you a will of your own. You have the right of moral choice. Now, if you say that man is only an animal - he is only physical - he is only material, he is not worth very much. You know what your body really is? You have enough fat in your body to make seven bars of soap; you have enough sugar in your body to sweeten ten cups of tea - and I have had about that many tonight! You have enough lime in your body to whitewash a chicken coop -- do you call chicken coops over here chicken coops? That's what we call them. You have enough phosphorous to make two thousand matches, enough potassium to explode a toy cannon; enough sulphur to rid your dog of fleas - if he is not too big a dog. And enough water to take a bath in. Now, in American money, that is worth about four dollars. I should say, that is about thirty shillings. That's how much you're worth. And so Mr. Thirty Shillings walks down the street saying how important he is.

Now the thing that makes you important, ladies and gentlemen, is not the physical. It is the fact that you are a living soul. It is the spirit created in the Image of God. That is the thing that makes you important. And Jesus said: you are worth more than the whole material world to God. "What shall it profit a man," Jesus said, "if you should gain the whole world and lose your own soul?" Suppose

you became the greatest star, the greatest actress, the wealthiest man, the most powerful man - you had it all - but lost your soul. Jesus said it would be a very poor bargain. You see, the part of you that we can not see on the outside called spirit - that part of you - is created in the Image of God. And the Bible says that that part of you is going to live on forever and ever and ever and ever. The real you - now if we could be here, let's say a hundred years from now - one hundred twenty years from now - to take in the babies who might be here who might live a long time - and we could all come back to this stadium one hundred twenty years from now, everyone of us would be skeletons. And there is a church in Rome - some of you have been there - where the monks and the people that have gone before are all skeletons and even have their robes on, standing around. And you walk in and sit down and you are conscious of the great crisis of death and how temporary this life is. The Bible says: "It is appointed unto man once to die." If you are only material, only an animal, a hundred years from now, you'll be only a skeleton. But you're more than that. There is eternity. There is the future. Because you were created in the Image of God.

Now God gave man a choice. God said: "If you love me and obey me and serve me and obey moral law, we will build a wonderful world together. You will be happy. You will have paradise. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it because in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." God gave man a moral choice. And God stood back to see what man, this creature created in His Image, with the power of choice, would do. And for awhile, God and man were friends. They built their world. It was a wonderful world. You see, there were no jails. There were no police forces. There were no armies. There were no battles. There was nobody hating each other. There was no disease, no poverty, and nobody ever died. What a wonderful world it was to be. But man, one day, decided he didn't need God. He decided he could get along without God. So man deliberately broke God's moral law and rebelled against God. Now God said: "If you do that, you are going to suffer and die." And now, for thousands of years, man has been suffering and dying as a result of rebellion against God. And that rebellion is called in the Bible: sin. And the Bible says that because we are all sons of Adam, we are born with a tendency toward sin. We are born with the disease of sin. It is a spiritual disease. It affects your mind. It affects your will. It affects your conscience. It affects every phase of your life. And we are all sinners, according to the Bible. "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God." And that is the

reason why we have war and crime and broken homes and fraud and jails and police forces and wars and national rivalry that can thrust destruction adrift in the universe and a feeling of hopeless disillusionment and all the rest of it because man is a sinner. He has the disease. He cannot solve his problems alone. That is the reason that every generation fights it out. That's the reason that wars continue. The Bible says, in II Thessalonians 3:7: "For the mystery of iniquity doth already work." I John 3:4: "Sin is a transgression of moral law." Genesis 6:12: "All flesh hath corrupted its way upon the earth." David said: "They are all gone aside; there is none that doeth good; no not one." Isaiah said: "All we like sheep have gone astray. We have turned everyone to his own way." Solomon said: "There is no man that sinneth not." You and I are sinners. We have broken God's law. We have a tendency to lie. We have a tendency to steal. We have a tendency to lust. We have all the capacities of hate and prejudice. Now that doesn't mean you are a wicked person. That doesn't mean that, in the sight of your fellow man, you are a bad person. You may be a good moral person. But you see, sin is coming short of God's holiness. And God's requirements - so, in the sight of God, we are all sinners. So that the problem in the world tonight is a heart problem. Jesus said: "For out of the heart proceedeth evil thoughts and murders and false witnesses and blasphemies." Now God said: "There is a penalty." God said: "You have broken the law. You have to pay for it. God is a holy God. He can't go back on His Word. He can't just come along in His moral universe and pat you on the back and say: "You are forgiven. I will accept you as a sinner." Somebody has to pay because the Bible says that the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. We are alienated from God. We are separated from God. And that separation is called, by Jesus, hell. Hell in this life. Spiritual death here and spiritual death in the life to come. Separation from God.

Now there are three kinds of death spoken of in the Bible. There is natural death. We know that everybody dies. Great men like Sir Winston Churchill. We watched his funeral and wished that somehow we could call him back. We need his greatness, and his wisdom, as we needed it during the dark days of the war. We need men like Adlai Stevenson, who dopped dead on a London street. We need some of the great men of the past to come and help us now. But they are dead. And so will you die. That is natural death. But then, there is spiritual death. And there are many thousands of people listening to my voice tonight. You're alive physically, but your spirit is dead toward God. And that is the reason you have not found happiness and peace and joy and fulfillment

in your life. That's the reason that you may make a million dollars and not find peace. That's the reason that you may rise to the top of the show world and not find peace. You are always searching and always questing to give you satisfaction but you don't find it. Why? Because you were made for God and without God, without God, you cannot find peace. And you cannot find fulfillment. And many of you try in many different directions. Sex experience. Dope. Alcohol. All kinds of escapisms and finally some people go ahead and commit suicide. Even in affluent societies. And the suicide rate is the highest in the countries that are the wealthiest. Why? Because wealth and affluency do not satisfy the deepest longings of man. Your youthful generation has found this. Materialism does not satisfy. You cannot find satisfaction, fulfillment outside the will of God. Jesus said: "Man shall not live by bread alone." Jesus said: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." But this text we took tonight says: "For God so loved the world." In spite of our rebellion, in spite of our sins, in spite of our failures, God says: I love you. I love you. I want to help you. I want to save you." What could God do?

One day I was walking along the road with my little boy. We stepped on an ant hill, killed a lot of ants, wounded a lot of others, tore down their little house. We didn't mean to. And we stopped for a moment and I said to my little boy: "Son, how would you like to become an ant and go down and help them rebuild their houses and help them bury their dead and help them heal their wounded?" He said: "Well, Daddy, that would be wonderful. But we can't do it. We're too big and they're too little." I said: "I know." But I said: "One day, God looked from heaven and from His great universe, He saw this little planet swinging in space, lost and separated from Him. And God decided to do something that astounded the angels...that astounded the principalities and powers and even the stars, it says. God decided to become a man. And that's who Jesus Christ was. God coming in the form of man to say to all of us: "I love you. I love you. I'm willing to forgive you. I'm willing to change you. I'm willing to save you." And He came for the express purpose of not only teaching. Not only did He come to tell us great and wonderful things, but He came to die. He said: For this reason was I born. He came to go to the cross. And He was slain before the foundation of the world. The plan of redemption was in God's mind. And how could He do it? How could He save you? You've rebelled against Him. You deserve death. How could He save me? I've rebelled against Him. I deserve death. I deserve judgment. I deserve hell. How could He save me and still be just and holy and righteous? Only one

way: either you pay for your own sins or somebody else had to pay for it. And you know what God did? God, in a mysterious way that none of us understand, God, in the person of His Son, went to the cross, died there, and took your sins and my sins. II Corinthians 5:21 says: "You have made him to be sin for us." Isaiah 53:6: "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." I Peter 2:24: "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree." I Peter 3:18: "Christ also once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust." On that cross, when He bowed his head and said: "It is finished," the plan of redemption was complete. He did it. He accomplished what you and I couldn't do. Now God says: "Because He died, I can forgive you" and God, tonight, offers you pardon for all your past sins, all your present sins, all your future sins, a pardon of forgiveness. Not because you deserve it, but because of what He did. For by grace are you saved through faith; and that not of yourselves. It's the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast. You can't work your way. You can't pay enough money to get to heaven. But it's free. It's free to you, but it cost God His Son on the cross.

But that's not the end of the story. On the third day when He was lying in the tomb, He was raised from the dead. Now is Christ risen from the dead. For as in Adam all died, so in Christ Jesus shall all be made alive. Christ is now living. I am not preaching to you a dead Christ. I am not preaching to you a Christ on a cross. Our salvation was accomplished by the cross, that is true. But He is a living Saviour, a living Christ ready to come into your home, into your life, into your heart, and change and transform you tonight and help you to face the crisis and the problems of your life here and now and give you eternal life. It's all yours. I tell you: your life can be changed completely. But that's not the end of the story. The Bible says that this living Christ is coming back. And the hope of the world is the glorious future reign of the Prince of Peace; then the world shall know peace. Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout and the voice of the archangel and the trump of God and the dead in Christ shall arise first. Then we, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And so shall we ever be with the Lord, so says the Scripture. There is going to be a resurrection of all of those in the past who have believed in Him. There's going to be a time when we are reunited with Him. And we are going to reign with Him. And there is going to be peace. There is going to be Utopia. There is coming Paradise. It won't come by our efforts alone. It is going to come by the direct

intervention of God when He puts Christ on the throne. Now what does God want you to do? What do you have to do? God has done all of that for you because He loves you. "God so loved the world that whosoever --." Have you ever had your name in the newspaper? Well, you are in the news tonight. For you are that "whosoever." "Whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life." What does God require you to do? Two things. First, you must repent of your sins. Jesus said: "Repent ye for the kingdom of God is at hand," Matthew 4:17. Jesus began to preach and say: "Repent for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Jesus said: "Except ye repent, ye shall perish." Now what does repentance mean? What do you have to do to repent? First, you have to acknowledge that you have sinned against God. You have to confess that. Now that is not easy to do. Because we do not like to say: "I'm wrong. I've sinned." We have too much pride for that. But that is what God requires. You must admit your sin. And you must be willing to turn from your sin. That is repentance. You change your mind about God. You change your mind about yourself. You change your mind about your neighbor. You are willing to love your neighbor. You are willing to love God. You are willing to live under the disciplines of Christ. That's repentance. You admit you have sinned. You are sorry that you have sinned and you are willing to turn from your sins. That is repentance. And Jesus said: "Except ye repent, ye will perish." And the second thing: you must believe. You must receive by faith Jesus Christ. The Bible says: "Without faith, it is impossible to please Him. He that cometh to God must believe that He is and this is His commandment that we believe in the Name of His Son, Jesus Christ." To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly his faith is counted for righteousness. For by grace are ye saved through faith.

Now what does that word, faith, mean? It means commitment, surrender. I give myself to Christ. I receive His offer of love. I receive His mercy. I receive His pardon. Just as though I would offer you this book, it is not yours until you receive it. You must receive God's mercy and God's love and God's forgiveness. And what a wonderful thing this forgiveness is. It's different than yours and mine. His forgiveness means that God puts all your sins behind his back. You see, there are no yesterdays. You cannot relive one hour ago. God says: "I forget your sins of yesterday. I bury them in the depths of the sea. They are gone forever." And even God cannot see them nor find them when it is in Jesus Christ. Will you receive Him tonight? Will you accept Him? I am going to ask you to do it. This is the most important moment in your life. You may never have another hour like

this when you are so close to the kingdom of God. Will you receive Him?

Now there are three things that you can do, three alternatives. Listen! You can reject Christ. You can reject God's offer of love and mercy. And if you do, you will be like the rich young ruler who rejected, and the Bible says, he turned away grieved, sorrowful. That must have been an emotional moment. A psychologist could do a great deal with that word "grieved." Or, secondly, you can neglect Christ, like Felix, who said: "When I have a more convenient season, I will call." But he didn't. You see, you can only come when God, the Father, draws you by the Holy Spirit. And God is speaking to you tonight. He is giving you a moment in history to receive Him. Millions of people around the world have prayed for this moment tonight. And God is speaking to you. Agrippa said: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian. Almost." Some of you are almost in the kingdom. I am asking you tonight to take that step. Into the kingdom. Your third alternative is to accept, as the Philippian jailer accepted that long-ago night in Philippi when he said: "What must I do to be saved?" And the apostle Paul said: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." And that night, he believed and that night, he entered the kingdom of God. The Ethiopian nobleman that Philip was talking to said: "What hinderest me?" And Philip said: "Nothing. If thou believest with all thine heart." And he said: "I do believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." You can accept like thousands, like tens of thousands of people throughout Britain during this past month, have accepted Christ as Lord and Saviour and will tell you that He lives in their hearts. That can be your experience tonight and you can go home to live a new life free of the burden of guilt forever. You may be a choir member and have been singing all these weeks, but have not really settled it with God. You may be a steward. I don't know who you are. You may be a church worker.

You say: "Well, Billy, that is a long way down there. And I feel a little shy about it." Jesus went a long way to the cross for you; He suffered and died for you. Certainly you can come a few steps in a beautiful stadium on a lovely evening to give your life to Him. I am going to ask you to come right now. From all over. Hundreds of you. Quickly. I will ask that none of you leave. Please. People already coming. Nobody leave the stadium except those that are coming. And you, who are watching by television in America and in other parts of the world, you, too, can bow your head and give your heart and life to Christ tonight as many people here in Wembley Stadium in London. So you can receive Him where you are now: in your home, maybe you're sitting in a bar, in a hotel lobby, wherever you are, you can receive Christ with these thousands of people here tonight.

APPENDIX C

"GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD"

Preached July 8, 1967

Zagreb, Yugoslavia

Dr. Houk, Pastor Deutsch, the Archbishop, and ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a great privilege and honor for me to be here and stand in this pulpit tonight. I do not believe that I have ever seen so many people filling this much space. And many people outside. I hope you can hear by the amplification. Certainly the singing of the choir and the tremendous crowd that are here tonight warms my own heart. The Apostle Paul said that the faith of the Thessalonians was spoken of throughout the world. And I remember, as I was driving into Zagreb yesterday, I saw scores of churches along the highway. And I knew that Yugoslavia people were very religious. And your faith is known by people around the world. And indeed you believe in God. And I am glad to come here and join hands with you and sing together and pray with you the faith of Jesus Christ.

I bring you greetings tonight from Christians in many parts of the world. When people heard that I was coming here to preach, many of them sent letters and telegrams and said: "Please greet the Christians of Yugoslavia." So I bring you greetings from Christians in many parts of the world. And Christians, in many languages representing all races, are praying for these meetings here this weekend in Zagreb.

I'm glad for another thing: that in preparation for these meetings that there was a great unity among the Christians and that here tonight we have representatives of the various religious faiths of Yugoslavia. We are one in Jesus Christ. And I'm sure that it pleases God when we stand together as one to proclaim to the world that Christ is alive.

Now tonight, I want to take as a text the most familiar passage in all the Bible. I was a little boy five years of age. I was reared on a farm. I used to have to take care of the pigs and milk the cows. And every Saturday, my mother would give us a bath. And one night, she said, while I was taking a bath, "I want to teach you something from the Bible." And she taught me this passage. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him shall not perish but have everlasting life." I have used that passage sometimes at the universities and a university student will come up and ask me this question: If God is a God of love, why is there so much suffering in the world? Why is there so much trouble in the world? Why so much war in the world? Why cannot we have peace? Why do I have so much difficulty? Why do we even die?" A blind man in Italy asked me the question the other day. He said: "If God loves, why am I blind? Why can not

I see? Why do I have so many troubles?" If God is a God of love, why doesn't He stop all the troubles in the world? That is the question I will answer tonight.

First, I want to take this passage of Scripture point by point. First, "For God." Who is God? Can we prove that He exists? Can you go to a university laboratory and put God in a test tube and say: "Here's God?" No. You can not scientifically prove the existence of God. But how do we know God exists? I look up at the stars at night. They are in perfect precision. I know there must be some great hand back of this universe. We set our watches by the stars. There must be some great controller. But then down inside of me, something tells me there must be a God. I may say: "There's no God." But when a crisis comes or I come to die, I begin to say, "O God." Something tells me there must be a God. But then there's the voice of conscience down deep inside. When I do wrong, a little red light flashes. Who flashes that light? Who tells me what is right and what is wrong? What is the moral authority? Those are questions that go unanswered if we say there is no God. The evidence all points to the fact that God exists. The evidence is overwhelming. But we still cannot prove it scientifically. I must ultimately say: God exists by faith. And when I do, I know that He is. He comes into my life and He reveals Himself. Now the Bible says: "God so loved." This indicates that God must be a person if He can love. Now what kind of a person is God? This Book, the Bible, tells us. What kind of a person is God? The Bible tells us that He is a God of righteousness. There is no sin in God. His eyes are even too pure to look on sin. You can never understand the Bible unless you understand that God is a God of righteousness and holiness. Now the Bible also says that God is the God of creation. He made the stars and the moon and the sun. He created man. The Bible tells us that God is also the God of justice. And someday God is going to judge the world. Every secret and every thought that we have ever had is going to be brought to the judgment. All of your thoughts - all of the things that you thought were hidden - will be brought to light at the judgment. Someday God is going to judge the world. The Apostle Paul said: "God has appointed a day when He will judge the world." The day has already been appointed. But the Bible also says other things about God. The Bible says that God has never changed. God never changes. The same God is the same today as He was thousands of years ago. We think God changes in order to accommodate Himself to us, but God never changes. And God has no special pets. God is no respecter of persons. We are all the same before God. The rich and the poor; the white and the dark; the cultured and the uncultured; the educated and the uneducated. We are all

the same before God. And God is going to judge the world. He is an unchanging God.

But there is something else about God. The Bible says that God is the God of love. God loves. And that's why He created the world. And that's why He made you. Have you ever wondered why we are here? What is the purpose of our existence? We are born. We live. We die. Is that all? Just to live and die? And it's all finished? Why, it doesn't make sense. And some people suffer. Some seem to have it very good. There doesn't seem to be justice in the world. Is that the reason for our existence? Is that all? No. The Bible says that God had a reason. "God loved." And God wanted other creatures that He could love and He wanted them to return love to Him. So God made man in His image. Now you are not made in the physical image of God. But living inside of your body is your spirit, your soul. Now that's the part of you that will live forever. And that's the part of you made in the image of God. And when you were created, God gave you a gift: the freedom of choice. You can choose to love God. You can choose to reject God. You can make up your own mind. God gave you free will. Now God made man and, in the beginning, there was no suffering. No hate. No lust. No greed. No social injustice. Not even any death. It was a wonderful world. God and man were friends. They were building a wonderful world together. But one day tragedy struck. Trouble came to Paradise. What was it? Man said: "I no longer need God." God had told man: "If you love me and obey the moral law of the universe, you will live forever and be happy. But if you rebel against me, if you break the moral law, you will suffer and die." So man decided he no longer needed God. And he rebelled against God. He said: "Goodby, God. I can get along without you." From that moment on, suffering came. And murder came. War came. And death came. And ever since that time, man has been suffering and hating and dying. Why? Because we are separated from God.

Now this rebellion against God is called by a word in the Bible. It is called sin. And it becomes a disease. And the Bible says: "All of us have the disease." We are all infected by the disease of sin. Sin means that you come short of God's requirement. Now you may not believe in God, but you live a good moral life. You are a good person. You do good. Is that enough? The Bible says that God is a holy God. His requirements are very high. Some of us come up this far. Some come a little bit farther. But all of us come short of God's requirements. And coming short of God's requirement is called sin in the Bible. And all of us have sinned. It affects our conscience. It affects our minds. So much so that you cannot come to God intellectually alone. The Bible says: "By wisdom, man cannot know God." You have

to come in simple, childlike faith to God. Now man sinned against God. Now God said: "The results of sin would be death." There are three kinds of death in the Bible. First, there is physical death. Your body dies. You see a graveyard and that testifies that man dies. All of us are going to die. Now to the second spiritual death. Your body is alive, but your soul is dead toward God. The Bible says: "You are dead in trespasses and in sin." That means that even though you may become a famous person, a rich person, you don't find happiness. In America or in Great Britain, I have met many people who are famous people, some very wealthy people, but they haven't found peace and happiness. Why? Because they are made for God. And without God, you cannot find happiness and peace. Man was made for God. He was made for fellowship with God. And St. Augustine said centuries ago: "Man, without God, is restless." And how true that is. How many of you have been searching for something all of your lives? You didn't know what it was, but you have been searching for something and you haven't found it. You are actually searching for God whether you know it or not. And God can make you spiritually alive. And the third death - it is called, in the Bible, eternal death. That means separation from God for eternity. Three deaths as a result of sin. What can man do? Many modern philosophers say he can't do anything. They say: Man is caught in a trap. He can't get out. But he can. There is a way. Jesus said: "I am the way, the truth and the life." What can we do? Nothing. Nothing. Nothing. There's nothing you can do; nothing I can do; nothing a minister can do; nothing even this Book can do. I'm under the sentence of death because of my sins. And when I was in this dilemma and in my sin, under the sentence of spiritual death, I heard the Scripture: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." What does that mean? That means that when I could not save myself, I was in all of my deep trouble. God said: "I love you." God said: "In spite of your sin, in spite of your rebellion, I love you. I love you. I love you. I love you. I will forgive you. I will bring you back to myself." What did God do?

One day I was walking along the road. I have a little nine-year-old boy. And when he was very small, we were walking alone. And we stepped on a hill of ants. And many ants were killed. Some of them were wounded. Their house was destroyed and I stopped a moment. I said to my little boy: "O, I am very sorry about that. I wish we could go help those ants rebuild their house." My little boy stood there and he said: "Daddy, I wish we could." But he said: "How can we? We're too big and they're too little." I said: "That's right." But I thought to myself: "Suppose I could suddenly become an ant and crawl around among them and tell them I wanted to help them, but I couldn't." The mighty God of heaven looking down on this planet saw us like little ants on the planet hurting,

crying, weeping, suffering in our sin. What did God do? How could God communicate? You know what He did? God became a man. And that's who Jesus Christ was. He was born of the blessed virgin, Mary, the most blessed of all women. She gave birth to a little child. They called His Name, Jesus. She never knew a man because she was given that child by the Holy Spirit. He grew up. He became a wonderful man. He was a poor man. He was the peasant. He had rough hard hands. He worked for a living. And yet He learned and taught the people. And He spoke with authority. And He made some astounding claims. He said: "I am the unique Son of the living God. I and the Father are one." How that must have shocked his audience. And yet how it must have thrilled them! Here was God among them and He taught marvelous things. He taught us to love our neighbor. He taught us that we are not to have racial prejudice. He taught us that every man is our brother. All these wonderful things He taught us. But that's not why He came. He came for another purpose. What was that purpose? As I came in to Yugoslavia, I saw evidence of that Person everywhere. I see it around the neck of the clergymen here. I see it on this church and all the other church spires in Zagreb. What is it? The cross where Christ died. He came to die. They put nails in His hands. They put a crown of thorn on His brow. They put a spike through His feet. And man's sin was so great they put the Son of God to earth. They spit on him. They hated Him. He said: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." But something else happened. While He was on that cross, the angels of heaven pulled their swords ready to rescue Him, He said: "No." He said: "I love man so much I'm going to die for man." And while He was on the cross a mysterious glorious thing happened. God took your sins and your sins and my sins and laid them on Christ. And in that moment, He said: "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" None of us really knows what happened in that holy moment. But He took your death, your judgment, your sins on the cross and because He did that, God can say to you: "Your sins are forgiven. I forgive you. I will come into your life." But He didn't stay on the cross. They buried Him. And on the third day He rose again. Jesus Christ today is alive. He is the living Christ. He died. But He rose again. And the Bible says more than that. He is coming back again. God said that someday He is coming back to earth again. He is going to set up a mighty kingdom. A great kingdom that He prayed: "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." And those of us who receive Him, those who believe Him, we are going to reign with Him on that glorious day. Heaven is coming, yes! There is a heaven, yes! There is a kingdom. And Christ is going to be King of Kings and Lord of Lords. And that is the future of every true believer

in Christ. That is God's mighty plan. Man rebelled against God. God loved man so much He wanted to save man so He sent His Son to die. He planned a glorious future. Everything that man lost when he sinned, he is going to regain. We are going to a world where there is no hate, where there is no war, there is no death: a glorious world. Till then, we may have to suffer. We may have problems. But we are going to that world called heaven. God said we were. And that is the hope that burns within my heart tonight.

Now what do you have to do? What does God require of you? He requires that you respond to His offer of love. How do you respond? Three things. Listen very carefully. First. Jesus said: "You must repent of your sins." He said: "Except you repent you shall perish." Now what does repentance mean? It was used by all the Old Testament prophets. John the Baptist preached repentance. Jesus preached repentance. The apostles preached repentance. God requires that we repent. But what does it mean? It means this: I say to God: "I am a sinner. I am sorry for my sins." But that's not enough. I must be willing to turn from my sins. I must change my whole way of living. So that I allow Christ to dominate my life. His joy, His peace, His love becomes mine. And I quit doing the things that are wrong. That is repentance. Have you repented? Have you repented? Jesus said: "Except you repent, ye shall perish." Secondly, by faith, you must receive Christ as your Saviour. Notice I said, "by faith." You may not come with your mind alone. But you come by faith. And you receive Him as your Saviour. Suppose I offer you this book. It is not your book until you actually receive it. God offers you forgiveness. He offers you Christ. But you must receive it. And you can do it tonight. It is just a simple act in which you say "yes" to Christ. "Ah," but you say, "that's too simple." Remember the night they had the earthquake in Philippi? Paul and Silas were in prison. They were singing songs. An earthquake came. The walls fell down. And the jailer was frightened. He knew the Roman authorities would hold him responsible for the prisoners' escape. He decided to commit suicide. The Apostle Paul said: "Wait a minute. Do not commit suicide. We are still here. We are not going to escape." The jailer was terrified. He fell down before Paul and Silas. He said: "What must I do to be saved?" You and I would have said: "Why, he's in no emotional state to make a decision. He's too frightened. He must take many weeks to think it over." Paul didn't do that. He said: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved and thy house." And he baptized him that night. Remember the thief on the cross? He was a very wicked man and in that last hour, he turned to Christ and he said: "Remember me, Lord." Jesus said: "Today thou shalt be with me in paradise." He received

Christ that quick and he is in heaven, forgiven by the grace of God because he believed. The Bible says that as many as received him to them gave he power to become the children of God, even to as many as believed on his name. Then the third thing: first is: repent. Second is: receive Christ by faith. Thirdly, you must obey Christ. He becomes the Lord of your life. You live for Him and the first thing He does for you is to make you love everybody. He gives you inward joy. The Holy Spirit comes to live permanently in your heart. He helps you to face temptation. He helps you to face the problems of life. The Holy Spirit will give you a supernatural power that will live within you and give you a strength and a power stronger than you've ever known. He will make you a better citizen; a better member of the family; a better friend. He will come into your life and you obey Him. Will you make your commitment to Him? Now such a commitment means to follow Christ. And to follow Christ is costly. To follow Christ means that you must deny self and take up the cross. What did He mean by taking up the cross? He said: "I am going to die. Will you go and die with me? Will you go and live for me no matter what the cost? Even if it means death?" Will you receive Him? Will you make your commitment to Him? If so, He will forgive your sin, come into your heart, give you assurance of heaven. He said He would. He said He would because He loves you. You can take Him at His word and make your commitment tonight. Then you begin to read the Bible, spend time every day in prayer, let people around you see that you are living for Christ, get into the church and the fellowship of other Christians and get to work for Christ. Will you make that commitment? And receive Him into your heart? You may be a member of the church, but you are not quite sure that you are totally committed to Christ and you want to be. You can make that commitment tonight. Shall we bow?

I am going to ask that we have a few minutes of silence. You pray where you sit or where you stand and if you would like to make a commitment, raise your hand. I may not see it, but God will see it. And that is what is important.

Our Father and our God, we pray that thou wilt come into the hearts of many that have lifted their hands tonight. Forgive their sins; come into their lives; and give them a new dimension of living. May old things pass away and all things become new. May Christ become very real to them. Bless this congregation, we pray; bless all of those who are outside who could not get in, and we pray that thou wilt bless the families that are represented. Bless this great nation of Yugoslavia for we ask it in Christ's Name. Amen.

APPENDIX D

"GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD"

Preached May 22, 1970

Knoxville, Tennessee

I'm going to ask that we bow our heads in prayer. Every head bowed and every eye closed. Tonight I am going to speak a brief time and while I am speaking, you will be conscious of my voice, but you have another set of ears that God the Holy Spirit will also be speaking to. The Bible teaches that we have physical ears, but we also have ears in our souls and two voices will speak. I will speak, but the Spirit of God will also be speaking. You listen for the Voice of the Spirit of God. For many of you, there will never be another evening like this in all of your life. I do not believe that any of you are here by accident. You are here by design and purpose and this may be the night for which you were born. This may be the most important hour that you will ever spend. And I hope that you will listen reverently and prayerfully to the message, God's message, tonight. You will find that here is the answer to life.

Our Father and our God, we pray that the Holy Spirit will draw those to thyself whom thou hast chosen in Christ. We pray that thou wilt convince of sin and righteousness and judgment and draw men to the Saviour for we ask it in Christ's Name. Amen.

I cannot tell you with what great anticipation and expectation we have had in coming to East Tennessee for this Crusade. For a number of years, people from Tennessee have come to all of our Crusades wherever we meet anywhere in the world. They bring a trainload of people or buses load or plane loads and they always bring Tennessee ham and grits and gravy when they come. And this is the first time we have been back to Tennessee for a Crusade since they started coming. And they are going to have a Tennessee breakfast this next week with country ham, Tennessee ham, and we are looking forward to that. But tonight, to see this tremendous audience - I don't know the statistics of our Crusades - they'll have to check that but certainly this is one of the largest audiences we have ever had anywhere in the world on the opening night of any Crusade. And this is certainly indicative of the planning and the preparation and the prayers of the thousands of people who have participated in the preparing of this Crusade. I was not sure how many people would be here, but what an audience this is! I'm reminded of the fellow who went from western North Carolina or East Tennessee to Canada to go bear hunting. And when he got up there, way back into the mountains, with his friends. They said: "Where's your gun?" He said: "Well, down in East Tennessee, we don't use guns. We catch bears barehanded." And his Canadian friends laughed and they thought he was making a

joke. And the next morning, they got up and they were having a cup of coffee and he said: "While the coffee's getting hot, I think I'll go out and get me a bear." And so he went out and went away out into the mountains. And about a half hour later, they heard him screaming: "Open that door! Open the door! Open the door!" And they looked out, and sure enough! there he was coming and a bear right behind him. And they opened the door. And just as he got to the door, he stepped aside and the bear came in. And he closed the door and said: "Skin that one! I'm going after another one!" Now tonight, in this great stadium, you've skinned one!

You've done a tremendous job. And I want to thank Mr. Frost and all of his associates and the Executive Committee, the newspapers, the television stations, the radio stations, all that have participated in making this a great opening evening. Now I am surrounded by great preachers up here on the platform. And there are a dozen preachers here who could preach far better sermons than I am. No one has ever accused me of being a great preacher. But Leighton Ford is here and he alternates on the Hour of Decision on radio. And he has just concluded a great Crusade in Pennsylvania. And he has come to be with us in this Crusade. And then Lane Adams. One of the great preachers of our generation lives right here in Knoxville and if it hadn't been for Lane, I doubt that this Crusade would have been held. God used him. And Grady Wilson who has just closed a Crusade in North Carolina. Ralph Bell, Howard Jones, Abdul-Haqq. All of these great preachers from all over the world are here. And they are here to help me prepare my sermons as well as to help in preaching. We are going to have a school of evangelism that begins Monday. We have a thousand - nearly a thousand seminary students from all the theological seminaries throughout the country are going to be coming for a school of evangelism beginning Monday. And we have theological professors that are coming in to teach them in the daytime and they will be here in the evening to study evangelism.

Now I am not going to announce all of the various subjects that I am going to preach on while I am here, but tomorrow night, I want to talk to all the young people: students, high school, university students, and their parents, young people, the problems of young people, tomorrow night. Sunday afternoon, I want to speak on hope for tomorrow, the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Sunday afternoon. That's a subject we don't hear enough about. And, of course, you have already heard that Sunday afternoon, the great Johnny Cash will be here. I don't think he will be singing "The Welfare Cadillac." But he'll be here. And we hope June will be here. The Carter family will be here. The Tennessee Three. I don't know who all will be here. But Johnny Cash will be here. And you know, one-fourth of his program has

been given over to religious songs. Sunday afternoon, he's going to tell you about that. Because he's not only going to sing, but he's going to say something. And I think you are going to find it very interesting. Sunday afternoon at three o'clock. The service on Sunday is at three o'clock and Monday night again to young people.

Now tonight, I want you to turn with me to the first verse of Scripture I ever learned when I was a boy. I was a boy about five or six years of age, I suppose. My mother was giving me a bath, if I remember correctly. And she said: "Son, I want to teach you a passage from the Bible." And she taught me John 3:16. I was born and reared on a farm near Charlotte, North Carolina. And she gave us a bath every Saturday night. She claimed she gave us a bath twice a week, but I can't remember except the Saturday bath because the Saturday night bath was when she bathed behind our ears and I never liked that. And she taught me this passage of Scripture: "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life." I want everybody to say that with me together." (Graham and audience in unison:) "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Now, in this passage of twenty-five words, is the total Gospel. Somebody has called it the miniature Bible because all you have to know to get to heaven is right in those twenty-five words. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever - whosoever - believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Now many people are asking questions today. They are saying: "Oh yeah, you mean God loves the world? Well, if God loves the world, then why doesn't He stop the War in Cambodia? If God loves the world, why doesn't He stop all the suffering and the starvation in India? If God loves the world, why doesn't God stop all the rioting and end all the race prejudice and end all the tensions that we have and all that's going on? If God loves the world, why does He allow things to happen to me? Why did He allow my mother to die? Why did He allow my husband to be killed in an automobile wreck? Why did God allow this to happen to me and that to happen to me, if God loves the world?" Do you ever ask that question. Certainly you've asked that question. I've asked it. I've travelled all over the world and I've seen all kinds of suffering. I've been in mental institutions and I've looked at those people and I've said: "My God, why?" I've been in war. I've seen the suffering. I've been in the hospitals in Viet Nam and I've seen those men with their legs shot off and their eyes shot out and I've said: "My God, why? Why does God allow this if God is a God of love?" Now some have said: "Well, there must not be a God." And they've just

given up the idea of the supernatural all together. Why is there so much disease? Why is there so much war, and hate, and loneliness, and boredom, and psychological problems? Why is there reason for the Cambodian crisis? Why does God not stop the war in Cambodia if there is a God of love? Let's take this passage. "For God." What about God? Well, first of all, I'd like to say that I cannot prove to you the existence of God. I can't prove it. Let's admit that. We cannot prove, in a scientific laboratory that God exists. All the evidence points to the fact that there must be a supernatural intelligence in control of the universe. Those three men in Apollo 13 will tell you that they prayed all the way. John Swigert said: "Certainly we prayed." And it was federal property. And they didn't even get a ruling from the Supreme Court on it either! And we were all praying. Why? Because there is something deep down inside that tells me there is a God. I remember when Mr. Krushchev was visiting the United States, he said: "God have mercy on you!" Then he stopped and laughed and said: "Of course, I don't believe in God." You see, down in the subconscious - in fact a lot of people think he was overthrown because he had come to believe in God. And there's quite a bit of evidence to support that. But everybody believes in God of some sort. We are religious animals. We cannot help but believe that there is a God. And then I look into the universe and all of the evidence in the scientific world indicates that there must be a supernatural being. But what about this God? What is He like? I remember when Neil Armstrong touched down on the moon, one of the television commentators said: "We now know that we are all alone in the universe. And that the universe is a great cold mass out there." Oh no! we are not all alone. The Bible talks about principalities and powers and rulers. And the Bible talks about heaven and the Bible talks about hell. They are all other worlds out there. But we cannot prove God scientifically like we can some other things. So we accept the fact of God like we accept so many other things: by faith. I take all the evidence and all the evidence supports the fact that there must be a God. Very little evidence that there is no God. The atheist has very little evidence on his side. All the evidence is on the side that there is a God. But not total conclusive scientific proof. So, by faith, with these religious feelings that everyone of us has, I say, by faith, there is a God. What kind of a person is God? I come to the Bible or I go to science and I know that he is the God of creation. In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. God. God. In the beginning, back of it all. By the word of the Lord were the heavens made and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth, saith the Psalmist.

The Bible tells me that God is a spirit. Jesus said: "God is a Spirit." What does that mean? That means that God doesn't have a body like yours and mine. If God had a body, He could only be in one place at one time. But God can be in China. God can be in Russia. He can be in Africa. He can be in America at the same time. He can be in your home and my home at the same time. He can be in your heart and my heart at the same time. Because He is a spirit. He is not bound and limited by a body. The Bible tells us that God is unchanging. We have an idea that God has changed to accommodate Himself to our generation. Don't you believe it! We live in what is called "the permissive society." But God hasn't changed. We've changed, but not God. The Bible says: "I am the Lord; I change not." James said: "In him, there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." There is no turning with God, no change with God. The same God that hated sin two thousand years ago hates it tonight. The same God that promised to judge the world two thousand years ago is going to keep that promise. The Bible says God is a holy God. Holy and reverent is His name. And yet, you and I take God's name in vain. "Well," you say, "Billy, I don't curse and I don't swear and I don't use those terrible words." That isn't what he means when he says: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." That's only part of it. You claim to be a Christian, don't you? You are a member of the Baptist church or the Presbyterian or the Episcopalian or the Church of God. You are a member of the church, but you don't live like a Christian. If you don't live like a Christian, you are taking the name of God in vain. Alexander the Great heard of one of his soldiers by the name of Alexander who was living like an animal. And he rode up to him on his horse and he said: "Are you Alexander?" And the man trembled and he saluted and said: "Yes sir." He said: "Either change your name or change your ways." That's what God says: "Change your name or change your ways." And there are thousands of people who think they are going to heaven because they have their names on a church roll or because they have been baptized and Jesus, himself, said: "There will come those in that day who said: "Lord, I cast out demons in Your Name. Lord, I did this. I did that." He'll say: "Depart from me. I never knew you." The Bible says that God is a God of judgment. God shall bring every work into judgment, Ecclesiastes 12 says, with every secret thing whether it be good or whether it be bad. The things you think you are hiding and getting away with now are going to be brought to light. You've never sinned in the dark. You've never done anything that won't be brought out. Jesus said, in Matthew 12: "Every idle word that men shall speak they will give an account thereof in the day of judgment." Think of it! Every word. Every thought. Every intent. Everything you've tried to hide will

be brought out at the judgment. But the Bible also teaches that this God is the God of love. For "God is love." "Yea, I've loved thee with an everlasting love," he said. God, who is rich in mercy for his great love wherewith he loved us - and that is the reason that He created man. Now at the universities that I go to, there are three questions that students are asking. Where did I come from? Why am I here? What is the purpose of my existence on this planet? What happens to me when I die? Oh yes, you listen to the songs of rock music, listen to the lyrics; nearly one-fourth of them deal with suffering and death. Young people are asking about death. Where did I come from? Why am I here? How can I find fulfillment? And purpose and meaning in my life while I am here? Where am I going? Is there another life after this one? Those are the questions that the university today is now asking. And that's one of the things that I have in common with the young people today. I believe that our educational system does need changing. We need to recognize that man is a mind, he is a body, but he is more than mind and body. He is spirit. And he asks religious questions. How can I find purpose and meaning? Where did I come from? Why am I here? Where am I going? All right. I am going to answer those questions.

Why did God create you? I'll tell you. The Bible tells us. Because God loves. He loves. And the Bible indicates that God was lonely. Believe it or not: reject it; laugh at it. God was lonely. He wanted some other creatures in the universe like himself that he could love, but that also could return voluntarily love to Him. So God created man. And made him in his image. Now you are not in the physical image of God. God has no body. It is your spirit, your soul that lives inside of your body that is made in the image of God. And God wanted your love; He wanted your fellowship; He wanted your friendship. But when God made us, He gave us a gift that He didn't give other creatures. You can choose. He gave you a will of your own. You have a will. God said: "If you will serve Me and love Me and live for Me, we will build a wonderful world together. But if you rebel, go against Me, if you reject My love, you will suffer and you will die." So for awhile, God and man were friends. They were building a wonderful world together. God gave man dominion and power over all creation. This was a paradise. There was no such thing as snakes and thorns and thistles. They didn't have droughts and deserts and pestilence and earthquakes. Man was destined to live forever. Never to die. There was no such thing as suffering, no such thing as disease, no such thing as death. God never meant that we were to die. God meant that we were to live forever. But one day, man decided that he could get along without God. He decided that he could live and build in his world without God. So the Bible tells us, in the third chapter of Genesis, that man rebelled against God.

Man deliberately broke the moral laws of God. And God said: "If you do that, you will suffer and you'll die." Now God couldn't go to man and say: "I forgive you." God's Word was at stake. And God is a holy and just and righteous God. He cannot lie. He said: "You'll suffer and die. I will judge you." And from that moment on, man began to suffer and man began to die. And from that moment on, hate, fear, deceit, fraud, crime, war, suffering came upon the human race. Adam and Eve's children, Cain and Abel, Cain killed Abel, murdered him in cold blood. And from that moment on, we have had wars and rumors of wars and the world has been filled with its hate and its greed and its lust for thousands of years. And with all of our technology and all of our education, we can't stop it. It's getting worse. Why? Because man is in rebellion against God. We have just come from Germany, where we had the largest crusade we have ever conducted anywhere in the world. We held thirty-seven Crusades at the same time in thirteen countries in eight languages. Germany was the most highly sophisticated technical society in 1939. The greatest psychiatrists, the greatest theologians, the greatest doctors, the greatest scientists, the greatest educators came from Germany. But the same Germany produced Hitler, Eichmann, and thousands of Nazis. And here is the human race with atomic bombs in its hands ready to go to war again because of our rebellion against God. We cannot become brothers. In fact, everyone of us has a war in our own heart; wars in our own families; wars in our own communities; wars with ourselves. Because of sin. That is what it is called: a three-letter word: S-I-N. That's what the trouble in the world is. You know the president does not need to appoint a commission to find out what is causing the crime. I can tell him. I have told him. Sin. And that's the reason that Jesus said: you must be born again; you must have a new nature. Now what can be done? The Bible says: man has this disease. It infects the whole human race. And the Bible says that the results of this disease is death.

Now there are three kinds of death. First, natural death. You know about the death of the body. All the cemeteries in Knoxville and East Tennessee testify that that verse of Scripture is right that says: "It is appointed unto man once to die." You are going to die. I am going to die. Unless I am living when Christ comes. We are all going to die. You're already dying now. One of the policemen told us on the way over about a man that was dying and they went into the hospital room to try to rouse him a little bit, to speak to him, and he turned over and he said to them, he said: "Let me alone. I'm busy dying." And when I see these young people going out on drugs and with their wide-open permissive sex and all that goes on, and I talk to some of them about Jesus Christ, they say: "Let me alone. Let me alone." And you know what they are really saying: "Can't you see I'm dying?" Dying spiritually because the Bible teaches that

there is a physical death, but there is also a spiritual death. You see, you can be a millionaire and be dead inside. And the cause of this death toward God, you try to make it up in other ways and you turn to drugs and you turn to this or you turn to that and you try to find happiness and you try to find fun and you can have fun, sure. The Bible says there is pleasure in sin for a season. For a short time. For a few years. But then it all catches up with you and hits you smack in the face and knocks you down and destroys you. That is why when a person becomes a motion picture star and they reach the very top and you read in the paper how miserable they are, and unhappy, and how many try to commit suicide - you see they've got everything you wish you had, but it hasn't made them happy. They don't find peace. They don't find joy. Why? Because they are spiritually dead. They are separated from God by the three-letter-word: sin. Then the Bible says: there is eternal death. That's the third death: physical death, spiritual death, and then when you die, your body dies, your spirit goes out into eternity separated from God and the Bible calls it hell. You say: "Now Billy, do you believe in this twentieth century that there is a hell?" Jesus taught it; the Bible teaches it and I must warn you that there is a hell. And whether you like it or not, you are going to live forever either in heaven or hell. And you have the decision to make in this life and that is why it is so important in a Crusade like this where people have prayed and where the preparation has been made and here you are - maybe a church member of good standing, but not sure if I asked you straight out: "Are you going to heaven or hell?" you couldn't say "yes" or "no." You'd have to say: "I don't know." If I were you, I wouldn't leave here until I made sure.

Well, what can be done about it? Here we are, a planet in rebellion, separated from God, lost, dying. What can be done? We are very much like that space ship odyssey when Jim Lovell came on the microphone to Mission Control in Houston and said: "We are in trouble. It feels like we have had an explosion." And a thousand scientists began frantically to work in Houston and in other places around the country and in other universities. They began to work, to plan, to try to get those men back. They went into Aquarius and the whole world watched and prayed and even the Russians offered to help to get three men back. They didn't care about the space hardware that had cost three hundred twenty-five million dollars. They wanted those three men back. That's how much three lives were worth. But your soul is worth more than that. Jesus said: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" And some of you are in danger of gaining the world and losing your own soul. Gaining the world of fun and pleasure. Gaining the world of money. Gaining the world

of intellectual ability; gaining the world, your little world, but God says: "If you gain all the world, the whole thing, and have more fun and more pleasure than anybody in the whole world and lose your own soul, it would have been a terrible bargain." Here a man is lost in space. What does God do? God could have wiped the whole thing out and started over. But the Bible said that God loved. God loves you. God loves me. God loves everyone of us with an everlasting love. And God set about to save us. Just like at Mission Control, they set about to save those men on Apollo 13. If they hadn't acted when they did, they would have missed the earth twenty thousand miles after they had gone around the moon. But they worked and they worked and they planned. And the Bible tells us that it was something like that in heaven when man rebelled against God and man was lost in space. Heaven went into action. And God came up with a fantastic plan. And it was so fantastic that I have chills all over me as I talk about it and goosepimples are now on my skin. God decided to do something that caused the angels and the archangels to stand in awe. They couldn't believe it. God decided to become a man. Think of it! The mighty God of the universe decided to become a man. And that's who Jesus Christ was. God incarnate. Born of a virgin, lived a perfect life, never committed a sin, and the Bible says, light is come into the world, but men love their deeds and their darkness more than they did the light. And they put him to the cross. There's God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, the Trinity. I don't understand the Trinity. But I accept it and believe it because when they were nailing Jesus Christ to the cross, the Bible says that God laid on him the iniquity of us all. On that cross, Jesus Christ took your sins, your judgment, your death, your hell on the cross. He not only died physically, but he said: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And in that terrible moment, God laid upon that sinless soul of His Son, my sins. And He suffered the anguish of hell and God said: "There is therefore now no judgment to them that are in Christ." Because of Christ and what He did on the cross, God says: "I forgive you. You've sinned against me. You deserve judgment. You deserve hell, but I forgive you." But more than forgiveness, God said: "I justify you." You and I can forgive, but only God justifies. God places us in His Presence as though we had never committed a single sin. Yes, I'm a sinner. Yes, I deserve hell. But I have been saved from that judgment by what Christ did on the cross. I know I am going to heaven. Not because I am good, but because of what Jesus did. I can't buy my way to heaven. I can't work my way to heaven. There's only one way and that is the cross. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten

Son." The Bible says he was made to be sin for us. The Bible says: "Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree." The Bible says: "Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust." And they took Him down from the cross and they buried Him, but He didn't stay there. The Bible teaches that on the third day He rose from the dead and is alive and the Bible says He is coming back to this earth and one day He will be the future world ruler. Yes, we are going to have peace. Yes, we are going to have social justice. But only when God intervenes in the affairs of men. And Christ comes back and is made King of Kings and Lord of Lords and Prince of Peace. Then we will have world peace, but not till then. I assure you of this.

Do you know Christ? Are you in His kingdom? Are you sure that you are His? Jesus said that unless you be converted and become as a little child, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. What does converted mean? Does that mean that I have some big emotional experience or that I get down in the floor and roll? Not at all. The word "converted" means just what it says. It means change. I turn around. I'm going this way in my life. God turns me around and I start walking a narrow path that leads to eternal life. I start leading a new life. That is conversion. And in order to be converted, there are three things that have to take place. First, you must repent of your sins. Nobody is going to be in heaven that has not repented. Have you ever repented? Have you ever said to God: "I am a sinner; I am sorry Lord. And I am willing, Lord, to change my way of living?" Jesus says: "Except ye repent, ye shall perish." The disciples preached repentance; Jesus preached repentance; I preach repentance to you tonight. Have you repented? The second thing you must do - you must receive Jesus Christ as your personal Saviour by faith. Notice I said by faith. You must say to him: "I will." But as many as received him to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Faith means commitment. There was a man many years ago who was going to roll a wheelbarrow over Niagra Falls on a tightrope. He rolled it over; he rolled it back. The crowd applauded. Then he said: "I am going to put two hundred pounds of dirt into the wheelbarrow and then roll it over." Hundreds of feet down. He could have been killed if he made one slip. The crowd held their breath; thousands of people gathered. He rolled it carefully over; he rolled it carefully back. And the crowd applauded. And then he said: "How many of you in this crowd believe I can roll a man across?" "Oh," they said, "we believe you can do it." Then he turned to a man standing in the crowd and said: "Sir, do you believe that I can roll a man across Niagra Falls on that tightrope?" "Oh," he said, "I certainly believe it." He said: "All right,

you're first." And you couldn't see that man for the dust. And I don't blame him. You see, he didn't understand the word believe. You and I say that we believe in God. We believe in Christ. We believe in the Bible. But do we? Have you actually committed your life to Christ? Is He first in every area of your life? Has He brought the joy and the fulfillment and the forgiveness and the relationship to God or are you depending on your parents' religion? You're depending on the church. You're depending on all of these good things that you ought to be doing, but you don't know Christ in your own personal life. You can know him today. I tell you that it can become a reality today. How is it accomplished? A mystery. First you hear the Scriptures as you are hearing it tonight. The Bible says: Faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God. Your heart is prepared by the Holy Spirit. The seed of the Word of God lands in your heart. It pleased God by the foolishness of proclamation to save them that believe. For me to stand here and speak to you the Word of God and to have your life irrevocably changed sounds ridiculous, doesn't it? The idea that I, a man, can stand here and preach and through the words that I preach from the Bible, your life can be changed. But that is what the Bible said. It pleased God by the foolishness of proclamation or preaching to save them that believe. Then there is the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit will convict you. Some psychologists call it the guilt experience or the guilt complex. But it is absolutely necessary. But that is the way God works. I proclaim to you; the Holy Spirit convicts; you repent and accept forgiveness by faith. And the work is done. Will you receive Him?

There are three things that you can do. You have three alternatives. You can reject God's offer of love that I am presenting to you this night. If you do, you will be like the rich young ruler who rejected and turned away sorrowful. Or secondly, you can neglect Christ like Felix who said he would accept when it was a more convenient season. But he never did because, you see, you cannot come except when God the Father draws you by the Holy Spirit. And I tell you God is speaking to you tonight. I know He is here. I know He is speaking to you. Or you can be like Agrippa who said: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." But almost is not good enough. I am asking you tonight to be persuaded. Your third alternative is to accept as the Philippian jailer accepted when Paul instructed him to "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." And that night, he believed and that night he entered into the kingdom of heaven. Yes, I have been preaching this Gospel in Germany and I have seen thousands of people move out from their seats and take a stand for Christ. People who felt a

need in their lives for Christ. Is there a need in your life? Are there problems, anxieties, unresolved frustrations in your life? That is why I am here tonight. I can answer the pressing questions of your life. I can give you the answer. Jesus Christ is the answer to your need. I am going to ask you to do something hard tonight. I am going to ask you to do something that I have seen people on every continent do: from the great universities to the great jungles of Africa. I'm going to ask you to get up out of your seat, hundreds of you, and come and stand in front of this platform and say, by coming, "I want to be sure that I have been forgiven of my sins. I want to be sure that I am committed to Christ. Totally and completely. I want to give my life to Him." I am going to ask you to come right now. From all over. Hundreds of you. You can receive Christ tonight.