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Light Bearers to the Remnant

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Denominational History Textbook for
Seventh-day Adventist College Classes

by R. W. Schwarz

Prepared by the Department of Education
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

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FOREWORD

Seventh-day Adventists must never forget the precious heritage that is ours. The message we refer to affectionately as the “Three Angels’ Messages,” or simply as “the truth,” has come to us as a legacy of long hours and days of prayer and study by men and women of God. The organization of our church is not the result of happenstance—God used men and women of commitment and ability to design the church structure that has served so effectively through the years. Light bearers these men and women were, indeed. They were God-led, God-blessed light bearers—light bearers who bore the torch gloriously through the years. We pause a moment to honor their memory—to pay tribute to all who were used of God to accomplish so much for the cause of present truth.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is not in the world today only as another ecclesiastical organization. The advent movement was heaven-born. It has been heaven-blessed through the decades of its existence and, thank God, it is heaven-bound. The message that has made us a people is a Christ-centered, Bible-based message. Every doctrine rightly lifts up Jesus as the world’s great Lover and Redeemer. Our early pioneers, under divine guidance, founded this church upon the solid Rock. As a result, it has grown and it reaches out to most parts of planet Earth—from one country to 192 during the lifetime of Seventh-day Adventists now living (1979). Strong institutions ministering to the spiritual, physical, and intellectual needs of Adventists and non-Adventists have been established and continue to prosper. The advent message goes with power over the airways, from the public platform, through the medium of the printed page, and through the effective witness of personal ministry.

It is well that the youth of the advent movement read and hear in the classroom and out of the classroom the story of the triumph of God’s love, that they may absorb a sense of their heritage in Christ Jesus and in His last-church laborers. Always we need to keep in mind that “we have nothing to fear for the future, except as we shall forget the way the Lord has led us, and His teaching in our past history.”—*Life Sketches*, p. 196.

Robert H. Pierson, President,
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

PREFACE

When Edward Gibbon began his “candid but rational inquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity,” he posed the question as to how its “remarkable” victory over the prevailing religious systems of the day could be explained. With tongue in cheek Gibbon made ironic obeisance to the “obvious but satisfactory answer” that this was due “to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and to the ruling providence of its great Author.”¹ Then followed over fifty pages devoted to explaining the rise of the Christian church solely in the light of the social, intellectual, and political currents of the first centuries after Christ.

In spite of his skeptic’s orientation Gibbon had a point. It seems easier for historians to explain the past on the basis of tangible events: the interaction of men, institutions, economic forces, social groups, even the intellectual “climate,” than to discover “behind, above, and through all the play and counterplay of human interests and power and passions, the agencies of the all-merciful One, silently, patiently working out the counsels of His own will.”²

Trained to be critical, to prefer several eyewitnesses and documents produced by impartial, competent observers close to an event, the historian reaches for certainty about the past in terms of things he knows, things that can be seen, heard, and read. He may be confident, as was the ancient prophet Daniel, that the God of heaven “changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings” (Dan. 2:21). He may, with Nebuchadnezzar, be certain that the Most High “doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth” (Dan. 4:35). Yet to inject this all-powerful God into his interpretation of

past events requires an act of faith in the Unseen and seemingly Intangible which runs counter to his training as a historian. It is frequently more comfortable to follow Gibbonian reason and package an explanation of the past in terms of "the will and prowess of man. . . his power, ambition, or caprice."³

Faced with this dilemma, the Seventh-day Adventist historian must frankly recognize that he is not only a historian, he is also a Seventh-day Adventist Christian. As he approaches the past, and particularly the past of his own church, he does so in this dual role—and finds that it is not always easy to keep the two roles separate. Many things he will find easy to explain in terms of human passions, social forces, and psychological "insights." Yet he must also be conscious that his theological beliefs color his selection and interpretation of facts. These beliefs provide, in essence, the "glasses" through which he views the past.

In the following interpretation of the origins, development, and spread of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, a conscious effort has been made to heed Leopold von Ranke's famous injunction to "tell it as it actually happened." Yet there has been the constant realization that to do so would require much more information and insight than is available. At the same time the writer has tried to heed the warning of an outstanding European church historian. "Men are so much in love with their own opinions," wrote Fra Paolo Sarpi, "that they persuade themselves that God favors them as much as they do themselves."⁴

While attempting to portray the rise and development of Seventh-day Adventists as accurately as possible, this account also seeks to avoid a dogmatic interpretation of events as occurring "because God ordained them so." This should not be taken to mean that there are not many aspects of Seventh-day Adventist history which can be fully understood only in the light of the great controversy which continues to rage between Christ and Satan. To the Seventh-day Adventist historian the existence of that controversy provides the real key to a true understanding of all history, including that of his own church. The student is challenged to keep this continuing conflict constantly in mind and thus to develop his own insights into the divine leadings in our past history.

1. E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 5 vols. (1900), I: 507, 508.

2. E. C. White, *Education* (1952), p. 173.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Quoted in P. Burke, ed., *Sarpi* (1967), p. xxxii.

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Again and again I have been shown that the past experiences of God's people are not to be counted as dead facts. We are not to treat the record of these experiences as we would treat last year's almanac. The record is to be kept in mind; for history will repeat itself. The darkness of the mysteries of the night is to be illuminated with the light of heaven.

E. G. White to A. G. Daniells
November 1, 1903 (MS Release #346)

In a special sense Seventh-day Adventists have been set in the world as watchmen and light bearers. To them has been entrusted the last warning for a perishing world. On them is shining wonderful light from the word of God. They have been given a work of the most solemn import—the proclamation of the first, second, and third angels' messages. There is no other work of so great importance.

E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, IX: 19.

CHAPTER 1

The World in Which Adventism Began

Seventh-day Adventists believe that their roots in history go back a long way. Back, not only to the Millerite movement of the 1830s and 40s, but farther: to Wesley and the eighteenth century Evangelical revivalists, to the great Protestant Reformers and to such earlier dissenting groups as the Lollards and Waldenses. Back to the primitive Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, the persecuted church of the first three centuries after Christ, back to Christ and the apostles themselves. Yet it is obvious that modern adventism developed in the setting of the great adventawakening which took place in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Events in Europe

As that century began, much of the Western world was preoccupied with the activities of Napoleon Bonaparte. This Corsican adventurer, who had recently been propelled to the leadership of Europe's dominant state, busied himself in remaking the map of Europe. Even that could not satisfy his restless quest for power. He determined to carve out a position of influence in areas as widely separated as the ancient Near East and the Western Hemisphere. Europe and the New World were alternately assailed and enraged by his activities.

After a decade and a half of almost incessant warfare Bonaparte was at last confined to a tiny South Atlantic islet, and Europe tried to rebuild an orderly society, free from the excesses for which the French Revolution was held responsible. Drawing inspiration from the writings of Edmund Burke and under the astute leadership of Austria's Prince Metternich, European statesmen set out to encourage institutions that would bring stability to the ordered society they desired. Among these was the Roman

Catholic Church, whose influence and prestige gradually increased from the nadir of the preceding revolutionary decades.

Yet many eyes had seen the indignities heaped upon the priests of Rome; indignities which reached their height when Colonel General Louis Berthier established the Roman Republic in 1798 and took Pope Pius VI off to die in exile in France. A new interest was sparked in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, particularly the 1260-day period, which many interpreters now believed had come to an end with the dramatic events of 1798. This rebirth of prophetic interest would soon move on to closer consideration of the longest time period in biblical prophecy—the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14.¹

Religious Diversity

Meanwhile, Protestantism was also experiencing a renaissance, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, where the work of the Wesleys was coming to fruition in the rapid growth of Methodism. In America frontier camp meetings took on an interdenominational hue, and soon sedate Congregationalists and Presbyterians were feeling the call to a more personal and emotional religious experience.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were rich in religious diversity. New sects proliferated. Rejecting established churches and dogma, proclaiming their return to Bible-oriented primitive Christianity, some of these groups developed into religious communes with beliefs and practices later shared by Seventh-day Adventists. Drawn from the uneducated, lower socioeconomic groups of Europe, such communities were held together principally by a strong leader, their confidence in divine intervention in the current affairs of men, and their belief in the imminence of the second advent of Jesus. They sought a pure religious life in rural frontier communities away from the evils of “the world.”

America had long been a promised land for religious dissidents. Although the Pilgrim Fathers are the best known, certainly one of the most intriguing is the German Community of the Woman in the Wilderness, which was established near modern Philadelphia in 1694. It was also in Pennsylvania, among the German Dunkers (Baptists), that Conrad Beissel became convinced of the continued sacredness of the seventh-day Sabbath. Rejected in his community, Beissel withdrew to form the Ephrata Cloister, whose members, in addition to observing the Sabbath, denied the doctrine of eternal punishment, opposed all war and violence, and followed a two-meal-per-day vegetarian diet. Other transplanted German communalistic societies having deep religious motivations were the Rappites, the Separatists of Zoar, and the Amana Society.²

In the year of America's Declaration of Independence a homegrown prophetess appeared in the person of Jemima Wilkinson. Following a thirty-six-hour trance Miss Wilkinson was convinced that Christ's Spirit now occupied her body, and would for a thousand years. Calling herself

the "Universal Friend," she eventually established a community of her followers near Seneca Lake in New York's frontier Genesee County. Although a believer in the seventh-day Sabbath, Jemima was willing to accept Sunday as a holiday and day of rest in order to meet local prejudice. Her insistence on celibacy was a major factor in the swift demise of the group after her death in 1819.³

A more lasting religious community was created by "Mother" Ann Lee Stanley, who had arrived in America from England in 1774 with eight followers. Officially called the Millennial Church, Mother Ann's converts were popularly labeled "the Shakers." Stressing celibacy and equality of the sexes (Mother Ann was believed to be an incarnation of the female nature of God), the Shakers were also given to spiritualistic communications, especially during the period of their greatest growth, 1837-1844. From Maine to Kentucky they established successful communal colonies known for their industry and temperate living as well as their strange religious dances.⁴

The teachings of Jemima Wilkinson and Mother Ann were modifications of the postmillennial views accepted by the majority of Protestants during the eighteenth century. More directly linked to developing prototypes of a millennial kingdom of righteousness were the variety of experimental utopias with religious connections, which flourished during the 1840s. Most of these, such as the Hopedale Community, Fruitlands, and Brook Farm, were begun by men and women from such "intellectual" churches as the Universalists and Unitarians.⁵ Both of these latter denominations were in an ascendant phase at this time.

It was left, however, for John Humphrey Noyes to develop a creed which emphasized the development of perfect individuals in a perfect community. Converted during a Charles G. Finney revival meeting, Noyes studied for the ministry but was denied ordination because of his belief that at conversion a person became free of sin. He developed a truly communistic society at Putney, Vermont, but in 1848 was forced to move his group to Oneida, New York. His idea of "complex marriage," which taught that every woman in the group must be married to every man, brought Noyes's followers into great disfavor. Later, under community pressure, the Oneida group abandoned this concept.⁶

Latter-day Saints

Although all of these religious communities believed that they had been divinely led to a rediscovery of ancient Christian truths and practices, none developed a successful proselytizing program. It was a different story with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, organized in 1830. In the process its founder, Joseph Smith, Jr., did more to focus attention, and suspicion, on the idea of a modern prophet receiving divine revelations than any of his contemporaries. Smith, the son of itinerant parents who finally located in western New York, possessed

little formal education, but he had an active imagination and considerable skill in influencing others. At the age of fourteen Joseph claimed to have received his first visions, in which he was instructed that none of the existing religious denominations was correct in its theology and practices. Several years later an angel named Moroni supposedly directed him to a neighboring hill. Here, in a stone box, Smith claimed to have found inscribed golden plates, together with a breastplate and the Urim and Thummim, two crystals set like spectacles in a silver bow.

By 1830 Smith had produced the *Book of Mormon*, a purported translation of the golden plates. According to Smith, God had called him to preach a restoration of original Christianity in order to prepare the world for the soon return of Jesus, who would establish His kingdom on an earth restored to its original state. Among the doctrines the new Saints taught were baptism by immersion, tithing, and temperance. They held that a recent divine revelation authorized the keeping of the first day of the week rather than the seventh as the Sabbath. Smith failed to develop much of a following in his home district, but his fortunes increased following a series of moves to Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Converts came in the wake of frontier revivals, and an active missionary program was begun both at home and in Great Britain.

Within several years Smith built a virtual state within a state around Nauvoo, Illinois. Then in 1844 disaffection within his church over the practice of plural marriage by the prophet and other church leaders, combined with the fears of non-Mormon leaders, led to Joseph Smith's destruction. State officials were alienated by Smith's announcement of his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Upon order from Governor Thomas Ford, Smith and his brother Hiram were charged with treason and detained in the Carthage, Illinois, jail. On June 27 the brothers were killed during the storming of the jail by a mob. Subsequently Brigham Young led the Mormon faithful westward to establish a new Zion in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The Saints, thriving under hardship and persecution, maintained an active missionary endeavor and continued to grow.⁷

Spiritualism

Just as the emotionalism of Methodist, Baptist, and Campbellite revivals helped plow the ground in which the seeds of Mormonism sprouted, so the philosophical teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which experienced a considerable vogue in America in the early nineteenth century, helped prepare the way for spiritualism. In Swedenborg's view the second advent foreseen by John in the Revelation occurred through God's disclosure to him of the true spiritual meaning of the Bible. He maintained that he experienced visions in which he conversed with famous men of the past ages. In 1844 an eighteen-year-old New York cobbler, Andrew Jackson Davis, had a trance in a country graveyard during which

he believed he met and received messages from the ancient Greek physician, Galen, and from Swedenborg. It was Davis who popularized clairvoyance and the spiritualistic trance; in effect he was America's first popular medium. Scholars generally credit him with supplying the vocabulary and suggesting the theology of modern spiritualism. Four years later the mysterious rappings interpreted by the Fox sisters at Hydesville, New York, gave wide publicity in America to communication with spirits. Spiritualism did not develop a strong separate denominational organization. Instead its believers retained their connection with established churches, particularly of the Universalist-Unitarian variety. The number of mediums increased. For the year 1859 one scholar has identified seventy-one in New York, fifty-five in Massachusetts, and twenty-seven in Ohio. Some 350,000 New Yorkers were estimated at this time to be believers in communion with the dead.⁸

Conventional Protestantism was displaying increasing vigor at the same time that it was becoming more fractionalized. In Great Britain, which emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as a dominant world power, the Wesleyan revival continued to stir thousands to a new interest in humanitarian crusades and missionary endeavor. The Great Awakening of the 1740s and a century later the Finney revivals provided a similar stimulus in the United States. This new energy led to a greatly expanded interest in carrying the gospel to the non-Christian world.

The Missionary Movement

Many date the beginning of the modern Protestant missionary movement to William Carey's arrival in India in 1793. Two years later the London Missionary Society was established, followed the next year by the establishment of a similar organization in New York. During the next few years Robert Morrison went to China, Henry Martyn to the Muslim Near East, Adoniram Judson to India and Burma, and Robert Moffat to South Africa. Enthusiastic support for this mission endeavor came from the mushrooming Bible societies which sprang up in Europe, America, and Asia—sixty-three from 1804 to 1840. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society were particularly active in sponsoring translation of the Scriptures into new languages. Parts or all of the Bible were translated into 112 languages and dialects between 1800 and 1844. This was more translations than had been made in the preceding eighteen centuries. In addition, millions of pages of Christian literature were produced and distributed by the many tract and book societies which appeared in the wake of the London Religious Tract Society (1799).⁹

The Sunday School Movement

The churches recognized that much needed to be done in their own neighborhoods as well as in foreign lands. Thousands of children and youth were growing up in homes where the name of Christ was used only

in profanity. To reach this group Robert Raikes inaugurated the Sunday School Movement in England in the late eighteenth century. Similar schools were launched in New York and Boston in 1816. Soon the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union was shepherding 723 schools scattered among the major Protestant denominations in nearly twenty states. In 1826 the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed Churches cooperated to establish the American Home Missionary Society, which for the next quarter century actively promoted Christian schools and churches in the frontier states and territories.¹⁰

Economic Conditions

Economic conditions in Great Britain and the United States contributed greatly to the churches' ability to finance missionary endeavors at home and abroad. The advent of improved technology in the textile industry and the development of the steam engine propelled Britain into the first industrial revolution. Fortunes were developed in manufacturing and in trade with a growing overseas empire. Much of this new merchant wealth was given to support overseas missionaries, perhaps in the hope that a desire to purchase the products enjoyed by Christians would follow the adoption of their religion. Others whose consciences were troubled at affluence acquired through "nasty" ventures like the slave trade quieted them by donating money to have Bibles translated into Hindustani.

As factories mushroomed, so did the population in urban areas. This concentration of population made it easier to contact larger numbers in a short time. Still, the Industrial Revolution proved a mixed blessing for the Christian churches. The increase in the variety and amounts of material goods tended to stimulate the acquisitive nature of the wealthy and to arouse the envy of the poor. Factory hands and miners, weary from a twelve- to sixteen-hour working day, were generally lethargic toward spiritual things. Disillusioned over their chances for upward mobility in English society, thousands longed to emigrate to America, Australia, or South Africa. It was in this group that the millennial appeal of Joseph Smith's Mormons found its greatest response.

Reform Movements

In both Britain and the United States religious groups were soon involved in the campaign to improve numerous aspects of society. America's most famous revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, "preached not only salvation but reform." Many who were converted under his preaching became active in antislavery and temperance societies or in one of the other reform movements that blossomed during the 1830s.¹¹

Perhaps none of these reform movements exhibited more clearly the interweaving of religious and secular motivations than the crusade to promote temperance. Hundreds of clergymen labeled intemperance and the liquor traffic as sinful. William Miller exhorted his followers, "For

your soul's sake drink not another draught, lest he [Christ] come and find you drunken."¹² Other temperance advocates were stimulated by more earthly interests. If increasing numbers of citizens were to be given the vote, it was essential that they be able to cast their ballots with minds unclouded by liquor. Some reformers emphasized the affinity of drunkenness with poverty and crime.

Numerous causes designed to improve the lot of disadvantaged groups attracted the reform-minded. Thomas Gallaudet and Samuel Gridley Howe campaigned for education and understanding of the deaf and the blind. Louis Dwight of Boston sought to arouse church members to the "miseries of prisons." Surely there was much in the common methods of handling criminals that needed reforming. Confinement in the stocks, whipping, and branding came to seem inhuman—fit treatment only for slaves! Surely counseling, education, and religious services were more potent than corporal punishment for encouraging reformation. Other voices were raised to demand more humane treatment for orphans, vagrants, and the poor.

In 1843 a "feeble but militant woman," Dorothea Dix, shocked the Massachusetts legislature with the results of her two-year investigation into state care for the mentally ill. Her sad story of persons confined to cages like animals or shut up in closets, cellars, or pens led the legislature to authorize a new insane asylum to be run as a hospital. Over the course of the next two decades Miss Dix wore herself out in arousing the legislatures of a dozen states to follow the lead of Massachusetts.

Educational Reform

It was during these years that the free public school system took shape in the United States. Beginning in 1823, when Samuel Hall called for better training for elementary teachers, the drive for improved publicly funded schools gained momentum after Massachusetts appointed Horace Mann in 1837 as the first state superintendent of education. The next year New Jersey became the first state to provide free primary schooling for all children at public expense. Soon, under the leadership of Mann and Henry Barnard, of neighboring Connecticut, school buildings were improved, the school term lengthened, normal schools developed, and teachers' salaries increased.

Feminist Reformers

Many of the most active reformers were women. A number crusaded for improvement in their own lot. Although along the frontier it was common for women to be accepted as near equals, in the older areas of settlement they were expected to be good housekeepers, strong in support of the church, but ignorant of politics, economics, and legal matters. This viewpoint was vigorously attacked by Margaret Fuller, Lucy Stone, and a score of others who campaigned for equal right to receive an education, enter

any profession, control their own property, and make their voices heard on public issues.

Health Habits

A call to reform personal health habits was urged by many, the best known of whom was Sylvester Graham. The great cholera epidemic of 1832 led Americans to give an attentive ear to Graham's call for a vegetarian diet which placed a heavy reliance on coarse stone-ground whole wheat and rye grains. Edward Hitchcock at Amherst College and Reuben Mussey at Dartmouth promoted a more complete health regimen, which stressed a moderate vegetarian diet, cleanliness of person, proper sleep and exercise, and abstinence from alcoholic beverages, coffee, tea, tobacco, and foods prepared with large amounts of grease. By the 1840s hydrotherapy had been imported from Graefenburg, Austria, where an uneducated peasant, Vincent Priessnitz, had accidentally discovered the effectiveness of cold water in relieving pain and swelling. The simplicity of water as a curative agent appealed to many who were properly skeptical of the poorly educated physicians of the day.¹³

Abolition of Slavery

Gradually in America concern over one particular evil became so all-encompassing that it consumed practically the entire reform energies of the nation. Slavery had long disturbed many, but as it became more profitable, following Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, Southern planters found their consciences smothered by devotion to their pocket-books. During the first years of the nineteenth century, advocacy of abolition was left principally to the Quakers. The 1830s were different. Stirred by the strident tones of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, both encouraged and shamed by the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and by the equation of slavery with sin by evangelists like Finney and Theodore Weld, thousands of Americans from Massachusetts to Ohio enlisted in a crusade to end forever the ownership of one man by another.

The issue of slavery broadened to include the rights of free speech and a free press as antislavery advocates were tarred and feathered in the South and Postmaster General Amos Kendall approved the refusal of Southern postmasters to deliver abolitionist literature. Politics seemed to some the only way to fight the growing evil. This attitude led to the birth of the Liberty Party in 1840. At the same time ex-President John Quincy Adams was vigorously fighting the "gag" rule, by which Congress had attempted to choke off antislavery petitions. Tempers rose. Not only were Northern abolitionists pitted against Southern slave owners, but neighbor disagreed with neighbor throughout the North. Women's rights, temperance, health reform all faded in the heat of a controversy which was soon to rend the nation and almost split it in two.¹⁴

Travel and Communication

In general these reform years were, in the United States, years of prosperity. A seemingly inexhaustible supply of good farmland promised that, barring economic disasters such as the Panic of 1837 or severe physical illness, almost any family willing to work could develop the security of becoming property holders. True, this land must be wrested from the virgin prairies and forests. It also required a willingness to move constantly westward, where land prices were cheaper. Then, the cotton and wheat produced must be moved to markets. Small wonder that Americans during these years pinned their faith on such internal improvements as an expanding network of canals and turnpikes. By 1811 steamboats were operating on the Mississippi. Soon steam would be used to propel cars down iron tracks at what seemed extravagant speeds of 15 to 20 miles per hour.

Steam and electricity also provided the power for more rapid transmission of knowledge: in 1814 the *London Times* installed the first steam cylinder press; by the 1830s Samuel F. B. Morse had harnessed electrical current to develop the first successful telegraph. In May of 1844 Morse sent his first message over the wire recently strung between Washington and Baltimore. Within the next decade most of the major cities of the United States and Europe had telegraphic connections.¹⁵

Democracy

It seems hardly coincidental that Britain and the United States, the two pillars of the growing evangelical Protestant outreach, should also be the two countries most firmly committed to a democratic form of government. There had always been an affinity between Protestantism and democracy. He who demanded freedom to interpret Scripture and order his religious practices as he pleased was not generally willing to accept autocratic rule by kings or oligarchs. In both countries the democratic impulse was deepening during the 1820s and 30s. Jacksonian Democracy in America heralded the age of the common man, frontier egalitarianism, a broadened suffrage, mass participation in government, and a commitment to education for all at public expense. By 1832 even many English aristocrats were grudgingly willing to expand the franchise. In the years which followed, the Chartists continued agitating for more representative democracy.

Democratic and liberal ideas were spreading throughout the European continent as well. In spite of the diligent efforts of conservatives, popular hopes for increased participation in government and a larger piece of the economic pie helped precipitate the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. In several places—Belgium, Germany, Poland—these outbreaks were coupled with the spirit of nationalism. Nationalistic stirrings were also being felt in Italy and Spanish America. In the United States they flared up in the War of 1812, the later conflict with Mexico, and in disputes with

Britain over the Canadian boundary in Maine and Oregon. Here, too, nationalism mutated into an ugly antforeign jingoism as increasing numbers of Irish Catholics, propelled by famine, began to arrive in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Catholic schools and churches were burned, and proposals to make naturalization more difficult became increasingly popular among politicians.¹⁶

The quarter of a century which followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars was a period of ferment. A new technology based on steam and electricity was in its infancy. A host of reforms, from vegetarianism to the abolition of slavery, stirred the emotions of thousands. There was an increased interest both in acquiring the comforts of this world and in preparing oneself and others for the next. Religious ideas and organizations were being born and were dying at a rapid rate. Interest in Bible prophecy and the establishment of Christ's kingdom of glory competed for attention in this turbulent milieu. Would this interest be sustained or falter and die out?

Suggested Reading:

Probably the best single volume to convey a dramatic feeling for the variety of religious and humanitarian reform programs which swept the United States in the 1830s and 40s is A. F. Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment* (1944). A more sophisticated account, confining its attention to western New York, is W. R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (1950). Jerome Clark covers the same ground from an Adventist point of view in his multivolume *1844* (1968). The essays covering social reform, communitarianism, and health reform in *The Rise of Adventism* (1975), edited by Edwin Gaustad, are especially enlightening. Chapter 4 in B. A. Weisberger's *They Gathered at the River* (1958) provides a good picture of Charles G. Finney's revivalism in America. The background for the sudden expansion in Christian missions is perceptively analyzed in Chapters II and III of K. S. Latourette's *The Great Century* (1941), which is Volume IV in his *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. An interpretation of these same developments, accenting the expanding technology of the period, may be found in Chapters 2 and 3 of L. E. Froom's *Movement of Destiny* (1971).

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1. L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 43, 44.
 2. J. Clark, *1844* (1968), II: 141-175; A. Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (1962 ed.), pp. 111-115, 121-132.
 3. H. Wisbey, *Pioneer Prophets: The Publick Universal Friend* (1964), *passim*.
 4. The standard work on the Shakers is E. Andrews, *The People Called Shakers* (1963).
 5. J. Clark, II: 170-196.
 6. For Noyes's views and their implementation see R. Parker, *A Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community* (1935).
 7. Probably the best single book on Joseph Smith and the rise of the Mormons is F. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (1946).
 8. S. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), pp. 483-489; W. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (1950), pp. 341-352; Clark, I: 362-374; Tyler, pp. 82-85.

9. Froom, pp. 50, 51; K. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. (1937-45), IV (1941): 68, 72, 81-83, 131, 132, 219.
10. Froom, pp. 58, 59.
11. Tyler, p. 41; B. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River* (1958), ch. 4.
12. For a discussion of temperance and other reform movements stirring America, I have relied heavily on Tyler, see especially pp. 267-285, 287-291, 294-299, 301-307, 316-319, 339-341; see also Clark, II: 199-240; III: 17-72.
13. J. Blake, "Health Reform," in E. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism* (1975), pp. 30-49.
14. D. Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (1966), *passim*; Clark, II: 13-133.
15. Clark, III: 175-195.
16. On the growth of American Anti-Catholicism during the first half of the nineteenth century see R. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (1938).

CHAPTER 2

The Great Advent Awakening

How the words of the angel messengers must have rung in the disciples' ears that day in A.D. 31 as they trudged back to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives! "This same Jesus . . . shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." From that day on, their Lord's return was the "blessed hope," referred to more than 300 times by New Testament writers. Then shortly before his death, John the beloved received a glimpse of a third coming a thousand years after the second. At that time final judgment would be passed upon sin and sinners, and they would be excluded from a "new heaven and a new earth."

So real to the early Christian church was the hope of Christ's imminent return that Edward Gibbon, in his rational attempt to account for the rapid growth of Christianity, identified the belief in Christ's soon return as one of the major factors in Christianity's success. But Christ did not return. As the years stretched into decades and then into centuries, more and more Christians accepted Origen's spiritualized view of the second coming as occurring when an individual accepted Christ and died to the old world of sin. In the fifth century St. Augustine argued that the millennial reign of Christ had begun with the establishment of His church at the first advent. "The blessed hope" was no longer real and vital, but was mixed up with death, purgatory, heaven, and hell.

Interest in Prophecy

In subsequent centuries isolated scholars such as Joachim of Floris (*fl.* 1180) saw in the biblical prophecies of Daniel and Revelation evidence of the second advent's approach. Yet it was not until the Protestant Reformation that belief in the imminence of this event again developed on a broad

scale. More decades passed, and the hope remained unrealized. By the beginning of the eighteenth century most Protestant theologians were ready for a new view of the advent. An English clergyman, Daniel Whitby, soon accommodated them. He posited a spiritual "second coming," to be followed by a thousand years during which first Protestants, then Catholics, and later Jews and Moslems, would renounce sin and unbelief and be thoroughly converted to Christ. At the close of this millennium Christ would indeed come in a literal way. Protestants of all varieties seized this idea with alacrity. By 1750 Whitbyanism, with its belief in a postmillennial advent, dominated Protestant eschatology, especially in England and America.¹

The stirring events associated with the French Revolution rekindled millennial speculation. When Yale University president Timothy Dwight proclaimed in his Fourth of July sermon in 1798 that "the advent of Christ is at least at our doors," it was the Whitbyan concept of a spiritual advent that he apparently had in mind.² The French Revolution also reawakened interest in such biblical time prophecies as the 1260 (Dan. 7:25) and the 2300 days (Dan. 8:14). In Christian circles the realization that a prophetic day stood for a year dates back at least as far as Joachim of Floris. By 1800 many Protestant expositors were convinced that the 1260-year period of papal supremacy had ended during the 1790s. Attention began to shift to the 2300 days, the longest specific time prophecy in the Bible.³

Awakening in Germany

The key to dating the 2300 days had been provided as early as 1768 by Johann Petri, a German Calvinist pastor. Apparently it was Petri who first ascertained the close relationship between the messianic seventy-week prophecy of Daniel 9 and the 2300 days of Daniel 8. He began both time periods in 453 B.C., thus concluding that the 2300 days/years would end in 1847. Similar conclusions were reached about the same time by Hans Wood, a pious Irish layman. Wood, however, began the two periods in 420 B.C. and so ended the 2300 years in 1880.⁴

Roughly fifty years before Petri, Johann Bengel, another German pastor, had made a major impact on evangelical Protestantism. To Bengel the entire Bible was a progressive revelation of God's plan for man's salvation. In this plan Christ is the central figure. All prophetic time periods point forward to the culmination of God's plan: Christ's second coming in glory. Bengel was fascinated by the number of the beast mentioned in Revelation 13:18 and decided that this number 666 was equal to the 1260 years of the beast's supremacy. Through complicated arithmetical reasoning he ended the period in 1836. He believed Christ would return at this time and begin a millennial reign on earth to be followed by a second millennium in heaven. Bengel paid scant attention to the 2300 days beyond identifying them as 2300 literal years. It was his reemphasis of the second advent that had a profound effect in German Pietistic circles and

in England, where John Wesley was deeply moved by his teaching.⁵

Manuel de Lacunza

As the nineteenth century opened, another work was also stirring up interest in the second advent. Its impact was heightened by the religious affiliation of its author. For centuries the Roman Catholic Church had either virtually ignored Christ's return or projected it into the far-distant future. Then in the 1790s a manuscript entitled *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty*, written by an exiled Jesuit priest, began to circulate in Spain and Spanish America. Manuel de Lacunza had been forced to leave his native Chile in 1767 when Charles III expelled all Jesuits from his realm. Lacunza eventually resettled in a monastery near Bologna, Italy. Here he found leisure to complete his study of the second advent, which had intrigued him for more than twenty years. Realizing the likelihood that his views would incur the wrath of the Inquisition, Lacunza circulated his manuscript under the pseudonym Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra. It was not until 1812, more than a decade following the author's death, that *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* was published in Spain, where the Inquisition's authority had been undermined during the French occupation.

Even before publication, manuscript translations of Lacunza's work in Latin and Italian were in circulation. Once printed, it spread rapidly, creating a considerable stir throughout southern Europe and Latin America. Believing that the two advents of Christ were the focal points of all history, Lacunza called for a thorough examination of the Bible for light on the soon return of Jesus. This Jesuit priest accepted the early Christian Church's position that there were to be two resurrections of the dead, separated by a millennium. His understanding of the second advent as occurring at the start of this millennium placed him in direct opposition to Whitbyan postmillennialism.

As Lacunza had feared, his book was condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index. In 1824 Pope Leo XII officially forbade its publication "in any language whatsoever." Far from ending its influence, the papal ban was a virtual recommendation to Protestant scholars.⁶

English Expositors

The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty became an important stimulus to the advent awakening which flowered brilliantly during the 1820s in Great Britain. Early in the Napoleonic period interest in prophetic interpretation increased among English clergymen. This can be seen clearly in the correspondence columns of *The Christian Observer*, an Anglican journal begun in London in 1802. At first the *Observer's* correspondents were particularly concerned with the 1260-year period, but in 1810 John A. Brown introduced the 2300 years into the discussion, dating them from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.⁷

These dates were later accepted by one of the *Observer's* most vigorous correspondents, William Cunninghame. This Scottish layman became a prolific writer, publishing twenty-one different works on biblical prophecy and chronology. Cunninghame believed that he was living in the time of the first angel of Revelation 14:6, 7 and that the messages to be sounded by the second and third angels in this chapter were still in the future. He interpreted the "cleansing of the sanctuary" at the end of the 2300 years as the start of God's cleansing of His church and the visiting of judgment on apostasy and Islam. He expected the millennium to begin at the close of the 1335 day/year period mentioned in Daniel 12:12. Because he began this period, as he did the 1260 years, in 533, he figured that it would end in 1867.⁸

Several differences between British participants in the advent awakening and their counterparts in the later Millerite movement in America are evident. In general the British preachers failed to proclaim one specific date with the same fervor as the Americans. The belief that the Jews would be converted and return to establish a Palestinian state was a major British, but not a Millerite, tenet. This led English advent believers such as Lewis Way and Henry Drummond to be very interested in missionary work for the Jews. Drummond, the financial angel of British adventism, was a wealthy banker who decided in 1817 to renounce politics and devote himself to Christian service. In 1826, at Way's suggestion, Drummond invited a number of interested ministers and laymen to engage in an intensive study of the prophecies for one week at his Albury Park estate. This conference became an annual event for the next four years. All of the participants agreed that Christ's coming was "at the door," and many expected Him in 1847. They interpreted the work of the newly organized missionary and Bible societies as fulfilling the loud cry of the first angel of Revelation 14. From these conferences grew a quarterly journal dedicated to discussing unfulfilled prophecy. It was entitled *The Morning Watch*.⁹

Among the participants in the Albury Park conferences, two young men in their early thirties stand out: Joseph Wolff and Edward Irving. The son of a German-Jewish rabbi, Joseph Wolff found himself attracted to Christianity as a youth. Repulsed by the rationalism prevalent in early nineteenth-century German Protestantism, he turned to Catholicism. Finding his way to Rome, Wolff became a favorite of pope and cardinals. His gift for languages and evangelistic fervor earned him entrance to the Church's College of Missionary Propaganda. Soon, however, this brilliant young Jew found himself in sharp conflict with both teachers and fellow students over the Church's right to burn heretics, which Wolff denounced as a violation of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." At this juncture he met Henry Drummond, who had stopped in Rome to see this famous Jewish Christian. Soon Drummond was appealing, "Wolff, come out of Babylon."

Wolff's independence brought him under the surveillance of the Holy

Office and eventually led to his banishment from Rome. Shortly thereafter he cut his ties with Catholicism and migrated to England, where he became an Anglican. Wolff came to expect Christ's second advent in 1847. No other advent believer heralded the good news of this anticipated event over a wider area. An expert in six languages and able to converse freely in another eight, Joseph Wolff was a compulsive missionary to Jews, Moslems, Hindus, and Parsees. He traversed most of the Near East, pierced the mysterious lands of central Asia, and crossed the Himalayas to India. On a visit to America in 1837 he was invited to address the American Congress. Shortly thereafter he was asked what he would do if, when 1847 came, the millennium did not begin. "Why," Wolff replied forthrightly, "I shall say that Joseph Wolff was mistaken."¹⁰

Edward Irving, the "most colorful figure in the British Advent Awakening," grew up in Scotland and graduated from Edinburgh University at the age of seventeen. After an apprentice ministry in Glasgow he accepted an invitation to pastor a small chapel in London. Soon his brilliant oratory, reputation for piety, and ability to empathize with his parishioners brought the cream of London society to his chapel. He found it necessary to move to the larger Regent Square Presbyterian Church in order to accommodate his congregation. Irving's early and somewhat casual interest in the prophecies was dramatically changed when he read a Spanish edition of Lacunza's work in 1826. That same year he joined James Frère and Lewis Way in organizing the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy, which met to study "the speedy coming of our Lord."

Under the influence of Frère, Irving accepted 1847 as the probable date of the second advent. Frère was one of the few British adventists who held to the idea that Daniel 8:14 should read "2400 days," as recorded in the Vatican text of the Septuagint, rather than the commonly accepted 2300 days.

Sunday by Sunday Irving taught the imminent return of Jesus before packed congregations of a thousand people in his London church. On tours of Scotland he spoke in the open air before crowds of up to 12,000. A large congregation in Edinburgh turned out to hear him at five o'clock in the morning. During one of his Scottish tours he converted the three Bonar brothers to the advent hope. Horatius Bonar, then only twenty-one, would later serve for twenty-five years as editor of *The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*. His poetic ability, demonstrated in the lyrics for his famous "I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say," led him to be known as the "hymnist of the advent."

But tragedy struck Irving's church. One Sunday in 1831 the sermon was interrupted by an outbreak of speaking in tongues; experiments with faith healing followed. The congregation became deeply divided over the genuineness of these supernatural manifestations. Although not directly involved in either phenomenon, Irving refused to condemn what he thought might be the promised latter-day outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

This led to his removal and trial for heresy. Broken in spirit, he died in 1834.¹¹

Continental Expositors

No other European country had so brilliant a cluster of heralds of the advent hope as did England. Yet the Continent was not without witnesses. In Geneva, François S. R. L. Gausson, driven from his pulpit by the rationalistic state clergy, became a teacher in the Evangelical Society's School of Theology. As a "zealous advocate" of the second advent he paid special attention to the prophecies in his teaching. Gausson originated a unique way of creating interest in the prophecies by giving a series of Sunday School lessons on Daniel to the children of Geneva. This series attracted numerous adults, including many who visited the city from other areas of Europe.¹²

In Germany the advent hope was promoted by men like Johann Richter, Bavarian schoolmaster Leonard Kelber, and an obscure Roman Catholic parish priest, Johann Lutz. Richter served not only as secretary of the Rhenish Missionary Society, but also edited a six-volume Family Bible Commentary. Lutz found the little Bavarian village of Karlshuld sunk in poverty and sin. By stimulating interest in the Scriptures he brought about a revival, accompanied by such gifts of the Holy Spirit as visions, dreams, and prophetic utterances calling attention to the soon coming of Christ and urging preparation for that event.¹³

Scandinavia

Phenomena similar to those manifested in Karlshuld, but on a larger scale, focused the attention of thousands in Scandinavia on the advent message. In Sweden the clergy of the state church proved uninterested in discussing the soon coming of Christ. Instead laymen began proclaiming the impending hour of God's judgment in meetings in private homes and in the forests. Since such gatherings were in violation of royal decree, the young lay preachers were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned. They maintained that when the Spirit of God came upon them they could not refrain from preaching and justified their actions by citing Joel 2 and Revelation 14:6-8. During the years 1842 and 1843 in particular, many children and youth, girls as well as boys, some as young as six years of age, gave discourses on the second advent and called the people to repentance. This made a profound impact upon many, particularly among the common people. Most of these children were illiterate. Some seemed to preach while in a trancelike state; the tone and manner of their voices changed completely when they were "overpowered" by the Spirit.¹⁴

Australia

On the opposite side of the world, in Adelaide, Australia, Thomas Playford preached powerful sermons on the second coming. Since local churches were not big enough to hold his audiences, friends built a large

structure for his use. In India Daniel Wilson, Episcopal Bishop of Calcutta and a participant in one of the Albury Park conferences, published in 1836 a book on the prophecies of Daniel. In this volume he set the end for the 2300 years in 1847, at which time he expected Christ's return and a premillennial resurrection of the dead.¹⁵

Yet in spite of all the interest in the second coming, the Old World failed to produce a unified movement dedicated to promoting readiness for that climactic event. Why? Several reasons may be suggested. First, there was considerable argument among students of prophecy over whether the 2300 or 2400 days ended in 1843, 1844, or 1847. No consensus developed. Second, there was a failure to focus on one time period exclusively. Considerable interest was shown in the 1290 and 1335-day periods (Dan. 12: 11, 12) in addition to the 1260 and 2300 days. These were extended by many to 1866 or 1867. What was to happen then? The Old World expositors also tended to expect the conversion and restoration of the Jews and the expulsion of the Moslems from Jerusalem before the advent. As the 1840s drew near and there were no evidences that these things were about to take place, interest shifted to the 1860s. Nor did England or the Continent develop any popular journals for promoting adventist views. Those journals that interested themselves in the prophecies and the advent were largely of a scholarly nature, inclined to treat events with detachment rather than evangelistic fervor. They developed no mass following. Perhaps the Old World was too set in its ways, too conservative, to look with enthusiasm toward anything so revolutionary as the second advent and a new heaven and earth.

The United States

Although in the United States there was no major interest in an imminent second advent until a decade after the Albury Park Conference, there had been speculation on the 2300-year period. As early as 1811 Presbyterian pastor William C. Davis of South Carolina had calculated the ends of both the 2300 and 1260-year prophecies to occur in 1847. He reached this date by recognizing that the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24 provided the key to the beginning of the 2300 days. Davis interpreted the "cleansing of the sanctuary" to mean the start of the millennium. At this time he believed the "true worship of God will be restored to the church." Intent on integrating the 1290 and 1335-day prophecies with the other two time periods, which he had already synchronized, Davis envisioned the purification of the church as starting in 1847 with the overthrow of the papacy, began the conversion of the Jews thirty years later, but delayed the full glory of the millennium until 1922. In later life Davis adopted a more thoroughgoing postmillennialist position, placing a literal, personal second advent and last judgment some 365,000 years in the future.¹⁶

Other American preachers, such as Joshua L. Wilson of Cincinnati and Alexander Campbell, founder of the Disciples of Christ, came to teach the

cleansing of the sanctuary and the 2300 days in much the same way as William Davis. In 1830 a Campbellite layman, Samuel McCorckle, of Tennessee, even projected a literal second advent to occur in 1847.¹⁷ For the most part, however, Whitbyan postmillennialism dominated the thinking of those American clergymen who studied biblical prophetic time periods. It remained for a New York farmer to work out a convincing premillennial interpretation of the second advent linked to the 2300 days.

William Miller

Yet this was no average farmer. As the eldest of sixteen children, William Miller soon learned that there was no money to provide the advanced education which he desired. College would have to be such books as he could borrow from friendly neighbors in the semifrontier area southwest of Lake Champlain, where he grew up. Reading by the light of pine knots long after the rest of the family had retired, Miller developed a good basic knowledge of the Bible and of history. He also developed some skill in writing, enough so that he was frequently called upon to write letters or compose a verse for a friend.

At twenty-one Miller married a young lady from Poultney, Vermont, just across the state line from his family home in Low Hampton, New York. Upon moving to his bride's community, Miller quickly took advantage of the village library. His scholarly interests brought him into contact with the local village intellectuals, most of whom were deists. Under the influence of a religious mother and a grandfather and uncle who were Baptist preachers, young Miller had learned to reverence the Bible. Now his new friends introduced him to skeptics such as Voltaire, Paine, and Hume. Before long he decided that a deistic philosophy was more reasonable than acceptance of the Bible, which to him seemed filled with troublesome inconsistencies.

Miller was well accepted in his community, serving it as a constable, justice of the peace, and deputy sheriff. Shortly before the outbreak of the War of 1812 he became a lieutenant in the state militia; during the war he advanced to a captaincy in the regular army. Miller's wartime experiences shook his faith in deism. As he saw comrades die, he became preoccupied with the question of a future life. Then came participation in the Battle of Plattsburg, where the raw American forces were outnumbered nearly three to one by British veterans, many of whom had fought against Napoleon. Yet the British were beaten. Could this be because God had intervened? he wondered.¹⁸

At the end of the war Miller moved back to Low Hampton, the better to care for his recently widowed mother. Perhaps to please her he began attending the local Baptist church, where his Uncle Elisha preached quite regularly. On occasion, when a minister was not available, a deacon would read a printed sermon. This Miller did not find edifying; so he stopped attending on such Sundays, until the deacons invited him to read future

sermons. Gradually he became dissatisfied with deism's lack of hope for a life beyond the grave. One Sunday while reading the sermon, he was overcome with emotion and had to sit down. He had suddenly begun to see the beauty of Christ as a personal Saviour. Why not become a thorough Christian and pin his hopes on the Bible promises of salvation?

Immediately he found himself the object of ridicule among his deist friends, who now advanced the old arguments Miller had previously used against the Bible. Both to answer these challenges and to build a firm foundation for his faith, Miller began a program of systematic Bible study. Since he had discovered that commentators frequently differed strongly with each other, he determined to use only the Bible and *Cruden's Concordance*, and let the Bible serve as its own interpreter. Beginning with Genesis he proceeded in his study only as fast as he was able to explain each passage satisfactorily. When confronted with an obscure or difficult verse, Miller looked up all other verses containing the same key words. Through careful comparison and reasoning he then formulated his explanation of the troublesome passage. Early in his study he concluded that the Bible should be interpreted literally unless the context clearly indicated that the writer was using figurative language.¹⁹

As Miller studied, his earlier reading of history began to influence him. He noticed that although the prophets frequently spoke in figurative language, their predictions were fulfilled by literal events. This was noticeably true in reference to the first advent of Christ and the great outline prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7. From this conclusion it was a logical step to assume that the second advent would also take place literally. As he studied Daniel 8:14, he became convinced that the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days/years was the church, which would be purified at her Lord's return. By linking up the 2300 days of Daniel 8 with the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, he deduced that both periods had begun about 457 B.C. Having reached this conclusion in 1818 after two years of intensive Bible study, Miller was thrilled at the thought "that in about twenty-five years . . . all the affairs of our present state would be wound up."²⁰

Miller Spreads the Word

Now he began to talk more openly to neighbors and visiting preachers about his conclusions regarding Christ's return. To his chagrin, few showed any interest. Although disappointed, he continued his Bible study and, as he did so, the conviction pressed home to his heart that he had a personal responsibility to share this "good news." The very thought filled him with terror. He reasoned that his lack of training and experience as a public speaker excused him from any such assignment. Yet the impression would not go away, until finally one Saturday morning in August 1831, alone in his study, Miller promised God that "if I should have an invitation to speak publicly in any place, I will go and tell them

what I find in the Bible about the Lord's coming." Instantly his mind was relieved. Because he had never had such an invitation, he felt entirely safe in making the promise.

Within the hour Miller had his invitation. It came from his brother-in-law in nearby Dresden, New York. When he had learned that there was no preacher available for Sunday service, Silas Guilford sent his son to get Uncle William to come and talk with the neighbors about the things he had been studying in the Bible relative to Jesus' return. Miller's first reaction was anger that he had made such a foolish promise. Yet he was a man of his word. That afternoon he set out for Dresden. The meeting the next day was a thorough success. Once launched into his topic, Miller lost his shyness and presented his views so forcefully that he was invited to stay on for a week and hold revival services. The results were a foretaste of what was to come; in thirteen families, all but two persons were converted.²¹

Upon his return home, Miller found a letter containing a request from the Baptist pastor in nearby Poultney that he come and talk to the Baptists of Poultney about the second advent. From that time on Miller was in constant demand as a speaker in the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational churches in the area and across the border in eastern Canada. In September 1833 his local Baptist church, without his knowledge and with the direct simplicity of frontier America, voted him a license to preach. It seems he was never formally ordained. Throughout the remainder of his life he refused to be called "Reverend," maintaining that it was not biblical to apply such a title to any human. Nor did he wear the clerical robe and collar, preferring the simple clothing of a gentleman farmer.

Miller's earnestness and sincerity were to win him high marks, even from those who, like William Lloyd Garrison, disagreed with his interpretations of prophecy. As he traveled, hundreds commented on his "coolness and soundness of judgment," his biblical and historical expertise, and his logical reasoning. This farmer-preacher was not interested in simply securing intellectual assent to his mathematical calculations; his greatest desire was to see men and women, especially agnostics and infidels, accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and look forward with joy to His soon return. Miller's sermons were known for their careful organization and heavy reliance on numerous Bible texts. He spoke in a forceful, but not bombastic, style and in language the common people understood.²²

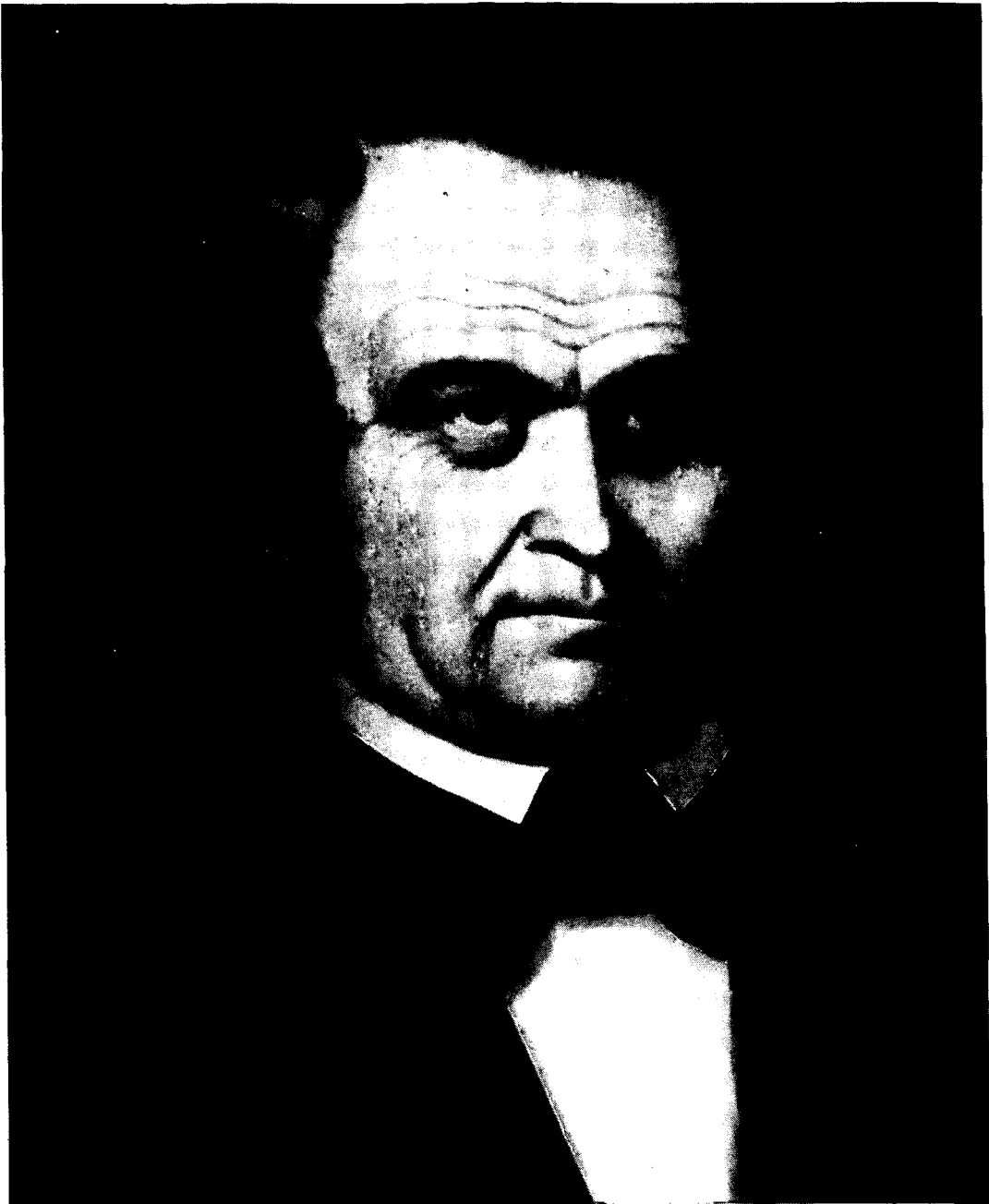
The first printed version of Miller's views appeared in a series of letters which he wrote in 1832 to a Baptist paper, *The Vermont Telegraph*; these were followed two years later by a sixty-four-page pamphlet prepared to answer inquiries. In 1836 Miller published a more comprehensive version in sixteen lectures collected in book form. Gradually the knowledge of his views spread. Early in 1838 a copy of his *Lectures* came into the hands of the editor of the Boston *Daily Times*, who published most of them.²³

Miller's Associates

About this same time a friend asked Dr. Josiah Litch, one of the ablest Methodist Episcopal preachers in New England, to read Miller's *Lectures*. Certain that no one could set a date for Christ's return, Litch grudgingly agreed, confident that he could easily prove Miller wrong. But the more he read, the more fascinated he became. When he had finished, he was convinced not only that Miller was right, but also that he should teach "the advent near." That summer of 1838 he prepared a 200-page book entitled *The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ About A.D. 1843*. In commenting on Revelation 9 Litch daringly applied the day-year principle of prophetic interpretation to Turkey, predicting its loss of power in August 1840. This caused considerable discussion and increased interest in Bible prophecy. Thousands, including hundreds of former infidels, interpreted the Ottoman Empire's acceptance of Great Power guarantees on August 11, 1840, as a vindication of Litch's position.²⁴

In the spring of 1838 another prominent New England preacher, Congregationalist Charles Fitch, of Boston, read Miller's lectures and wrote the author, "I find nothing on which to rest a single doubt respecting the correctness of your views." During the 1830s Fitch had been closely associated with Evangelist Charles G. Finney, and like him was a strong temperance and antislavery reformer. In the flush of his enthusiasm for Miller's teachings Fitch rushed to share them with a group of local Congregational ministers. Instead of matching his enthusiasm, they heaped ridicule on the idea of an imminent advent. Shaken, Fitch backed off and temporarily abandoned any preaching of the 1843 date, submerging himself instead in a study of sanctification. Some three years later, after personal labor by Josiah Litch, Fitch reaffirmed his advent faith and became one of the most vigorous adventist evangelists.²⁵

Although Miller's message was reaching many through his appearances in the villages and towns of northern New York and western Vermont and others through his printed *Lectures*, he had not yet gained prominence in a major metropolis. All that changed as a result of a meeting in November 1839 in Exeter, New Hampshire. Miller was in town to deliver a series of lectures; a group of Christian Connection ministers decided to visit him en masse to learn about his teachings. They were surprised and impressed with the easy way in which he answered their questions, none more so than Joshua V. Himes. This young firebrand, who had helped Garrison organize the New England Antislavery Society in his church and was a vigorous promoter of educational reform, had heard of Miller before. In fact several weeks earlier he had written inviting the New Yorker to come and give a series of lectures in his Chardon Street Chapel in Boston. Now he vigorously renewed his invitation. Miller accepted. Thus began an association which was to transform Millerism from a local curiosity into a cause which would receive national attention.²⁶



William Miller

Suggested Reading:

Although published half a century ago, M. E. Olsen's *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925) provides in pp. 73-119 one of the best concise pictures of the second-advent awakening. For a more com-

prehensive and thoroughly documented treatment of the individuals involved, students should see L. E. Froom's *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (4 vols., 1948-54). Volume III of Froom covers the Old World heralds of the advent, while Volume IV is concerned with those in the United States. Readers should not be discouraged by the size and style of Froom's volumes. They contain excellent indexes. Ernest Sandeen's essay on millennialism in *The Rise of Adventism* (1975) is helpful. For years the basic biography of William Miller has been Sylvester Bliss's *Memoirs of William Miller* (1853). Robert Gale's *The Urgent Voice* (1975) fills a long-standing need for a good modern biography of Miller. The New Yorker's background and early experiences are engagingly described also by F. D. Nichol in pp. 17-74 of his *The Midnight Cry* (1944). A volume that deserves to be much better known among Seventh-day Adventists is Everett Dick's doctoral dissertation, "William Miller and the Advent Crisis" (1932). Professor Dick has given a popular account of Miller in *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 13-66.

1. See I. V. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (Dec. 1952), pp. 441-458, and L. E. Froom on "Whitby," *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (1945-1953), II: 649-655. The most convenient source for information on leading personalities of the advent awakening is Froom's encyclopedic work, hence the numerous citations to it. Interested readers will find many bibliographic leads there.

2. Brown, p. 449.
3. Froom, III: 328, 329.
4. Froom, II: 713-722.
5. Froom, II: 709-713.
6. Froom, III: 303-324.
7. Froom, III: 283-292.
8. Froom, III: 364-381.
9. Froom, III: 435-460.
10. Froom, III: 461-481; H. Palmer, *Joseph Wolff, His Romantic Life and Travels* (1935), *passim*.
11. Froom, III: 388-390, 498-503, 514-526; A. Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns* (1952), pp. 453, 454.
12. Froom, III: 687-700.
13. Froom, III: 299, 300, 701-703; M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), pp. 98-101.
14. Froom, III: 671-686; Olsen, pp. 101-103.
15. Froom, III: 617-622; Olsen, p. 103.
16. Froom, IV: 212-223.
17. Froom, IV: 227-243, 249-265.
18. R. Gale, *The Urgent Voice* (1975), pp. 9-27; F. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (1944), pp. 17-26; E. N. Dick, "William Miller and the Advent Crisis," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin (1932), pp. 2-8.
19. Gale, pp. 28-33; Nichol, pp. 27-34.
20. Gale, pp. 33-35; Nichol, pp. 34, 35.
21. Gale, pp. 36, 37, 40-42; Nichol, pp. 35-45; Dick, pp. 12, 13.
22. Gale, pp. 42-46; C. E. Weniger, "Critical Analysis and Appraisal of the Public Address of William Miller, Early American Second Advent Lecturer," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California (May 1948), pp. 157, 163, 177, 232; J. M. Parker, "A Spiritual Cyclone," *Magazine of Christian Literature* 4 (Sept. 1891), p. 322.
23. Dick, pp. 14, 23.
24. Froom, IV: 530-533, 587, 588.
25. Froom, IV: 533-538; Gale, pp. 56, 57.
26. Dick, pp. 15, 90-94; D. T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845," M.A. dissertation, University of Chicago (June 1961), pp. 10-18; Gale, pp. 61-64.

CHAPTER 3

The Millerite Movement, 1839-1844

William Miller's contact with Joshua V. Himes opened an entirely new era in the advent awakening in the United States. Accepting Himes's invitation, Miller lectured to packed audiences in Boston's Chardon Street Chapel, December 8-16, 1839. During this visit Miller stayed with Himes, who became deeply impressed that his guest was correct about the nearness of the advent, although he remained uncertain that Miller's dating was correct. Himes did believe the subject deserved much wider publicity and inquired why Miller had not sounded his message in the nation's larger cities. When the old farmer replied that he had not been invited to do so, Himes determined that he would open doors for Miller "in every city in the Union."¹

Publicizing the Advent

Within weeks Himes was launched on a new career which made him the chief organizer, promoter, and publicist of adventism. Not only did he help secure Miller's repeated return to Boston, but he also arranged for him to visit New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. In February 1840, during Miller's third series of lectures in Boston, Himes began another method of publicizing the "Advent near." On February 28, *The Signs of the Times*, the first newspaper designed to advertise Miller's views and to stimulate discussion of the second advent, appeared. Lack of both funds and a subscription list made it seem probable that the first number would also be the last. But Dow and Jackson, the antislavery publishers who printed the paper for Himes, believed that interest in the second advent had grown so much that a regular newspaper devoted to the subject could be a financial success. They offered to assume responsibility for the paper

and publish it semimonthly if Himes would, as an unpaid editor, furnish copy and help build a subscription list.

At the end of the first year of publication *The Signs of the Times* had 1500 subscribers, and Himes persuaded Dow and Jackson to sell the paper to him. By the spring of 1842 there was sufficient interest to warrant making the *Signs* a weekly. Some nine months earlier Josiah Litch had been hired as associate editor. The *Signs* was but the first of a host of Millerite papers. When Miller and Himes conducted a major lecture series in New York City during the fall of 1842, they began *The Midnight Cry*. To publicize their meetings, ten thousand copies were sold or given away each day for four weeks, after which the *Cry* became a weekly. In succeeding months, as increasing numbers of ministers and other lecturers carried the advent message to new areas, it became customary to launch papers to publicize the cause. Many of these journals lasted only a few weeks or months, but among the most important and long lasting were *The Voice of Truth* in Rochester, *The Western Midnight Cry* in Cincinnati, the *Trumpet of Alarm* in Philadelphia, and the *Voice of Elijah* in Montreal.²

Himes's publishing ventures were not limited to newspapers; he became the key figure in producing the Second Advent Library, a continuing series of tracts and books by Miller and others. Those who had accepted Miller's views were encouraged to purchase and loan copies of the Second Advent Library to neighbors and friends. Himes's genius also provided several other means for promoting adventist views. Copies of the colorful prophetic chart developed early in 1842 by Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale for use by Millerite lecturers were printed in miniature on one half of a sheet of stationery, with the remainder left for letter writing. Sheets of small Christmas-seal-type "monitory wafers" were also imprinted with appropriate Bible texts or advent slogans; these could be utilized in place of wax for sealing letters.

Early in his career as the chief advent propagandist, Himes began to publish thousands of tracts containing a synopsis of Miller's views. These sold for two or three cents each. Many were packaged and sent to newspaper and post offices across the country with the request that they be distributed to any who might be interested. Bundles were also entrusted to ship captains with instructions to drop them off at their ports of call. By early 1843 tracts were available in French and German. In May 1844 Himes announced that more than five million copies of advent newspapers and tracts had been distributed. Himes's many publishing ventures, which also included the printing of an advent hymnal, *The Millennial Harp*, drew unfounded charges that he was reaping exorbitant financial profits. Himes plowed any profits from his ventures back into the general cause.³

Advent Conferences

As more and more publicity was given to Miller's views and increasing numbers of clergymen accepted them, it seemed desirable to convene the

leaders of the developing movement for a conference. Consequently *The Signs of the Times* carried a call, signed by Miller and others, for a general conference of advent believers in Chardon Street Chapel, Boston, on October 14, 1840. Miller was scheduled to give the keynote address but was taken ill en route and prevented from attending. In his stead an Episcopalian rector, Henry Dana Ward, the New York editor of the *Anti-Masonic Magazine*, was selected conference chairman. He also gave the principal address, a scholarly history of the second advent hope and a firm defense of a premillennial advent. Ward and Henry Jones, a New York Presbyterian minister who became the conference secretary, disagreed with Miller's choice of 1843 as the definite date for Christ's return, but both agreed that the advent was very near.

Approximately two hundred clergy and laymen representing a wide variety of churches attended this first general conference of advent believers. At Himes's suggestion a conference *Report* containing the principal addresses presented was printed and 2000 copies circulated at once. Thousands more were later used in publicizing the advent. In contrast to the violent clash of opinions which characterized so many of the reform conventions in Chardon Street Chapel, a surprising unanimity prevailed at the second-advent conference. The participants took several official actions including the endorsement of *The Signs of the Times* and the recommendation that advent believers increase its circulation among their friends. One of the most interesting features of this two-day conference was the introduction among Adventists of the "social meeting," a time when those in attendance could encourage one another through brief expressions of their personal faith in the imminent advent.⁴

So successful was the first general conference that at least fifteen others were held during the next three years. These ranged in location from Maine to Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia convention, held in the "Chinese Museum" auditorium, which accommodated 5000, was reported "packed to suffocation." In addition to these general conclaves approximately 120 local conferences of advent believers met between 1842 and 1844, several as far west as Indiana and Michigan. These local conferences tended to be evangelistic and revivalistic rather than scholarly exchanges of views such as characterized the first general conference.⁵

From the start of his public lectures Miller maintained that his entire purpose was to call attention to Christ's soon return and to encourage his listeners to prepare for that great event. He had no intention of starting a new denomination. The purpose of the first general conference was to focus attention on the advent and facilitate exchange of views. As more and more conferences were held, however, and as the publishing work grew, a kind of unintended skeletal organization developed. The tendency toward separation was given impetus through distribution of a circular authorized in 1841 by the second general conference.

Although this circular specifically counseled advent believers to remain in their churches, it also advised those in a given geographic area to form Bible-study classes and get together in social meetings for mutual encouragement. They were urged to question ministers concerning the advent and related topics and to increase the circulation of advent tracts and books. At this same time the Millerites appointed Josiah Litch as their first general agent, agreeing to support him financially if he would leave pastoral work and devote himself solely to promoting adventist ideas. Litch's Methodist Episcopal Conference somewhat grudgingly released him from pastoral duties, and in effect he became the first paid adventist worker. Miller traveled almost entirely at his own expense and received no remuneration beyond board and lodging.

By the time the sixth general conference met in May 1842 in Boston's Melodion Hall, the organizers were becoming more restrictive concerning those believers invited to participate. Although men such as Ward and Henry Jones were still welcome, those who believed in the return of the Jews to Palestine, their conversion to Christianity, and a temporal millennium preceding the advent were not. This sixth conference, presided over by Joseph Bates, later a founding father of the Seventh-day Adventists, also established a committee to plan three summer camp meetings for promoting interest in the advent.

While Miller, Himes, and their associates were taking the position that the advent movement broke down sectarian barriers and drew Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and others together in bonds of Christian love, embryo local churches were appearing in the form of Second Advent Associations. One of the earliest of these, organized in New York City on May 18, 1842, elected officers and an executive committee, who soon hired Columbian Hall for regular Sunday afternoon meetings. The New York association, probably typical of others, included many ministers who presumably continued serving their regular congregations. In addition to renting meeting places, the Second Advent Associations collected money for spreading Adventist literature and sending lecturers out to other cities and towns. Some lecturers, like Joseph Bates, used their own savings to hire halls and to pay travel and maintenance expenses. In this way Bates used up most of the modest fortune he had gained from years as a sea captain.⁶

Camp Meetings

Just about a month after the sixth general conference, in late June 1842, the first Adventist camp meeting in the United States was held at East Kingston, New Hampshire. Canadian Adventists had spontaneously organized one a few days earlier while Josiah Litch was in eastern Quebec on a speaking tour. In their camp meetings the Millerites followed a frontier pattern previously developed by the Methodists. The East Kingston site was in a pleasant grove of trees near the Boston and Portland

Railroad, which brought both Adventist believers and the merely curious from all over New England to the encampment. Perhaps as many as 10,000 attended at some time during the week-long session.

So successful was the East Kingston encampment that instead of the original three camp meetings planned for the summer of 1842, thirty-one were held. The next year the number increased to forty and in 1844, the final year of the movement, fifty-four. It seems likely that as many as half a million persons attended Adventist camp meetings during the three seasons they were held.⁷

The usual camp plan was to have three general open-air meetings per day. These were interspersed with social and prayer meetings held in the tents pitched in a rough semicircle around the main assembly area. These were not small, family tents, but in some cases were as large as thirty by fifty feet. Each served as headquarters for all the believers attending from a given area. In case of bad weather services were held simultaneously in these tents. Provision and dining tents were also available. Unfortunately it was not just believers and the idly curious who came. Frequently rowdies bent on mischief and fortified by liquor descended upon the grounds to create a little excitement by disrupting the services and creating general havoc.

The emotionalism associated with frontier camp meetings was not entirely absent from their Adventist counterparts; fervent prayers were frequently interrupted by shouts of "Glory!" and "Hallelujah!" As emotions rose, some fell prostrate to the ground. The major Millerite leaders sought to prevent this excitement from getting out of hand, lest it degenerate into fanaticism and bring the entire movement into disrepute.

By the spring of 1843, when the believers' expectancy of the advent had reached a high point, some fanaticism had developed, promoted chiefly by Elder John Starkweather, a former assistant of Himes at Chardon Street Chapel. Starkweather became an exponent of extreme sanctification. He and some followers attended camp meetings, particularly in Connecticut. They pretended to be able to discern the condition of the worshipers' hearts and, amidst much muttering and groaning, called men and women to give up their "idols," which might include breast pins, ribbons, braided hair, or even false teeth! When Josiah Litch arrived on the grounds, he took a strong stand against these fanatics; his position was later backed enthusiastically by Miller, Himes, and the other Adventist leaders.⁸

So pleased were those who attended the original East Kingston camp meeting that they desired to see more general meetings held. To facilitate these, someone advanced the novel idea of securing a large tent which might be pitched in the cities where churches were closed to advent lecturers or where there was no hall large enough to accommodate the crowds expected. Before the camp meeting ended, Himes had collected enough money to commission Adventist tentmaker Edward Williams, of Rochester, New York, to make the largest tent in the country. Made of

heavy canvas, the "Great Tent" was 120 feet in diameter and had a center pole 55 feet high. Four thousand persons could be comfortably seated and another 2000 squeezed into the aisles.

The Great Tent was pitched for the first time in July 1842, on a small hill behind the State House in Concord, New Hampshire. It was moved to seven other cities that summer, including Albany, New York, and Newark, New Jersey. Four persons cared for its transportation and supervised its erection. The tent's very size attracted much attention and helped draw the crowds to hear Himes, George Storrs, Charles Fitch, or another of the advent preachers. In some cases camp meetings were held in connection with the pitching of the Great Tent.⁹

In general the message of Miller and his chief associates remained the same throughout the entire period of the advent awakening. They believed that Christ's second advent was imminent; that it would be a literal, visible event, and would precede His millennial reign. They believed that just as the time of Christ's first advent had been foretold in the seventy-week prophecy of Daniel 9, so His second advent was meant in Daniel 8:14's reference to the "cleansing of the sanctuary" at the end of the 2300 days. By deducing that the seventy weeks formed the first portion of the 2300 days, they fixed upon 457 B.C. as the start of the longer period, to end in 1843. The return of Christ to abolish sin and purify His church was the most joyful event these Adventists could imagine; they longed for His coming and were deeply burdened that others share their joy. This could be possible, they recognized, only if individuals first accepted Jesus as a personal, sin-pardoning Saviour.

By the start of 1842 Miller *had* broadened his understanding of the word "sanctuary" in Daniel 8:14. Originally he believed that this referred to the Christian church, but as he studied the events which would take place at the second coming, he became increasingly interested in references to fire in connection with judgment. The Bible taught, he believed, that fire was a cleansing agent. Thus he talked more and more about the cleansing of the earth by fire at Christ's return. In January 1842, Miller replied to a specific inquiry by Himes regarding the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14. He indicated that the Bible referred to seven different things as God's sanctuary: (1) Jesus, (2) heaven, (3) Judah, (4) the temple at Jerusalem, (5) the Holy of Holies, (6) the earth, (7) the saints. Through a process of elimination Miller disqualified the first five as being the sanctuary of Daniel 8; it must be the last *two* he reasoned. Himes immediately published Miller's statement in tract form. From this time on Millerite leaders spoke much more of the earth as the sanctuary to be cleansed than they did of the church, a company of saints.¹⁰

Excitement mounted as 1842 drew to a close. Many bands of Millerites held New Year's Eve services on December 31 to welcome what they believed would be the last year of earth's history. Chardon Street Chapel was packed that night. The next day Miller wrote an open letter to the



An Early Adventist Tent Meeting

advent believers. It was full of joy and hope that the time so long anticipated had at last arrived. Yet not for a moment did Miller suggest that the believers should slacken their efforts for the salvation of friends and neighbors. Instead he encouraged each one to win at least one soul for Christ during the last year of earth's history. Miller himself kept right on with his work. February found him giving a major course of lectures in Philadelphia.

Date Setting

For some time many of Miller's followers had been pressing him to define the time he expected the advent more exactly than simply "about the year 1843." Father Miller, as he had come to be called, had always believed that in applying the time prophecies of Daniel, one should use the Jewish religious calendar rather than the civil calendar developed by the Romans. He knew that the Jewish year began in the spring rather than in January. Since he did not know exactly how the rabbis adjusted their calendar, a lunar one, he concluded that the spring equinox was a likely point to begin the year. Thus by early 1843 he was willing to assume that Christ would return sometime during that Jewish year, which he reckoned as from March 21, 1843 to March 21, 1844.

Some Millerites were anxious to point to a specific day for the advent. They hunted for historic dates or Jewish ceremonial days on which to fasten their hopes. The first day to be advanced was February 10, 1843, the forty-fifth anniversary of the French seizure of Rome in 1798. Others believed that February 15 was more likely, since this was the anniversary of the abolition of papal government and the proclamation of the Roman Republic. When these days passed uneventfully, some decided that April 14, which would be the anniversary of the crucifixion, must be the date. Many Adventists believed the seventy weeks ended at the crucifixion; so the 2300 days must do the same. Again nothing happened, and hopes were transferred to Ascension Day or to Pentecost, both in May. With the passing of so many definite days, some gave up their advent hope. But not many; advent leaders continued hurrying from camp meeting to camp meeting and from lecture series to lecture series.¹¹

Not so with Miller. Poor health, which had plagued him for several years, kept him at home in Low Hampton. In May he wrote Himes that his arms, shoulders, back, and sides were covered with some twenty-two boils. Almost unnoticed at the time was another Miller letter which was published in the May 17, 1843, *Signs of the Times*. In it he suggested that since all Jewish ceremonies and types which were observed in the first month had been fulfilled at Christ's first advent, it was reasonable to suppose that the feasts and ceremonies of the seventh month (which would come in the autumn) "can only have their fulfillment at his second advent." Miller failed to push this idea, however, and it lay largely dormant until early in 1844.¹²

So great was the desire of people in the major cities to hear advent lecturers that auditoriums large enough to accommodate the crowds could not be found. The believers in Boston remedied this situation by constructing a large, but cheap, tabernacle in a central location. After leasing a spot for the shortest possible time, they quickly put up a huge auditorium capable of seating 3500. The fact that a city ordinance required a building of such size to be built of brick opened the Millerites to considerable derision. Here they were, expecting the end of all things at any moment, and yet constructing a solid brick structure which could last for years. Other Second Advent Associations followed Boston's lead, and Millerite tabernacles soon appeared in several cities.

During the summer of 1843 special attention was paid not only to the large cities, but also to the trans-Appalachian West. J. B. Cook was dispatched to Cincinnati. Charles Fitch, who had been in Ohio since the previous fall, lectured in Cleveland, Detroit, and throughout northern Ohio and western New York. The Great Tent was moved to Rochester, then on to Buffalo and Cincinnati, where Himes and George Storrs did most of the preaching before huge audiences. Later Himes proceeded to Louisville, Kentucky. Others carried the message into Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

Hundreds of copies of the *Voice of Elijah*, published by Robert Hutchinson, a Canadian Millerite, were sent across the Atlantic. Robert Winter, an English visitor who had become an Adventist at the 1842 East Kingston camp meeting and later returned home, preached in the streets of London with the aid of a prophetic chart dangling from a pole. By the summer of 1843 Winter had printed 15,000 copies of Millerite books.¹³

There was also interest at this time in starting a special drive to warn American blacks of the coming advent. Black Millerite minister John W. Lewis was anxious to devote full time to this work. There was a very practical problem, however: most of America's blacks lived as slaves in the Southern States, and the abolitionist beliefs of the majority of Millerite lecturers made them *personae non grata* in the South. When, in May, George Storrs tried to lecture in Norfolk, Virginia, he was mobbed and forced to leave the area. Later that summer advent lecturers did penetrate Virginia and the Carolinas. In November Litch held a series in Baltimore. The interest there, small at first, increased gradually, and the effort "ended in triumph."¹⁴

Lesser-known Preachers

While the leading Adventist ministers carried their message to the big cities, dozens of lesser-known lecturers preached in homes and country schoolhouses. James White was typical of these. The "clear and powerful" preaching which the twenty-one-year-old White heard at the Exeter, Maine, advent camp meeting in 1842 inspired him to leave school teaching and become an advent lecturer. Armed with three lectures, a borrowed horse, and a patched saddle, he set out. When, in spite of his meager preparations, he found sixty repentant sinners asking for baptism and instruction following his first course of lectures, he had to send a call for assistance to his minister brother. White was not always well received. At times he was in real physical danger from mobs who hurled snowballs and other objects at him. Yet he persisted and could report 1000 conversions after one six-week period of lectures. His earnestness led to his ordination as a minister in the Christian Connection. A lesser light among the Millerites, White would become one of the founding fathers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.¹⁵

During 1843 the number of ministers who embraced Miller's basic teachings increased markedly. Probably the most notable new recruit was Elon Galusha, son of the Vermont governor who had signed Miller's commission during the War of 1812. Galusha pastored the Baptist church in Lockport, New York, and was president of both the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Society and the New York Baptist Association. His action had considerable effect and caused several more timid ministers to follow him.¹⁶

Millerite preachers, with their eye-catching charts and the millions of pages of Millerite literature, certainly focused popular attention on what

might happen in the course of 1843. "The millennium and the end of the world," says one scholar, "were subjects of daily conversation."¹⁷ The nation's press followed the movements of Miller, Himes, and the other leaders with interest. Newspaper columns bulged with advertisements for Millerite and anti-Millerite literature. Ever ready to profit from public interest in any cause, patent medicine vendors slanted advertisements to catch the eye of those concerned with the end of the world. One such featured a flying angel carrying a scroll on which was inscribed "THE TIME HAS COME." Below were the words "When consumption may be classed with the curable diseases. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry."¹⁸

The press also noted the wide variety of natural phenomena which seemed especially prevalent at the time and which many Adventists cited as added evidence of the imminent end of all things. Henry Jones claimed that the aurora borealis had not been noted prior to 1716 and thus constituted one of the wonders of the heavens referred to in Joel 2:30 as appearing "before the great and terrible day of the Lord." In this vein others cited the dark day of May 19, 1780, and the spectacular star shower of November 13, 1833. During 1843 a wide variety of heavenly portents was reported from all parts of the country. Probably none was more widely observed than the comet which suddenly and unexpectedly appeared in February 1843. A catastrophic earthquake in Haiti and an especially violent storm in the Madeira Islands that year were looked upon as partial fulfillments of Luke 21:25, 26, while the aftermath of the Panic of 1837 was felt by some to meet the requirement that in the last days men's hearts would fail them for fear.¹⁹

Intolerance

As the Millerites became more settled in, and certain of, their position, they tended to exhibit less tolerance toward those who contradicted their views. For their part, the major Protestant sects became more critical of the Adventists. More and more churches once open to Millerite lecturers closed their doors to their presentations. The next step was to discipline ministers and laymen who promoted Adventist views. One dramatic example of such pressure concerned Elder Levi Stockman of the Methodists' Maine Conference. The July 1843 meeting of the conference condemned Millerite "peculiarities" and required Methodist pastors to refrain from promulgating them. When Elder Stockman refused, he was tried for heresy. By this time fatally sick with tuberculosis, Stockman was not only threatened with expulsion from the church unless he complied, but was also warned that his widow and children would be denied any pension benefits. Stockman refused to capitulate and was expelled from the ministry only weeks before his death.

By the summer of 1843 relations between those who expected Christ to return momentarily and the regular Protestant churches of which they were members were becoming tense. Many Adventists wondered if they

should withdraw from their churches. Not so, said *The Signs of the Times*. Continue to witness to your faith among your brethren. If they will not hear you, let them take responsibility for expelling you. As late as January 1844 Miller advised against separation, proclaiming that he had "never designed to make a new sect, or to give . . . a nick name."²⁰

"Come Out of Babylon"

But a different voice was being heard out in Ohio that summer of 1843. In Cleveland perhaps the best loved of Millerite preachers, Charles Fitch, preached a powerful sermon from Revelation 18: "Babylon the great has fallen. . . . Come out of her, my people!" Millerites, along with most Protestants, had customarily identified the papacy with the Babylon of this text. Fitch went far beyond this by labeling the entire Christian world as Babylon because of its opposition to the doctrine that the time of Christ's return was at hand. He appealed to all true Christians to come out into the light of the "Advent near" or risk perishing. Although most of the eastern Millerite leaders were initially cool to Fitch's call for separation, some like George Storrs and Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Voice of Truth*, took it up. Storrs warned Adventists who separated from their old churches to be careful not to manufacture a new church. "No church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon *the moment it is organized*," Storrs wrote in *The Midnight Cry*.²¹

As the weeks and months passed and 1843 became 1844, Joseph Marsh's pen became the chief one calling Adventists to separate from the churches. Marsh reasoned that it was wrong to continue to give funds and support to organizations denying the imminent advent. Only by "coming out," Marsh argued, could the advent believers show their full devotion to truth. Yet it was not until the early fall of 1844 that Joshua V. Himes became an open, although reluctant, advocate of separation. And what of the general-in-chief of the movement, William Miller himself? He could not bring himself to call for definite separation. At a later time when his own Low Hampton Baptist church expelled him and his followers, he accepted the action without bitterness, but with genuine sadness.²² The deterioration of relationships between the advent believers and the churches may help to explain the growth of ridicule and the spread of derogatory stories designed to make the Millerites look ridiculous. Ranging from mocking jokes to cruel cartoons, these appeared in the press in larger numbers after the passing of each date which some Adventists set for the advent. As early as late 1842 some newspapers began to charge that Millerite teachings caused increased insanity and suicide. Few scholars would deny that in periods of increased religious excitement some emotionally unstable persons may crack and go to extremes. Yet, while this is admitted, careful examination of contemporary records indicates that the insanity and suicide charges were grossly overstated.

Perhaps the most lively delusion relative to Adventists' behavior was

that they prepared special white muslin ascension robes to use on the great day of Christ's return. This story, which goes back as far as late 1842, has been shown to have no basis in fact, but it has become so enshrined in popular folklore that it has continued to surface periodically, down to the present. The ascension robe story was labeled a libel by the March 17, 1843, *Midnight Cry* and by numerous participants in the movement on dozens of occasions thereafter. Substantial cash rewards for one authenticated instance of robes being made or worn repeatedly went unclaimed. Yet the tales persist.²³

Although the Millerite papers either refuted or consigned to their "Liar's Department" the scurrilous stories circulated about them, the leaders were far too busy sounding the warning to pay much attention to such matters. As 1843 turned into 1844, few "days of mercy" remained, according to Miller's calculations. Activity increased. On February 20, 1844, Miller, Himes, and Litch arrived in the nation's capital for a major campaign. After less than a week of lectures in a Baptist church the crowds who wanted to hear these advent lecturers became so great that the meetings were transferred to Apollo Hall, not far from the White House. Two days later the freak explosion of a gun on the U.S.S. *Princeton* resulted in the death of Secretary of State Abel Upshur and the Secretary of the Navy, Thomas Gilmer. The resulting shock led to an increased attendance at the Adventist lectures, which continued until March 2.

The interest aroused in Washington extended into surrounding Virginia and Maryland. For the first time serious invitations came to the lecturers from the major cities of the South: Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile. But previous commitments prevented acceptance; the trio returned north, holding nearly a week of lectures in Baltimore on the way. Then Miller proceeded toward Low Hampton, where he arrived March 14 after having lectured in Philadelphia, Newark, and New York City en route. His predicted time had almost run out; he considered his work done. He closed his notebook at this time with the words: "Now I have given, since 1832, *three thousand two hundred lectures.*"²⁴

Revising the Chronology

Throughout 1843 criticism from their opponents forced the Adventist leaders to a more thorough study of chronology. As a result Himes, Litch, Apollos Hale, Sylvester Bliss, and others became convinced that they must use the more precise method of calculating the Jewish year as preserved by the strict Karaite Jews. According to this method, the Jewish year 1843 would close at sundown on April 18, 1844, rather than on the March 21 equinox date Miller had arbitrarily selected. Miller had always admitted his dependence on the chronological system worked out by others. He recognized that this might be an imperfect copy of God's method of calculating time. This explains, in part, his reluctance to fix upon a specific date. He did not want any to delay their preparation too

long, or to become discouraged if Christ did not come on the day expected.²⁵

March 21 and then April 18, 1844, passed with no sign of the returning King. Soon the spring season was gone; disappointment seeped through the ranks of the advent believers. It was not a dramatic disappointment, since no specific day had been anticipated exclusively. Yet it was no less real. Some became disillusioned and decided that Miller had understood things entirely wrong. These Adventists either returned to their old churches or lapsed into skepticism.

The majority, however, although discouraged and disappointed, still believed that the advent was to be expected at any moment. Manfully, Miller admitted that he had been in error, but he also called the believers' attention to Habakkuk 2:3: "The vision . . . though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come." Soon the advent papers were filled with references to the "tarrying time" spoken of in Christ's parable of the ten virgins.²⁶

By early summer, to the amazement of their critics, Adventist activities had resumed with increased vigor. Lecturers streamed in all directions. Litch went west, Fitch east. In July Miller and Himes began an extensive speaking tour of western New York and Ohio. Camp meetings were held once more; the Great Tent was unfurled for use in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. Millerite lecturers suddenly discovered that the B.C.-A.D. system of chronology allowed for no "zero" year. Thus it would take all of the 457 Jewish years before Christ and all of the 1843 years after His birth to add up to 2300. Since no one knew just when in the year the decree of Artaxerxes, used as a starting point for the 2300 days, was given, the exact date for the time prophecy to end must be an unknown day during the year 1844.²⁷

The Seventh-Month Movement

Even before the passing of the spring dates, seeds of a new movement were being planted by Samuel Sheffield Snow. Reclaimed from infidelity by Miller's message, Snow had begun traveling as an advent lecturer in 1842. Intensive study of the Mosaic tabernacle and Jewish festival types convinced him that Christ would return at the time of the Jewish Day of Atonement, in the seventh month of the year. This would be in the fall rather than the spring of 1844. Snow began promoting this position in New York City during the winter of 1843-44. At first other advent leaders paid little attention to him, even though Miller had suggested a similar possibility in May 1843.

As 1844 progressed, Snow became more energetic in promoting the "tenth day of the seventh month." By Karaite reckoning this day would come on October 22. Snow aired his views in letters to *The Midnight Cry*, but still the major Adventist leaders largely ignored his "new light." All this changed as a result of the dramatic events which took place at the

Exeter, New Hampshire, camp meeting in mid-August of 1844. Suddenly, while Joseph Bates was speaking, a horseman rode into camp, dismounted, and sat down on the edge of the congregation. The rider, S. S. Snow, was soon engaged in conversation with his sister, Mrs. John Couch. After a few minutes Mrs. Couch rose and, interrupting Bates, proclaimed: "It is too late to spend time upon these truths, with which we are familiar. . . . Time is short. The Lord has servants here who have meat in due season for his household. Let them speak. . . ."

Bates had come to the Exeter meeting with the conviction that here he would get further light on the reasons for their spring disappointment. Now he courteously offered to relinquish the pulpit to the new arrival. Snow proceeded to present his reasons for believing that Christ would return on the great Atonement Day, October 22, 1844. So cogently were his ideas expressed that a wave of enthusiasm swept through the audience. In two subsequent sermons he developed his arguments more fully. The effect was spectacular. As the campers scattered throughout New England, the cry rang out "*Behold the Bridegroom cometh . . . on the tenth day of the seventh month! Time is short, get ready! get ready!*"²⁸

A few days later Snow published a summary of his arguments in a four-page paper entitled *The True Midnight Cry*. Although the principal Millerite leaders and papers opposed fixing their hopes on a definite day, the bulk of Adventist believers welcomed the new message enthusiastically. "It swept over the land with the velocity of a tornado," reported the October 30, 1844, *Advent Herald*.²⁹ By the first week of October, Miller, Himes, and the other principal leaders had begun to capitulate. Josiah Litch held back the longest. It was not until October 16 that he fixed his hopes on October 22.

Two days earlier Charles Fitch had died. He contracted a severe fever after exposing himself to a cold wind in order to baptize three separate groups of believers. "I believe in the promises of God," he said as he lay dying, confidently expecting to be reunited with his wife and children in a little over a week.³⁰

Words fail to capture the urgency of the activities that engaged the Advent believers in the weeks just preceding October 22. Crops were left unharvested; potatoes undug. Shops were closed; workers resigned from their posts. Nothing was important except that Christ was coming in a few days. People needed to be warned; sins must be confessed, debts repaid, wrongs made right. Millerite tabernacles and meeting places hosted almost continuous religious services.

As Adventist expectations grew, so did the ridicule of opponents. Disorderly crowds forced the cancellation of evening meetings in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Many of the Millerites interpreted this increasing persecution as an indication that probation had closed. Nothing was left but to await the end of all things.

Throughout much of the United States the morning of October 22

dawned bright and clear. Adventist groups gathered quietly in homes or meeting houses to wait out the last hours of earth's history. Perhaps as many as one hundred thousand waited in calm expectation that Jesus would soon appear on a cloud of light. There was one exception to this general rule. Shortly before October 22, a virtually unknown Millerite, Dr. C. R. Gorgas, claimed to have been shown in vision that Christ would appear at 3 a.m. on October 22. Before then the righteous were to flee the major cities as Lot had fled from Sodom. Himes, Litch, and other Advent leaders strongly opposed what they regarded as Gorgas's fanaticism. Nevertheless, perhaps 150 to 200 of the approximately 3000 Advent believers in Philadelphia journeyed about four miles into the country to await the advent.³¹

But the great day passed. Most of the believers continued waiting expectantly until clocks tolled midnight. Then they were forced to face the fact that something was wrong. Christ had not come. They were devastated. "Our fondest hopes and expectations were blasted," Hiram Edson remembered, "and such a spirit of weeping came over us as I never experienced before. It seemed that the loss of all earthly friends could have been no comparison. We wept, and wept, till the day dawn."³²

Traumatic as was their disappointment, it did not diminish the memories of some for what Ellen Harmon White termed "the happiest year of my life." How could this be? The same participant remembered, "My heart was full of glad expectation. . . . We united as a people in earnest prayer for a true experience and the unmistakable evidence of our acceptance with God. . . ."³³ Small wonder that in later years former participants in the Millerite movement referred to especially warm and solemn meetings as being like those held in 1844.

Suggested Reading:

All of the works cited in Chapter 2 contain material useful for a fuller understanding of the period covered in Chapter 3. This is particularly true of Froom, Volume IV: Olsen, pp. 121-165; and Nichol, pp. 75-320. J. Clark gives a brief account of the Millerite movement in *1844*, I: 15-78, and C. M. Maxwell a moving one in *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 9-39. In *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 321-498, Nichol presents a thorough and convincing refutation of the charges of widespread fanaticism leveled against the Millerites. An interesting picture of Joseph Bates's Millerite experiences may be found in G. T. Anderson's *Outrider of the Apocalypse* (1973), pp. 45-60. The Millerite movement is colorfully remembered by a participant who did not become a Seventh-day Adventist, Isaac Wellcome, in his *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (1874). Warm and feeling eyewitness accounts by two S.D.A. pioneers are found in J. White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (1868), pp. 25-72, and E. G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G.*

White (1915), pp. 20-63. Several theses provide important insights. Among these are David Arthur's "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845" (1961) and his "Come Out of Babylon" (1970). Much of the latter is conveniently summarized in Arthur's essay in E. Gaustad (ed.), *The Rise of Adventism* (1975). A colorful capsule biography of Himes appears in E. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 69-101.

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1. D. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-45," M.A. thesis, University of Chicago (1961), pp. 18-20.
 2. Arthur, pp. 21-26, 52, 70, 83-85, 89; E. Dick, "William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831-1844," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin (1932), pp. 95-98, 104-113.
 3. Arthur, pp. 59, 103; L. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (1945-1953), IV: 733-735; Dick, pp. 99, 104, 114.
 4. Arthur, pp. 31-35, 102; Froom, IV: 559-569, 608.
 5. Froom, IV: 555-559.
 6. Froom, IV: 584-585, 762, 764; Dick, p. 45.
 7. Froom, IV: 642-655; Dick, pp. 58-86.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. Froom, IV: 522, 655-658; Dick, pp. 71-74.
 10. R. Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905," B.D. thesis, Andrews University (1970), pp. 53-65, 75-78.
 11. Dick, pp. 126, 127, 147-152.
 12. J. White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller* (1875), p. 247; Froom, IV: 795.
 13. Dick, pp. 133-147; F. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (1944), pp. 152, 166, 167; J. White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (1868), p. 152.
 14. Dick, pp. 134, 135, 140, 141.
 15. White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 72-79, 96, 104.
 16. Froom, IV: 651, 676, 677; I. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message* (1874), p. 288; Dick, p. 133.
 17. Dick, p. 186.
 18. Dick, pp. 183, 184.
 19. Dick, p. 157; Froom, IV: 580; on sun and stars see Dick, pp. 158-170, and Froom, IV: 290-300; on comet, see Dick, pp. 170, 171; on earthquake and storm, p. 173; and on 1837 Panic, pp. 175, 176.
 20. D. Arthur, "Come Out of Babylon, A Study of Millerite Separation and Denominationalism, 1840-1865," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester (1970), pp. 48-57; Wellcome, pp. 293-298; Froom, IV: 780-782.
 21. Froom, IV: 543, 544, 772, 773; Arthur, "Come Out . . ." pp. 57-68.
 22. Arthur, "Come Out . . ." pp. 51, 69-76; Nichol, pp. 224, 225.
 23. For the best synthesis of anti-Millerite propaganda, see Nichol, pp. 321-418, and for an example of its recurrence see R. Toomey, "Gabriel, Blow That Horn!" *American Mercury* 55 (November 1942), pp. 600-605.
 24. Nichol, pp. 124, 125, 391-400; White, *Sketches . . . Miller*, pp. 277, 278; Dick, pp. 209, 210.
 25. Froom, IV: 789-798.
 26. Dick, pp. 211-213.
 27. Dick, pp. 218, 223, 224.
 28. Froom, IV: 810-812; Dick, p. 225.
 29. Froom, IV: 803, 813.
 30. Dick, pp. 229, 232, 233; "Obituary," *Advent Herald* 8 (October 30, 1844), p. 96.
 31. On normal Millerite observance of October 22, see Nichol, pp. 259-262; on Gorgas fanaticism, see Nichol, pp. 339-348, 411, 412. Miller estimated his followers at 50,000, but Professor Dick feels that this is too low. See Dick, pp. 267-269.
 32. H. Edson, MS fragment, Andrews University Heritage Room, James White Library.
 33. E. G. White, 1T:54.

CHAPTER 4

After the Disappointment

In the days following October 22, 1844, a tidal wave of negative emotions threatened to engulf and destroy the advent believers. Humiliation, confusion, doubt, disappointment—how could faith survive in such a maelstrom? With many, of course, it did not.

Yet there were hundreds who determined to retain “the blessed hope.” Unwilling to meet jeering neighbors, they stayed sequestered in their homes. As they pored over their Bibles, two questions dominated their thinking: Where did we err? What should we expect next? Gradually they began gathering together to comfort and encourage one another, braving taunts of “What! Haven’t you gone up yet?” Some found that the most effective rejoinder to this cruel sneer was to look their tormentor in the eye and reply, “And if I had gone up, where would you have gone?”¹

Calm Assessment

By the end of October the *Advent Herald* and *The Midnight Cry* had resumed publication. On the thirtieth Himes wrote to Joseph Bates, “I never felt more happy and reconciled to His will; the late work has *saved me*—it has been a blessing to us all. Now let us hold on.” Through the advent newspapers Himes sought to reassure fellow believers. “We have found the grace of God sufficient to sustain us, even at such a time.”²

And what of William Miller? “Although . . . twice disappointed, I am not yet cast down or discouraged,” he steadfastly affirmed; “surrounded with enemies and scoffers, yet my mind is perfectly calm, and my hope in the coming of Christ is as strong as ever.” He had done only what he felt was his solemn duty, Miller maintained. Love for his fellowmen had compelled him to warn them so that they might meet their Redeemer in peace.

To those who had joined in his efforts he appealed: "hold fast; let no man take your crown. I have fixed my mind upon another time, and here I mean to stand, until God gives me more light.—and that is *To-day*, To-DAY and TO-DAY, until He comes."³

In general, Miller's position was that of most of his leading associates in the weeks immediately following October 22. Their recent experience had been so precious that few could agree with George Storrs, who ascribed the positiveness with which he had preached a definite date to "mesmerism." Although Storrs continued to regard Christ's advent as near, he felt certain that the power of the seventh-month movement came from "an influence not of God." This implication disturbed Miller. He remembered that Jonah had preached a definite time for Nineveh's destruction at God's direct command. A blessing had come from that. Might not the same be true for the world in 1844?⁴

As the days passed, the unity of the advent movement began to erode. Many of the leaders continued to believe not only that the advent was near but also that it was possible to discover in the Scriptures its exact time. Miller confidently expected that Christ would come before the expiration of the Jewish Year 1844, that is, by the spring of 1845. In this he was joined by Josiah Litch. H. H. Gross and Joseph Marsh looked to 1846. When this year passed, Gross discovered new reasons to expect Christ in 1847.⁵

By early 1845, recognizing that repeated time setting and disappointments were likely to destroy all faith in the advent, Himes and Miller began counseling against fixing on any *definite* time. They found comfort in the fact that the systems worked out by eminent chronologers were not always in agreement. Adventists were correct in expecting to see Christ return at the end of the prophetic 2300-day period they were certain; they had been wrong in stating this period would end on October 22, 1844. These two leaders were also concerned over a variety of new beliefs and practices now advocated by one or another of their former colleagues. In an attempt to maintain harmony, unity, and orthodoxy, they announced a conference of "Second Advent lecturers, and brethren who still adhere to the original Advent faith" to meet at Albany, New York, on April 29, 1845.⁶

What Happened in 1844?

Some Adventists disagreed with Miller and Himes, accepting instead the position stated by Joseph Marsh in his *Voice of Truth* as early as November 7, 1844. While admitting that they had been mistaken "in the nature of the event" to occur on October 22, Marsh wrote that "we cannot yet admit that our great High priest did not on that very day accomplish all that the type would justify us to expect. We now believe he did." These men believed that their reckoning of the prophetic dates was correct; they had only misunderstood what was to take place on October 22, 1844.⁷

Driven back to the Bible to discover just what had happened on October 22, a number of advent lecturers studied carefully the parable of the ten

virgins, which they believed mirrored the advent experience in every particular. Linking this parable with Christ's discussion of the Lord returning from the wedding, recorded in Luke 12:36, 37, convinced many that the wedding did not signify Christ's union with His church at the second advent, but referred to His receiving His kingdom, the New Jerusalem. Christ's return to earth was still future. Meanwhile they must be found "watching."⁸

The "Shut-Door" Theory

In January 1845 two Adventist editors, Apollos Hale of the *Advent Herald* (the old *Signs of the Times*) and Joseph Turner of *The Hope of Israel*, advanced what came to be known as the "shut-door" theory. This combined the new thinking of Christ's activities as bridegroom with the traditional Millerite understanding of Revelation 22:11, 12: that shortly before the advent each man's destiny was forever fixed. This, Hale and Turner suggested, had happened on October 22. They could quote Miller himself: "We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God, in his providence has shut the door; and we can only stir one another up to be *patient*; and be diligent to make our calling and election sure," he had stated in the December 11, 1844, *Advent Herald*.⁹ The "shut-door" advocates felt no burden for sinners. They would encourage one another until Christ should come.

Many Adventists adopted the shut-door position, some like S. S. Snow with great severity. Snow considered all Adventists who did not take this viewpoint to be Laodiceans, whom Christ would "spue out of his mouth." Eventually he proclaimed himself to be the prophet Elijah and declared that rejecting him was tantamount to rejecting Christ. As we shall see, leaders of the future Seventh-day Adventist Church were temporarily committed to one or more of the variations of the shut-door theory.

The shut door was only one, although probably the most widespread, of the new interpretations growing among those Adventists who continued to believe that something important had happened on October 22. Out in Ohio, J. D. Pickands and J. B. Cook advanced the theory that Christ was now seated on a white cloud waiting until His followers "brought Him down" through crying night and day in prayer. Still later Pickands taught that Christ *had* actually come *spiritually*. All those who let Him into their lives were now "immortal and incorruptible"; for Christ to "come in the flesh" was to enter His believers. In this view Miller had been wrong in looking for a visible Christ to return in human form.¹⁰

Their renewed searching of the Bible convinced some Adventists that they should adopt long-ignored Bible practices such as keeping the seventh day as the Sabbath, engaging in the ordinance of foot washing, and greeting fellow believers with a holy salutation (an embrace and kiss). On the last two points, some argued that they should be practiced only between persons of the same sex; others saw no need for such limitations.

Fanaticism

Probably the most radical practice, eventually promoted by Pickands and Enoch Jacobs, editor of the *Day Star* (the old *Western Midnight Cry*), was "spiritual wifery." Arguing that Christ had already come, they maintained that they were in heaven; thus there should be no marrying or giving in marriage. They used Christ's statement that a man should leave father, mother, wife, and children to justify deserting their families and forming "spiritual" unions, devoid of sex, with new partners. Jacobs eventually led his followers into a Shaker colony. Equally bizarre was the belief, held by some, that they had now passed into Christ's great thousand-year Sabbath and should do no secular work of any kind.¹¹

Himes, Miller, and the other major promoters of the Albany Conference were determined to purge their movement of these new theories and practices. Those in attendance at Albany came largely from the eastern coastal states. There were no delegates from Ohio or Maine, the frontier areas where the new ideas and practices were the most prevalent. After two days of deliberation the conference delegates reaffirmed traditional Millerite teachings minus the time element and suggested congregational-type organization of Adventist groups. They urged continued work for the salvation of sinners through preaching and a wider distribution of literature. Resolutions were passed directly condemning foot washing and the holy salutation and indirectly the seventh-day Sabbath.

Divisions

The strong stand taken by the Albany Conference practically assured a permanent division among Adventists. Himes, Litch, and Galusha led out in a series of advent conferences in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore during May 1845. These men, joined once more by Apollos Hale and J. B. Cook, attempted to hold together a truncated advent movement which found it necessary to depart farther and farther from Miller's original teaching on prophecy. Eventually they abandoned the belief that there was any connection between the seventy-week and 2300-day prophetic periods. Increasingly they became leaders without followers as more and more Adventists either accepted the views of those who held to the validity of the 1844 date or returned to their former churches.¹²

Miller had always been sensitive to the charge that he was trying to start a new religious sect. This accusation continued to trouble his associates throughout the 1840s. They constantly asserted that the Albany Conference should not be construed as an attempt at building a denomination. Yet by the spring of 1846 they were clearly moving in that direction; that year they established an executive committee, charged with supervising the distribution of funds and ministers.

They also dispatched Himes and several associates to stimulate the

developing interest in a premillennial advent in Great Britain. In spite of the Millerite experience, the majority of British Millerites expected Christ to return in October 1845. Interest lagged when this time passed; it was to renew this interest that Himes and his companions arrived in England in July 1846. Large crowds attended Himes's lectures, and he succeeded in establishing several permanent congregations, but following his return to America the movement in Britain stagnated.¹³

By the time of Miller's death in December 1849 Adventism was fragmenting into several splinter groups. This is exactly what Himes, Litch, and Hale had feared and tried to prevent by groping their way toward a permanent organization. Always they were opposed by Adventists such as Joseph Marsh, who maintained that organization would be both unbiblical and a denial of faith in an imminent advent.¹⁴

In addition to the sabbatarian Adventists with whom we are concerned, three other fairly coherent Adventist groups were in existence by 1852. The first, claiming to have maintained the original advent faith, was centered around Boston and looked to Himes, Bliss, and Hale for leadership. These men favored developing a strong church congregational structure but were unable to bring it to fruition prior to 1859, when they organized the American Evangelical Adventist Conference. With the *Advent Herald* as their mouthpiece, the Evangelical Adventists developed increasingly close ties with some of the major Protestant churches, many of whom were switching to a belief in a premillennial advent. As the only Adventist group which persisted in retaining a belief in the immortality of the soul, the Evangelical Adventists found less and less to divide them from the older denominations and gradually lost any reason for a separate existence.

A second Adventist group, which developed in the Hartford, Connecticut-New York City area, coalesced around Joseph Turner and his *Second Advent Watchman*. These people believed that the millennium was in the past. They all accepted the idea of man's sleep in death and the final annihilation of the wicked as introduced by George Storrs during the 1844 movement, but they held divergent views on matters of organization and church discipline. In 1862 Himes broke with his old colleagues by accepting the doctrine of "soul sleep" and eventually joined this group to form the Advent Christian Church, the largest nonsabbatarian remnant of Adventism.

A third group centered largely around Rochester, New York. Its members rallied behind Joseph Marsh's *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate* but were violently opposed to any formal organization. Their major difference with the advent Christians concerned the millennium, which they saw as future. During the millennium they expected a second period of probation, when the Jews would return to Palestine. Their persistent objections to organization kept these "Age-to-Come" Adventists from becoming strong and united.¹⁵

Even before the Albany Conference various elements of Adventism, at first referred to as the "Sabbath and Shut-Door" brethren, began to emerge. Scattered across Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and western New York, these believers, for the most part laymen or minor advent lecturers, had but slight contact and no coherence. Only Joseph Bates among them had had any prominence in Millerite circles. Yet gradually through prayer, extensive Bible study, and what they saw as divine encouragement, they worked out a series of doctrines that explained their disappointment in 1844. They eventually became the largest of all the advent bodies.

The Sabbath

It was probably in the early spring of 1844 that Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist farmer-minister of Hillsboro, New Hampshire, began keeping the seventh day as the Sabbath. His action resulted from a contact with a Seventh Day Baptist laywoman. An advent believer, Wheeler occasionally ministered to the small Christian church in nearby Washington, where the members shared his advent hope. In this southern New Hampshire town he met forthright Rachel Oakes, newly arrived to live with her school-teacher daughter. During a friendly visit Mrs. Oakes challenged Wheeler to keep *all* God's commandments as he had indicated in a recent sermon that men were obliged to do. After serious study of the fourth commandment Wheeler became convinced that God still wanted His children to honor the seventh day and began to keep it as the Sabbath. About the same time several members of the Washington congregation made similar decisions. The most prominent of these were William and Cyrus Farnsworth. Thus, the first permanent Sabbath-keeping Adventist congregation came into being in Washington even before the Great Disappointment.¹⁶

Toward the end of that same summer a more prominent advent minister, a former Baptist, T. M. Preble, of East Weare, New Hampshire, who had traveled with Miller himself, also accepted the seventh-day Sabbath. Whether he had learned of it from Wheeler or directly from Rachel Oakes is not clear. Since both Wheeler and Preble expected Christ's return in a few weeks' time, they apparently felt no burden to convince fellow Adventists to change days of worship during the short time remaining.

Seventh Day Baptists *were* agitating for Protestants to consider the Sabbath question during these years of advent expectations. *The Midnight Cry* took note of the fact several times during September 1844. Although the *Cry's* editors expressed the opinion that "*there is no particular portion of time which Christians are required by law to set apart, as holy time,*" they admitted that if after careful study a person decided otherwise, then they must also conclude that "*the particular portion of time which God requires us to observe as holy, is the seventh day of the week, that is, Saturday.*"¹⁷

The Great Disappointment failed to destroy either Wheeler's or Preble's faith in the imminence of the advent. And Preble decided that the time had come to present the Sabbath question to fellow Adventists. This he did through the columns of Joseph Turner's February 28, 1845, *Hope of Israel*. The next month he published an enlarged version of his Sabbath views in tract form. In his opening paragraphs Preble quoted William Miller as saying that the Sabbath was designed "to be a sign forever, and a perpetual covenant," a fact proving "beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is as binding upon the Christian church as upon the Jewish, and in the same manner, and for the same reason."¹⁸

The participants in the Albany Conference were aware of Preble's views on the Sabbath question, but chose to "have no fellowship" with what they considered "Jewish fables and commandments of men . . . or any of the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism." Smarting from public ridicule, they were determined not to add anything which would rouse more opposition and, as they thought, detract from the overriding truth of the approaching advent.¹⁹

Preble's Sabbath views were soon shared by J. B. Cook, another prominent Millerite preacher, but in less than three years both returned to observing Sunday. Yet Preble's article and tract fell on fertile ground. They convinced two men who were to be among the founding fathers of Seventh-day Adventists: Joseph Bates and John Nevins Andrews. These men, in turn, convinced hundreds more, including James and Ellen White and Hiram Edson.²⁰

Joseph Bates

Joseph Bates was a man in his early fifties when, with characteristic vigor, he decided to keep and promote the seventh-day Sabbath. At the age of fifteen he had left his home in New Bedford, Massachusetts, for a career at sea. The ensuing years were full of adventure, including shipwreck and impressment into the British Navy. After the start of the War of 1812 Bates, still in British hands, insisted on being made a prisoner of war. He spent the next two and a half years in prison, the last eight months in infamous Dartmoor. By 1820 Bates had experience enough to captain a merchant vessel. Within eight years he accumulated a modest fortune and chose to retire. During his last years at sea he gave up the use of liquor and tobacco and enjoyed a spiritual awakening which he traced to the Bible and religious literature his wife had packed in his gear.

Retirement from the sea did not mean inactivity for Joseph Bates; he was active in both the antislavery and temperance movements and in the Christian Church, which he joined in 1827. Then in 1839, after years of careful consideration, he accepted and began actively to herald Miller's views of an imminent second coming. Bates was one of the committee who issued the call for the first Advent General Conference, and later he chaired the important May 1842 conference. In 1843, after disposing of

most of his property, and accompanied by blacksmith H. S. Gurney, he carried the advent message to eastern Maryland. Here his antislavery views led to threats of violence, but Bates was saved by his quick humor and his obvious dedication to preparing all men to meet a soon-coming Saviour.²¹

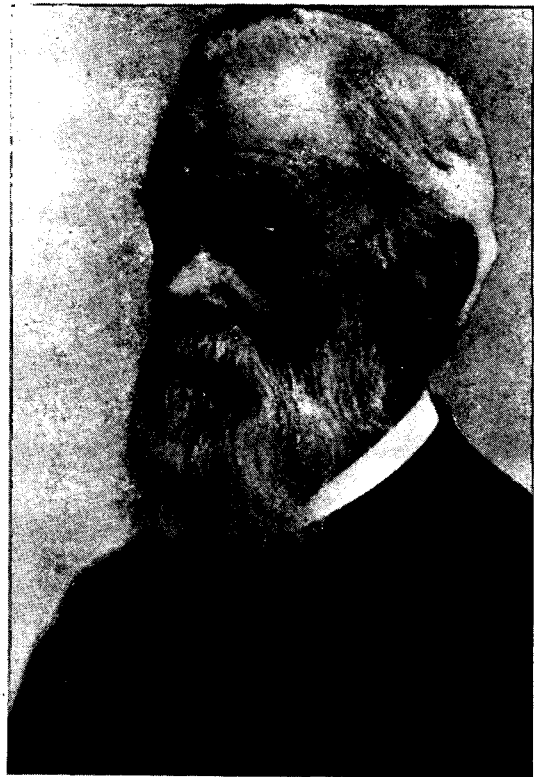
Although twice bitterly disappointed during 1844, Bates did not renounce either his advent hope or his belief that something important had happened on October 22, 1844. Earnest Bible study quickly convinced him of the logic in Preble's Sabbath article. Learning that there were Sabbath-keeping Adventists in New Hampshire, Bates was consumed with an urge to visit them and exchange views. Somehow—for at this time he was virtually penniless—he found his way early in May 1845 to the home of Frederick Wheeler. Arriving unannounced at ten in the evening, Bates was soon involved in an all-night study session. The day following his return home Bates met a longtime friend, neighbor, and fellow Adventist, James Hall, who queried, "What's the news, Captain Bates?" "The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God," Bates shot back. Hall agreed to study his Bible on the subject and soon joined Bates as a Sabbath keeper.²²

J. N. Andrews

It was probably nearly a year after Preble issued his Sabbath tract that a copy fell into the hands of fifteen-year-old Marian Stowell. Having sold their farm in expectation of the advent, the Stowell family was then living in the hospitable household of Edward Andrews, in Paris, Maine. Both Marian and her older brother, Oswald, were convinced by Preble's tract. A few days later Marian shared the tract with her host's son, seventeen-year-old John Andrews. John was a serious youth whose talents for study and logical thinking had led him to consider a career in law and politics. Now the logic of the Sabbath captured him, and soon both families were united as Sabbath-keeping Adventists. In later years John Andrews would write the first book-length Adventist defense of the Sabbath, combining it with a historical survey of how Christians had come to switch their allegiance to Sunday.²³

New Light on the Sanctuary

At the same time that the Sabbath was receiving attention among various New England Adventists, a group of laymen in western New York began formulating a new interpretation of the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300-day prophecy. Here the key figure was Hiram Edson, a Methodist farmer of Port Gibson, New York, who had become an Adventist about 1843. Edson's first reaction on the night of the October 22 disappointment was to question God and the Bible. After a little reflection, however, he recognized that his days awaiting the advent had been "the richest and brightest of all my Christian experience." With several



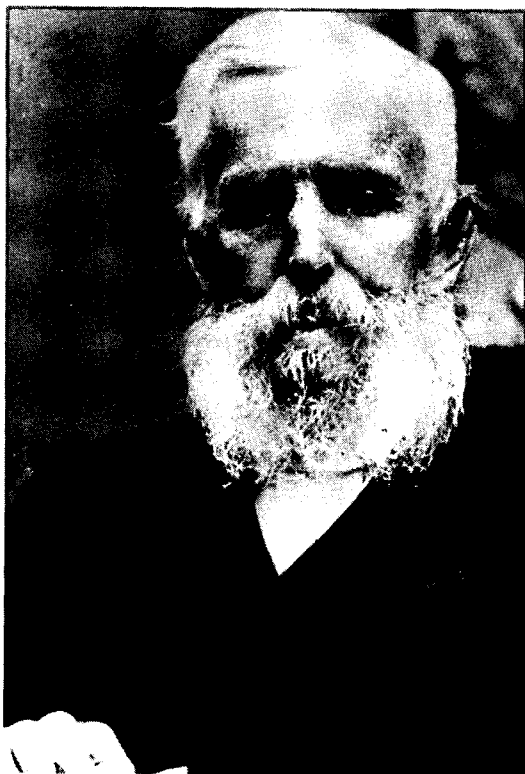
Joshua Himes



Charles Fitch



Joseph Bates



Frederick Wheeler

fellow Adventists Edson held an impromptu season of prayer in his granary. Emerging from this session convinced that light would come to explain their disappointment, Edson and a companion, probably O. R. L. Crosier, set out on the morning of October 23 to encourage Adventist friends.

As the two men walked across a cornfield, "heaven seemed open to my view," Edson later remembered, "and I saw distinctly, and clearly, that instead of our High Priest coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly Sanctuary to come to this earth . . . at the end of the 2,300 days that he for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary; and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth." His mind was also "directed" to Revelation 10, with its account of the book that was sweet in the mouth and bitter in the belly. The chapter ended, he recalled, with the angel's instruction to prophesy again.²⁴

Jarred from his reverie by his companion's call, Edson immediately recognized that God was beginning to answer their earnest petitions for more light. A little later, as the two men studied further, Edson's Bible fell open to Hebrews 8 and 9, where they found confirmation of the concept that the sanctuary to be cleansed was neither the earth nor the church, but rather the heavenly temple, of which that on earth had been a type. During the next few months Edson, Crosier, and Dr. F. B. Hahn, with whom the two had previously published a small Millerite paper, *The Day Dawn*, carried on an intensive study of the Hebrew sanctuary and sacrificial system. Here, they were convinced, lay the key to understanding what had happened on October 22, 1844.²⁵

Filled with enthusiasm, Edson and Hahn decided that their discoveries were "just what the scattered remnant needed." They agreed to finance a few more issues of *The Day Dawn*, if the younger and better-educated Crosier, then in his mid-twenties, would "write out the subject of the sanctuary." By April 1845 a few copies of *The Day Dawn* were going out, probably to prominent advent leaders and editors of Millerite papers. Enoch Jacobs, editor of *The Day-Star*, in Cincinnati, proved the most willing to consider Crosier's expositions. He agreed to publish an expanded and refined version of the new sanctuary views as an extra number of *The Day-Star*, under date of February 7, 1846. Thus the heavenly sanctuary concepts received their first exposure to a broad range of Adventists. Part of Mrs. Edson's wedding silver was sold to help finance the venture.²⁶

Crosier's lengthy article in *The Day-Star Extra*, carrying the rather ambiguous title "The Law of Moses," advanced many concepts, some new to both Adventists and other Christians. The most important may be summarized as follows: (1) A real, *literal*, sanctuary exists in heaven. (2) On October 22, 1844, Christ moved from the first apartment of this sanctuary to the second (the most holy place). (3) Before He returns to earth, Christ has a work to do in the most holy place that differs from what

He had been doing since His ascension. (4) The Hebrew sanctuary system was a complete visual representation of the plan of salvation, with every type having its antitype. (5) The real purpose of the Day of Atonement (which began for Christians on October 22, 1844) is to prepare a cleansed people. (6) Christ's cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary also involves cleansing the hearts of His people. (7) The typical "scapegoat" represents not Christ, but Satan. (8) As the "author of sin," Satan will receive the ultimate guilt for the sins he has caused Israel (God's people) to commit. (9) Atonement for sin did not begin until Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary following His resurrection.²⁷

Perhaps as early as the fall of 1845 (but more likely sometime in 1846) Joseph Bates became acquainted with Crosier's ideas. After careful independent study and correspondence with Edson, Bates accepted the latter's invitation to visit Port Gibson for an exchange of views. Edson had been aware for some time of Preble's arguments for the seventh-day Sabbath but had not yet been impressed with the duty to keep it. As Bates shared his Sabbath convictions with the Port Gibson group, Edson suddenly exclaimed, "That is light and truth! The seventh day is the Sabbath, and I am with you to keep it!" Although Crosier took a more cautious position, he, too, later accepted the Sabbath doctrine, only to give it up a few months later. For his part Bates agreed that the Edson-Crosier position on the sanctuary was correct. Thus were joined two of the doctrines that were to become distinctive tenets of the emerging Seventh-day Adventist faith.²⁸

The small group of sabbatarian Adventists found it easy and reassuring to accept the idea that Christ had changed his position and work in the heavenly sanctuary on October 22. This reinforced their conviction that they understood prophetic time correctly. It was more difficult, however, for them to grasp just what Christ's new work was, and how this related to them and to the advent. Still positive that Christ's return was only months or, at most, several years away, many found it unnecessary to abandon their "shut-door" ideas, although they did make some modifications. Joseph Bates seems for a time to have believed that the door of salvation was shut for all Christians on October 22, but that mercy might linger for the Jews, some of whom would still accept Christ as Saviour. Others held that the door which had been shut was not the door of salvation, but that of "access to the people." No longer were men's hearts open to hear; thus Christ could not minister for them in the most holy place, but only for those whose names He "had borne in upon His breastplate." This last group they equated with the steadfast believers in the 1844 movement.²⁹

The Gift of Prophecy

As the advent bands struggled to retain their faith and to understand their disappointment, new evidence that God had been in their movement and would continue with them came in the form of prophetic visions

received by a young woman in Portland, Maine. It was not a major Millerite editor or lecturer who was so favored. Ellen Harmon was only a frail seventeen-year-old girl who, with her family, had been dismissed from the Methodist Church because of their advent views. A childhood injury had denied her all but the rudiments of formal education. Although feeble in health, she enjoyed a strong Christian experience.

One December day in 1844, while praying with four Adventist sisters, Ellen felt "the power of God . . . upon me as I had never felt it before." Lost to her surroundings, she seemed caught up above the earth. Upon looking for her fellow Adventists, she at last discovered them on a "straight and narrow path" which ended in the heavenly Jerusalem. Behind the advent people, at the start of the path, was a brilliant light. An angel told Ellen that this was the "midnight cry," whose light shone all along the path. As she watched, some Adventists became discouraged at the length of the way, or "denied the light behind them." They found themselves in darkness and "stumbled . . . and fell off the path." As the vision continued, Ellen saw the second advent and the triumphal entry of the saints into the heavenly Jerusalem. When the vision ended, the world looked dark to her, but soon she and those to whom she related her experience became certain "that God had chosen this way . . . to comfort and strengthen His people."³⁰

About a week later, Ellen Harmon received a second vision instructing her to "go and relate to others what He had revealed to me." She was also warned that many trials would accompany her labors, but she was assured that God's grace would sustain her. The commission seemed too great. Ellen hesitated; she was painfully aware of her poor health, her youth and natural timidity, and of the fact that no one in her family was available to accompany her from one advent band to another. She may also have known of the deep suspicion with which the Millerite leaders viewed "visions, dreams or private revelations." Stung by the fanaticism that had followed Starkweather's activities and the failure of Dr. C. R. Gorgas's supposed vision prior to October 22, these leaders consistently opposed placing any confidence in supernatural manifestations.³¹

Opposition to private revelations had helped to keep two other advent believers from accepting the divine commission later offered Ellen Harmon. Early in 1842 William Foy, of Boston, a Baptist studying for the Episcopal ministry, received two visions dealing with Christ's soon return and the reward of the righteous. Foy was reluctant to relate the visions publicly, partly because, as a mulatto, he was aware of the prejudice displayed toward men of color. Overcoming his initial reluctance, he accepted the nearness of the advent and related the visions to large audiences throughout New England. Later, however, financial pressures and a third vision, which he could not understand, led Foy to stop recounting his experiences.³²

Shortly before the Great Disappointment, Hazen Foss, of Poland,

Maine, was given a vision apparently very similar to the first one later experienced by Ellen Harmon. Shown the opposition he would encounter if he related the visions and warnings as instructed, Foss refused to accept the commission. Then, suddenly impressed that he had grieved the Holy Spirit, he convened a group to hear the vision, only to find that he could no longer recall it. Weeks later Foss chanced to hear Ellen Harmon, whose older sister had married his brother, describe what she had seen. Foss warned Ellen not to refuse God's call; as for himself, he demonstrated no further interest in religious matters.³³

Bearing Testimony

Ellen Harmon's reluctance to relate the visions was not easily overcome. Added to her youth and poor health was the fear that she might become proud and exalted if she accepted the divine commission. An angel assured her that if this danger threatened God would preserve her humility through affliction. Then during a special season of prayer for Ellen, one of the older advent believers present saw a ball of fire strike her right above the heart. When she revived, John Pearson told her, "We will help you henceforth, and not discourage you."³⁴

Shortly thereafter the way opened for Ellen to bear her testimony during a visit to her sister in nearby Poland. For three months she had been able to talk only in a low, husky tone, yet now when she began to speak her voice became clear and strong and remained so during the nearly two hours she spoke. This was but one of the remarkable physical manifestations accompanying her revelations. During public visions, which might come while she was praying or speaking, Ellen at first lost all physical strength; then she received supernatural strength such that even the strongest persons could not control her bodily movements. Throughout a vision—one lasted nearly four hours—there was no evidence of respiration, yet her heartbeat and facial color continued normal. As a vision began, Ellen generally exclaimed "Glory!" or "Glory to God!" several times. Although her eyes remained open, she appeared entirely unconscious of her surroundings. She might move around the room gracefully, and occasionally speak words or phrases indicative of what she was seeing. A long, deep inhalation indicated that the vision was ending. At first she could scarcely see, as if she had been looking into a bright light. Gradually things once more became distinct, and her sight suffered no permanent impairment.³⁵

An obvious question arises: Why these physical phenomena? A logical reason may be that although those who were acquainted with Ellen Harmon's strong religious experience might readily accept her testimony, the same was not true of those who heard this unknown teenager for the first time. The phenomena reassured many, but not all, that the messages were sent from God. Some refused to believe, claiming that the visions were self-hypnosis or "mesmerism" as it was called in those days.³⁶

James and Ellen White

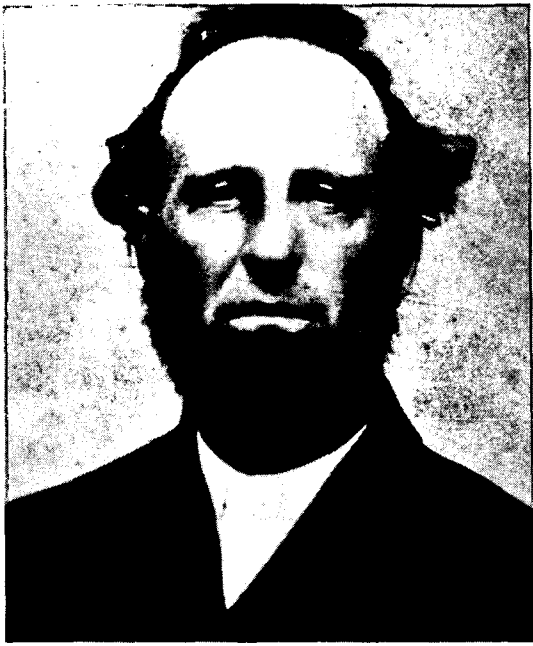
One who was immediately convinced was Elder James White, who observed Ellen Harmon during a visit she made to Orrington, Maine, early in 1845. As invitations came, Ellen traveled farther from home visiting advent companies in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, always accompanied by her sister Sarah or Louisa Foss, a faithful friend. Sensing a need, James White began going to appointments with them. This inevitably led to gossip, although neither James nor Ellen appears to have entertained romantic thoughts at this time. Both expected Christ's imminent return; to consider marriage could be interpreted as a denial of their faith. Yet love grew at the same time that James became convinced that nothing must be allowed to bring reproach on Ellen and her work. And so in the summer of 1846 he proposed marriage. Ellen accepted. On August 30, as young people without formal church membership, they were married in Portland by a justice of the peace.³⁷

Ellen White's early visions and her subsequent travels were not for the purpose of introducing new and distinctive doctrines; her role was rather to encourage and reassure those who had looked for Christ to come in 1844. If they held fast to their faith, they would triumph at last. Many had fallen into extreme positions, which Ellen felt called to correct. Among these were the "spiritualizers" who held that Christ had come to them "spiritually" on October 22; now they were completely sanctified and could not sin. Others developed violent emotionalism with much excitement, noise, and bodily activity. One group even advocated crawling around on hands and knees to demonstrate that they took seriously Christ's injunction to become "as little children."³⁸

A more delicate matter to deal with was the continuing hope of Christ's imminent return, which led both James White and Joseph Bates to teach that this would occur on or before October 22, 1845. The matter was delicate, because Ellen also wanted Christ to return soon; she did not want in any way to discourage preparation for that event. A few days before the expected date, she saw in vision that their hopes would not be realized, and she thus warned those with whom she had contact. Similar warning came later when Hiram Edson taught that time would end in 1850 and Joseph Bates, through a rather fanciful interpretation of a part of the Levitical service, fixed on 1851 as the year of the advent.³⁹

Encouraging the Flock

It was probably in the spring preceding her marriage that Ellen White first met Joseph Bates. He treated her with the utmost courtesy but was frankly skeptical of her visions as direct revelations from God. For their part James and Ellen White at first disagreed with Bates's stand in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath; they believed he stressed the fourth commandment unduly. Both Bates and the Whites soon changed their views.



James and Ellen White

During the autumn months of 1846 the newly married Whites carefully studied Bates's pamphlet, *The Seventh Day Sabbath, A Perpetual Sign*, and were convinced by it. Bates's acceptance of the visions came after observing Ellen experience several of them. One in particular impressed him. In it she viewed and described some of the heavenly bodies. Fascinated with astronomy since his days on the sea, Bates had earlier tried to converse with Ellen on this subject and had found her completely uninformed. How else could her sudden enlightenment be explained, if not by light from heaven? By early 1847 Bates could testify to his belief that the visions were of God, given "to comfort and strengthen His 'scattered, torn, and peeled people,' since the closing up of the work in the world in October, 1844."⁴⁰

Although Ellen White's early visions had been largely of an encouraging and practical nature, designed to keep the believers' attention focused on Christ's return, in 1846 she began to receive confirmation of the new doctrinal discoveries others were making. A few weeks after Crosier's long exposition in *The Day-Star Extra*, Ellen was shown in vision that he "had the true light, on the cleansing of the Sanctuary, etc.; and that it was his will [the Lord's], that Brother C. should write out the view which he gave." Ellen continued, "I feel fully authorized by the Lord to recommend that Extra, to every saint."⁴¹

The Sabbath Conferences

It was in April 1847, several months after she and James had begun keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, that Ellen received a vision confirming this new belief. In a view of the most holy place Ellen observed the Decalogue inside the ark. A special halo of glory seemed to encircle the fourth commandment. She was instructed that true Sabbath observance

would play a vital role in the troublesome times God's people would experience just before the second advent. The connection between the Sabbath and the message of the third angel of Revelation 14 was also pointed out. Joseph Bates had also noted this relationship in the second edition of his Sabbath tract.⁴²

Although Joseph Bates, the Whites, and Hiram Edson took the lead in promoting the new Bible truths discovered after the disappointment, dozens of other Adventists throughout New England and western New York were also becoming convinced of one or more of the same doctrines. By 1848 these scattered believers felt a great need to draw together in small conferences, as they had done in their Millerite days. In such meetings they could not only confirm each other in the faith, but also hammer out more complete details of last-day prophecies and correct errors in their religious beliefs.

E. L. H. Chamberlain, of Middletown, Connecticut, took the lead in calling the first of what would later be called "Sabbath Conferences." This first conference met from April 20 to 24, 1848, at Albert Belden's home in Rocky Hill, Connecticut. About fifty persons attended, with Bates and James White giving the principal addresses. Long hours were spent in prayer and earnest Bible study. So profitable was this meeting that plans were soon under way for some of the Eastern believers to accept an invitation to join in a similar conference in New York.⁴³

With no central organization to finance such meetings, the participants were thrown upon their own resources. James White mowed hay for five weeks to secure enough money for Ellen and himself to travel to Volney and Port Gibson, New York, where the second and third conferences were held in August. Although attendance at the second conference was somewhat smaller than the first, a wider diversity of opinion was represented; each participant seemed determined to hold firmly to some pet interpretation. This discord oppressed Ellen White so greatly that she fainted. Some feared she was dying. As prayers were offered for her, she revived and was soon in vision. Many of the errors being promoted were shown her, and she was instructed to appeal to all present to lay aside minor matters and unite on the basic truths making up the three angels' messages. Her appeals were heeded, and the meeting "closed triumphantly."⁴⁴

Light on Doctrine

The experience at Volney sheds light on the way that the sabbatarian Adventists arrived at their doctrinal positions: they were hammered out as the result of Bible study, discussion, and prayer. Much of the time, Ellen White testified, she could not understand the texts under discussion and the issues involved. Yet she later remembered that when the brethren who were studying, "came to the point . . . where they said, 'We can do nothing more' the Spirit of the Lord would come upon me, I would be taken off in vision, and a clear explanation of the passages we had been

studying would be given me, with instruction as to how we were to labor and teach effectively." Because the participants "knew that when not in vision, I could not understand these matters, . . . they accepted as light direct from heaven the revelations given."⁴⁵

A fourth Sabbath conference was held in September, again at Rocky Hill. Two more that fall, at Topsham, Maine, and Dorchester, Massachusetts, completed the cycle. The Sabbath conferences brought general agreement among the sabbatarian Adventists (who probably at this time still numbered only a few hundred) on eight specific points: (1) the imminent, personal, premillennial second advent; (2) the twofold ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, whose cleansing had begun in 1844; (3) the seventh-day Sabbath; (4) God's special supernatural enlightenment through Ellen White; (5) the duty to proclaim all three angels' messages; (6) conditional immortality and death as a dreamless sleep; (7) the timing of the seven last plagues; and (8) the final, complete extinction of the wicked after the millennium. Many details and ramifications of these doctrines remained to be elaborated, but the basic concepts had been worked out by the end of 1848.⁴⁶

During these same formative years, sabbatarian Adventists slowly redefined their concepts of the "shut door." Bates and the Whites had originally viewed the shut-door idea as being inseparably connected with maintaining confidence in the integrity of the 1844 date. For some time Ellen White interpreted her first vision as confirming this connection. Yet at the same time she recognized that persons who had not "knowingly rejected" the truths of the first and second angels' messages were not excluded from salvation.

Gradually those who were uniting on the doctrinal platform nailed together at the Sabbath conferences came to understand the shut door in a new light. This was particularly true in the days following two Ellen White visions. In the first of these, given in mid-November 1848, Ellen saw an expanding message going "like streams of light . . . clear round the world." This certainly did not square well with the concept that probation had ended for all on October 22, 1844.

The Open and Shut Door

The second vision, given March 24, 1849, related the open and shut door to the heavenly sanctuary and the changing expectations of God for His people during the different phases of Christ's ministry in the two apartments. When Christ opened the door into the most holy place, Ellen saw that light shone out on the commandments; the Sabbath was from then on a special test of the loyalty of professed Christians. At the same time Christ shut the door to the holy place. While He had served there, the Sabbath had not been a test in the same way as it had now become. Ellen was shown that some wanted to go back to these easier early days, but that this was impossible; that door was shut "and no man can open it."

As a new decade opened, the message of the sabbatarian Adventists began to receive a hearing in other than Adventist circles. Gradually, through their witness, individuals who had had no connection with the Millerite movement were converted to Christ and accepted the doctrines of His imminent return, the heavenly sanctuary, and the seventh-day Sabbath. This dramatically pointed out to the Whites and Joseph Bates that their old shut-door views were untenable. By 1854 they were ready to accept the new meaning of the term which Ellen White, in the light of the expanded revelations given her, had been developing. Henceforth they would accept the fact that God shut the door of salvation for an individual only when he, personally, had rejected the light of the three angels' messages. No one could be guilty of rejecting light he had not seen. This understanding had not come quickly or easily. Old terminology was retained to describe new concepts. In later years a failure to understand the gradually changing shut-door concepts of the Whites, Joseph Bates, and other sabbatarian Adventists would prove a stumbling block to many.⁴⁷

Suggested Reading:

A lively account of the post-disappointment period and the development of basic S.D.A. doctrines is found in A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1961), I: 97-170, and C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 40-94. Less readable is L. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (1954), IV: 827-1048. E. Dick gives good biographical sketches of the Whites and Joseph Bates in *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 105-247. The enlarging views on the heavenly sanctuary probably come through best in R. Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905" (1970). For Ellen White and her role in early S.D.A. days see A. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (1969). Of major importance are the firsthand accounts of two key participants in the events of this period, James White, *Life Incidents . . .* (1968), and Ellen White, *Life Sketches . . .* (1915). For Bates's experience as a sabbatarian Adventist, G. Anderson's *Outrigger of the Apocalypse* (1972) is superior to the captain's *Autobiography*. The most exhaustive refutation of the many criticisms against Ellen White is found in F. D. Nichol's *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (1951).

1. D. Arthur, "Come Out of Babylon" (1970), pp. 85, 86; F. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (1951), p. 192.

2. J. Bates, *Second Advent Way Marks and High Heaps* (1845), p. 45; *Advent Herald*, October 30, 1844, p. 96, quoted in Arthur, p. 86.

3. *Advent Herald*, Nov. 27, 1844, pp. 127, 128, quoted in L. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, (1954) IV: 858.

4. Arthur, pp. 89-91; Froom, IV: 859.

5. Arthur, pp. 91-96; Froom, IV: 858.

6. Arthur, pp. 92, 93, 96, 123, 129, 130; Arthur, "After the Great Disappointment: To Albany and Beyond," *Adventist Heritage* I (January 1974), pp. 5-7.

7. Quoted in J. White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (1868), p. 198; see also Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 96, 97.
8. White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 199-204.
9. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 97-99.
10. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 101-115.
11. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 115-123; A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1961), I: 138.
12. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 123-139; Arthur, "After the Great Disappointment," pp. 7-10; Nichol, pp. 166-170.
13. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 146-190; L. Billington, "The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain, 1840-1850," *Journal of American Studies* I (October 1967), pp. 197-212.
14. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 186-233.
15. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 277, 278, 297-306, 339, 352-371.
16. Froom, IV: 945-947; Spalding, I: 115-117, 397-400.
17. Quoted in Froom, IV: 944; see also Spalding, I: 116-118, 400.
18. Quoted in T. Preble, *Tract, Showing that the Seventh Day Should be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; "According to the commandment"* (1845), [p. 3].
19. Quoted in Arthur, "Come Out . . .," p. 134.
20. Arthur, "Come Out . . .," pp. 119, 120; Froom, IV: 952.
21. The true character of Joseph Bates probably still comes out best in his autobiography, currently available in a reprint edition. He is also well served in G. Anderson, *Outrider of the Apocalypse: Life and Time of Joseph Bates* (1972); in E. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 105-151; and Spalding, I: 25-42.
22. Froom, IV: 955, 956; Spalding, I: 120, 121; J. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement* (1905), pp. 250, 251.
23. Froom, IV: 961, 962; Spalding, I: 121, 122. Andrews's *History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week* was first published in 1861. It went through several editions.
24. H. Edson manuscript, Heritage Room, Andrews University; Spalding, I: 97-101; Froom, IV: 879-881.
25. J. Nix, "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson," unpublished manuscript, Andrews University Heritage Room; W. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (1941), p. 222.
26. Nix, "Life and Work," pp. 29, 122; Edson manuscript, AU Heritage Room; R. Haddock, "History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Adventist Movement, 1800-1905," unpublished B.D. thesis, Andrews University (1970), pp. 111-113.
27. Haddock, pp. 119-125, 128, 129.
28. Nix, pp. 23-31; Haddock, p. 149.
29. Haddock, pp. 153, 159, 166-173, 182; Nichol, pp. 175, 176.
30. E. White, *Life Sketches* (1943), pp. 64-68.
31. E. White, pp. 69,70; Froom, IV: 984.
32. W. Foy, *The Christian Experience of William E. Foy, Together with the Two Visions He Received in the Months of January and February, 1842* (1845); Loughborough, pp. 145-147.
33. Loughborough, pp. 182, 183; E. G. White, Letter 37 (1890), E. G. White Estate; G. T. Little, *The Descendants of George Little* (1882), pp. 290, 291.
34. E. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 69-72.
35. E. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 72; J. White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 272, 273; A. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (1956), pp. 6, 7.
36. Froom, IV: 991; A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, p. 7.
37. R. Graybill, "The Courtship of Ellen Harmon," *Insight*, January 23, 1973, pp. 4-7.
38. Froom, IV: 982; E. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 79-86; A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, pp. 32, 33.
39. A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, pp. 41-43; Nix, p. 47; Nichol, p. 263.
40. Anderson, p. 63; Spalding, I: 125-127, 143-145.
41. Letter to Eli Curtiss, April 21, 1847, in J. White, *A Word to the Little Flock* (1847); Haddock, pp. 138, 139, 147.
42. A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, p. 34; Nichol, pp. 185, 186; Froom, IV: 956-958.
43. A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, p. 38; Froom, IV: 1021, 1022; E. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 108; Spalding, I: 190, 191.
44. E. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 108-111; J. White, *Life Incidents*, p. 274; Froom, IV: 1022, 1023.
45. Quoted in A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, pp. 38, 39; see also Froom, IV: 1046, 1047.
46. Froom, IV: 1023, 1030-1048; A. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, pp. 38-40.
47. A. White, "Ellen G. White and the Shut Door Question" (1971); see also Nichol, pp. 161-252; Spalding, I: 158-165.

CHAPTER 5

Using the Printed Page

It was only natural for sabbatarian Adventists to draw on their Millerite experience as they endeavored to spread their expanding concepts of religious truth. Yet both the times and their resources were limiting factors. The derision that accompanied the Great Disappointment precluded their attracting general audiences to public lectures; nor did they have the financial resources to hire halls and advertise for crowds. The Whites came from poor families; Bates and Edson had used most of their modest possessions to promulgate *The Midnight Cry*.

The Millerite papers that reappeared after the disappointment were a natural means of reaching other Adventists. Yet the conservative position taken by the Albany Conference kept the main advent journals from accepting expositions of "new light." Through Enoch Jacob's *Day-Star*, Ellen Harmon's visions and O. R. L. Crosier's explanation of the heavenly sanctuary could reach a substantial audience. But as Jacobs wandered farther into a forest of theological vagaries, this avenue too closed.

For a time Ellen Harmon and those intimately associated with her attempted to hand copy and mail out accounts of the visions. Yet the limits of such methods were obvious, and in the spring of 1846 an account of the first vision was printed as a broadside, entitled "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad." The cost of the 250 copies published was jointly met by James White and H. S. Gurney, the singing blacksmith who had accompanied Bates on his 1844 advent mission to Maryland.¹

Joseph Bates, Publisher

Joseph Bates also felt a need to publish the new truths he had discovered and to correct some of the errors into which his fellow Adventists

were straying. In May 1846 he prepared a forty-page tract, entitled *The Opening Heavens*, partially to counter those "spiritualizers" who were teaching that Christ had come spiritually in 1844. Bates believed that the sanctuary to be cleansed was in heaven and enthusiastically recommended Crosier's *Day-Star Extra*. Funds to publish this first tract were supplied by an Adventist sister who had recently woven a large rag carpet for her home. Saying that she could weave another when needed, the lady took up the new carpet and sold it, giving Bates the money to meet his printing bill.²

Undaunted by lack of funds, Bates next decided to prepare a tract on the Sabbath. As he sat at his desk poring over Bible and concordance, Mrs. Bates interrupted him to report that she needed some flour to finish the day's baking. Aware that his entire liquid capital consisted of a single York shilling (about 12½ cents), Bates cautiously asked how much she lacked. "About four pounds," Prudence Bates replied. Relieved, the captain went to a neighboring store and secured the four pounds along with a few other small items his wife had added to her grocery list.

When he returned, Mrs. Bates was horrified. Had her husband, a man of standing in New Bedford, one who as captain of a ship had traded with distant parts of the world, actually gone and purchased only four pounds of flour? That he had, Joseph assured her, and in the process he had spent his last penny. Prudence Bates's embarrassment turned to dismay. "What are we to do?" she wailed.

The sturdy captain proclaimed his plan to write a booklet which would help spread the Sabbath truth. As for their personal needs, the Lord would open the way. "Oh, yes! That's what you always say," Prudence sobbed.

A few minutes later, while at work, Bates was suddenly impressed that a letter was awaiting him at the post office. Never one to hesitate when he believed God was guiding, Bates immediately set off to see the postmaster. Sure enough, the impression was correct, but the letter carried no postage! Captain Bates had to confess that he lacked the few cents necessary to claim the letter. Although Postmaster Drew was willing for him to take the letter and pay later, Bates would not have it so. "I feel impressed that there is money in the letter," he said. "Please open it, and if this is so take the postage out first and then give me the rest."

Under protest the postmaster complied, and found a ten-dollar bill! Bates's correspondent indicated that the Lord had impressed him that his friend needed money; so he had sent some off immediately. With the money, Captain Bates purchased a barrel of flour, potatoes, sugar, and some other household goods and ordered them delivered to his home. He then proceeded to the printer to arrange for the printing of his Sabbath tract, assured that God would provide funds for that as well.

Upon returning home Bates found his wife greatly agitated. Where, she demanded, had the load of provisions come from? "The Lord sent them," the captain replied.

“That’s what you always say,” Prudence retorted. Whereupon her husband handed her the letter so recently received. After she read it, tears flowed once more, tears of penitence and joy.

The money to pay the printer arrived just as mysteriously, in small amounts at unexpected times. When Bates went to make the final settlement, the printer informed him that his bill had been paid. The captain never discovered that his last benefactor was his old companion, H. S. Gurney, who had unexpectedly realized payment on a debt long due him.³

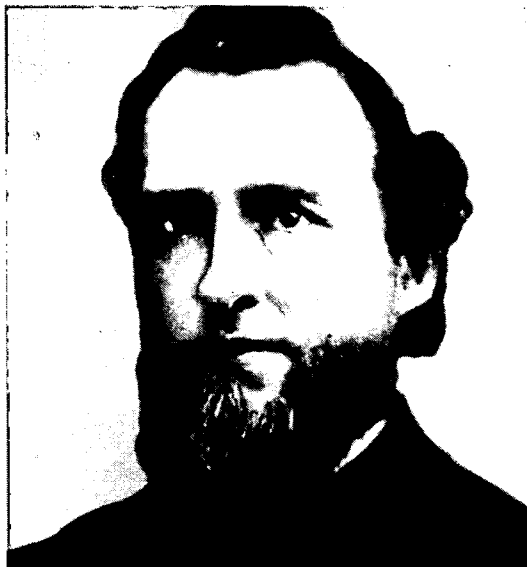
As Joseph Bates pressed forward in faith, there always seemed to be someone to help him. After revising and enlarging his Sabbath tract in 1847, the captain prepared a review of the Millerite experience in a way designed to build confidence in God’s leading. When his eighty-page *Second Advent Waymarks and High Heaps* was ready, a widow sold her humble cottage, moved in with in-laws, and gave Bates enough to publish the tract. And so it went with subsequent tracts over the next three years.⁴

It was in late spring, 1847, that the first joint publication of James and Ellen White and Joseph Bates appeared. *A Word to the “Little Flock”* was clearly addressed to Adventists. It included accounts of several of Ellen’s visions, an endorsement of the visions by Bates, and articles by James White devoted principally to the seven last plagues and events surrounding the second coming. The main thrust of this small twenty-four-page pamphlet was to encourage the advent believers to hold on to their 1844 experience as they sought greater light on the path ahead.

The need for some periodic means of communicating to the slowly growing numbers of sabbatarian Adventists became especially evident during the 1848 Sabbath conferences. Future conferences must be advertised so that more could attend; the light which came during these days of study and prayer must be communicated to others. During the October conference in Topsham, Maine, the participants made the publication of their enlarging views a matter of special prayer. Still, difficulties seemed to outweigh opportunities. The believers resolved to pray and to study the matter more the following month at Otis Nichols’s home in Dorchester, Massachusetts.⁵

Present Truth

A highlight of the Dorchester conference was a vision Ellen White received relating to the Sabbath and its role during the sealing of God’s people. At the same time she saw that the time had come to start “a little paper” to send “out to the people.” God, Ellen indicated, was laying the burden for starting this project directly on her husband. Although James was not unwilling, his financial resources were virtually nonexistent. When he and Ellen stopped in a town for a few weeks, James would work on the railroad or as a farm laborer in order that they might not be too great a burden on kind friends. Yet what he could earn in this way was painfully



Uriah Smith



Stephen N. Haskell

inadequate. Sometimes Ellen had a real struggle in deciding whether to use the few pennies available to buy milk for herself and their son, Henry, born in August 1847, or to use these funds to purchase material to clothe the baby.⁶

By the summer of 1849 James White's burden to start a little paper "in defense of truth" was so great that he decided to mow hay to earn printing expenses. At this time the Whites were living with the Albert Beldens in Rocky Hill, Connecticut. Just as James was starting for town to buy a scythe, he was informed that Ellen had fainted. Quickly he returned, and after prayer Ellen regained consciousness, only to be taken off in vision. At this time she received instruction that it was not James's duty to labor in the hayfield; he was to write and publish. As they stepped out in faith, funds would be provided to meet publication needs.

Eight miles away, in the village of Middletown, a printer agreed to print 1000 copies of an eight-page paper, entitled *Present Truth*, on credit. The first number, devoted mainly to the Sabbath truth, was ready in July. Then the precious sheets were carried to the Belden home, where they were folded, wrapped, and addressed to individuals who might be expected to read them with open minds. After earnest prayer James loaded the papers in his carpetbag and walked eight miles to mail them at the Middletown post office. This scene was repeated three more times before the end of September. And enough funds did come in to defray the costs. Encouraged, Elder White decided to continue publishing.⁷

Yet the facilities available in Connecticut left much to be desired. That fall the Whites decided to shift their home and printing business to Oswego, New York. No longer would the burdensome eight-mile walks be necessary, and it would also be easier to mail papers into the old Northwest, where Joseph Bates was already scattering the Sabbath and sanctuary truths among former Millerites. Two issues of *Present Truth* came out in December 1849. Then it lapsed for several months as the editor, discouraged by the slackening of donations and the opposition of

Captain Bates to the idea of publishing a paper, almost gave up the project. Bates reasoned, curiously, that no paper should be published because this was what was being done by those Adventists who had given up much of their 1844 experience. He also preferred to see capable preachers like Elder White actively proclaiming the message in person, rather than sitting behind an editor's desk.

Ellen White would not hear of her husband's abandoning the paper. "I saw that God did not want James to stop yet," she asserted, "but he must *write, write, write, write*, and spread the message and let it go." Consequently, that spring four more numbers of *Present Truth* were prepared and sent out before the Whites found it necessary to suspend publication for summer traveling among the scattered believers.⁸

Advent Review

By midsummer James White was hard at work on a new publishing venture. Stung by criticisms from the ranks of main-line Adventists, James and Ellen decided to issue a paper which would contain large extracts from the pre-disappointment Millerite press. This was designed to show that the sabbatarian Adventists alone continued to see the Millerite movement as God-directed and designed. Four issues of the sixteen-page *Advent Review* were published in Auburn, New York, during the summer and fall of 1850.⁹

In early fall the Whites felt burdened to visit the believers in Paris, Maine. In this area the William Andrews and Stockbridge Howland families gave stability to the little advent band. When James discovered an inexpensive and convenient printer in Paris, he decided to remain and carry on his publishing ventures where friendly brethren were willing to aid in his work. Here the final issues of the *Present Truth* and the *Advent Review* were issued in November 1850. That same month a new journal was born which combined the purposes of the preceding two. Named the *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, it has continued to the present and has developed into the official voice of Seventh-day Adventists.¹⁹

Publishing Assistants

James White's publishing business was not yet ready to put down permanent roots; Paris was too far from the center of sabbatarian Adventism. By the summer of 1851 James was once more looking to New York. When he left Paris, however, he left with a valuable recruit—twenty-one-year-old John Andrews. Several months earlier a conference of Adventist believers in Paris had formed a committee to help Elder White with the burdens of publishing. In addition to veteran Joseph Bates, it included Samuel Rhodes and J. N. Andrews. Rhodes had been a successful Millerite evangelist who fled deep into New York's Adirondack forest following the disappointment. With Ellen White's encouragement, he was sought out by Hiram Edson, who explained the 1844 disappointment and the new light

of the third angel's message. Rhodes once more became an effective minister, preaching first throughout New England and New York and later pioneering in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.¹¹

It was young Andrews, however, who was to be of most immediate help to James White in his publishing activities. At twenty-one he became one of the leading writers for the *Review and Herald*. His five-page article in the May 1851 issue was the earliest detailed Adventist exposition of Revelation 13 to interpret the two-horned beast introduced there as the United States. He later prepared a series answering O. R. L. Crosier's attacks on the Sabbath. During the winter of 1850-51 Andrews visited and ministered to the believers in northern New England and eastern Canada. But when the Whites moved back to New York, Andrews also headed west, going beyond them to search out and encourage believers in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. At the same time he continued his contributions to the *Review*.¹²

Shortly before leaving Maine James White once more nearly abandoned the idea of keeping a paper going. Weakened by overwork and inadequate nutrition, burdened with criticism from correspondents, James wrote a note for the paper stating he was going to cease its publication. Again Ellen White stepped in. Her words of encouragement, based on a vision showing her that "we must continue to publish, and the Lord would sustain us," tipped the scales. James did not publish his note as planned. Never again would he become quite as discouraged over his publishing trials.¹³

By midsummer 1851 the Whites' publishing activities had been transferred to Saratoga Springs, New York. During the nine months spent here Ellen's first small book, *A Sketch of the Christian Experiences and Views of Ellen G. White*, appeared. In addition to brief biographical data this volume included accounts of a number of Ellen's visions which had previously appeared as broadsides or as articles in *Present Truth*.

This was not the first book that James had published. In late 1849 or early 1850 he had issued a tiny paperbound hymnal, entitled *Hymns for God's Peculiar People*, containing words (but no music) to fifty-three hymns. Deacon John White, a voice teacher, had passed down his love for music to his children. Frequently James would open a meeting by vigorously singing a well-known hymn and clapping his hands in rhythm as he strode to the platform. His recognition of the vital role played by music in a Christian's life led him to publish five different hymnals, with four supplements, between 1849 and 1861. It appears that each time a printing was exhausted James issued a new collection. *Review* readers were invited to send in their favorites for inclusion in the forthcoming hymnal. In 1861 White's hymnal had grown to include 468 selections.¹⁴

The Whites were joined at Saratoga Springs by Ellen's sister Sarah and her husband, Stephen Belden. Stephen's mechanical talents proved especially helpful to James as his publishing ventures enlarged. Here,

too, Annie Smith arrived from New Hampshire to serve as copy editor and proofreader. The Smith family's advent experiences dated back to Millerite days, but as Annie and her younger brother, Uriah, approached adulthood, religious values faded and both became enamored of a literary career. To please her devout mother, Annie attended a lecture by Elder Bates. The evening before, both she and Bates dreamed of their meeting at this service. Annie was so impressed that she soon accepted the Sabbath truth and began sending poems to the *Review*. When only twenty-three she answered James White's call to come to Saratoga Springs and help with the paper. Four years later she would be dead from tuberculosis. During her short lifetime she contributed forty-five poems to the *Review* and the fledgling *Youth's Instructor*. Ten of her hymns remain in the Seventh-day Adventist *Church Hymnal*.¹⁵

The new assistants freed James and Ellen White to devote more time to writing and to encouraging the scattered flock through personal visits. James also began to think of establishing an independent Adventist press; he saw many advantages in such a development. Work could be done more cheaply and supervised more efficiently; moreover, their consciences need not trouble them over the *Review's* being printed on the Sabbath. On March 12, 1852, Bates, Rhodes, Edson, Andrews, and others gathered with the Whites at Jesse Thompson's home south of Saratoga Springs. After study and prayer they decided to purchase a press and type. Edson sold his farm in order to loan Elder White the \$650 needed to purchase a Washington hand press and relocate in Rochester, New York, a city better situated for efficient distribution of the paper. By October enough donations had been received to cover the cost of establishing the *Review* and Herald Printing Office.¹⁶

The three years that the "Office," as it was soon called, remained in Rochester were years of expansion and progress. In August 1852 James White launched *The Youth's Instructor*, an eight-page monthly designed to provide weekly Sabbath School lessons on doctrinal topics and other reading material "to interest and instruct" children. It cost twenty-five cents a year. By winter 1000 copies were being mailed out each month. At this same time 2000 copies of the *Review* were going out every two weeks. Unlike the *Instructor*, the *Review* was still being distributed without charge. A few months later, however, James White suggested that if believers who could afford to do so would pay one dollar per year, non-Adventists could still be provided with free subscriptions. Although the Whites were anxious to make the *Review* a weekly, financial pressures occasionally made it necessary to omit an issue.¹⁷

J. N. Loughborough

The move to Rochester coincided with the addition to sabbatarian Adventist ranks of several who were to become major figures in the denomination's growth. In Rochester lived young John N. Loughborough, who

painted houses during the week and preached to several Adventist companies on Sundays. A member of one of his congregations, who had become interested in the truths being taught by sabbatarian Adventists, suggested that Loughborough attend one of their conferences with him. Although only twenty years of age, Loughborough had already been preaching for over three years and was confident that he could rout the sabbatarians with a few texts showing the moral law had been abolished. Upon arriving at the meeting, Loughborough was astounded to recognize the speaker as a man he had seen in a dream a few nights earlier. He was further confounded when this speaker, J. N. Andrews, used the same texts he had been prepared to use against the law, to show man's continuing obligation to it. Within three weeks Loughborough had decided to cast his lot with the sabbatarians. Soon he accompanied Hiram Edson on a circuit-riding tour to encourage believers throughout western New York and Pennsylvania. Later he pioneered the work in Michigan, California, and England, and became the denomination's first historian.¹⁸

Pioneering in Michigan

Early in 1849 Joseph Bates began ranging farther afield in search of Adventists with whom he could share recently discovered light. The summer of 1849 saw him making contact with blacksmith Dan R. Palmer, leader of an Adventist band in Jackson, Michigan. Bates gave a vaguely interested Palmer his first sermon to the tune of Palmer's hammer on anvil. The captain's points reached home. Convinced that what he heard was truth, Palmer invited Bates to speak to the Adventist company the next Sunday. Before Bates left Jackson, all of the Adventist band had decided to become Sabbath keepers.

Three years later Bates returned to Jackson to encourage his converts. On this occasion an energetic young "age-to-come" Adventist preacher, Merritt E. Cornell, and his wife reluctantly agreed to listen to Bates speak at Dan Palmer's house. Cornell was confident he could quickly show the errors in Bates's presentation. But within two weeks he had carried Bates's message to his father-in-law, Henry Lyon, and to John P. Kellogg, an Adventist neighbor he sought out in a hayfield. For nearly a quarter of a century Cornell would be one of the most prominent of Seventh-day Adventist evangelists. Although personal difficulties interrupted his labors in later life, he deserves much of the credit for the rapid spread of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine throughout Michigan.¹⁹

During his second visit to Jackson, Captain Bates heard of several Adventist families in Indiana and decided to visit them. While en route he felt led by the Holy Spirit to alight from the train at the little village of Battle Creek. Proceeding to the post office, he asked for the "most honest man in town." A few minutes later he was headed down Van Buren Street toward the home of Presbyterian David Hewitt. It was early in the morning when Bates knocked at the Hewitt door and stated that he had impor-

tant truth to present. Courteously invited first to share breakfast, and then to conduct family worship, Bates was later given the opportunity of presenting his beliefs. All morning the Hewitts listened to a presentation of the advent hope, complete with illustrations from the captain's everhandy chart. The subject was new to them, as was the doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath, which Bates discussed in the afternoon. The Hewitts were convinced. They kept the next Sabbath and formed the nucleus of a congregation that met in their home until the first Adventist chapel was built in Battle Creek. The conversion of Presbyterian Hewitt, who had never had Adventist connections, effectively ended any of Bates's lingering beliefs that the door of mercy was shut.²⁰

It did not always take days or weeks of effort to interest men in sabbatarian Adventism. One day in December 1851, two lecturers making a brief stop in Baraboo, Wisconsin, took only about an hour to make a cursory presentation of the messages of the three angels of Revelation 14, the great prophetic periods, the Bible Sabbath, and the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. Sitting in their audience was Baptist Joseph H. Waggoner, editor and publisher of a local political paper. Waggoner was so intrigued that he spent every available minute studying the topics so briefly called to his attention. Within several months he was firmly settled in the advent faith, although some of his new colleagues wondered if his lack of a Millerite background could admit him through the "shut door." They did not wonder long. Waggoner deserted his editor's chair for the role of traveling evangelist throughout Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. A cogent writer, he prepared some of the ablest of sabbatarian answers to the "age-to-come" Adventists who flourished in his territory.²¹

Back in upstate New York it was the influence of a single copy of the *Review* that started farmer-preacher John Byington on an investigation of the Sabbath truth. Although Byington had not been particularly impressed by a Millerite lecture he had heard in 1844, he now accepted the views of sabbatarian Adventists in 1852. Three years later he built one of the first Seventh-day Adventist churches, near his home in Buck's Bridge, New York. Byington would later become a self-supporting preacher in Michigan and the first president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference.²²

It was a combination of reading the *Review* and a personal visit from Joseph Bates that led Roswell F. Cottrell to join the sabbatarian Adventists in 1851. Cottrell came from an old Huguenot family that had long roots in the Seventh Day Baptist faith. He had heard the Millerite preaching but had not been impressed to follow it because those who preached it did not observe all of God's law. Conviction followed a comparison of the teachings of the *Review* with those of the Bible. Cottrell became a frequent contributor to the *Review*, and also prepared a long series of Bible studies for use as *The Youth's Instructor* Sabbath School lessons. These were later combined in book form as *The Bible Class*.²³

Uriah Smith

During the fall of 1852 a young man who was to play, after James White, the greatest part in developing the *Review and Herald*, struggled with the Sabbath doctrine. Uriah Smith had been a boy of twelve when he had gone through the Great Disappointment with his Adventist mother. In subsequent years he decided upon a literary career. Then in September 1852 he attended a conference of sabbatarian Adventists at Washington, New Hampshire. The things he heard there began to convince him that the fourth commandment still required the seventh day to be observed as the Sabbath. After twelve weeks of study he decided to become a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. The following May, just after turning twenty-one, Uriah joined his sister Annie at the *Review* office in Rochester. At this time his 35,000-word poem, "The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy," was running serially in the paper. Smith became a managing editor of sorts, freeing James White for more travel and preaching.²⁴

Smith did more than write and edit copy. The *Review* office was beginning to publish substantial numbers of tracts, some written expressly for circulation in this form, some reprints of articles from the paper. Lacking proper tools, the office staff had to use what was available. Uriah Smith spent many hours trimming the rough edges of the tracts with his penknife. This frequently left blistered hands and, Smith remembered, tracts that were "square" in doctrine, even if their pages were not.²⁵

Stephen Haskell

In 1853 the *Review* began to publish a little tract entitled simply "Elihu on the Sabbath." This tract was to play a large role in making Stephen N. Haskell a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. Haskell was nineteen when he heard his first sermon on the second advent by an unknown Evangelical Adventist. So thrilled was he with the subject that he talked about it to everyone he met. Challenged by a friend to preach, Stephen jokingly promised to do so if his friends would provide a hall and audience. To his amazement, they complied. Unwilling to back down, Haskell carried through on his promise, and from that time on combined part-time advent preaching with selling the soap he manufactured.

On the way home from an Adventist camp meeting in Connecticut in the summer of 1853, Haskell decided to visit a company of Adventist believers he had raised up in Canada the previous year. While changing trains in Springfield, Massachusetts, he decided to store his trunk until his return. Directed to the shop of railroad tinsmith William Saxby, he was courteously accommodated. Soon the conversation turned to the seventh-day Sabbath, as Saxby was a Sabbath-keeping Adventist. Although Haskell avoided an invitation to a meeting of the sabbatarians, he went home for the night with Saxby and was given a rapid synopsis of the truths Saxby had espoused. The next morning as Haskell was leaving, his host gave him

a few small tracts including "Elihu on the Sabbath." Before reaching his Canadian destination the young preacher was convinced that "according to the best light I had, the seventh day was the Sabbath, and I would keep it until I could get further light."

The Sabbath seemed so clear to Haskell that he was certain his Adventist friends would also quickly accept it. But when he tried to present the matter at an Adventist conference in Worcester, Massachusetts, he found few who would listen; he was denied the privilege of speaking to the entire group. At the close of the conference Haskell was invited home with Thomas Hale, of Hubbardston. Here, during the next few months, he persuaded the Adventist company to become sabbatarians. Some time later Joseph Bates suddenly appeared at Haskell's door, announcing himself as a friend of William Saxby. Before Bates left, the Haskells had accepted all the doctrines the captain had presented and sent along with him an order for every tract and paper published by the *Review* office.²⁶

Move Toward Unity

It would be difficult to overestimate the role played by the *Review and Herald* in bringing cohesion, encouragement, and doctrinal unity to the slowly expanding body of sabbatarian Adventists. During its first several years the paper was devoted primarily to articles that promoted the major distinctive doctrines developed in the years after 1844. Nearly two thirds of the space in the first two volumes dealt with the Sabbath or the perpetuity of the law of God. Prominence was given also to articles on Bible prophecy, especially as it applied to last-day events. The doctrine of the heavenly sanctuary continued to receive regular treatment. By the mid-1850s articles dealing with the dangers of spiritualism and belief in man's natural immortality became prominent.

At the start the *Review* had been largely the product of James White's pen, but in the course of the '50s, contributions from J. N. Andrews, J. H. Waggoner, R. F. Cottrell, and Uriah Smith became more and more frequent. After several volumes a "communications" section, which sometimes made up nearly one fourth of the paper, was added. This included letters from such roving missionaries as Joseph Bates, as well as from scattered and isolated Adventists who frequently discussed their religious experiences. This section thus served many of the purposes of the old "social meeting." The *Review* also carried information of the itinerant ministers' movements and announced time and place of general conferences of believers.

Although the addition of youthful assistants helped relieve James White from many technical chores, an increasing staff posed problems of a different type. The chief of these involved finance. By 1854 from fifteen to twenty workers needed food and shelter as they worked on the papers, tracts, and small books coming in increasing quantities from the little Washington hand press. Frequently board and room were all the staff

received for months at a time. In spite of working fourteen-to-eighteen-hour days, White found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet financially. More and more he was being forced into the roles of administrator and financier. The increasing mental and physical strain seemed to him to threaten his very life. He had to have help to bear these burdens.²⁷

Go West

Two possibilities presented themselves. On their first trip to Michigan in 1853 the Whites had been impressed with the vigor and generosity displayed by some of the new members in this state. On a similar visit the following year White had dared speculate that within another year they might need to purchase a tent to accommodate the increasing crowds coming to hear "the third angel's message." "Why wait a year?" asked M. E. Cornell. He thought he knew of a Millerite tent stored in Detroit. Why not purchase it at once? When this possibility was mentioned to several of the believers in Sylvan and Jackson, they quickly contributed the necessary money, and Cornell was dispatched to buy the tent. Finding it already sold, he went on to Rochester, New York, and by June 8 he was back with a sixty-foot circular tent that was quickly pitched in Battle Creek. Here Cornell and J. N. Loughborough launched the first sabbatarian Adventist experiment in tent evangelism. Might Michigan be a good place to relocate the *Review* office?²⁸

Vermont seemed another possibility. The believers in that state appeared more vigorous and innovative than those elsewhere in New England. Conferences with the brethren in both states eventually confirmed the Whites in a decision to accept the offer of Dan Palmer, J. P. Kellogg, Henry Lyon, and Cyrenius Smith to each advance \$300 for the construction of a printing plant in Battle Creek, Michigan. The last three of these laymen sold their farms in order to raise the necessary cash. In view of the growing interest in adventism shown in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, surely Michigan would be more suitably located than Vermont to serve the interests of a church that was struggling to be born.

James White was determined that the *Review* office should be recognized as the property and responsibility of the entire body of Adventist believers. His attitude arose only partly from a need to share the financial and management burdens he carried. It was influenced also by the gossip circulating that James was profiting from the printing business. As the result of several conferences in Battle Creek, the last of which included representatives from several states, the church's commitment to publishing was formalized in the autumn of 1855. At these conferences Palmer, Lyon, and Cyrenius Smith were appointed as a publishing committee to oversee the financing and promotion of the *Review*. They were to be assisted by delegates from the various states. Uriah Smith was, at twenty-three, elected resident editor, with James White, J. N. Andrews, J. H. Waggoner, R. F. Cottrell, and Stephen Pierce, of Vermont, as correspond-

ing editors. In December 1855 the first number of the *Review* was issued from Battle Creek.

An investigating committee, appointed at one conference, cleared Elder White of charges of profiteering and arranged to pay the debts he had incurred in behalf of the office.²⁹

The move to Battle Creek freed the Whites of the responsibility for housing and boarding *Review* employees. In their own modest house, and with James receiving a small but regular salary, the Whites were released for the first time from some of the pressures which had dogged their footsteps for a decade.³⁰

Consolidation

Not that James White now settled into a life of ease; such a course was unthinkable to him. Continuing as a kind of general manager of the *Review* office, he was soon involved in planning literature in German and French and in expanding tract and book publication. As early as 1854 he had suggested to Loughborough the possibility of selling Adventist literature to those attending tent meetings. Loughborough found this idea practical.

In 1857 Elder White began campaigning for the purchase of a steam-powered press to handle the increased volume of business. By this time it was taking three days per week just to print the *Review*, which in 1856 had become a weekly, on the old hand press. Raising approximately \$2500 for a steam press during a time of national depression was no small undertaking. Yet White called for pledges for this purpose, and so vital had the *Review* become that dozens of believers responded. Some contributed as much as \$100; Richard Godsmark, a farmer near Battle Creek, sold his pair of work oxen to help with the needed expansion. Frequently on his trips to town Godsmark would stop by the *Review* office and listen to the clacking of the press. He would smile in satisfaction as he muttered, "Old Buck and Bright are pullin' away; they're pu-u-ullin' away!"³¹

And James White was also "pullin' away." Almost single-handedly he had created a publishing business, against formidable obstacles. Several times it had been only his wife's vision-based encouragements that had kept him going. With the "Office" operating satisfactorily, White set about to create a church organization. That was to take even greater effort.

Suggested Reading:

The fascinating history of Adventist publishing is currently being written by Donald R. McAdams. When published, it will be the basic title to consult. Meanwhile, the story is best pieced together from Spalding and Olsen, cited earlier, and in Maxwell, *Tell It to the World*, pp. 95-105. In *Life Sketches*, pp. 125-159, Ellen White provides the valuable reminiscences of a deeply involved participant. Biographical sketches from the *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* should not be overlooked. They give excellent in-

roductions to major figures. On Loughborough and Andrews, see E. Dick, *Founders of the Message*, pp. 251-333. W. Spicer's *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (1941) is readable but superficial. In E. Robinson's *S. N. Haskell, Man of Action* (1967) we have a substantial biography, useful for the entire period down through 1910. Of Loughborough's two personal histories of S.D.A.'s his *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), though less accessible, is preferred; it was written nearer the events chronicled and is better organized.

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1. W. White, "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen White, IV: Publishing the Message," *Review and Herald*, April 4, 1935, pp. 4-6; N. Town, et al., *The Publishing Department Story* (1927), pp. 18, 19.
 2. R. Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905," unpublished B.D. thesis, Andrews University (1970), pp. 150-153; J. Loughborough, quoted in Town, et al., pp. 19, 20.
 3. A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1961), I: 123-125.
 4. Town, et al., pp. 22, 23.
 5. Town, et al., pp. 24, 25; M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), pp. 201, 202.
 6. E. White, *Life Sketches* (1915), pp. 105-107, 125; E. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 216, 217.
 7. J. White, *Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement* (1868), pp. 290-292; Dick, pp. 171-173; Olsen, pp. 202-205.
 8. Spalding, I: 200, 201.
 9. Spalding, I: 202.
 10. Spalding, I: 202, 203; Dick, pp. 173, 174.
 11. W. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement* (1941), pp. 228-230; Olsen, pp. 209, 210.
 12. G. Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews," M.A. thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary, 1949, pp. 10-13; Dick, p. 300.
 13. E. White, pp. 139-141.
 14. R. Graybill, "Singing and Society: The Hymns of the Saturday-Keeping Adventists, 1845-1863," author's unpublished manuscript, 1974; Town, et al., p. 27; Spicer, pp. 146, 147; *Present Truth*, December 1849, p. 47; March 1850, pp. 56, 64.
 15. Spalding, I: 213-216; R. Graybill, "The Life and Love of Annie Smith," *Adventist Heritage* 2 (summer 1975): 14-23.
 16. Spalding, I: 205, 206; J. Nix, "The Life and Work of Hiram Edson," unpublished manuscript, S.D.A. Theological Seminary (1971), p. 61; Town, et al., p. 28.
 17. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* (1976), p. 1629; D. McAdams, unpublished manuscript, pp. 19, 20; R. Hammond, "The Life and Work of Uriah Smith," M.S. thesis, S.D.A. Seminary (1944), pp. 30, 31.
 18. Dick, pp. 256-262, 267. Loughborough published two histories of early S.D.A. days: *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists... (1892)* and *The Great Second Advent Movement... (1905)*.
 19. Spalding, I: 219, 220, 251, 252.
 20. Spalding, I: 253-255.
 21. Spalding, I: 217; Olsen, pp. 230, 231.
 22. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 210; J. Waller, "John Byington of Bucks Bridge: The Pre-Adventist Years," *Adventist Heritage* 1 (July 1974): 66, 67.
 23. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 354; Spicer, pp. 252-255; Olsen, p. 322.
 24. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1355; Hammond, pp. 6-9.
 25. Hammond, p. 30.
 26. E. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell, Man of Action* (1967), pp. 15-23.
 27. Dick, pp. 175-178.
 28. J. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), pp. 199-203.
 29. Loughborough, pp. 203, 204; J. White, pp. 297, 298.
 30. McAdams MS.
 31. McAdams MS; Spalding, I: 276, 277.

CHAPTER 6

Organizational Birth Pangs

Part of the sabbatarian Adventists' Millerite heritage was a determination not to create another denomination. They did not soon forget George Storrs's warning that "no church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon the *moment it is organized*." And certainly in the years immediately following 1844, they were scarcely in a condition to organize *anything*. Perplexed by disappointment, confused by the variety of new doctrines being promoted, they needed time to adjust and to become established in their religious convictions concerning dogma and duty.

It was in 1854, ten years after the Disappointment, that Ellen White, on the basis of her visions, began calling for the church to "become established upon gospel order which has been overlooked and neglected." A few weeks earlier James White had begun a series of articles in the *Review* on the same theme. Extensive correspondence and travel had convinced him that the "scattered flock" must have better direction and organization if they were to maintain their faith and expand their witness.¹

Waukon, Iowa

Although by the mid-1850s doctrinal unity had been achieved among the slowly growing group of sabbatarian Adventists, many were at the same time experiencing a decline in spiritual fervor. In part this may be attributed to their yet-unrealized hope of Christ's soon return. Delay led to preoccupation with temporal affairs. As Adventists joined the westward movement, they became involved in taming the prairies, adjusting to frontier conditions, and, all too often, with improving their standard of living. This was the experience of the E. P. Butler family of Vermont and

the Edward Andrews and Cyprian Stevens families of Maine. These families and others developed something of an Adventist farming colony at Waukon in northeastern Iowa.²

The scattering of the flock diluted their contacts with Ellen White; faith, formerly fed by her ringing words of encouragement and reproof, grew dim. At this time the *Review and Herald*, the one avenue of regular contact the scattered believers shared, was virtually closed to Ellen's pen. In his desire to avoid the criticism of those prejudiced against visions, James decided in 1851 not to publish references to his wife's visions or their contents in the regular columns of the *Review*. He was determined to demonstrate that the doctrines the *Review* advocated were based *solely* on the Bible, not on supernatural revelations. During four years, only seven Ellen White articles—none of which mentioned the visions—appeared in the *Review*. Neglected, the visions became less frequent, the believers less sure of their importance, and Ellen herself became convinced that her special work was almost done.³

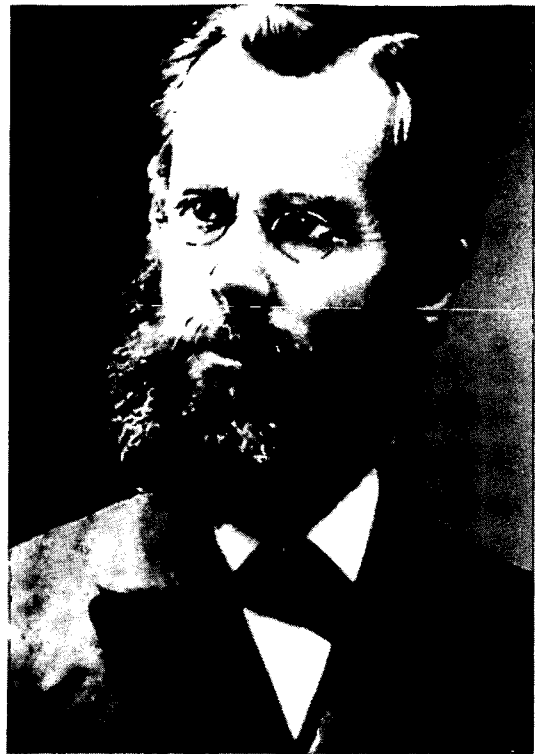
In spite of the addition of men like Andrews, Cornell, and Waggoner to the ranks of sabbatarian Adventist preachers, many small congregations and isolated believers went for months without hearing a sermon from a minister of their own persuasion. The territory from Maine to Minnesota was just too large for the limited corps of available preachers. And since there was no formalized program of financial support for Adventist preachers, many were forced to support themselves as farmers or craftsmen. During the spring and summer they might, as did John Byington, work their farms and pastor companies within horse-and-buggy distance. Visits to believers in other areas came only during the winter months. The strain of overwork and poverty broke the health of many. The most prominent of these was J. N. Andrews, who retired to clerk in his uncle's store in Waukon.⁴

Before long Andrews was joined by John Loughborough and his wife. Loughborough spent the summer of 1856 in helping to conduct tent meetings in New York. Since "funds were not furnished very abundantly for tent work," he remembered, he worked four and one-half days per week in the fields during haying and harvest. This backbreaking labor earned him one dollar per day. At the end of the season the New York brethren gave Loughborough enough money to average four dollars per week, *if* he included what he had earned in the fields in that amount! Small wonder that he became "somewhat discouraged as to finances" and told his wife they would move to Waukon, where he could make a living through carpentry, preaching in the area as time and finances permitted.⁵

The Whites were disturbed at the thought of losing prominent young ministers like Andrews and Loughborough. During a visit to northern Illinois late in 1856 Ellen received a vision depicting the Waukon Adventists as slipping into a state of religious apathy. Both she and James felt a burden to visit and encourage this group. In spite of adverse weather, two



J. N. Loughborough



J. N. Andrews

of their hosts offered to take them by sleigh the two hundred miles to Waukon. A few miles east of the Mississippi River the snow which had been falling for days turned to rain. They found the mushy river ice covered by nearly a foot of water. Local residents warned that it was unsafe to cross. But the group felt compelled to go on. Praying all the way, they cautiously crossed the river. Four days later they were in Waukon, thankful for the Lord's deliverance.

Recruiting Ministers

One of the first persons the Whites met in Waukon was John Loughborough. "What doest thou here, Elijah?" Ellen asked three times. Loughborough's embarrassment was reflected in the less-than-enthusiastic welcome accorded the eastern visitors by the local Adventists. Rather grudgingly they agreed to call a meeting for the next night. During this service Ellen was taken into vision during which she received the message: "Return unto me," saith the Lord, "and I will return unto thee, and heal all thy backslidings."

Mary Loughborough was the first to respond to Ellen's appeal. Others followed in rapid succession. During that night and the next several days there was a deep, spiritual revival in Waukon. When the Whites and their companions returned east, John Loughborough went with them. The rest of that winter he labored in northern Illinois while Mary courageously remained in Waukon. Although Andrews's health was too poor for him to begin preaching immediately, he, too, was soon back on the gospel circuit.⁶

Financial problems continued to plague the Adventist clergy. Such support as they received was entirely voluntary. For his first three months' labor after leaving Waukon Loughborough received board and room, a buffalo skin overcoat worth about ten dollars, and ten dollars in cash. Although the buying power of this amount of cash was roughly four to five times that of 1970, it was still pitifully small for a winter's work. To save money Loughborough walked the last twenty-six miles back to Waukon.

In 1857, with the United States suffering a financial depression, Loughborough's reward for a winter's work in Michigan consisted of three ten-pound cakes of maple sugar, ten bushels of wheat, five bushels of apples, five bushels of potatoes, a peck of beans, one ham, half of a hog, and four dollars in cash! Loughborough was fortunate at this time to have the use of the Whites' team of horses in his travels. Others, like J. H. Waggoner, walked. Lack of cash to replace worn shoes and clothing made a shabby appearance inevitable. How could men in this condition win converts to the three angels' messages?⁷

Systematic Benevolence

In the spring of 1858 the Battle Creek congregation formed a study group, under the leadership of John Andrews, to search the Bible for clues as to God's plan for the support of the ministry. Early in 1859 this group proposed a plan of systematic giving which was approved by the Battle Creek church; soon it was being promoted through the columns of the *Review*. Later that year a general conference of advent believers meeting in Battle Creek recommended the system to all Adventists.

The Battle Creek brethren suggested that, following Paul's instructions in First Corinthians 16:2, every believer set aside a particular sum each "first day." Brethren were encouraged to pledge from five to twenty cents per week, the sisters from two to ten cents. An additional amount of up to five cents per week should be pledged for every \$100 worth of property owned. "Systematic Benevolence," or "Sister Betsy" as it was soon nicknamed, caught on rapidly, and immediately posed a new problem: to whom should the pledges be paid, and what should be done with the money received? The *Review* counseled each company of believers to appoint a treasurer, who should keep five dollars on hand for aiding itinerant preachers. The remainder might be sent to the state's evangelistic tent companies for expenses. John Loughborough's suggestion in 1861 that biblical tithing be introduced was apparently premature. In spite of James White's endorsement, it failed to attract wide support.⁸

Just as collecting funds and paying preachers suggested the need for some kind of regular organization to handle these details, so an expanding number of believers called for an organization to coordinate their efforts and promote their beliefs. The novelty of tent meetings was securing Adventist tent companies good crowds in more than half a dozen states.

Lectures drew 1500 in a small Michigan community, and nearly 1000 gathered in more thinly populated Iowa. It was also possible to assemble larger numbers of advent believers for conferences: 250 in Battle Creek in 1857, and similar growth in attendance elsewhere.⁹

Work Among Language Groups

The budding church was also beginning to reach some of the cultural subgroups in the United States. Two French-Canadian brothers, A. C. and D. T. Bordeau, joined the ranks of sabbatarian Adventists in 1856. Soon they started work among the French-speaking population of Quebec and Vermont. Over in Wisconsin contact was made with several Norwegian families who had been troubled over the question of the Sabbath even before immigrating to America. In spite of language difficulties Andrew Olsen and his wife soon became baptized sabbatarian Adventists. Thirty years later their son Ole would be General Conference president. Although several neighboring families joined the Olsens in their new faith, it was not until John G. Matteson, a Danish Baptist preacher, accepted Seventh-day Adventism in 1863, that work among Scandinavians really blossomed. This vigorous young Dane ranged widely over Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota in search of receptive fellow countrymen.¹⁰

An Ohio tent meeting in 1857 was responsible for the addition to Adventist ranks of one of the most colorful and enigmatic of recent immigrants. Michael Czechowski had been educated for the priesthood in his native Poland. Disillusioned with the corruption of some of his fellow clergy and in danger because of nationalistic political activities, Czechowski fled to Rome. An audience with Pope Gregory XVI further weakened, rather than strengthened, his faith in the Roman Church, although he continued as a priest for several more years. After he renounced the priesthood, his fear of Jesuit intrigues led him to flee to America. Here he was converted to Protestantism and eventually to Adventism. Czechowski's linguistic abilities were useful in work among French-speaking Canadians and New Englanders. By 1860 he had located in New York City. In that cultural melting pot, the priest-turned-Adventist established a congregation in Brooklyn, working for French, Poles, Italians, Germans, and Swedes. Still, Czechowski longed to return as a missionary to Italy and pleaded unsuccessfully with his brethren to send him.¹¹

It was hard for Bates, the Whites, Loughborough, and other Adventist leaders to turn their eyes eastward at this time. Opportunities seemed to beckon primarily in the West. "The fields are white in Michigan," James White wrote in 1857, "and in fact throughout the wide west."¹² In tents in the summer and schoolhouses in the winter "Father" Bates, John Loughborough, Merritt Cornell, Joseph Waggoner, and a dozen other evangelists displayed their charts and captured the interest of hundreds. To those who had known the scoffing and derision of the post-1844 years it

was a heady experience. Even cold statistics confirmed the westward move of Adventist interest. While the *Review* gained only one subscriber in New England in 1858 and actually lost nine in New York, it gained 125 in Michigan and Ohio and 120 from farther west.¹³

Growth Demands Headquarters Site

It was during a series of tent meetings in Greenvale, Illinois, that Moses Hull enthusiastically accepted the teachings of sabbatarian Adventists. His first sermon was preached during this same series. Soon he was helping Cornell in Iowa. Hull's natural eloquence and cogent reasoning attracted large crowds and led to a constant demand for his labors. Hull was not Cornell's only helper, for Angeline Lyon Cornell was a key member of the evangelistic team. Blessed with abundant energy and intelligence, Mrs. Cornell often braved the discomforts of constant travel and financial uncertainty to accompany her husband. Frequently after he had rolled up the tent and moved to a new town, she stayed behind to instruct and establish the interested ones in Adventist beliefs. In many ways she was the forerunner of the female Bible instructor, whose less-glamorous work was to do so much to increase Adventist membership.¹⁴

As James White beheld the growing numbers of believers and considered the possibilities for further expansion, he was more and more convinced that events were calling for organization. Many of his brethren continued to hesitate. Yet in spite of them the work was developing a nucleus, a nerve center, and that nerve center was the small Michigan village of Battle Creek.

Much had happened in Battle Creek since that day in 1852 when Joseph Bates came seeking "the most honest man in town." By the spring of 1853 there were eight Adventists meeting for Sabbath services in David Hewitt's parlor. Later that year Elder Joseph Frisbie and his wife joined the Hewitts in Battle Creek's west end. Frisbie's presence helped to quicken the community's interest in Adventism, an interest further stimulated by the initial Adventist tent meeting conducted by Loughborough and Cornell in 1854. By the spring of 1855 the Adventist company felt constrained to build its first meetinghouse, capable of seating forty persons. About this time Adventists from eastern Michigan started to stream into Battle Creek: the Cornells, the Lyons, the Kelloggs. And then in the fall of 1855 the publishing office relocated here from Rochester; this added the James Whites, the S. T. Beldens, Uriah Smith, George Amadon, and several others.

The Whites, much on the move, put down roots in Battle Creek. Here in 1857 they built the first house they had ever owned, a modest six-room structure costing \$500. That year the local congregation constructed its second house of worship. Although it would be the mid-1860s before church membership in Battle Creek passed the one-hundred mark, the brethren in 1857 demonstrated their faith by building a structure capable

of seating 300. They wanted to host conferences of believers from across the state and nation. Already Battle Creek thought of itself as the center of sabbatarian Adventism.¹⁵

Splinter Groups

The 1850s were not years of unbroken progress toward unity; as early as 1853 a seemingly minor episode in Jackson, Michigan, led to the first definite split in sabbatarian Adventist ranks. H. S. Case and C. P. Russell, two advent preachers, became very vexed with one of the Jackson sisters for losing her temper in dealing with a difficult neighbor. They repeatedly called upon this sister to confess her error in using a vile name during the experience. The woman denied having used the word as charged; emotions rose as the congregation took sides.

At this juncture the Whites visited Jackson. In vision, Ellen saw that the woman had been wrong in losing her temper. Case and Russell, who had observed the vision and pronounced it genuine, were jubilant. Events of the following day, however, changed the picture. In a second vision Mrs. White was shown that the woman had not used the word as charged, but one that sounded like it. Ellen was also shown that the two preachers had exhibited a harsh and un-Christian manner; for this they were reproved. Now the woman freely admitted her error, acknowledging that the facts were as Mrs. White had stated them. Stung by Ellen's rebuke, Case and Russell almost immediately began to challenge the validity of the visions and also Elder White's financial handling of the printing office. The early mistaken ideas of the Whites relative to the "shut door" were cited as evidence that they could not be trusted in matters of doctrine.¹⁶

To promote their charges Case and Russell launched a paper entitled *Messenger of Truth*. Upon Ellen White's recommendation this "Messenger Party" was largely ignored, and, as she predicted, the Messengers soon began disagreeing among themselves. Within a few years the paper was suspended.

Meanwhile a more serious defection had taken place in Wisconsin. Here J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall's views of the millennium were soon found to coincide with those of the "age-to-come" Adventists, who were numerous in the area. When their position was refuted in the *Review*, they, too, became bitter against the Whites. A temporary alliance with the Messenger Party resulted, and "age-to-come" theories blossomed in the *Messenger of Truth*. For a time it looked as if most of the Wisconsin believers would become disaffected. Soon, however, Stephenson and Hall renounced the Sabbath and consequently lost most of their following.¹⁷

The Messenger party and the Stephenson and Hall episode underlined the need for an organization with authority to regulate and guide would-be heresy. Organization at the local level *had* begun at least as early as 1853 with the selection of deacons to officiate in the ordinances of Com-

munion and foot washing. Infrequent visits by regular ministers had convinced most sabbatarian Adventists of the value of this tentative step. Bates and White had further taken the certifying and ordination of ministers into their own hands. They issued primitive credentials signed by themselves as "leading ministers."¹⁸

Move Toward Organization

As it turned out, the question of the legal ownership of property—church buildings and the publishing office—eventually propelled the Sabbath keepers into formal organization. Since the local congregations were not legal corporations, they could not hold title to the meetinghouses built through their contributions. Such chapels were the legal property of the believer providing the building site. In case this person died or apostatized, real complications could develop. In Cincinnati when the owner of the lot on which the Adventist tabernacle was built became disaffected, he turned the little house dedicated to God into a vinegar factory!¹⁹

To forestall similar difficulties some local groups began incorporating legally. Apparently the first was the sabbatarian band in Parkville, Michigan. In May 1860 it signed articles of association, using the name Parkville Church of Christ's Second Advent. Several months later the Fairfield, Iowa, congregation followed suit, but named itself "The Church of the Living God."

With the choice of a name reflecting the individuality of local congregations, diversity was bound to be the rule. How could such diversity tend to unity of action in finishing the proclamation of the three angels' messages? The issue of a proper name became intricately bound up with the idea of legal organization.

Throughout the first half of 1860 debate over organization increased. James White emphasized that as the general agent of the *Review* office, he was looked upon as its owner. This was true even though scores of believers from Maine to Wisconsin had invested money in the plant and its equipment. Yet such was the fear of some that any legal steps would be a "union of Christ with Caesar," that R. F. Cottrell could write that those investing money in the office "lend it to the Lord, and they must trust the Lord for it. If he sees fit to let them lose it here, if they are faithful he will repay them hereafter."²¹

Such arguments tended to rouse James White's ire: ". . . we regard it dangerous to leave with the Lord what he has left with us, and thus sit down upon the stool of do little, or nothing," he wrote. White was willing to leave the operation of nature with the Lord, "But if God in his everlasting word calls on us to *act the part of faithful stewards* of his goods, we had better attend to these matters in a legal manner—the only way we can handle real estate in this world."²²

At the end of that summer, while most Americans were preoccupied.

with the presidential election campaign, James White called delegates to Battle Creek for a conference regarding the legal future of the publishing office. On September 29, 1860, representatives from at least five states began the most important business session sabbatarian Adventists had yet held. With Joseph Bates as their chairman, and Uriah Smith as secretary, they plunged into a full-scale discussion of organization. All agreed that whatever was to be done must be biblical, but some refused to approve anything not specifically sanctioned in Scripture. Here was the trouble, for as James White wryly remarked, "I have not yet been able to find in the good book any suggestion in regard to [a] power press, running tents, or how Sabbath-keepers should hold their Office of publication."²³

Legal Status

After extended discussion, consensus developed that organization of believers into a legal association to hold property and transact business could be defended, even if organization as a church could not. Following the passage of a resolution recommending legal organization to congregations already constructing, or planning to construct, church buildings, Bates, as chairman, appointed a committee of three to bring in recommendations relative to the publishing office and a church name. Bates, who favored organization, astutely named two moderates, Andrews and Waggoner, along with T. J. Butler, a vigorous opponent of organization and name taking. This placed responsibility for suggesting a course of action directly on the hesitant.

Although unable to agree on any name to recommend, the committee did propose that the conference elect seven men to apply to the state legislature for an act enabling them to organize an Advent Review Publishing Association. After discussion clarified the delegates' expectations that the organizers would arrange for broad participation in the ownership and control of the office, the plan was unanimously adopted. The conference named James White, J. H. Waggoner, J. N. Loughborough, G. W. Amadon, Uriah Smith, George Lay, and Dan Palmer to organize the association.²⁴

The Name Problem

By October 1 the delegates were ready to wrestle with the name problem. Some felt that choosing a name would make them just "another denomination." They were already classed as a denomination, James White replied, "and I do not know how we can prevent it, unless we disband and scatter, and give up the thing altogether." And White was right. Any group having a minimum amount of cohesion is looked upon by nonmembers as a separate entity. Convenience dictates that some name be applied to such a group. Sabbatarian Adventists had had many applied to them: "Seventh day people," "Seventh-day Doorshutters," "Sabbathkeeping Adventists," and "Shut-door Seventh-day Sabbath and An-

nihilationists," to name but a few. They even referred to themselves as "the remnant," "the scattered flock," or "the Church of God."

When the decision was at last made to recommend the name, "the Church of God" had many advocates. J. B. Frisbie had been promoting it since 1854; James White revealed it as his choice in the summer of 1860. T. J. Butler pressed for it, refusing to accept any other. But many others felt that "Church of God" sounded too presumptuous. Also it was already in use by other groups. The delegates favored a name that would quickly identify the major doctrines held. What better name than Seventh-day Adventist? It had been applied to them as much as any other and had the virtue of clearly identifying the chief biblical truths they proclaimed.

David Hewitt finally seized the initiative and moved the adoption of the name Seventh-day Adventist. Only T. J. Butler opposed it to the bitter end, although several refused to vote either way. Throughout the conference Ellen White had kept in the background. Now, however, she gave a hearty endorsement to the name chosen. "The name Seventh-day Adventist carries the true features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind," Ellen wrote. "Like an arrow from the Lord's quiver it will wound the transgressors of God's law, and will lead toward repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁵

The Structure

The roadblock to organization had been breached. From this point onward the movement toward a perfected denominational structure was steady. Not that all opposition collapsed; some persons remained so firmly convinced that any organization was Babylon that they severed their connections with Seventh-day Adventists. But most, like R. F. Cottrell, perhaps the most influential critic of organization, gracefully accepted the decisions made at the Battle Creek Conference.

It was in the opening days of the American Civil War that a small group of Seventh-day Adventists, gathered in Battle Creek, requested the nine ministers present to prepare recommendations for a plan of church organization. The ministers' report, which appeared in the *Review* in June 1861, suggested three levels of organization: local churches, "State or district conferences," and finally, a general conference to represent all the churches and speak in their behalf.²⁶

Even before these recommendations appeared, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association had been formally incorporated. The organizers decided to identify it clearly under the denominational name rather than that of the *Advent Review* as originally contemplated. The Association was a nonprofit corporation owned by all Adventist shareholders who subscribed ten dollars for a share. Each share entitled the holder to one vote, which might be exercised by proxy. Officers were elected annually. For the next twenty years, until his death in 1881, James White served as president and general manager of the Association.²⁷

The summer of 1861 saw federal troops repulsed by Southerners at Bull Run. For a time the Whites feared that the anti-organization forces would likewise repulse the onward move toward church organization. Returning from a trip through New York, Elder White reported that he was “stung with the thought that the balance of influence is either against, or silent upon, the subject of organization.” Reports from the west indicated a coolness toward organization in that area as well.²⁸

First Conference Organized

But there was still support in the Adventist heartland. At a conference of Michigan believers in Battle Creek, October 4-6, under the leadership of White, Loughborough, and Bates, steps were taken resulting in the formation of the Michigan Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. After carefully spelling out that the churches were to have no creed but the Bible, the conference participants recommended that in each congregation members sign a covenant that they were associating together, “as a church, taking the name Seventh-day Adventist, covenanting to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ.” This signing of the covenant was long a major feature in the organization of a new church.²⁹

After a minimum of discussion, a simple state organization was recommended. To be known as a conference, a term already employed by the Methodists, its annual sessions were to be composed of ministers and delegates from all the churches in the state. Conference officials were kept to a minimum: a president, a clerk, and a three-man executive committee. The organizers directed their chairman, Joseph Bates, and clerk, Uriah Smith, to serve until the first annual meeting of the conference the following year. Loughborough, Cornell, and Hull were named as the first executive committee. The conference decided to issue credentials annually to the ministers serving within its boundaries so that congregations could be sure that a traveling preacher was what he claimed to be.³⁰

The example of the Michigan brethren proved contagious. Within a year six other conferences were organized. When churches in some areas hesitated, vigorous laymen prodded them into action. One such, Joseph Clarke, of Ohio, could not understand the hesitation of anti-organizationists. “Why don’t you come up, to a man, in this business?” Clarke wrote in the *Review*. “When I think, after all that has been said and done on this matter, how Bro. White is tantalized, how the testimony is trampled on, how the church is trammled, how the good Spirit is slighted, oh, it is provoking, it is sickening, it is discouraging, it is positively flat, nauseous as the lukewarm water from the stagnant pool.”³¹

The Michigan organizers had recognized that ministers and laymen had somewhat different roles to play in church organization. They had requested the ministers among them to carefully study Bible principles relative to organizing local churches and publish their recommendations

in the *Review*. Like Michigan's organizing conference, this report set the pattern for the developing church. It recognized several different types of leaders. Once organized, the church should elect at least one elder and a deacon or deacons from among its membership. The local elder was to conduct baptisms and the Lord's supper when no ordained minister was available. Deacons were to care for the temporal affairs of the church.³²

Laymen played an important role in these early years. At the first annual meeting of the Michigan Conference, layman William S. Higley was elected president for the ensuing term. This conference session also decided to pay ministers a regular salary and require regular reports of their activities.

The General Conference

Probably the most significant step taken by these Michigan brethren in 1862 was to invite the other newly organized state conferences to send delegates to meet with them during their 1863 annual conference, so that a general conference could be organized. This was an invitation to *conferences*, not individual churches. Thus the pattern was set for the indirect hierarchal structure adopted by the denomination. Representatives from five other states joined with Michigan delegates May 20-23, 1863, to adopt a constitution and elect officers for the general conference. The constitution provided for a three-member executive committee, including the president, to have general supervision over all ministers and see that they were evenly distributed. It was commissioned also to foster missionary work and to authorize general calls for funds.³³

The conference nominating committee recognized James White's preeminent role in bringing Seventh-day Adventists into existence by inviting him to become general conference president. James refused. He feared that having so long advocated organization, he would now be charged with having promoted it simply to gain power. The committee then turned to John Byington, who served two one-year terms as the denomination's first chief executive. Uriah Smith became general conference secretary, with E. L. Walker, active in the cause of organization in Iowa, as treasurer. James White and John Loughborough were named to serve with Byington on the executive committee. Shortly thereafter this committee was enlarged to include J. N. Andrews and George W. Amadon, a pioneer publishing-house worker.

After a decade of debate the final step in organization had been completed in an atmosphere of optimism and good will. "Perhaps no previous meeting that we have ever enjoyed," Uriah Smith wrote, "was characterized by such unity of feeling and harmony of sentiment." It was well that this was so. Seventh-day Adventists were still only a tiny minority among American Christians, and the estimated 3500 members in 1863 were to be found all across the northern United States, from Maine to Minnesota and Missouri. With no more than thirty ministers to shepherd

this scattered flock, many churches were not likely to see a minister from one year to the next.³⁴

Civil War

These were perilous times for a church to be born. Since the spring of 1861 the United States had been involved in the greatest crisis it had faced since assuming nationhood. The long debate over slavery had come to a climax in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln, pledged to stop the expansion of slavery into the territories, was elected President by a free-state majority. Fearful of what the future might hold, the states of the Deep South followed South Carolina in seceding from the Union. Lincoln and the Northern members of Congress refused to recognize the legality of such a course. The result was civil war: bloody, divisive, tensely controversial.

Just how should Seventh-day Adventists relate to the war and the slavery controversy? Regarding slavery, Millerites in general had been reform-minded: Himes was a close associate of William Lloyd Garrison, and Joseph Bates had helped to organize an antislavery society in his home town. The *Review* taught that "slavery is pointed out in the prophetic word as the darkest and most damning sin upon the nation." This attitude led to the exclusion of Adventist publications from the slave states.³⁵

Yet preoccupation with the imminence of the advent made it difficult for Adventists to devote time to abolition or other social reforms. Certain that Christ was coming soon, they believed that discarding slavery, intemperance, and other sins was part of becoming ready for that event. Yet they had no hope of eradicating sin prior to the advent, and so expected slavery to exist right down to the end. They deplored the increasing political controversy which distracted men from what was more important: preparation for the second coming.³⁶

Three months before hostilities actually began, Ellen White warned Adventists that secession would lead to a fearful war involving "large armies on both sides." She spoke of death and misery, both on the battlefield and in prisons, and identified church members who would lose loved ones in the war. These insights, given her during a vision at Parkville, Michigan, on January 12, 1861, contrasted with the view of most Northerners, who at this time expected a short-term rebellion. Lincoln's first call for 75,000 troops envisioned only a ninety-days' enlistment.³⁷

Attitudes Toward Conscription

In spite of their antislavery views, Seventh-day Adventists did not rush to volunteer for army duty. Among several reasons for this was their continuing understanding of Revelation 6:12-17 and Revelation 13. The United States was coming to its end, they believed, and this would also mean the end of the world. This was irrevocable; no one could delay God's prophetic timetable. Secondly, as soldiers they would find it virtu-

ally impossible to keep the fourth and sixth commandments; their duty to obey God's law took precedence over a hatred for slavery and rebellion.³⁸

Some two weeks after the first battle of Bull Run, Ellen White received further enlightenment concerning the war. In an exciting vision of the battle she observed how angelic intervention prevented the Union forces from falling into a disastrous Confederate trap. By defeat God punished the North for so long tolerating slavery; yet He would not allow either side to triumph quickly, she believed.³⁹

As the war dragged on, more and more soldiers were needed. The hesitancy of Seventh-day Adventists to volunteer caused comment and suspicion among their neighbors. Within Adventist ranks three groups developed: a few warhawks favored vigorous participation in the war in order to end slavery; some pacifists maintained their willingness to accept martyrdom or imprisonment rather than to participate in any war effort; a third group would serve, but only if spared the necessity of bearing arms and killing.⁴⁰

By the fall of 1862 government conscription was considered the solution for the army's manpower needs. This led James White to publish an extended exposition of the Adventist viewpoint in the *Review*. He pointed out that Adventists who had voted in 1860 had "to a man" supported Abraham Lincoln; they detested slavery and had no sympathy for rebellion. Having thus demonstrated Adventist loyalty to the government, he explained why they felt unable to participate in military life.

National conscription, James White suggested, might alter the situation somewhat, for "in the case of drafting, the government assumes the responsibility for the violating of the law of God." To resist a possible draft was "madness" and would go "too far, we think in taking the responsibility of suicide."⁴¹

Elder White's editorial precipitated a deluge of letters to the *Review*. Both extreme abolitionists and extreme pacifists denounced his stand. Others questioned the idea of state responsibility for individual acts in violation of conscience. White soon admitted that a possible draft law was a "most perplexing subject." In actuality, White seems during the fall of 1862 to have been feeling his way toward a position of noncombatancy; his initial *Review* article can be viewed as a kind of "trial balloon" to elicit public discussion on this controversial topic. Stung by the severity of his pacifist critics, he felt they were determined to "get up a little war" of their own on this issue.

A middle-of-the-road position gradually emerged out of the debate. Prominent ministers like J. H. Waggoner and J. N. Loughborough fell into line to support Elder White's emerging position that (1) Seventh-day Adventists should not resist being drafted, but (2) they should also not take up arms. Throughout the discussion Ellen White remained silent. Many church members hoped she would speak out authoritatively; instead she confined herself to warnings against fanatical positions and a

statement that "God's people . . . cannot engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of their faith." To participate would lead to a "continual violation of conscience." At the same time she sternly rebuked pacifistic Adventists in Iowa, who had petitioned the legislature to recognize their position. They should petition the Lord instead and trust Him to work out their problems.⁴²

As the Civil War dragged on, the government found it increasingly difficult to recruit enough soldiers to meet the army's needs. In an effort to avoid resorting to conscription, federal, state, and local governments stepped up the bounty campaign promoted since early in the war. By the offer of cash inducements for enlistment many men were persuaded to volunteer. Seventh-day Adventist leaders cooperated in the bounty campaign in Battle Creek. James White and John P. Kellogg served on a local committee charged with soliciting funds to pay for bounties; in at least one instance Merritt Cornell allowed the use of his evangelistic tent for rallies designed to encourage enlistment. Such actions did not escape criticism within Adventist ranks, but the leaders felt justified in giving as much support as possible to the government.⁴³

On March 3, 1863, Congress passed the nation's first conscription law. All able-bodied males from age twenty to forty-five were made liable for military service. No provision was made for conscientious objectors or for noncombatant service. Congress did provide two loopholes: a draftee might escape service through furnishing a substitute or by purchasing an exemption, which cost \$300. To Adventists this was providential.

Raising the \$300 exemption money was far from easy for most Adventists, drawn as they were from among farmers, craftsmen, and small-time merchants. James White and other leaders actively encouraged all members to share the financial load of brothers who found it necessary to raise the commutation fee. Better to mortgage your property, White wrote, than to be drafted or to use the necessity of raising exemption money as an excuse to decrease financial support of the church.⁴⁴

Largely through the efforts of the Quakers, Congress finally amended the conscription law in February 1864. Henceforth conscientious objectors who were drafted might be assigned duty in hospitals or in caring for liberated former slaves. While Seventh-day Adventists welcomed this new development, most of them continued to take advantage of the commutation provision. Suddenly, in July of 1864, this option was jeopardized when Congress eliminated commutation except for recognized conscientious objectors. Would Seventh-day Adventists, an infant church actually organized during the war years, be so recognized?

A trio of Adventist ministers presented Governor Austin Blair of Michigan with an official statement, prepared by the General Conference Committee, containing the reasons why Seventh-day Adventists should be recognized as non-combatants. They carried letters of commendation from prominent Battle Creek citizens testifying to Adventists' loyalty and

Christian integrity. Blair's courteous reception and his willingness to acknowledge that Seventh-day Adventists were "entitled to all immunities secured by law to those who are conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, or engaging in war," caused similar petitions to be presented to the governors of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Friendly confirmation of Adventists' eligibility in these states also helped set the stage for an appeal to the Federal Government.⁴⁵

John N. Andrews was chosen by the General Conference Committee to carry the case to Washington. There, on August 30, 1864, he met with Provost Marshall General James B. Fry. Andrews carried a pamphlet entitled "The Draft," which the General Conference had recently published as an explanation of Seventh-day Adventists' non-combatant position. He also presented Governor Blair's endorsement of Adventist views. After examining these and supporting documents, General Fry assured Andrews that he would issue orders to his subordinates to recognize all Seventh-day Adventists who established proof of church membership as noncombatants. Andrews considered his mission a success.⁴⁶

But Andrews's optimism was premature; many local commanders had no sympathy for conscientious objectors of any kind. Adventist draftees frequently found themselves threatened with the guardhouse or immediate assignment to a front-line position, with or without a gun. Fortunately, the war was approaching its end, although this was not really apparent at the time. Lincoln's call for 300,000 additional draftees in early 1865 "appalled" Adventist leaders. To purchase commutations for all Adventists who might be called would be a real problem. Yet the experiences of recent draftees did not augur well for Adventist noncombatants.

At James White's suggestion the General Conference Committee appointed the second Sabbath in February 1865 as a day of special fasting and prayer both for Adventist soldiers and the speedy termination of the war. Realizing that \$25,000 might be needed to pay commutation fees for members of the Battle Creek Adventist congregation alone, church officials feared the virtual suspension of their work. A further call was made that March 1-4 be devoted to "earnest and importunate prayer" for an improvement in the situation. Church members needed no further urging. The days designated became a period of genuine spiritual revival. Within six weeks Lee had surrendered, and the war was over. With the nation, Adventists rejoiced; many felt they had seen a direct answer to prayer.⁴⁷

During the final tense months of the war several Adventist soldiers who enlisted voluntarily found themselves deprived of church membership. One of these men had been a member of the headquarters church in Battle Creek. Notice of their dismissal was boldly published in the *Review*. Quite likely church officials had decided that the status of the majority of Adventists, who preferred noncombatant service, should not be questioned by government officials who might learn that some Adventists were enlisting in the regular service.⁴⁹

The decade following the relocation of the *Review* office in Battle Creek had been a tumultuous one for Seventh-day Adventists. Their long suspicion of organization had at last been overcome. They had thrashed out a common position relative to military service in the most difficult of days and in the midst of a war about whose issues they felt strongly. In the process they became convinced that the Lord had much more for them to do before His return than they had at first imagined.

Suggested Reading:

For these years probably nothing gives the flavor of the issues under discussion better than the files of the *Review and Herald*. Perusing even one volume is a rewarding and enlightening experience. The struggle for organization and noncombatancy come through colorfully in Spalding, I: 279-333, and C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 125-146. On the debate over adopting a name see G. Anderson, "Make Us a Name," *Adventist Heritage I* (July 1974): 28-34. The background for organization, accenting the views of James and Ellen White, is found in C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (1938), pp. 11-110. Although his faulty organization is frequently frustrating, J. Loughborough presents the invaluable remembrances of a key participant in *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), pp. 210-254. The Adventist Civil War experience comes through best in Roger Davis's Ph.D. thesis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860-1945" (1970), pp. 30-101. A useful, briefer account is found in P. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (1968), pp. 843-861.

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1. A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1961), I: 291-295.
 2. Spalding, I: 279-281.
 3. A. White, *Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant* (1969), pp. 51, 52.
 4. Spalding, I: 222-225, 281, 282.
 5. J. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), p. 208; Spalding, I: 282.
 6. Spalding, I: 283-288; E. Dick, *Founders of the Message* (1938), pp. 276-280, 307-310.
 7. Spalding, I: 257, 258; Loughborough, pp. 212-214.
 8. Spalding, I: 296, 297; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* (1976), p. 1452; *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 16, 1861, p. 30; Dick, p. 310.
 9. *Review*, October 10, 1854, p. 70; September 22, 1859, p. 140; November 12, 1857, p. 4.
 10. Spalding, I: 226-228; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 176, 177.
 11. Spalding, II: 197, 198, 373, 374; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 365.
 12. *Review*, April 16, 1857, p. 189.
 13. *Review*, November 18, 1858, p. 208.
 14. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 352, 606; Spalding, I: 266; *Review*, November 18, 1858, p. 208.
 15. *Review*, June 9, 1853, p. 21; "Settling in Battle Creek," E. G. White Estate, Doc. File 451; *Review*, March 20, 1855, p. 197; Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement* (1905), p. 288; Spalding, I: 267; E. White, *Testimonies*, I: 97; *Review*, April 16, 1857, p. 188; November 12, 1857, p. 4.
 16. J. Loughborough, "Some Individual Experiences," unpublished manuscript, 1919, pp. 48-50, Andrews University Heritage Room; *Review*, July 4, 1854, pp. 172, 173.
 17. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress*, pp. 204-207.
 18. Spalding, I: 294, 295.

19. *Review*, April 26, 1860, pp. 180-182.
20. *Review*, May 29, 1860, p. 9; August 28, 1860, p. 116.
21. *Review*, March 22, 1860, p. 141; August 21, 1860, p. 108. See also Spalding, I: 299.
22. *Review*, April 5, 1860, p. 152.
23. *Review*, August 21, 1860, p. 108; October 2, 1860, p. 156; October 9, 1860, p. 161; October 16, 1860, pp. 169-171.
24. The proceedings of this conference are extensively reported in the *Review* of October 9, 16, and 23, 1860. See also Spalding, I: 299-302.
25. Spalding, I: 302, 303; G. Anderson, "Make Us a Name," *Adventist Heritage* I (July 1974): 28-34; E. White, *Testimonies*, I: 223, 224.
26. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 354, 1045.
27. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1212-1215.
28. *Review*, September 3, 1861, p. 108; September 24, 1861, p. 132.
29. *Review*, October 9, 1861; Spalding, I: 305;
30. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1046; *Review*, October 8, 1861, p. 148.
31. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1046; *Review*, November 18, 1862, pp. 197, 198.
32. *Review*, October 15, 1861, p. 156.
33. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1046, 1047.
34. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1046-1048.
35. R. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860-1945" (1970), Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., pp. 45-48; *Review*, August 12, 1862, p. 84.
36. J. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," pp. 176, 187, in E. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism* (1975); Davis, pp. 47, 48; *Review*, March 1, 1860, p. 114.
37. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress*, pp. 236, 237; Davis, pp. 48-50.
38. Butler, pp. 185-188.
39. E. White, *Review*, August 27, 1861, p. 101; E. White, *Testimonies*, I: 365-367.
40. Davis, pp. 54-56.
41. J. White, "The Nation," *Review*, August 12, 1862, p. 84.
42. Davis, pp. 59-69; Butler, pp. 188, 189; P. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (1968), pp. 853-857.
43. Davis, pp. 74-78.
44. Davis, pp. 79-81.
45. Davis, pp. 82-87.
46. Davis, pp. 87-90.
47. Davis, pp. 91-97; Spalding, I: 330-332; *Review*, January 31, 1865, pp. 76, 77; February 21, 1865, p. 100; April 25, 1865, p. 164.
48. *Review*, March 7, 1865, p. 112.

CHAPTER 7

Becoming Health Reformers

“You have lost your baby, I hear,” said one gentleman to another.

“Yes, poor thing! It was only five months old. We did all we could for it. We had four doctors, blistered its head and feet, put mustard poultices all over it, gave it nine calomel powders, leeches its temples, had it bled, gave it all kinds of medicines, and yet, after a week’s illness, it died.”¹

Although the foregoing account makes nineteenth century American medical practice look worse than it generally was in 1875, it is a fair picture of the primitive measures in use a quarter century earlier. If a mid-century physician had formal professional education, it was limited to a few months of lectures that included little or no laboratory or clinical experience. More frequently he simply apprenticed himself to an established practitioner. Lacking any real knowledge of the causes of disease, how it spread, or of the value of sanitary procedures, doctors freely prescribed a wide variety of dangerous drugs on a trial-and-error basis. Meanwhile the average American consumed huge quantities of patent medicines and old Indian remedies.

In antebellum times Americans suffered widely from a host of diseases virtually unknown to their late-twentieth-century descendants: typhoid fever, diphtheria, malaria, tuberculosis. With the science of nutrition still decades away, they were almost constantly plagued with dyspepsia and other stomach complaints. How could they know that excessive grease, pastries, fried foods, meat, and refined flours were the culprits?

It was against this background that Sylvester Graham and William Alcott had in the 1830s called for a reformed diet and reliance on bathing, exercise, rest, and the abandonment of alcohol, tea, and coffee to improve health. In such circumstances Dr. Joel Shew’s *Water Cure Journal*,

launched in 1845, did not seem unreasonable to many, especially after the facile pen of Russell T. Trall began to promote the wonders of hydropathy.²

By 1850, however, the debate over slavery so preoccupied Americans that health reformers found it increasingly difficult to gain a hearing. Problems of Civil War and Reconstruction dominated the next decades. Coincidentally, American medical care began to improve while many poorly administered "water-cures" faltered. Health reform appeared to be on the way out.

Joseph Bates

One could hardly expect early sabbatarian Adventists to be interested in the virtues of vegetarianism, cold- and hot-water packs, exercise, and sunshine. They were too busy proclaiming the imminence of the advent, studying the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, and groping their way toward a formal organization. Yet one of their patriarchs, Captain Joseph Bates, had discovered the value of altered habits in promoting better health during his Millerite days. His elastic step, straight back, and the energy with which he roamed from Massachusetts to Wisconsin must have caused some of his Adventist friends to wonder if there might not be some connection between the captain's dietary practices and his youthful vigor.³

It was during his days on the sea that Bates began to abandon practices he found harmful to health and moral character. Although for several years he lapsed from an early resolution not to drink strong liquor, in 1821 he forsook it permanently. Bates found that he was anticipating the single glass he allowed himself daily at dinner with more longing than he felt for food. This he recognized as dangerous. The next year wine was added to his proscribed list. Shortly thereafter Bates and a colleague decided to free themselves of tobacco.

All of this preceded Captain Bates's surrender of his life to Christ. Bates became a member of the Fairhaven, Massachusetts, Christian church. Following his baptism he suggested that the pastor join him in organizing a local temperance society. Although this proposal received a cool reception, Bates began canvassing friends and acquaintances and in 1827 helped to organize one of the first temperance societies in the nation. The captain's final voyage was made memorable by his refusing to provide the usual grog rations for his crew.

Shortly after retiring from the sea at the age of thirty-five, Joseph Bates and his wife attended a social function at which tea stronger than they were used to was served. That night Joseph could not sleep until after midnight. As a result he stopped using both tea and coffee. A decade later Bates was caught up in the Millerite movement. As the year Christ was expected to return approached, Bates modified his diet drastically. He renounced the use of meat, butter, cheese, grease, pies, and rich cakes. Just

what precipitated this change is not clear. It may have come from his reading of Sylvester Graham; or perhaps he came into contact with Dr. L. B. Coles, Adventist physician and lecturer, who was a leading synthesizer of health-reform doctrine.

For a brief time in 1845 Captain Bates restricted his diet solely to bread and water. Although he later again included fruits, vegetables, nuts, and cereals, water remained the only beverage he drank. This abstemiousness seemed to improve rather than impair his health. Although the Whites, Loughborough, Uriah Smith, and most of the other Seventh-day Adventist leaders were plagued with frequent poor health, Bates largely avoided this fate for most of his eighty years. While he made no point of urging his dietary practices until Ellen White received her health visions, his quiet witness must have impressed his associates.⁴

Alcohol and Tobacco

Although the body of health reform teachings had not been widely accepted by Adventists in the 1840s and 50s, it was a different story when it came to temperance. No one would want to meet Christ in a drunken state; thus, hard liquor was banned. A somewhat different attitude was taken toward homemade beverages of small alcoholic content. John Harvey Kellogg remembered that during his boyhood a keg of ale, for a "weak stomach," was kept in the family basement. "Domestic wine" was also allowed in small amounts for medicinal purposes and for use during Communion. This was at a time preceding a common knowledge of how to preserve grape juice free from fermentation. But even domestic wine could lead to drunkenness, as an embarrassing case at the Health Reform Institute in 1873 demonstrated. Gradually Adventists learned that the "teetotal" way was the only safe one.⁵

As early as the fall of 1848 Ellen White had been shown the harmful effects of tobacco, tea, and coffee. Although the Whites did not launch a vigorous crusade against these items immediately, Ellen did not hesitate to characterize tobacco as "a filthy weed" that "must be laid aside or given up." Elder Bates did press believers to abandon tobacco, and with considerable success. Reporting on his travels in 1849, the captain wrote, "The pipes and tobacco are traveling out of sight fast. . . . Nothing must be too dear or precious to let go in aid of the cause now." This last sentence touches on a point made during those early years even more frequently than the health dangers of tobacco, tea, and coffee. How could Adventists, with limited means, waste money on items which did them no good, when the need for funds to spread the three angels' messages was so great?⁶

By late 1853, the *Review and Herald* began to take a strong position against tobacco, and only a slightly more moderate stance toward tea and coffee. In addition to economic and health arguments, a religious one was added. Tobacco impaired the mental faculties; thus "the person that uses tobacco, cannot be as good a Christian as he could be without it." A little

later James White characterized the tobacco habit as a "God-dishonoring practice." Yet when in 1855 the sabbatarian Adventists in Vermont voted to withdraw "the hand of fellowship" from tobacco users, this action caused considerable resistance. The following year they modified their stand to one of laboring "in the spirit of meekness" to persuade those who indulged in tobacco "to abstain from this evil."⁷

Dietary Reform

Even before the battle against tobacco, tea, and coffee was won, Ellen White began to broaden her call for Adventists to make changes to improve their health. In vision she was shown that Sabbath keepers were to exhibit a higher standard of cleanliness and to refrain from making "a god of their bellies." Mrs. White recommended more "coarse food, free from grease," in place of the rich foods too frequently eaten.⁸

Making recommendations as to what church members should or should not eat was to move into a delicate area. Food preferences are strongly, and not always rationally, held. The pattern of a person's diet grows gradually from childhood. To upset it precipitously can trigger strong objections. The Whites themselves had demonstrated this when some of the "little flock" had begun to suggest as early as 1850 that swine's flesh be abandoned as food. James did not object to individuals following such a course. He even agreed that "too free and abundant use" of pork or other animal foods "clogs and stupefies the mind," but he did not favor making an issue of the matter. When the issue of pork eating was revived by several in the late 1850s, Ellen White took a similar position. "If it is the duty of the church to abstain from swine's flesh," she wrote, "God will discover it to more than two or three. He will teach His *church* their duty."⁹

Hydrotherapy

During the early winter months of 1863 events within their own family helped to prepare the Whites for another advance in healthful living. A diphtheria epidemic was sweeping the nation. Two of the White boys suddenly developed all the symptoms of the disease: sore throat, hoarseness, and a high fever. Coincidentally, someone called Elder White's attention to a newspaper item in which Dr. James C. Jackson, one of the most prominent health reformers and hydrotherapy advocates, outlined a treatment for diphtheria. Instead of drugs, it relied on a system of hot baths and cooling packs, a moderate liquid diet, and plentiful drinking of water and thorough ventilation of the sickroom, all combined with rest and careful nursing. The Whites decided to follow Jackson's prescription. Their sons made a satisfactory recovery, and when Ellen was called to assist a neighbor's child with the same symptoms, she found the procedures again successful. Here was a vivid demonstration of the usefulness of natural remedies.

From this time on Elder White showed increased interest in practices for improving health and combating disease. He reprinted Jackson's article in the *Review*. In subsequent weeks it was followed by others from reformers Dio Lewis and W. W. Hall stressing the role of proper dress, diet, rest, and ventilation in maintaining health.¹⁰

Light From Above

During the spring of 1863, however, James White was mainly interested in perfecting the organizational structure of the church. Shortly after this was accomplished, with a group of other Battle Creek believers, the Whites drove to Otsego, Michigan, to lend support to the tent effort being conducted there by R. J. Lawrence and M. E. Cornell. The Whites spent the weekend with the Hilliard family several miles out of town. During family worship on the evening of June 5 Ellen was invited to lead out in the prayer service. In the midst of her prayer she was suddenly given a vision which was to have tremendous implications for the work and teachings of Seventh-day Adventists.

It was during this Otsego vision, lasting some forty-five minutes, that the "great subject of Health Reform" was sketched in broad outline before Mrs. White. She saw that temperance included far more than the simple abandonment of liquor. It extended to working and eating as well. Pure, soft water was revealed to be a much better medicine than the many drugs in general use. A meatless diet was the most healthful. Of basic importance was the idea that "it was a sacred duty to attend to our health, and arouse others to their duty."¹¹

As with the seventh-day Sabbath and the heavenly sanctuary, the health reform vision did not reveal an entirely new and unique viewpoint. All the major points emphasized had been discovered by persons like Graham, Coles, and Trall. The vision did convey to Seventh-day Adventists the divine approval of natural remedies over drugs and of a balanced health program including diet, exercise, fresh air, rest, sunshine, and the curative powers of water. James White's interest was so stimulated that he sent to Dr. J. C. Jackson in Dansville, New York, requesting that up to twenty-five dollars' worth of health literature be sent him.

Ellen White was eager to share the ideas revealed at Otsego as she traveled throughout Michigan, New York, and New England that summer of 1863. Soon observant listeners began commenting on the similarities between her views on health and the ideas expressed in books by Drs. Trall, Jackson, and others. She was asked if she had read Jackson's paper *The Laws of Life* or any of the major health reform treatises. "No!" Ellen replied. Nor did she intend to until she had written out the major ideas seen in vision. She was determined that no one would say "that I had received my light upon the subject of health from physicians and not from the Lord."¹²

Part of the Otsego vision had been devoted to specific counsel to James

and Ellen relative to their own health problems. They were to curb their intemperate labors in speaking and writing. James was not to let his mind dwell on the uncooperativeness of some of his associates. Gloomy thoughts were having an adverse effect on him physically. As the Whites attempted to heed these instructions, Ellen also was busy reforming her family's diet. Two meals per day—at seven and one—were instituted. Whole wheat bread, fruit, and vegetables replaced the flesh foods upon which they had depended so heavily. All this was not accomplished without a struggle. Mrs. White, until now a great meat eater, at first could not persuade her stomach to tolerate bread in its place. But persistence paid off; soon “plain food” was “enjoyed with keen relish.”

In the fall of 1863 Mrs. White's concern as a mother was shown in a small published pamphlet, “An Appeal to Mothers.” Phrased in delicate Victorian language, its theme was the physical and moral dangers inherent to children who practiced “solitary vice” and masturbation. Ellen clearly indicated that according to the light the Lord had given her there was a relationship between diet and the spiritual and moral life. She appealed for her readers to “dispense with animal food, and use grains, vegetables and fruits. . .” in their place.¹³

It was not always easy to put the new reform ideas into practice. During the fall of 1863, while the Whites with their sons were visiting family and friends in Maine, Henry was stricken with pneumonia. Conventional treatment by a trusted local physician proved unavailing. The boy died. Hardly had the grieving parents buried their firstborn, when Willie, the youngest, also contracted pneumonia. This time James and Ellen decided to try simple water treatments rather than rely on a drug-prescribing doctor. For five days they battled. Willie's life hung in the balance. When the exhausted mother attempted to snatch a few hours of sleep, she found herself feeling stifled and oppressed. After opening the door to her chamber, she fell into a quiet sleep and received a reassuring dream. Willie would recover. He needed fresh air just as she had before she could sleep. Upon awakening she followed what she considered divine promptings. Willie did recover. Soon Ellen was being called upon to nurse ill friends and neighbors. And she found that the natural agencies she had been instructed to use in June proved very effective.¹⁴

With the press of church and family responsibilities, it was more than a year before Ellen White found opportunity to write a fairly extensive account of the health principles revealed in her Otsego vision. At the end of the summer of 1864 a thirty-two-page chapter on health appeared in volume four of her *Spiritual Gifts*. Here was found the first published condemnation of pork as a food, along with counsel advising the substitution of a “plain, wholesome diet” of vegetables, fruits, nuts, grains, and legumes for meat, condiments, and rich pastries. Readers were urged to consider a two-meal-per-day plan as superior to the usual three. Mrs. White concluded the article with a strong condemnation of drugs.

Visit to Dansville

Now that Ellen had sketched out the major points of health reform, the Whites were ready to visit Dansville, New York, to observe the reforms being practiced there in Dr. Jackson's "Our Home on the Hillside." Other Adventists had already provided glowing accounts of the Dansville establishment. The Whites spent three weeks at Dansville. Since their health was then better than usual—the fruitage of the reforms they had adopted—they took no treatments but listened to Jackson's health lectures, observed the variety of baths and packs prescribed, and tasted the hygienic food served.

Since the harmful effects of the prevailing styles in women's dress had been called to her attention in the June 5, 1863, vision, Ellen was particularly interested in the reform dress in use at "Our Home." She believed that, with some modifications, it could be recommended to her Adventist sisters as much more healthful than the heavy skirts, tight waists, and hoops then in fashion. The Whites, however, did not endorse the entire program at Dansville. The dances, card-playing, and amateur theatricals which formed a large part of Dr. Jackson's recreational program seemed too "worldly." "Those with religious principles," Ellen wrote later, "must carry along with them at all times the gospel sieve and sift everything they hear that they may choose the good and refuse the bad."

Upon their return to Battle Creek the Whites began preparing a series of six pamphlets entitled *Health or How to Live*. Each contained an article from Ellen's pen devoted to a specific topic: diet, water treatments, the dangers of drugs, fresh air, healthful clothing, or proper exercise. By now James and Ellen had familiarized themselves with the writings of earlier health reformers. In each of the *How to Live* series they included lengthy extracts from the works of Graham, Coles, Dio Lewis, and other advocates of a "natural" health program. Ellen had been surprised to find many of the ideas of these men "so nearly in harmony with what the Lord has revealed to me."¹⁵

Women's Dress

In the early 1850s Elizabeth Miller, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Amelia Bloomer pioneered in developing a radically new style of dress for women. In place of hoops or a multiplicity of long skirts they suggested trousers and a short skirt. This costume was in some respects similar to the pantsuits American women accepted enthusiastically a century later. In the 1850s, however, the reform costume was viewed by most as too radical. Wearers were subject to ridicule and scorn. Nevertheless, it was adopted by the more dedicated women's rights leaders and health reformers like Dr. Harriet Austin, an associate of Jackson at Dansville.

The particular style of reform dress adopted by Dr. Austin came to be known as "the American costume." Its tailored top, sometimes accom-

panied by a vest, appeared too masculine to Ellen White. She also feared that Seventh-day Adventist women who adopted this style might be mistaken for Spiritualists, many of whom were wearing it. In Ellen's view the skirt part of the American Costume was too short. Clearly, modifications must be made before it could be acceptable for Adventist sisters.¹⁶

As early as 1861 Ellen White had written Mary Loughborough that hoops were "one of the abominations of the land that God would have us utterly discard." Now, in 1865, with the help of friends in Battle Creek, Ellen set out to prepare patterns for an acceptable reform dress. It must retain its femininity while at the same time freeing the hips and waist from the dragging skirts. The dress part should be modest, reaching about midway between knee and ankle. Below this, trousers, extending to the shoe, would provide warmth for the legs. After simple patterns had been constructed, they were advertised in the *Review*; and Ellen carried a supply with her on her travels.

During the last half of the 1860s this reform dress was a lively topic of discussion in Adventist circles. Many found their health improved after adopting it. Others reported violent opposition from friends and family. There was endless quibbling over the exact length of the dress. In later years Mrs. White remembered that the reform dress had been "a battle at every step," and a cause of "dissension and discord"; "that which was given as a blessing was turned into a curse." Ellen stopped promoting any particular style, urging only that Seventh-day Adventist women "adopt a simple, unadorned dress, of modest length." There were more important things for which to battle.¹⁷

James White's Illness

In Ellen White's case one of these more important things was her husband's health. During the spring of 1865 James White had agreed to become president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference. In preceding months he had stretched himself to help Ellen prepare the *How to Live* series. Unfortunately, James found it difficult to practice his wife's instruction regarding moderation in work. On August 16, 1865, he suffered a severe paralytic stroke.

During the next few days there was much earnest prayer, but only slight improvement in Elder White's condition. For nearly five weeks Ellen utilized hydropathic and mild electrical treatments, with little apparent success. Finally, too weak to continue, Ellen decided to take James to Dansville for treatment by Dr. Jackson. She was accompanied by two other ailing Adventist leaders, J. N. Loughborough and Uriah Smith.¹⁸

Dr. Jackson was hopeful that Elder White would recover completely after six to eight months of treatments. But after a few weeks of faithfully following Jackson's prescribed baths, exercises, and diet, there was little noticeable improvement. Frequently only prayer helped the elder to relax enough to sleep. Since Jackson considered that James's stroke had

been precipitated by excessive attention to religious matters, he decided his patient should not participate in the thrice-daily prayer services the Adventist group were conducting. Instead he should be diverted by carefree amusements and complete inactivity.

Ellen White disagreed with this Jackson prescription. After three months at Dansville she decided to remove the still-ailing James to the home of friends in nearby Rochester. There, during a Christmas night prayer service, Ellen experienced another important vision. In it Adventists were reproved for having been too slow in following earlier counsel relative to changes in diet, hygiene, and health care. She saw that the health teachings were to be as closely incorporated in the Adventists' religious witness "as the arm and hand with the human body." The time had come for the church to cease relying on popular health institutions and develop its own. In such an establishment the Adventist sick could receive proper treatment, and all could learn how to care for their bodies so as to prevent illness.¹⁹

In spite of many prayers for his recovery, James White experienced no miraculous, sudden healing. Back in Battle Creek once more, Ellen encouraged him to visit friends and to participate in weekend services in the small towns of central Michigan. Her associates feared she was pushing James too hard; but, as a result of her visions, Ellen believed some activity was necessary in her husband's case. Very slowly his health improved. Yet when Ellen urged the 1866 General Conference to develop its own health institution and make an earnest effort to inform the church concerning proper health habits, James, although still General Conference president, was not able to assume responsibility for implementing the conference's decisions. This role had to be taken over by others who would lead out in a great era of expansion.

The Health Reformer

By the end of the summer of 1866 two major results were traceable to Ellen White's appeal that the General Conference become actively involved in educating Adventists along health lines. In August a new sixteen-page monthly journal, *The Health Reformer*, appeared. The following month the Western Health Reform Institute opened its doors in the former residence of Judge Graves in Battle Creek's West End. Dr. H. S. Lay, fresh from several years' service on Jackson's staff, was a key figure in both.

The major problem facing *Health Reformer* editor Lay was securing contributors. With few Adventist physicians, he had to rely primarily on Adventist ministers for copy. Necessarily, they wrote on the basis of experience and faith in divine revelation rather than from professional competence. Lay assured any nervous readers, however, that all articles were "examined professionally and endorsed, before they are laid before the reader."²⁰

Western Health Reform Institute

Since James White, Adventism's most experienced and efficient fund raiser, was virtually out of action, J. N. Loughborough rather hesitantly set out to canvass Battle Creek Adventists for funds to start the Western Health Reform Institute. Strategically, he chose to approach John P. Kellogg first. Kellogg had been a major financial backer of both tent evangelism and the relocation of the publishing plant in Battle Creek. He proved ready to help the health institute as well. Taking Loughborough's subscription list, he boldly inscribed his name and after it \$500. That contribution, Kellogg avowed, was "a seed to start the institution, sink or swim." Ellen White also pledged \$500, and soon others in Battle Creek raised the total to \$1825. Over in New York state J. N. Andrews secured another \$800 in pledges.

When the institute opened, it had "two doctors, two bath attendants, one nurse (untrained), three or four helpers, one patient, any amount of inconveniences, and a great deal of faith in the future." The two doctors—H. S. Lay and Phoebe Lamson—were both alumni of Dansville. Two months later Lay reported that patients from nine different states and Canada were at the institute. It was necessary to rent additional rooms in the neighborhood to house ambulatory patients.²¹

Even before incorporation was accomplished in the spring of 1867, the institute's managers were developing expansive plans for the future. Dr. Lay called for the subscription of \$25,000 to construct a large, new building. Soon he was being echoed by Elders Loughborough and Uriah Smith. The latter pressed Ellen White to publish a call for believers to back the institute. Reluctantly she complied.

Reluctantly, because Ellen feared too-rapid expansion. She was already concerned over the tendency for Dansville-type amusements to creep into Battle Creek. She knew that many other hygienic institutions had enjoyed brief success only to go down in failure. She also had strong reservations about profiting from people's illnesses. The Whites believed any institute profits should be set aside to support treatment for those unable to pay. In the spring of 1868 they persuaded most institute stockholders to sign agreements assigning their share of future profits for charitable use.²²

While the institute directors were beginning to dream expansive dreams, Ellen White was again engaged in her own personal struggle for the complete recovery of her husband. He had improved during the spring and summer of 1866, but with the onset of winter and confinement indoors, he once more sank into despondency. Ellen decided he should visit the churches of northern Michigan, and in mid-December they embarked in an open sleigh in the midst of a heavy snowstorm. Activity helped to dispel James's depression. By spring Ellen was convinced that outdoor labor would benefit him even more. So the Whites purchased a

small farm near Greenville, Michigan. There, sometimes only with great ingenuity, Ellen kept James engaged in physical labor in the fresh air and sunshine. By summer's end he was more nearly his old, vigorous self.²³

During the summer of 1867 work began on a large, new building for the Health Reform Institute. Then suddenly it was stopped. Counsel from the Whites prevailed, and the directors dismantled what had been done and sold the construction materials previously secured. At the time it seemed to many a strange business; in retrospect it appears fortunate that this sudden expansion did not take place. The institute lacked both the medical and business personnel to manage an establishment with the 300 patients Dr. Lay envisioned. Lay and his associates were self-trained physicians with little or no professional medical education. Among Seventh-day Adventists James White was virtually the only one with any experience in managing a large financial enterprise. In 1867 he was in no condition to assume such burdens.

The financial picture at the institute became quite bleak during its second and third years of operation. In part this was traceable to a decision to accept needy Seventh-day Adventists at half rates. Soon this class flooded the institute to the virtual exclusion of other patients. After three years of operation the institute was \$13,000 in debt.²⁴

An end to the decline of the institute coincided with the election of James White as president of its Board of Directors in the spring of 1870. Several Adventist businessmen, including J. P. Kellogg, were also added to the board at this time. Dr. Lay, rendered increasingly ineffective by family problems, returned to private practice in Allegan, Michigan.

Although both the financial picture at the institute and its patronage gradually improved, growth was not dramatic. Elder White was convinced that the problem lay in securing a more energetic and better-trained medical staff. At the same time, the doctors must be fully committed to the reform program, for Mrs. White had received instruction that health reform was "one branch of the great work which is to fit a people for the coming of the Lord."²⁵

For a time Elder White thought that J. P. Kellogg's eldest son, Merritt, might be just what the institute needed. Merritt had settled in California in 1859, and as a layman raised up the first Seventh-day Adventist congregation in that state. In an attempt to increase his effectiveness, he later returned east to take a six-month medical course at Dr. R. T. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College.

But Merritt Kellogg was not in Battle Creek long before he decided that his medical education was not equal to the challenge of directing the institute's program. He proposed returning to Trall's for a repeat course. Already forty, he also recognized the advantage of taking younger students with him. James White saw light in this. He was willing to send his own two sons, Edson and Willie (Edson had for some time thought of becoming a doctor) and Jennie Trembley, an editorial assistant on *The*

Health Reformer. But both Kellogg and Elder White had their eyes primarily on another recruit—Merritt's twenty-year-old half brother, John.²⁶

John Harvey Kellogg

John Harvey Kellogg had long been a favorite of James White. At the elder's suggestion young John learned the printing business at the *Review* office when only a lad of twelve. While there he helped set type for the *How to Live* series and in the process became a dedicated convert to health-reform principles. Later he spent several months at the White farm in Greenville. By 1872, however, John had decided to become a teacher and was enrolled in the normal course at the State Teachers' College in Ypsilanti. Yet when urged by Merritt and the Whites, he agreed to accompany the group headed for Trall's. He had no intention of practicing medicine, intending instead to become a health educator.

Although the few months at Trall's failed to launch the White boys on medical careers, it was a different story with John Kellogg. From these early medical studies he glimpsed how much there was yet to know. With the Whites' encouragement and financial backing he spent a second year studying medicine at the University of Michigan and a final year at New York's Bellevue Hospital Medical School, then perhaps the most advanced medical college in the nation.²⁷

During this time young Kellogg also became a key editorial assistant on *The Health Reformer*. In the summer of 1868 Dr. Trall had visited the Western Health Reform Institute and had given a series of health lectures in Battle Creek. Impressed with the Adventist commitment to the reform program, Trall agreed to turn over to *The Health Reformer* a list of the subscribers to his *Gospel of Health*. He also agreed to provide the *Reformer* with a regular column. For a time this seemed advantageous; the *Reformer* subscription list expanded in a gratifying way.

Unfortunately this happy situation did not last. Trall was by nature a controversialist. Soon he began taking extreme positions against any use of salt, sugar, milk, butter, and eggs. The lay editors of the *Reformer* were carried along by his eloquence and long leadership in health-reform circles. But Adventist readers, especially those in the rural western states, took a dim view of the *Reformer's* crusade. Many had answered the call to abandon meat, tea, coffee, and tobacco, but living where fruit was not plentiful and only a few vegetables were available much of the year, they were not enthusiastic about the additional limits on their diets which Trall was advocating. Subscriptions declined rapidly.²⁸

In an effort to rectify this situation James White assumed editorship of *The Health Reformer* in 1871 and immediately inaugurated a more moderate position. But Elder White's heavy church responsibilities would not allow him to continue long in this editorial role. When John Kellogg returned from Trall's in the summer of 1873, White pressed him to become, at twenty-one, his chief editorial assistant. A year later Kellogg was

editor. In the interim he had persuaded Elder White to end Trall's connection with *The Health Reformer*. Kellogg did not intend to share the spotlight on *his* paper with a cantankerous old reformer, with whom he had already had sharp disagreements as a student.²⁹

Upon his return from Bellevue, Dr. Kellogg was invited to join the medical staff at the institute. Soon Elder White was promoting the idea that the youthful doctor be named chief physician in place of Dr. William Russell. Kellogg demurred. He was still only twenty-three and quite content with his role as editor. Already he was planning a series of pamphlets and books on various aspects of healthful living. Besides, Ellen White did not share her husband's enthusiasm at this time.

The knowledge that James White wanted him replaced made it difficult for Dr. Russell to lead effectively. The institute began another period of decline. During this time John Kellogg was being drawn into a closer relationship with the Whites and several other Adventist leaders: *Review* editor Uriah Smith and Sidney Brownsberger, president of Battle Creek College. Fearing a repeat invitation to take charge of the institute, Kellogg escaped in the summer of 1876 to establish a health literature display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Then he went to Delaware to write in solitude.

It was here that White and Brownsberger found him. They carried a renewed invitation to head the institute. This time there was also the word that Ellen White agreed. Reluctantly, John capitulated—but with the understanding that his term of service would be for one year only. Little did he realize that he would hold this same position until his death sixty-seven years later.

When Kellogg took over on October 1, 1876, there were twenty patients at the institute. Six left to continue treatment with Dr. Russell, who opened a rival "water cure" in Ann Arbor. Two more took one look at the boyish chief physician and packed their bags for home. That left twelve. Kellogg was not discouraged. By astute publicity and careful personal attention to patient needs he enrolled twice the usual number of patients that winter. A few months after taking charge he changed the Western Health Reform Institute's name to the Battle Creek Sanitarium. The word *sanitarium*, Kellogg proclaimed, would come to mean a "place where people learn to stay well." He would be a teacher after all.

Not that his editorial duties ceased. Soon, however, *The Health Reformer* also had a new name—*Good Health*. In Kellogg's view, people no longer took kindly to the idea of being "reformed," they were willing to be "improved." A periodical with a positive name like *Good Health* was more likely to be read. Soon he had 20,000 subscribers.³⁰

The Whites had found a vigorous and resourceful advocate to take the lead in transforming Adventist health habits and spreading the health reform gospel to the world. With confidence they could turn their attention to other lines of church endeavor.

Suggested Reading:

The basic book for understanding the development of Seventh-day Adventist health teachings and institutions is D. E. Robinson's *The Story of Our Health Message* (1965). Chapters 1-17 apply to the period through 1876. A. W. Spalding gives a condensed version of the same events in his *Origin and History . . .*, I: 335-387, as does C. M. Maxwell's *Tell It to the World*, pp. 205-217. The influence of Dr. Jackson's Dansville establishment is engagingly portrayed by Numbers in "Dr. Jackson's Water Cure and Its Influence on Adventist Health Reform," *Adventist Heritage I* (January 1974): 11-16, 58, 59. Useful background information, more full as Dr. Kellogg becomes involved, is found in R. W. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), and in the earlier doctoral dissertation, "John Harvey Kellogg, American Health Reformer" (University of Michigan, 1964) upon which it is based.

1. *Hygienic Family Almanac*, 1875, p. 23.
2. D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1965), pp. 13-49; R. W. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 18-24.
3. Schwarz, p. 43; G. T. Anderson, *Outrider of the Apocalypse* (1972), pp. 104, 105, 115, 116.
4. Anderson, pp. 104, 105; Robinson, pp. 45-52.
5. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation (1964), pp. 10, 144; J. S. White, *Review and Herald*, April 16, 1867, p. 222; E. G. White, *Testimonies*, II: 383, 384; G. I. Butler to James and Ellen White, Aug. 6, 1873, E. G. White Estate; Robinson, pp. 230, 231.
6. Robinson, pp. 58, 59, 65, 66; A. L. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (1969), p. 50.
7. Robinson, pp. 66-69.
8. E. G. White, Manuscript 1, 1854, quoted in A. L. White, p. 50.
9. Robinson, pp. 62-64.
10. Robinson, pp. 73, 74.
11. Robinson, pp. 75-80.
12. J. S. White, *Review*, December 13, 1864, pp. 20, 21; J. H. Waggoner, *Review*, August 7, 1866, pp. 76, 77; E. G. White, *Review*, October 8, 1867, p. 260.
13. Robinson, pp. 78, 79, 88-90; A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1961), I: 346, 347; R. Numbers, "Dr. Jackson's Water Cure and Its Influence on Adventist Health Reform," *Adventist Heritage I* (January 1974): 13.
14. Spalding, I: 344, 345.
15. Spalding, I: 346-349; Numbers, pp. 13-16; Robinson, pp. 91-109; E. G. White, *Testimonies*, IV: 489, 490.
16. Spalding, I: 383-386; Robinson, pp. 112-129.
17. E. G. White to M. Loughborough, June 17, 1861; E. G. White to J. H. Haughey, July 4, 1897, E. G. White Estate; Robinson, pp. 127-130, 166-169.
18. Numbers, pp. 16, 58.
19. Numbers, pp. 58, 59; Robinson, pp. 134-142.
20. Robinson, pp. 144-149.
21. Robinson, pp. 149-155.
22. Spalding, I: 369, 370; Schwarz, "John H. Kellogg," pp. 171, 172.
23. Robinson, pp. 160-162.
24. Robinson, pp. 172-185.
25. Robinson, pp. 185-188.
26. S.D.A. *Encyclopedia* (1976), p. 724; Schwarz, *John H. Kellogg, M.D.*, p. 27.
27. Schwarz, *John H. Kellogg, M.D.*, pp. 17, 27-33.
28. Robinson, pp. 194-196; Schwarz, "John H. Kellogg," pp. 239, 240.
29. Schwarz, *John H. Kellogg, M.D.*, pp. 28, 29, 91.
30. Schwarz, *John H. Kellogg, M.D.*, pp. 61, 62, 91, 92; "John H. Kellogg," pp. 173-177, 241.

CHAPTER 8

Starting an Educational System

The reform spirit invigorating American society during the years of the Millerite movement did much to advance the cause of free public elementary education. Its effects were felt in better teacher preparation, an expanded basic curriculum, and a lengthened school term. Some of the reform-minded were also interested in integrating manual labor with theoretical instruction, particularly at schools operating above the primary level.

European Educational Reformers

This latter group drew inspiration from leading thinkers of the eighteenth century "Enlightenment." John Locke included instruction in mechanical and agricultural skills in his suggested scheme of popular education. Such instruction, he believed, helped to fit boys for "practical life." On the European continent Jean Jacques Rousseau in 1762 described the ideal education in *Emile*. To Rousseau, instruction in agriculture was basic in preparing children for simple, happy lives in an ideal society. Scarcely less important was a knowledge of blacksmithing and carpentry.

An early attempt to carry out Rousseau's ideas in Switzerland was made by the educational reformer Johann Pestalozzi. An even more extensive program, emphasizing the integration of farming and mechanical arts with more traditional studies, was developed on 600 acres outside Berne by Phillip von Fellenberg and Jacob Wehrli. The five schools operated by these two men were noted for close teacher-student relationships and for their religious tone.

Later Wehrli founded a normal school to prepare students for teaching

- peasant children throughout Switzerland. Here he promoted (1) the importance of the family circle and instruction within it; (2) the superiority of direct observation to book learning; (3) a rural location for schools; and (4) compulsory agricultural labor for boys regardless of their social status.
- Wehrli constantly emphasized that teachers should be more concerned with developing a student's character than in imparting facts.

American Reformers

- Manual labor in connection with formal education was not exactly a stranger to the American environment. During the eighteenth century the Moravian Brethren in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, had taught agriculture to boys attending their school. And at Cokesbury College in Maryland the Methodists stressed the recreational advantages of gardening and wood-working in place of sports.

- Such programs, however, but dimly anticipated the American Manual Labor Movement, which began in the mid-1820s, peaked around 1834, and faded rapidly during the subsequent decade. The utilitarian Americans stressed two particular benefits from manual labor: (1) its aid in improving health and (2) its contribution to meeting the students' school expenses.

- Probably the most successful early experiment with manual labor occurred at Andover Theological Seminary, where each student was required to work a minimum of one and a half hours per day in the school box factory or furniture shop. In upstate New York Reverend George W. Gale eventually made the Oneida Institute of Science and Industry the most famous of the manual-labor schools. By 1831 there were 500 applicants for the sixty places available at Oneida.

- It was in 1831, with the backing of New York merchants Arthur and Lewis Tappan, financial "angels" to so many of the reform groups, that the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was formed. Theodore Weld was named the society's general agent and sent to tour some of the more than sixty schools experimenting with manual-labor programs. But both Weld and the Tappans soon became committed too deeply to the antislavery cause to have time for manual-labor promotion. The society languished, and so did interest in the idea in most seminaries and colleges.

- Yet out in Ohio the manual-labor idea had caught on at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, where all students were required to spend three or four hours per day in useful employment. Its effects were also felt farther north at Oberlin College, although that reform institution was primarily preoccupied with antislavery and women's rights.

- Forty years later a new wave of interest developed, this time in the Scandinavian "Sloyd system of handwork," and the manual-training exhibits of Russian educators at Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition. In the 1880s the emphasis turned to vocational training at the high school

level and stressed acquainting students with woodworking and machine-shop tools.¹

When, in 1872, Ellen White wrote her first extensive essay on education, she emphatically stated, "We are reformers."² Yet there is no evidence that Seventh-day Adventist pioneers were interested in the manual-labor movement as they had been in antislavery and temperance. Their Millerite experience had predisposed them to be skeptical toward higher education in general. It was among the learned doctors of divinity that some of their most caustic critics were found.

To many Adventist parents the imminence of the advent made even a basic, common school education for their children relatively unimportant. By the 1850s this attitude began to change. Ellen White had indicated that they could not look with certainty to any specific date for Christ's return. Children needed basic skills to cope with the secular world around them. They also needed to be shielded from the ridicule expressed by classmates toward their peculiar religious beliefs lest peer pressures cause them to depart from their fathers' faith.

School in Homes

Under these circumstances sabbatarian Adventists turned to an old remedy: the home school, taught by one of their own number. Church leaders made no apparent systematic effort to encourage development of such schools. Rather they appeared, and as suddenly disappeared, as believers perceived a need and were willing to bear the costs involved.³

The Whites, with young children of their own, did remind other parents of the responsibilities they bore toward their children. During the 1850s Ellen wrote in the *Review* of the "Duty of Parents to Their Children," while James prepared a three-part series on "Sabbath Keepers' Children," in which he commented on the immorality present among many attending public schools. Exposure to vulgar language, quarrels and bickering, Elder White suggested, inevitably had a bad effect on Sabbath keepers' children since "children are the most successful teachers of children." Although public schools were better than a "street education," he believed it would be better still for children to be trained at home by parents or a Sabbath-keeping tutor.⁴

Plagued by the lack of central direction or sponsorship, frequently housed in cramped facilities, possessing little if any standard equipment, and too often taught by persons without skill in discipline or knowledge of good instructional methods, it is not surprising that these early home schools lacked permanence. Even the increasing colony of Adventists in Battle Creek found it difficult to support a permanent school.

Early SDA Schools

Early in 1858 James White announced that Battle Creek Adventists had invited John Fletcher Byington to open a school for their children. Elder

White even invited believers in areas where a home school was not available to send their children to Battle Creek, promising to help them find "boarding places with brethren at reasonable terms." The charge for tuition seemed reasonable: \$2.25 per student for a twelve-week term. But Byington was no more successful than the three teachers who had preceded him. After a couple of terms lack of support forced him to abandon his venture. Meanwhile the city had constructed a new public school in the West End. And now even Elder White took a pessimistic view of a church-sponsored school in Battle Creek.⁵

In effect James White was reverting to his first reaction to a suggestion made a decade earlier that, just as Sabbath-keeping Adventists had developed their own printing business, so they must develop their own schools. At that time Elder White had viewed such a proposition as impractical. The advent was too near; there was neither time nor money to spend on an educational system. Besides, such a project would be a virtual denial of their belief in the "Soon Coming." It was not that James White was disinterested in the salvation of children and youth. He merely believed that this could be accomplished more expeditiously through other means. This was why he had started *The Youth's Instructor* and devoted such a large portion of its pages in the early years to specially prepared Sabbath School lessons.⁶

The Sabbath School

There can be little doubt but that James White intended the Sabbath School to be a place of indoctrination in "Present Truth" for believers' children. Of the first four lessons published in *The Youth's Instructor*, two were on the Sabbath, a third on the Law of God, and the fourth on the "Ark of the Testimony." Later lessons covered the prophecies of Daniel and the doctrine of the sanctuary.

Throughout the 1850s the scattered Adventist bands gradually developed Sabbath Schools, generally patterned after the one begun by M. G. Kellogg in Battle Creek shortly after the publication office located there. In this school, molded consecutively by G. W. Amadon and G. H. Bell, almost the entire hour was spent in Bible study. Those attending were divided into classes of six to eight "scholars," who were thoroughly quizzed and drilled on the assigned lesson.

Here was a way to plant seeds of truth in young minds at minimum cost. It was a mystery to Adventist leaders why some congregations were slow to develop Sabbath Schools. To plead an insufficient number of children was not a valid excuse. If there were but two children in a congregation, D. M. Canright wrote, there should be a Sabbath School for them.⁷

G. H. Bell

Renewed interest in a distinctively Seventh-day Adventist school awaited the arrival in Battle Creek of a master teacher. Such a person was

recognized in 1867—Goodloe Harper Bell, a patient at the Western Health Reform Institute. Bell was the eldest child in one of those large migratory families who were seeking better opportunities in the West during the mid-nineteenth century in America. When Goodloe was in his mid-teens, the Bells left northern New York for northern Ohio. Here they settled near Oberlin, where the intellectually ambitious boy had opportunity for a brief exposure to the reform-oriented education offered at Oberlin College. Soon, however, the Bells were once more on the move—this time northward into Michigan. After a brief residence at Hillsdale they finally settled in Grand Rapids.

The early death of his father prevented Goodloe from returning to Oberlin College as he had planned. Suddenly thrust into the role of chief provider for the family, he turned at nineteen to teaching country school. Both studious and innovative, young Bell soon became one of the ablest teachers in the area, but by the time he was thirty-four, overwork and a failure to follow principles of healthful living turned Bell into a dyspeptic. He came to the Western Health Reform Institute to seek a cure.

Bell was a religious man. A Baptist in his youth, he later joined the Disciples of Christ. He had come to Battle Creek to restore his health, not to change his religion. At the institute he was placed with an Adventist roommate. This man's deep interest in his spiritual welfare disarmed Bell's prejudices. Study convinced him of the truth of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, and as he convalesced, he also completed his spiritual migration by joining the Adventist Church.⁸

Either as part of the outdoor work therapy frequently assigned institute patients, or to help meet expenses, Mr. Bell began sawing wood for the *Review and Herald* boilers. One day J. Edson White, James and Ellen's eldest surviving son, took a break from the type room, where he was employed, and strolled outside to make the stranger's acquaintance. Finding that Bell was a teacher, Edson shared with him his educational deficiencies and desires. He particularly commented on his hatred for grammar. Bell's response was that this need not be, as grammar "properly taught, was one of the most interesting studies in the world."⁹

Edson White was greatly impressed by his new friend's engaging manner. He inquired if Bell would be willing to teach grammar and writing to a few of the young men at the *Review* office. Bell agreed, and an evening class was arranged. Soon the new teacher's skills were praised so highly that the Battle Creek church hired him to hold a school for members' children that winter. The church, however, was unready to accept responsibility for sponsoring a school on a regular basis. When Bell's school continued the next year, it was as a private venture.

With the help of friends Goodloe Bell persuaded the management of the publishing house to grant him the use of the original building erected to house the *Review*. Moving his family into the first floor, he outfitted the second as a classroom. James White became so enthusiastic that he began

to promote the formation of an educational society to raise money and build a respectable denominational school as a fit companion to the printing office and health institute.¹⁰

Upon closer consideration the Whites decided that this was not the time to bring an influx of young people into Battle Creek. Too many of the local church members had not given careful enough supervision to their children. As a result a number of local youth were infected with a variety of sexual and other vices which they were communicating to others. At the same time a spirit of pride, criticism, and worldliness was prevalent among the older generation. No school could be effectively promoted until the Battle Creek church was put in order.¹¹

These local difficulties made it impossible for Professor Bell to make a financial success of his school, although he continued to give private lessons to small groups on a sporadic basis. But Bell's talents were not allowed to stagnate. In recognition of his literary skills, he was made editor of *The Youth's Instructor* in 1869. One of his first innovations was to provide two sets of Sabbath School lessons: a series in Old Testament history for the children, and one for the youth on the book of Daniel. By 1872 he had developed a series of eight Bible-study lesson books for Sabbath School use. Simultaneously Bell introduced administrative improvements in the Battle Creek Sabbath School, which he superintended during the next decade. So successful were these that he became a roving consultant to churches desiring to improve the effectiveness of their Sabbath Schools.¹²

By 1870 there were a number of young Adventists employed at the publishing office and the health institute. Many of them were anxious to secure more education. Concurrently James White was becoming aware of the need for many ministers and prospective ministers to improve their facility in speaking and writing. Searching for a way to accomplish this, he and Uriah Smith launched the Minister's Lecture Association of Seventh-day Adventists in the spring of 1870. For an annual fee of five dollars for men and three dollars for women the sixty initial members were entitled to attend a series of Bible lectures and receive instruction in grammar and penmanship.¹³

There is no evidence that the Minister's Lecture Association survived beyond 1871. That same year White launched another abortive self-improvement organization: the Review and Herald Literary Society. Its goal was to upgrade the quality of Seventh-day Adventist publications by encouraging the reading, discussion, and writing of choice moral and religious literature.¹⁴

Testimony on Education

While denominational leaders sought to develop better-trained church workers, they suddenly heard from a voice of special importance to them. In January 1872 Ellen White received her first detailed vision on proper

principles of education. Shortly thereafter she wrote thirty pages of printed matter covering what she had seen. Although this was not published until near the end of the year, its contents were surely known to the major leaders soon after it was written.

The final sentences of this first "testimony" on education must have started James White, George I. Butler, J. N. Andrews, and other leaders considering ways in which they might be implemented. "We need a school," Mrs. White wrote, "where those who are just entering the ministry may be taught at least the common branches of education and where they may learn more perfectly the truths of God's word for this time. In connection with these schools [*sic*], lectures should be given upon the prophecies. Those who really have good abilities such as God will accept to labor in His vineyard would be very much benefited by only a few months' instruction at such a school."¹⁵

Although much of this "Proper Education" testimony was addressed to parents, who were instructed to serve as their children's only teacher until they were eight or ten, many basic principles were also enunciated. The right kind of education, Ellen White stated, should pay attention to the physical, mental, moral, and religious life of students. Teachers were not to control the mind, will, or conscience of students. While teaching students to respect and follow experienced counsel, they were also to teach them to act on the basis of reason and principle. To Mrs. White a prospective teacher's habits and principles were of more importance than literary qualifications. Teachers should not hold themselves apart from "scholars," but learn to socialize with them, demonstrating clearly that all their actions were based on love.

Ellen wanted students instructed in commodious and well-ventilated classrooms. Because of the close relationship between mind and body, she considered instruction in physiology and hygiene vital. The ideal educational program would combine study and physical labor. For this purpose schools should have industrial departments where all students, regardless of financial need, should be taught to work. By instructing young men in agricultural and mechanical lines they would fit them for the "practical duties of life." Young women were to be schooled in the domestic arts, while young men who desired to be preachers should get a thorough grounding in Bible study. In embryo, Mrs. White had outlined what others in later years refer to as a "blueprint" for Christian education.¹⁶

Early in the spring of 1872 the Whites began discussing with members of the Battle Creek church the establishment of a denominationally sponsored school. A school committee was formed, and the officers of the General Conference were brought into the planning.

The next step was to lay the matter before the entire body of Adventists through the *Review*. Members were asked to express their opinions and, if they approved the school idea, to pledge funds to get it under way. A

month later a second article requested prospective students to let the committee know their educational background and the subjects, especially in the area of language, which they desired to study. They were specifically asked if their goal was “to fit yourself to take some part in the work of God?”

Bell's Select School

By mid-May the General Conference committee had agreed to assume administrative and financial responsibility for a school scheduled to begin its first twelve-week term on June 3. This made the school a denominational rather than a local church project. The committee solved teacher and site problems quickly; it simply reconstituted and adopted Bell's Select School. Twelve students were present on opening day, and two more enrolled a bit later. It seemed a small beginning. Yet the promoters professed satisfaction; a grain of mustard seed was also tiny.¹⁷

Elder George I. Butler, called from Iowa to become General Conference president a few months earlier, gave strong support to the infant school. It was needed, he told *Review* readers, as a place “where influences of a moral character may be thrown around the pupils.” Adventist scholars must not only be shielded from intemperance, card playing, and similar mischief, but they should also be provided with proper motives for study. Too often methods used in public schools fostered pride and vanity rather than virtue and religion. Butler expected the school to train denominational workers and to engender some mental discipline in the farmer-preachers that formed the bulk of the Adventist ministry. He had no patience with the idea that ignorance was a help to spirituality. Yet he was definitely *not* proposing a long theological course of study. There was “no time for such a course, neither is it necessary.”¹⁸

As the summer progressed, church leaders became more and more enthusiastic about the services the new school might render. Teachers could be trained to conduct primary schools for Adventist congregations with sufficient children to support a private “church school.” Training could be given in languages, for “this truth must go to all the nations around us.” The school could serve as a place of instruction for persons from abroad, such as Adhémar Vuilleumier, recently arrived from Switzerland to learn about Seventh-day Adventist doctrines.

While agreeing that the newly established school was “doubtless right,” James White continued to have reservations about the condition of the Battle Creek church. More men of character, ability, and strong spirituality were needed at headquarters.

School Finances

He proposed that the state conferences seek out at least twenty such families and encourage them to move to Battle Creek. Such an influx would provide stability and would “constitute a sort of Congress, as far as



G. H. Bell



J. H. Kellogg

our institutions . . . are concerned.” These families could interpret the feelings of their old home area relative to denominational policies. If this were done, Elder White pledged himself ready to help raise \$50,000 to build a worthy school. He would contribute \$1000 himself and help call hundreds of young people in to train for service to the church.¹⁹

Attendance in Bell’s school more than doubled during the fall term. In addition to forty regular scholars another fifteen, primarily press workers, attended an evening grammar class. While Professor Bell was ill with malaria, John H. Kellogg taught the school temporarily. About half the students also attended special biweekly Bible lectures given by Uriah Smith. Growth continued; by the start of the winter term the quarters had been outgrown. Arrangements were made to use the church, with drop shelves fastened to the backs of some pews to convert them into desks.

When the General Conference met in formal session in March 1873, it passed resolutions approving formation of a denominational school. Although these did not mention the school currently under conference sponsorship, the thrust seemed to be that the delegates were looking forward toward a more-advanced and permanently housed institution—in essence, toward a college. President Butler contended that better-educated workers were needed in order to meet the rich and the “learned.”²⁰

A few weeks later the General Conference committee recommended the establishing of a Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society to own and operate the proposed school. For legal purposes it must be a stock society. The officers called for \$20,000 immediately so that land could be purchased and a proper building erected. By the time the General Conference met again in November 1873, \$52,000 had been pledged for the school.

A School on the Land

Now the pressing consideration was location. The Whites, influenced by Ellen’s education vision, desired an ample tract of land where students

could learn proper agricultural methods and where workshops could provide vocational training. At first they favored the 160-acre Foster farm on Goguac Lake, several miles south of town. But Foster wanted \$50,000; so the Whites turned to the fifty-acre fairgrounds on the west edge of Battle Creek. It was available for one fifth Foster's price.

Before any purchase could be made, the Whites headed for California. With their influence gone Butler and his associates drew back from the fairgrounds site. They failed to see why so much land was needed, and out in the country too. Would not the Erastus Hussey estate, consisting of twelve acres on the highest spot in the West End and just across the street from the health institute, be ample? They decided that it would be. Its proximity to the *Review* office, the church, and to the institute seemed in their minds to increase its desirability; and so, just as 1873 ended, for \$16,000 the deal was closed. Not everyone was happy. Out in California Ellen White sensed that a mistake had been made. Divine counsel had been spurned. She bowed her head and wept.²¹

During the summer of 1873 the school's promoters decided that a school such as they envisioned needed to be headed by a thoroughly trained man. Bell, alas, had no college degree. So he was replaced that fall by Sidney Brownsberger: bright, personable, a teacher of several years' experience, with a B.A. from the University of Michigan. Bell continued as head of the English department, where with one or more assistants he taught the "common" subjects: grammar, rhetoric, penmanship, mathematics, geography, and bookkeeping. Brownsberger, assisted by translators from the *Review* office, offered Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, philosophy, and physiology. Eventually it was arranged for Uriah Smith to offer a series of Bible lectures to supplement the Bible lessons given "in all departments."

By the start of the winter term in 1873 the church was no longer adequate for the increased number of students and the multiplicity of classes. Fortunately a new building recently completed for the publishing house had not been occupied. For a year it housed the burgeoning student body, more and more of whom were coming from outside Battle Creek. It was the responsibility of such scholars to locate their own boarding facilities in the West End.²²

Battle Creek College

At last, in the spring of 1874, the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society became a legal entity. Immediately plans were made to construct a three-story building capable of holding 400 students. Like the *Review* buildings, it would be Greek cross in shape. By the start of the fall term construction was proceeding well. It was decided the building should be ready for occupancy and dedication early in 1875.

Several major decisions were made before that event occurred. Of special significance was a meeting between the school board, the Whites,

and Principal Brownsberger. As the others listened carefully, Ellen read her 1872 testimony on Proper Education. All recognized that their property was too small to carry on the agricultural and mechanical departments recommended. Their original twelve acres were now down to seven. In what would become a common procedure in the founding of later schools, the directors had decided to sell part of the property for residential lots to help finance the school building.

Someone asked Brownsberger what could be done. He shook his head. "I do not know anything about the conducting of such a school, where industries and farming are a part of the whole," he replied. Under the circumstances it was decided to go ahead and run a school with a traditional education based on the classics. The board would keep under study the inaugurating of industries at a later date.

It was also decided to give the still-nameless school a name: Battle Creek College. Admittedly, personnel and finances were lacking to make it a full-fledged college at once, but it was hoped that it would soon grow up to its name. With these basic decisions made, January 4, 1875, was set for the official dedicatory services. Now twenty years after the publishing office had moved from Rochester and nearly a decade after the Health Reform Institute had been launched, a third major Seventh-day Adventist institution was firmly planted in Battle Creek. Probably with only a dim realization of what they were doing, Seventh-day Adventists had inaugurated an educational system which would profoundly affect their future.²³

Some had wanted to name the college after James White in recognition of his efforts in its behalf. Although he would not agree to such a suggestion, Elder White did serve the college as president down to 1880. As principal, however, Brownsberger carried day-by-day responsibility for the school's direction and for shaping its curriculum. Brownsberger desired solid academic work in his school. "When the Lord comes," he said, "Adventists expect to leave their farms, their businesses, and their homes and take their brains with them."

And so a five-year classics curriculum led to the B.A. degree, while those finishing the shorter three-year English course (later expanded into a scientific curriculum) were awarded the B.S. degree. Diplomas could be earned for completing commercial and normal courses. Admission to a program was determined by the student's interest and by faculty evaluation of the proficiency examinations he had written.

The normal course was by far the most popular, perhaps because teaching seemed the easiest way to finance college expenses. Graduates from this program taught largely in the public schools. The great growth in church schools was still nearly two decades away. In view of the sponsors' desire to see the college train denominational workers, one would expect the ministerial program to have been strong and distinctive. This was not so. It consisted principally of biblical languages and courses designed to increase facility in speaking and writing correctly. Uriah Smith's Bible

lectures, attended on a voluntary basis, were considered valuable but "dry." In prophetic interpretation Smith used his volumes on Daniel and Revelation as textbooks and developed another on basic Seventh-day Adventist doctrines entitled *Synopsis of Present Truth*.

Denominational leaders had high hopes that many of the college students would learn foreign languages in order to carry the three angels' messages to other lands and peoples. But the considerable initial interest in modern languages declined rapidly. By 1880 only German was taught.

The decline of language study was not symptomatic of a general decline in the college. Enrollment reached nearly 500 by 1881. Brownsberger, now president in name as well as in fact, had built an academic program which won the respect of the community as well as his church. At times during these early years fully one fifth of the student body came from non-Adventist families. More could have been accepted had there not been the fear that too large a concentration of non-Seventh-day Adventists would encourage a worldly atmosphere.

Agewise the early student body was certainly a heterogeneous group. Scholars from seven to forty-five were enrolled. Sometimes parents and children sat in the same class. Although coeducational from the start, the college strictly regulated social contacts with the opposite sex. Campus organizations, such as the literary and debating clubs, were exclusively for men or women. No courting was countenanced by the faculty.

Student Housing

The college board deliberately decided against constructing dormitories for student housing. Instead a "Locating Committee" helped incoming students find rooms in approved homes. Here, school authorities maintained, they had the advantages of "family" living. Students either cooked their own food or ate at their landlord's table—at higher rates, of course, or each paid a weekly sum to one of their number, who purchased supplies and contracted with an obliging housewife to prepare the group two meals per day.

The college faculty expended little energy in providing recreational activities for the student body. Spontaneous games could be played on college grounds only at approved times and places. Students were left to themselves to arrange simple Saturday-evening amusements such as candy pulls, skating parties, or spontaneous spell-downs or singing classes in the homes of friendly church members. There was usually good participation in religious services, be it the Wednesday-night prayer meeting or the 2:00 p.m. Sabbath social meeting, with its songs and personal testimonies. The "Dime Tabernacle," built in 1878-79, became a hallowed spot in the memory of many students. With seating for over 3000 the tabernacle was for years Battle Creek's largest auditorium. Here students joined workers from the Review, the sanitarium, and the growing Adventist community to listen to James and Ellen White or Adventist

workers from all parts of the field who flocked in for General Conference sessions.²⁴

By 1880 significant changes had taken place in the membership of the college board. Perhaps the most influential new member was Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. The doctor was a firm believer in the type of practical instruction in vocational lines which Ellen White advocated. Elder G. I. Butler concurred. They began pressuring Brownsberger to make changes in these areas. Instead the president seemed to move in the opposite direction by advocating granting masters' degrees to Battle Creek students who gave evidence of satisfactory progress during several years of individual study beyond the bachelor's degree. Old fears of too highly educated scholars were reawakened.

Changes in Leadership

Growing criticism proved too much for President Brownsberger. In late spring 1881 he resigned and retired to northern Michigan to rebuild his frayed nerves while logging in the woods.²⁵

Faced with a need to change the administration, the college board was also provided an opportunity to select a president with views of education more nearly paralleled to Ellen White's vision-based counsels. But who would this be? Of the current faculty only G. H. Bell, with his brief Oberlin experience, was enthusiastic about combining vocational and academic education. And Bell lacked a degree. Besides, many of the younger faculty resented what they considered his harsh and arbitrary actions.

A seeming solution to the problem appeared in the person of Alexander McLearn, D.D. A cultured Baptist preacher trained at Newton Theological Seminary, Dr. McLearn seemed on the verge of accepting Adventism when he came to the attention of denominational leaders in the summer of 1881. Without stopping to inquire how well McLearn's educational philosophy accorded with that which Ellen White was trying to promote, the board elected him president, even before he joined the church.

It was a sad mistake. That summer James White died, and Ellen departed shortly afterward for the West. President Butler was forced to be away from Battle Creek much of the time. There was no firm old hand to guide McLearn. Soon he became embroiled in an acrimonious struggle with Bell. At first this involved instructional matters, but later changed to student conduct as, in an attempt to curry favor with the student body, McLearn began to relax the social regulations. To Bell it seemed that the distinctiveness of "his" school was being undercut.

Ellen White's testimony at the December General Conference confirmed Bell's fears. At the same time she urged Bell to curb his "unkindness, harshness, and severity," while counseling his critics not to forget Bell's long years of service and their own imperfections. When the board asked Bell to add a new required daily Bible class to his teaching load, the

professor would agree only if he was granted virtual autonomy in the management of his department.

The early weeks of 1882 saw a series of board investigations followed by public accusations by President McLearn and some of the faculty against Bell, and finally, against the board. When the trustees requested resignations from critical faculty members, their request was refused. In a scuffle McLearn's son knocked Bell down the college stairs. Overworked and underpaid, Bell could take no more of such indignities. Students coming to classes on February 20 found that he had left the college.

During the remainder of the school year the college proceeded virtually independent of its governing board. These gentlemen were desperately hoping that the Battle Creek church, which had jumped into the dispute with more enthusiasm than good judgment, would get "sober second thoughts" concerning the school's real purposes and Ellen White's counsels. When this was slow in happening, they regretfully decided to temporarily close Battle Creek College. Deprived of a school, McLearn departed, still not a Seventh-day Adventist, to join the Seventh Day Baptists.²⁶

To some it might have appeared that the Seventh-day Adventist experiment in higher education was coming to an untimely end. In reality the crisis contributed to the immediate expansion of Adventist education. Even before the doors of Battle Creek College were locked, two new schools on opposite coasts had come into being. Each was headed by one of the two men with the most experience at Battle Creek, and each profited from mistakes made there.

Healdsburg College

During their fall camp meeting in 1881, California Adventists had decided to begin a school to meet needs in their home area. W. C. White, a leading proponent of this move, was dispatched east to get Sidney Brownsberger to come and head the new enterprise. Within a few weeks a satisfactory building on an admittedly unsatisfactorily small piece of land was discovered at Healdsburg, California, sixty-five miles north of San Francisco. There, on April 11, 1882, with only his wife to help him, Brownsberger began instructing thirty-three students, of all ages and degrees of preparation, in Healdsburg Academy. Twelve weeks later, in response to pressure from local residents, it was officially decided to change the school's name to Healdsburg College.

Brownsberger had learned from his Battle Creek experience. He was determined to develop a program which combined the religious, vocational, and physical aspects of learning with the mental. Soon he was ably assisted by W. C. Grainger, who joined his faculty in time for the fall term. When Brownsberger left Healdsburg in 1886, Grainger continued the development of school industries and dormitory facilities. Again learning from Battle Creek's mistakes, the college guarded students against the

unsettling influences of fixing their own meals and adjusting to varying patterns of home discipline. Grainger became not only president, but “dean, business manager, dormitory dean, teacher, counselor, secretary, bookkeeper, and father” as well.²⁷

South Lancaster Academy

On the opposite coast another school was developing under the encouragement of Elder S. N. Haskell. Battle Creek’s troubles provided this infant school with a head: Goodloe Harper Bell. Haskell wanted this new school primarily to prepare workers to spread the Adventist gospel. He was not worried about what it should be called. At first it was simply known as “that New England School.” Eventually it was named South Lancaster Academy after the little New England town where it was located, a town already something of an eastern nucleus for Adventism.

Bell, too, was determined to profit by his observations at Battle Creek and by Ellen White’s counsels. Teaching at this school was to be very practical. Students were to have their interests broadened and be trained to think rather than to rely on rote memory. Bell wanted them to learn to care for their bodies and to understand the value and dignity of labor. Within two years he had instituted training in tent-making, harness-making, broom-making, shoe repair, and printing. But above all, attention was to be given to Bible study. “This book,” Bell wrote, “which is worth more than all others combined, deserves more than an hour’s study in a week.”

The eight students with which South Lancaster Academy opened, April 19, 1882, had trebled by the end of the term. Although it failed to develop in both numbers and scholastic level as rapidly as did Battle Creek and Healdsburg, the New England school persisted. It demonstrated that Ellen White’s counsels, when adopted by imaginative leaders, were sound, especially if people were not too worried about college “status.”

The birth of Healdsburg (later Pacific Union College) and South Lancaster Academy (eventually Atlantic Union College) demonstrated that from the crisis which had threatened to destroy Seventh-day Adventist higher education would grow a more diverse, imaginative and useful system. It also showed that Seventh-day Adventists were no longer a small group, confined largely to New England, New York, and the old Northwest. They had spread from shore to shore, leaped the Atlantic, and would soon do the same to the Pacific. The church was on the move.

Suggested Reading:

The most ambitious and complete story of Adventist educational endeavors is found in E. M. Cadwallader’s *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*, 3d ed. (1968). Unfortunately, this was published only in a limited mimeographed edition. The first 100 pages cover the events of

this chapter. A briefer account is that of E. C. Walter in his doctoral dissertation "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Higher Education in the United States" (University of California, 1966), pp. 11-62. The excitement and frustrations of the first attempt at college building and the setting in which it took place are skillfully recaptured by E. K. Vande Vere's *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 11-47.

On the founding of South Lancaster Academy see R. E. Purdon, *That New England School* (1956), pp. 11-40; on Healdsburg College see W. C. Utt, *A Mountain, A Pickax, A College* (1968), pp. 11-41.

The second volume of A. W. Spalding's *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962) has three relevant chapters: 3, 5, 6. For an older account, see M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapter 16.

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1. C. A. Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870* (1926), *passim*.
 2. E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, III: 159.
 3. W. J. Brown, comp., *Chronology of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1972), p. 7; E. M. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1958), pp. 5, 6.
 4. E. G. White, *Review and Herald*, September 19, 1854, p. 19; J. White, *Review*, August 20, 1857, pp. 125, 126; August 27, 1857, pp. 133, 134; September 3, 1857, p. 141.
 5. E. K. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 15, 16; Cadwallader, pp. 6-8.
 6. Vande Vere, p. 12.
 7. G. W. Amadon, "Sabbath Schools, A Request," *Review*, February 16, 1860, pp. 101, 102; D. M. Canright, "Sabbath Schools," *Review*, December 25, 1866, p. 29; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1256, 1257.
 8. Cadwallader, pp. 17, 18.
 9. Cadwallader, p. 22.
 10. Vande Vere, pp. 16, 17; E. C. Walter, "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Higher Education in the United States," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California (1966), p. 33; J. White, *Review*, January 12, 1969, p. 24.
 11. E. G. White, *Special Testimony for the Battle Creek Church* (1869).
 12. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1256; A. W. Spalding, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: 67-69.
 13. J. White, *Review*, April 12, 1870, pp. 132, 134; Cadwallader, p. 29.
 14. J. White, *Review*, March 28, 1871, p. 120.
 15. E. G. White, *Testimonies*, III: 160; Cadwallader, p. 30.
 16. E. G. White, *Testimonies*, III: 131-160.
 17. Cadwallader, pp. 24-27.
 18. G. I. Butler, "Our School at Battle Creek," *Review*, June 4, 1872, pp. 196, 197.
 19. A. Smith, "Our School," *Review*, June 25, 1872, p. 10; G. I. Butler, "Difficulties Considered," *Review*, July 30, 1872, pp. 52, 53; J. White, "Statements and Suggestions," *Review*, July 23, 1872, pp. 44, 45; J. White, "Denominational School," *Review*, August 6, 1872, pp. 60, 61.
 20. Cadwallader, pp. 30-33; *Review*, March 20, 1873, pp. 180, 181.
 21. Cadwallader, pp. 32, 33; 35, 36; Vande Vere, pp. 20-22.
 22. Cadwallader, pp. 33-35; Vande Vere, pp. 18, 19.
 23. Vande Vere, pp. 22-26; Cadwallader, pp. 36-38.
 24. The preceding paragraphs on Battle Creek College are based on Vande Vere, pp. 27-41, and Cadwallader, pp. 39-50. Vande Vere provides a wealth of human interest material relative to rules, finances, and school activities which modern college students might profitably compare with the student life that they know today.
 25. Vande Vere, pp. 40, 41; Walter, pp. 45, 46.
 26. Vande Vere, pp. 42-47; Walter, pp. 46-48; G. I. Butler, "Unpleasant Themes: The Closing of Our College," *Review*, September 12, 1882, pp. 586, 587.
 27. Walter, pp. 50-56; Cadwallader, pp. 71-91.
 28. Walter, p. 62, Cadwallader, pp. 55, 56; G. H. Bell, *Review*, March 7, 1882, p. 159.

CHAPTER 9

Worldwide Outreach, 1868-1885

Throughout the bitter Civil War years most Americans were so preoccupied with military and political matters that Adventist evangelists found it difficult to gain a hearing. In the preceding decade sabbatarian Adventists had made their greatest gains in western New York and the states of the old Northwest Territory. Even here they remained numerically insignificant. The first reliable statistics, dating from 1867, indicate only 4320 Seventh-day Adventists nationwide.¹

Yet these statistics are significant, for they include members from two states west of the Mississippi: Minnesota and Iowa. Adventism was continuing its westward march. In 1856 Washington Morse, a Millerite preacher from Vermont, resettled his family in Deerfield, Minnesota. In 1862 a frontier Indian war brought scores of refugees to seek shelter in the Deerfield area. Morse shared his religious views with many “and some became so interested that we made appointments to come and hold meetings in their houses, and in the coming winter we walked long distances to fill such appointments with marked success. Thus it was that even through the great trouble with the savages the seeds of present truth were sown.”²

Snook and Brinkerhoff

The first active evangelistic endeavors in Iowa began in the 1850s. Lectures by Moses Hull, M. E. Cornell, and J. H. Waggoner resulted in the formation of a number of Adventist bands across the state. In 1863 these organized into a state conference under the leadership of two relatively new Seventh-day Adventists—B. F. Snook, a former Methodist minister, and W. H. Brinkerhoff, a former lawyer and teacher. Soon be-

coming critical of the leadership of James and Ellen White, this pair spread their disaffection throughout the state. A surface reconciliation in 1865 quickly turned sour. The dissidents, particularly strong in the Marion congregation, eventually formed the Church of God (Adventist). In a short time Snook and Brinkerhoff abandoned the Marion party, whose leadership then passed to H. E. Carver.³

George I. Butler

Troublesome as it was, the Marion rebellion helped to propel a bright new star into the firmament of Adventist leaders. The 1865 Iowa conference session elected a sturdy Vermont farmer, then serving as local elder of the Waukon church, as conference president. During the next few months George I. Butler drove his team from church to church thoroughly instructing the members in orthodox Seventh-day Adventism. Order was restored. Growth followed. Butler's administrative abilities soon moved him into the top echelon of Seventh-day Adventist leaders. Along with the Whites, S. N. Haskell, J. N. Loughborough, J. N. Andrews, and J. H. Waggoner, Butler played a dominant role in the expansion of Adventism.⁴

It was George Butler, just finishing his first period of service as General Conference president, who revealed part of the secret of Adventism's rapid expansion. A minister's duty, Butler maintained, was to evangelize new fields. He could not be bogged down in pastoring local churches. These must learn to care for themselves and at the same time serve as a hothouse for an ever-increasing supply of new workers.⁵

Evangelistic Advance

And Adventist ministers did evangelize—far and wide. In several instances husbands and wives formed successful teams. Notable examples were John and Sarah A. H. Lindsey and Elbert and Ellen Lane. The Lindseys' activities were largely confined to western New York and Pennsylvania; the Lanes worked in Ohio, Indiana, Virginia, and Tennessee. During a series at Pleasant Valley, New York, Sarah Lindsey spoke twenty-three times on the second advent. Ellen Lane not only had "excellent success" in house-to-house visitation, but she was a powerful preacher as well. One Sabbath morning in Virginia, Elder Lane attracted only thirty-five listeners; the next day 650 turned out to hear Ellen preach.⁶

Another Ellen, remembering that the first preacher to tell of a risen Christ was a woman, expressed the view that "the refining, softening influence of Christian women is needed in the great work of preaching the truth." "Zealous and continued diligence in our sisters," Ellen White continued, "... would astonish us with its results." J. N. Andrews agreed that women had a definite role to fill in spreading the gospel message. But what kind of role? An enthusiastic delegate to the 1881 General Conference saw qualified women as a logical resource to employ in meeting the

ever-increasing need for workers. He offered a resolution, "That females possessing the necessary qualification . . . may with perfect propriety, be set aside by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry." Referred to the General Conference committee, the resolution was not heard of again.⁷

The fifty evangelistic tents in the field during the summer of 1876 were presided over by men, as they would continue to be in the future. During the 1870s Seventh-day Adventist membership nearly tripled. Thanks to increasing acceptance of responsibility for gospel finance—first of systematic benevolence and later its refinement as seen in the tithing system—funds became available for evangelism. Sometimes preachers, especially in frontier areas, found it necessary to help finance their work by means other than preaching. Sales of books and pamphlets was a standard way. Probably few evangelists were able, like Elder Lane, to install a camera in the big tent and turn it by day into a photographic studio.⁸

The Far West

Many times interest in Seventh-day Adventist doctrines was sparked when a dedicated layman moved into a new area and fearlessly talked and lived his beliefs. Such was the case in 1859 when M. G. Kellogg and his family arrived in San Francisco from Battle Creek after an arduous six-month trip by railroad, wagon, and oxcart. As Kellogg earned a living through carpentry, he came in contact with B. G. St. John, a lumber tallyman at the wharves. St. John had been a Millerite in 1843. Intrigued by Kellogg's Saturday Sabbath, he proved willing to listen to an explanation of the "third angel's message." Soon there were two families of Sabbath keepers in San Francisco.

Encouraged by St. John's action, Kellogg began public lectures. When fourteen individuals accepted Adventist doctrines, he organized a Sabbath School in his home. Several years later an Adventist cobbler, J. W. Cronkrite, arrived in San Francisco. He hung a prophetic chart and placard of the Ten Commandments on his shop wall. When customers made inquiries about the strange beasts, Cronkrite gave them a study on the prophecies. So much interest was aroused that in the fall of 1865 the little Adventist company decided to send \$133 in gold to Battle Creek to pay the travel expenses of a minister to labor in California. Alas, the General Conference had no one to send.⁹

Isolated Adventists found the *Review and Herald* a precious link to fellow believers. In the 1860s the *Review* also carried several articles by Ellen White on healthful living. These gripped Merritt Kellogg's interest. He decided to attend Dr. R. T. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College in New Jersey and learn to be a reform physician. While visiting Battle Creek, Kellogg attended the 1868 General Conference and entered a strong personal plea that a minister be dispatched to California.

At first it seemed his plea would again go unheeded. Then when only two workers remained to be assigned, one of them, J. N. Loughborough, arose. He spoke of recent dreams which had left him with a strong impression that he should hold tent meetings in California. "Should Elder Loughborough go alone?" James White queried. After all, Christ had sent his disciples out two by two. That seemed a good plan to follow for so distant a field. D. T. Bourdeau thought so too; he would gladly accompany Loughborough.

Immediately White set about raising \$1000 to purchase a new tent for California and to finance passage for the Loughboroughs and Bourdeaus by way of Panama. No time was wasted. Less than a month after making their decision, these "missionaries" boarded a ship in New York City. Twenty-four days later they were in San Francisco. Here they were warmly welcomed by the St. Johns and other members of the Adventist company.¹⁰

James White's call for funds for the California tent had unexpected results. A New York newspaper picked up the story from the *Review* and reprinted it. A copy of this paper found its way into the hands of one of a congregation of Independent Christians in Petaluma, California. This devout little band began to pray that if the ministers coming with the tent were God's servants, they would have a safe journey.

Some time later one of the leaders of the Petaluma group had an impressive dream in which he saw the two tent evangelists and was told to help them. The Independents sent one of their number the forty miles to San Francisco to try to locate the tent company. Within a half hour after his arrival in the city, he was inviting Loughborough and Bourdeau to Petaluma. Difficulties in locating a place to pitch their tent in San Francisco predisposed them to accept his offer.

A recent smallpox epidemic limited attendance at the first, but soon the tent's sides had to be rolled up to accommodate the crowds. Californians proved more generous than the New Englanders with whom Bourdeau and Loughborough were familiar. At this time the smallest coin circulating in the state was a ten-cent piece. Since most of their tracts normally sold for one or two cents, the evangelists expected to give them away. To their surprise they were frequently handed a dollar or fifty cents, with the injunction, "Give away that many tracts for me." A mystified James White could not understand what was happening as he shipped four successive orders of books to California. "You are selling more books than all the tent companies east of the Rocky Mountains," he wrote.¹¹

After several weeks of meetings opposition to the Adventists developed among Petaluma's ministers. Leaders of the Independents, who had done so much to smooth their way originally, turned against them. Still, at the end of the series, a band of twenty was gathered out. And so it went in other villages throughout the Sonoma Valley, even though the local clergy persisted in labeling Bourdeau and Loughborough as Mormons.

During one of these series Adventist literature roused the interest of a transient woodchopper. Abram La Rue attended the meetings and decided to become a Seventh-day Adventist. Burning with the desire to share his new faith, he requested the General Conference to send him to China as a missionary. Not discouraged when he was refused because of age, La Rue eventually took a short course in Healdsburg College then worked his way to Hawaii. Here he supported himself by selling Adventist literature in Honolulu and on the ships that came into Pearl Harbor. In 1888 he proceeded to Hong Kong, where he established a seaman's mission and repeated his Hawaiian colporteur experience. He also visited other parts of the Far East scattering books and tracts as he went. It was La Rue who arranged for the first Adventist tracts to be published in Chinese.¹²

William Hunt

Sometimes the scorn and ridicule voiced by other Christians against the Advent preachers backfired. During the summer of 1869 the *California Christian Advocate* published an article deriding the tent preachers as ex-Millerites selling books on Daniel and Revelation. The *Advocate* predicted that their work would fail as surely as the predictions of William Miller had failed.

Several weeks later the driver of the mail stage brought Loughborough a letter addressed simply "To the Elders at the Tent in Healdsburg, California." It was written by William Hunt, a miner in Gold Hill, Nevada. Hunt had read the article in the *California Christian Advocate* and wanted whatever book the preachers had on Revelation. He indicated that he had been sending all over for such a book for twenty years but had not succeeded in getting one.

Loughborough packaged up a copy of Uriah Smith's *Thoughts on Revelation* along with some tracts and sent them to Hunt. Thus began a correspondence which saw Hunt become a subscriber to the *Review and Herald* and the owner of nearly everything Adventists published. More than a year later William Hunt appeared at Loughborough's meetings in Bloomfield. He was on his way to New Zealand and eventually to the South African diamond fields. Before he left, he wanted to buy Loughborough's prophetic and Law-of-God charts. He promised with the Lord's help to be faithful. And so he was. We will hear of him again in South Africa.¹³

Evangelism in California

In the spring of 1870 the Bourdeaus returned east to work for the French-speaking people of New England and Canada. Soon Loughborough was joined by M. E. Cornell, and the evangelistic thrust continued. In 1871 meetings were held in San Francisco. The previous year a prominent Advent Christian evangelist, Miles Grant, had stirred up considerable

interest in the prophecies. Loughborough carried many of this group into a full acceptance of the Sabbath and of the heavenly sanctuary doctrines. Then the evangelists moved into Yolo County and the beautiful Napa Valley.¹⁴

James and Ellen White arrived in California for their first visit in the fall of 1872. Poor health had recently forced Elder White to relinquish the presidency of the General Conference. Thinking that the mild California climate might help him recover more rapidly, the Whites decided to accept the California Adventists' invitation to live and labor among them for a time.

It was a visit with far-reaching consequences. The Whites were impressed with the friendliness and generosity of the people. James White's entrepreneurial spirit was stimulated. Why not a Seventh-day Adventist press in the West? During summer and fall of 1873 the Whites recuperated in the bracing air of Colorado's mountains. They thought, talked, and prayed much concerning the advisability of starting an evangelistic paper somewhere along the Pacific Coast. The next spring, back in California, as they were on the San Francisco Bay ferry, Ellen turned to James and said, "Somewhere in Oakland is the place to locate the paper."¹⁵

With the Whites' encouragement, Cornell and a recuperating D. M. Canright decided to hold tent meetings in Oakland. The time seemed propitious. Mysterious ghosts had recently been reported in one of the city's prominent mansions. Newspapers were filled with speculation as to the cause. The evangelists saw a golden opportunity. "Haunted Houses, the Mystery Solved! Or the Devil Unmasked!" screamed their newspaper advertisements. From the start the tent was filled.

At this same time the temperance forces in Oakland were engaged in a vigorous campaign to persuade the citizens to ban the sale of liquor. Cornell and Canright won many influential friends by placing their tent at the disposal of the temperance cause. When success crowned the effort to ban "Demon Rum," much credit was given to the Adventists. Their help was solicited in a similar campaign in San Jose, thus providing an opening for an evangelistic campaign in that city.

Founding of Pacific Press

While Cornell and Canright preached in Oakland, James White planned the birth of a new religious journal. On June 4, 1874, it made its debut. As editor and publisher, James White intended *The Signs of the Times* to be a periodical with special appeal to Westerners. It was, he reported, "designed to be not only an expositor of the prophecies, a reporter of the signs of the times, but also a family, religious, and general newspaper for the household." Elder White's publishing experiences stood him in good stead. Within a year he had purchased type and organized the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association.

After a quarter of a century Adventist publishing activities were no longer to be confined in one "office." The principle was established that, if Adventism were to build solidly for expansion in a new area, it must have a local press to support it. Soon this idea was expanded to include the health and educational activities of the church as well. On June 7, 1878, the Rural Health Retreat opened in St. Helena, and California had its first sanitarium. Four years later, with the establishment of Healdsburg College, provision was made to meet western Adventists' educational needs as well.¹⁶

The Northwest

Even before the discovery of gold in California, word of the fertile river valleys of the Pacific Northwest had lured midwestern farmers to follow the Oregon Trail to the Walla Walla and Willamette valleys. A handful of persons interested in Adventism were among those who followed in the 1850s and 1860s. In the Walla Walla valley an Adventist sister, Augusta Morehouse, on several occasions shared her Sabbath convictions with neighbor Franklin Wood. Partially convicted, but unwilling to follow his convictions, Wood moved his family south to California's Sonoma Valley to avoid further discussion of the matter. He arrived shortly before Loughborough and Bourdeau began their second tent effort in the area. Wood attended, accepted the full Seventh-day Adventist teachings, and immediately began to send literature to his wife's father back in Walla Walla. This was not enough. After only nine months in California the Woods were back in Walla Walla to share their new faith with family and friends.

Teaching school for a living, Wood gradually won a few converts, and a small Adventist company was established. Repeatedly they requested the California Adventists and the General Conference to send a regular minister to aid them. It was five years before their request could be met. In the spring of 1874 Isaac and Adelia Van Horn arrived with a tent and began evangelistic services in Walla Walla. They were a talented couple. Adelia had served Ellen White as a literary assistant and for several years had edited *The Youth's Instructor*. Isaac, a convert of Joseph Bates, had been the second treasurer of the General Conference and an active evangelist in Minnesota.¹⁷

One of the converts from Van Horn's first series of lectures in Walla Walla, Sergeant Alonzo Trevier Jones, then stationed at Fort Walla Walla, was to loom large in later Adventist history. A voracious reader, Jones devoured all the Adventist books Van Horn could lend him. That summer (1874) he was baptized, exclaiming dramatically as he emerged from the water "Dead to the world, and alive to thee, O my God!" Upon receiving his army discharge, Jones married Adelia Van Horn's sister and for nearly a decade preached throughout Oregon and Washington. In 1884 he joined the Pacific Publishing Association in Oakland. Here he came in close

contact with Ellet J. Waggoner, son of J. H. Waggoner, editor of *The Signs of the Times*. The names of Jones and Waggoner were to be linked with some of the most stirring theological discussions the Adventist Church was ever to hear.¹⁸

Laymen established the first Adventist companies in California and Washington; the same was true back on the Great Plains. At the end of the Civil War an Iowa Adventist, Solomon Myers, settled in Decatur, Nebraska. Here he opened a general store and began making friends. Soon he was giving Adventist lectures in a nearby schoolhouse. With no ministerial help he built up a company of two dozen Sabbath keepers.¹⁹

Home-Foreign Endeavor

Much of the early evangelistic endeavor in Iowa, Minnesota, and the Great Plains states was aimed at Scandinavian and German immigrants. No one showed more interest in this direction than did John G. Matteson. From the time of his conversion to Adventism in Wisconsin in 1863, Matteson burned with the urge to present his newfound hope to fellow Danes, and Norwegians and Swedes as well. Matteson was a versatile man, equally at home preaching to Kansas farmers or Chicago tradesmen. But preaching was not enough. Between lectures Matteson translated literature into the Danish-Norwegian language; he wrote tracts and pressed his English-speaking brethren until they let him start (1872) to edit *Advent Tidende*, a monthly Danish-Norwegian religious journal and the first regular Seventh-day Adventist foreign-language periodical.²⁰

What Matteson was to early Seventh-day Adventist work among Scandinavian-Americans, Louis R. Conradi was to the German-Americans. Young Conradi had immigrated to America to seek his fortune following his father's death. After brief stops in several of the largest cities, he secured a contract to clear land for an Iowa farmer. While engaged in this work, he boarded with a neighboring Adventist family. Conradi was impressed with their sincere religious faith. The simple prayers offered for him by the children especially moved him. Soon he was attending Sabbath services. Uriah Smith's *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* helped to establish the young German's faith. With great self-sacrifice and a bit of backing from his Iowa friends, he went off to complete the literary course at Battle Creek College.

After a short period of working at the *Review and Herald*, Conradi was back in Iowa. In 1881 he answered a call to work among the German-Russian Mennonites in Dakota territory. From there it was on to campaigns along the Nebraska and Kansas frontiers and back among the old German communities in Pennsylvania.²¹

For the first quarter of a century following the Great Disappointment Seventh-day Adventists had only a limited concept of proclaiming their message to the entire world. It was such a huge task. Time was so short. The missionary endeavors of much larger and better-financed churches

had proven woefully disappointing. And so they rationalized that their distinctive truths need be presented to all the world only through token contacts with all the races and languages of mankind. Could not this be done right in America, where God in His providence had collected persons of all religions and nationalities? With this in mind James White was willing, yes anxious, to publish tracts in French, German, and Dutch; to start monthly journals in Danish and Swedish; to see Adventism preached to American Indians, former African slaves, and the occasional Hindu or Chinese.

Some Adventists were vaguely uneasy over Ellen White's descriptions of certain early visions. These seemed to indicate that believers in the three angels' messages would be found in all parts of the world at Christ's coming. But was this *really* necessary? Was it possible with their small numbers, limited resources, and the shortness of the time?²²

Yet Adventists were early aware that the printed page could go with ease where human messengers could not. It was only natural that those who received "present truth" with joy should want to share it with friends and relatives in their former homelands. By 1861 the *Review* was receiving messages from England and Ireland telling of decisions to keep the Sabbath and an eager awaiting of the Lord's soon return—all because of literature mailed from America.²³

To Europe

By 1862, in spite of the pressures of Civil War, James White began to point out the need to send an Adventist preacher to Europe. Perhaps B. F. Snook should be the one.²⁴ When one considers how soon Elder Snook was to be in opposition to the church leadership, it seems indeed fortunate that he was not sent out as the first overseas missionary.

As it turned out, the first Seventh-day Adventist minister to go abroad with the idea of carrying on active evangelism was not sent by the church or with its blessing. Yet his preaching resulted in the first Seventh-day Adventist congregations in Europe and through them convinced the General Conference to send out its first overseas worker a decade later. This unofficial agent was M. B. Czechowski, the former Polish priest who had become a Seventh-day Adventist in 1857.

After several years of preaching Czechowski developed a strong desire to carry the Adventist message to Europe. He was particularly drawn to the descendants of the Waldensians, who still lived in the Alpine valleys of northwest Italy. In 1864 Czechowski asked J. N. Loughborough, then conducting a series of meetings in New York City, to intercede with the General Conference to send him as a missionary to Italy. But church leaders did not see their way clear to honor Czechowski's request. They questioned his financial judgment, his willingness to take counsel, the thoroughness of his devotion to "the Third Angel's Message," and his volatile temperament.²⁵

Unwilling to see his desired mission thwarted, Czechowski went to Boston, where he had recently published a moving account of his years as a priest and his conversion to Protestantism. There he persuaded Advent Christian leaders to sponsor his mission to Italy. Thus in 1864, accompanied by his wife and Annie E. Butler (an Adventist Christian sister of G. I. Butler), Czechowski sailed for Europe.

Czechowski spent over a year preaching in the Piedmont valleys before opposition from both Catholic and Protestant clergy caused him to relocate in Switzerland. Focusing on the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation, he taught the seventh-day Sabbath as well as the imminent return of Jesus. Czechowski promoted his religious views through publishing a paper, *L'Évangile Éternel*. He also prepared tracts and a prophetic chart in both French and German.²⁶

In the course of his travels and lectures he found a receptive audience in the Swiss village of Tramelan. There he organized a church of nearly sixty members. Czechowski did not reveal to these believers, however, the existence of either the Advent Christians who had sponsored his mission to Europe or of the Seventh-day Adventists, whose doctrines he was teaching. When asked where he had secured his beliefs, he would simply reply, "From the Bible." As far as his converts were concerned, they were the only persons in the world who understood the Scriptures as they did.

A fire which damaged his partially completed home and printing office brought Czechowski's weakness in financial matters to view. Soon it became evident that he was in real difficulty. It was at this time that one of the Tramelan believers, Albert Vuilleumier, discovered a recent copy of the *Review and Herald* in a room which Czechowski had occupied during a visit. He understood enough English to realize that a religious organization existed in America holding the same views Czechowski was teaching.

A correspondence which Vuilleumier initiated with editors of the *Review* eventually led Seventh-day Adventist leaders to invite a Swiss representative to attend the 1869 General Conference in Battle Creek. The Swiss sent James Erzberger, a young theological student, who arrived too late for the General Conference session but remained in the United States to become fully grounded in Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. When he returned to Switzerland, he went as an officially ordained Seventh-day Adventist minister.²⁷

Czechowski became quite disturbed when he learned of the contacts between Tramelan and Battle Creek. The convergence of this event with an intensification of financial and personal problems led him to leave Switzerland abruptly. After sojourns in Germany and Hungary he eventually settled in Romania. Here he labored alone for several years, hampered by his lack of knowledge of the language. In spite of this he was able to win about a dozen converts in Pitesti. One of these later made contact with Seventh-day Adventists through reading the French-language journal J. N. Andrews established in Switzerland in 1876.

Worn out by his travels and troubles, Czechowski died in a Vienna hospital on February 25, 1876. His stubborn persistence had resulted in the introduction of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs into Italy, Switzerland, and Romania years before his more cautious brethren were ready to send a living herald of the third angel's message to Europe. Just how much Czechowski contributed to the success of its acceptance there is not clear. Writing a year after his own arrival in Europe, J. N. Andrews could see mainly the "pain and sadness" which the former priest's conduct had brought to "the people of God." In Andrews's eyes the good accomplished by Czechowski "was largely due to the wise counsel and valuable assistance of Sister A. E. Butler, at that time a member of his family. . . . Her services as a translator and general assistant were such that he could not have done without them. Indeed, when her labor ceased and other helpers took her place the work of Eld. C. soon ended in sorrow to the people of God." Yet whatever the weakness of the human instruments involved, Seventh-day Adventism had crossed the Atlantic and had made the first step toward becoming an international rather than just an American church.²⁸

Although Erzberger did not attend the 1869 General Conference, the subject of sending missionaries to other lands was considered by the delegates. One result was the formation of a Seventh-day Adventist missionary society under the presidency of James White. Its goal was to promote "the third angel's message by means of missionaries, papers, books, tracts, etc." All Seventh-day Adventists were invited to join the society by paying a five-dollar membership fee. Elder White called for additional donations "all the way from ten cents to one hundred dollars" so that the society might meet the "almost daily" applications General Conference headquarters was receiving to send publications to other lands.²⁹

In subsequent months reports of Erzberger's activities in Switzerland began appearing in the *Review*. There were also frequent calls from the Swiss for an experienced worker. They also sent Adhémar Vuilleumier to Battle Creek for study, and perhaps to serve as a perpetual reminder of their needs.

Late in 1871 Ellen White received a vision indicating a need for more dedication in presenting Adventism to others. As a result she called for young men to learn other languages "that God may use them as mediums to communicate His saving truth to those of other nations." Foreign language publications were needed in more abundance, Mrs. White wrote. But that was not enough; men and women must be sent abroad to bear a personal witness.³⁰

J. N. Andrews, First Official Overseas Missionary

Two years later James White began promoting broader plans for spreading Adventism. Illness had kept White from exercising active leadership

in the General Conference for several years; but as his health returned, so did his concepts of what needed to be, and could be, done. He suggested that Elder Andrews should be sent to help the European brethren. This could be done by taking advantage of the nearly \$2000 available in the General Conference's European Mission Fund.

White also called for a much larger work in the big cities of America. Tent meetings should be held in places like New York, Chicago, and Boston with "tons of our publications" being distributed. Why not start a daily paper in each city to advertise the meetings much as Himes had done during the Millerite movement? Perhaps it might be wise to establish new denominational presses on the East and West coasts. "We have altogether too long made child's play of the message which God has committed to us to give to the people," White maintained.³¹

Others were beginning to catch the wider vision. George Butler could look forward to the day when "scores and hundreds of missionaries will go from this land to other lands," many of them having been educated at Battle Creek College. In the summer of 1874, a year after James White had initially proposed it, the General Conference voted that J. N. Andrews should go to Europe "as soon as practicable." Elder White was already looking farther ahead and asking "who will go to England? Do we have a better man than Loughborough?"³²

Just a month after the official action to send him to Europe, Elder Andrews, accompanied by his motherless son and daughter and Adhémar Vuilleumier, sailed from Boston. Andrews's scholarly and linguistic abilities, his long experience in the cause, his service as a *Review* editor, and his years from 1867-69 as General Conference president gave credence to Ellen White's statement that the American Adventists were sending their European brethren "the ablest man in our ranks." After a brief stop in England and Scotland to visit Seventh Day Baptist brethren, Andrews's party arrived in Switzerland to be greeted with rejoicing by the Swiss believers.³³

Elder Andrews immediately set about learning French, at the same time visiting the little companies Czechowski had established. He also inserted advertisements in several of the newspapers having the widest circulation in Central Europe. In these he invited correspondence from those who were either keeping the Bible Sabbath or were interested in investigating the obligation to do so.

Early in 1875 the Swiss believers learned through an itinerant beggar of a Sabbath-keeping company in southern Germany. They dispatched Andrews and Erzberger to visit this company led by J. H. Lindermann. Through Bible study Lindermann had come to interpretations of the Sabbath, baptism, and the second coming that closely paralleled Seventh-day Adventist views. His disagreement over the millennium kept him from becoming a Seventh-day Adventist, but some of his congregation formed the nucleus of German Adventism. While Andrews soon



J. G. Matteson



G. I. Butler

returned to Switzerland, Erzberger stayed on in Germany until the summer of 1878. During this time he visited and lectured from the Rhine to East Prussia.³⁴

Back in Switzerland, Elder Andrews continued his language study while engaging in correspondence with those who answered his newspaper advertisements. He also began planning a French-language evangelistic journal. Then early in 1876 D. T. Bourdeau arrived in Switzerland to help Andrews. That summer they issued the first number of *Les Signes des Temps*. This journal was circulated extensively, not only in Switzerland, but also in France and Italy. In October the Bourdeaus settled in southern France to engage in evangelistic endeavors. Although unable to secure public halls for meetings, and hampered by French laws restricting gatherings in private homes or the distribution of religious literature which had not been approved by a Catholic bishop, Bourdeau nevertheless won a few converts before returning to Switzerland and eventually to America.³⁵

Meanwhile, Andrews had begun correspondence with Herbert Ribton, an Irish physician who had settled in Naples, Italy. Ribton had become convinced of the Sabbath through reading an English Seventh Day Bap-

tist periodical. These same English Seventh Day Baptists directed Ribton to Andrews as one closer at hand who could give him further instruction. In 1877 Andrews visited Italy and baptized Ribton, his wife, and his daughter. Dr. Ribton was anxious to promote his new beliefs and, in spite of opposition, he was able to recruit a small company in Naples.

The Neapolitan Adventists in turn kindled the first Seventh-day Adventist light in Moslem lands. They began to send *Les Signes des Temps* to friends in the Italian colony in Alexandria, Egypt. To follow up the interest that had been aroused, Ribton moved to Alexandria in 1879. He began work among the many sailors in this busiest of Mediterranean ports, opened a small school, tried house-to-house visitation, and had several tracts translated into Arabic. Tragically, during the Anti-European riots fostered by Arabi Pasha in 1882, Ribton and several of his Italian converts were assassinated. This deprived Adventism of its most enthusiastic and talented proponent in Egypt.³⁶

Elder Andrews's failing health made it essential that he be reinforced by experienced workers from America. The B. L. Whitneys were dispatched to help with the publishing work; while D. T. Bourdeau, accompanied by his brother, returned to work in Italy and France. Andrews continued his editorial work from his sick bed until a few days before his death in 1883. He laid good foundations for the publishing work; in the year following his death a monthly German evangelistic paper and quarterly journals in the Italian and Romanian languages were begun.³⁷

J. G. Matteson

While Andrews and his associates were busy in central and southern Europe, J. G. Matteson was energetically lighting Adventist fires throughout Scandinavia. In response to requests from readers of the *Advent Tidende*, which had been mailed to Denmark and Norway by Matteson's American converts, the General Conference in 1877 approved sending Matteson to Denmark. Although hampered by legal restrictions, opposition from the state church, and a disinclination on the part of the majority of Danes to be much interested in religion, Matteson was soon selling and giving away tracts and holding meetings in barns and private homes.

After a year in Denmark Matteson went to Norway, where he found substantially more interest in both religion and temperance. Capitalizing on this, he launched public meetings in Christiania (Oslo), first in a theater, later in a gymnasium. Often audiences of more than a thousand turned out to hear him. Liberal offerings covered all Matteson's expenses for advertising and rent.

In his eagerness to print Adventist literature in Danish Elder Matteson had taught himself to set type. This experience now stood him in good stead, for in 1879 he organized a publishing house in Christiania and began to publish the monthly *Tidernes Tegn* (*Signs of the Times*). Among

Matteson's converts in Norway were two Swedes, Jonas Rosquist, a cobbler, and Olaf Johnson, a farmer. Matteson urged them to return to Sweden and begin to preach. This they did, and Matteson followed. The work in Sweden progressed slowly, in part because of the opposition of the state church and in part because of the hard times which made it difficult to find employment which did not involve work on Sabbath. By 1884, however, interest had become great enough to warrant the publication of a semimonthly magazine in Swedish.³⁸

Work in England

Although Andrews had visited England on his way to Switzerland in 1874, it was four years later before permanent work was begun there by William Ings, an Englishman who had grown up in America. Ings, a long-time employee in the *Review* office, was sent to Europe to aid in setting up the Swiss publishing house. On a two-week holiday to his native land he distributed literature and succeeded in winning several to the Adventist faith. When Andrews heard this, he arranged for Ings to return to England as a regular worker. Soon he was joined by the J. N. Loughboroughs.

Loughborough attempted tent evangelism in England. Hundreds came to hear, but few were willing to abandon their traditional churches for an upstart American denomination. By the 1880s, however, the pattern of establishing a local publishing house and printing an evangelistic paper had been set. *Present Truth* was inaugurated in 1884, and M. C. Wilcox came from America to edit it.³⁹

Hannah More

Their tardiness in accepting the idea of a worldwide ministry led Seventh-day Adventists to miss an opportunity to develop mission work in Africa a decade before Andrews went to Europe. While Miss Hannah More—a missionary serving for another denomination in West Africa—was home in Massachusetts on furlough, she was exposed to Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, which she accepted. Yet she returned to Africa as superintendent of an orphanage operated by an English missionary society. Miss More's acceptance of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines led to her eventual discharge, whereupon she journeyed to Battle Creek seeking employment. With Ellen and James White absent due to James's poor health, there were none to recognize the opportunity for utilizing an experienced missionary. Miss More was forced to accept employment in the home of a former colleague, then residing in northern Michigan. She died a few months later.

While still in Africa Miss More had shared her new belief with a fellow missionary, a native of Australia, Alexander Dickson. Mr. Dickson returned to Australia and was the first to preach Seventh-day Adventist doctrines there. Although he stirred up considerable interest, he failed to

establish permanent contact with Adventist headquarters, became discouraged, and eventually renounced the Sabbath.⁴⁰

Australia

The Whites had begun to express an interest in Australia as early as 1874. Even before Andrews left for Europe, James White had written that "a mission must very soon be opened in Australia." About this time Ellen had a vision in which she saw printing presses in many countries turning out Adventist literature. When her husband asked if she could remember the countries involved, Australia was the only one she could recall.

Yet it was ten years before the General Conference officially voted to send S. N. Haskell, J. O. Corliss, and a party of helpers to establish a mission "down under." They arrived at the start of the Australian winter, in June 1885. Much interest was awakened by William Arnold, an experienced colporteur, who immediately began to sell books, tracts, and magazine subscriptions. True to the pattern developed elsewhere, Haskell's party began tent meetings in the Melbourne area. Seven months after their arrival they also launched a sixteen-page monthly, *The Bible Echo and Signs of the Times*. Haskell introduced the plan of visiting from house to house until persons interested in religious matters could be found and encouraged to study the Bible with their Adventist visitors.⁴¹

Twenty years after Czechowski had sailed on his unauthorized mission to Europe, Seventh-day Adventists launched a substantial drive to herald their message on the other side of the world. Although the first years in Australia were difficult ones, Adventism would take healthy root on the smallest of the continents. Here a vital base for evangelizing much of the Southwest Pacific was established, and Australian Adventism would perhaps do more to influence the worldwide outreach of the church than any other non-American segment of the church.

Suggested Reading:

The spread and development of Seventh-day Adventists in specific areas has provided subject matter for several doctoral dissertations. Most of these are not readily available, but an excellent one in popular form is H. O. McCumber's *Pioneering the Message in the Golden West* (1946). Worth reading, where available, are G. D. Hagstotz's *The Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933* (1936), and J. M. Patt's *The History of the Advent Movement in Germany* (1956). For fairly detailed accounts of the opening of Adventist work in Europe and Australia see *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of Seventh-day Adventists* (1886). The work among Scandinavian Americans and in Scandinavia itself is affectionately chronicled in L. H. Christian's *Sons of the North and Their Share in the Advent Movement* (1942). In *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 152-183, C. M. Maxwell has given a colorful view of the

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CHAPTER 10

Organizational Developments, 1864-1887

During its first quarter century the Seventh-day Adventist Church membership grew sevenfold. In place of an estimated 3500 church members when the General Conference was organized in 1863, there were 26,112 by mid-1888. These were spread over thirty-two local conferences and five mission fields and organized into 901 churches. In 1888 one of every six Seventh-day Adventists lived in Michigan. California, the local conference with the second largest constituency, numbered less than half the membership of the Adventists in Michigan. Yet these members were more affluent and more liberal, contributing twenty-five percent more in tithes than did those in the larger conference.

The church's midwestern base in these years is clearly shown by the fact that, after Michigan and California, the four strongest conferences numerically were Kansas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. It was also in these states that major efforts had been made to evangelize Scandinavian and German-speaking Americans. Outside the United States, Seventh-day Adventist numbers were still counted in the hundreds in any one country or area: less than 400 in Australia and New Zealand; about 150 in Great Britain, perhaps the same in Canada, some 700 in all of Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy, and a few more than that in Scandinavia.¹

By 1890 only two of the Adventist denominations to emerge from the Millerite movement had developed significant memberships: the Advent Christians and Seventh-day Adventists. Of these two, the Advent Christians attracted more of the prominent Millerite leaders, but the Seventh-day Adventists had ten percent more members. In succeeding years, while Advent Christian membership remained relatively constant, that of Seventh-day Adventists grew rapidly.²

Tract and Missionary Societies

Several factors contributed to the successful growth of Seventh-day Adventists. As noted previously, Seventh-day Adventist ministers were regarded primarily as evangelists rather than as pastors. Church leaders also set out to mobilize lay members and turn them into lay evangelists. During the 1870s the tract and missionary societies developed from a group of four women who, in late 1868 or early 1869, began meeting for weekly prayer in the South Lancaster, Massachusetts, home of Mary and Stephen Haskell. Concern for their children first drew these ladies together; this soon broadened to include non-Adventist neighbors and those in whom the advent hope had dimmed. Activity followed concern. The small group, which soon doubled in number, began writing letters, making religion-oriented visits to neighbors, and lending or giving away dozens of Adventist tracts, books, and pamphlets. Often they discovered a home in need of temporal help, which they tried to supply.

Haskell's enthusiastic vision of the work to be done had by 1869 brought him to the position of preeminent leader among New England Seventh-day Adventists. He never forgot that it had been a tract which first focused his attention on the Sabbath. Haskell was also deeply moved by recent appeals from the Whites to increase the distribution of Adventist literature. He sensed that, with a little direction, the group of ladies meeting in his home might be encouraged to expand their activities. On June 8, 1869, Elder Haskell helped these women establish a formal organization, the Vigilant Missionary Society.

These busy housewives met each Wednesday afternoon to pray and plan. Systematically they divided up the village territory and began regular visits to discover the poor and ill in need of aid, the spiritually weak and hungry to whom they could bring the good news of the three angels' messages. With Haskell's skillful encouragement they began mailing tracts to hundreds of persons whose names they secured from a variety of sources, including commercial directories. These recipients were encouraged to begin corresponding about spiritual matters.

The Vigilant Missionary Society ladies gained a valuable recruit when Maria Huntley moved to South Lancaster from the old Washington, New Hampshire, church. Recognizing her abilities, the ladies made Maria their president. Soon she had them looking far beyond the confines of South Lancaster. Correspondence with foreign lands was begun, with Maria herself learning French in order to handle inquiries in that language. Another sister learned German for the same purpose.³

One of Elder Haskell's first actions after being elected president of the New England Conference in 1870 was to organize the New England Tract and Missionary Society. Its aim was to establish groups like the Vigilant Missionary Society in every church. Haskell divided the conference into districts, a move which helped to establish an organizational pattern

within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Over each district he appointed a director who was to organize a tract and missionary society in every church in the district. Local societies selected a librarian who directed and kept a record of activities and ordered literature from state headquarters. Before long these local societies expanded the activities begun by the Vigilant Missionary Society ladies. They began systematic efforts to place Seventh-day Adventist books in local public libraries and took responsibility for soliciting new and renewal subscriptions to Adventist periodicals.

James White was alert to the potential of this fledgling New England organization. After a quick on-the-spot inspection he advocated similar societies throughout the denomination. With General Conference blessing Stephen Haskell was soon traveling from conference to conference organizing tract and missionary societies. Throughout 1874 Elder White published a new monthly journal, *The True Missionary*, to promote the interests of the tract societies. In addition to carrying reports of their activities it included articles giving instruction in effective methods of personal evangelism.⁴

The General Conference session that voted to send J. N. Andrews to Europe also organized a General Conference Tract and Missionary Society to coordinate the work of local and state societies. James White became both its president and president of the General Conference. As business agent, S. N. Haskell served as chief promoter of tract and missionary society activities, while Secretary Maria Huntley handled routine business from 1874 until her death in 1890.

In 1876 Elder Haskell succeeded James White as president of the General Conference Tract and Missionary Society. Until he left to open Adventist work in Australia, Haskell's principal efforts were devoted to expanding tract and missionary society activities. During this same time he served simultaneously as president of several state conferences, sometimes as widely separated as Maine and California! He was also an active member of the General Conference Committee, working closely with both James White and G. I. Butler. Haskell, a capable, somewhat independent administrator, continued to enlist as many church members as possible in personal evangelism. He believed strongly that local societies should report their activities in either *The True Missionary* or the *Review* as this would encourage and stimulate societies where interest lagged.⁵

The statistics gathered so faithfully by society officers at Haskell's urging provide a good picture of the success achieved in mobilizing the church for lay-evangelistic endeavors. Although the 1884 report indicated that fewer than half of the church members belonged to tract and missionary societies, these members were active. They reported making over 83,000 missionary visits that year, writing more than 35,000 missionary letters, and obtaining more than 19,000 subscriptions to the *Review*, *Signs of the Times*, *Good Health*, or one of the foreign-language periodicals.

Most impressive were the totals of Seventh-day Adventist literature given away: nearly 1,750,000 individual periodicals and tracts.⁶

Yet despite all this activity, and the dozens of tent meetings conducted by Adventist preachers, the gain in membership during the following year was only about 1200, or roughly a seven-percent increase. Haskell was constantly on the alert for dramatic examples of the far-reaching effects of a tract given away. Stories like the one of the Washington, D.C., Sunday School teacher who accepted the Sabbath after receiving copies of the *Signs* and some tracts from a member of her class, who in turn had received them from an Adventist sister, were told and retold to encourage continued activity. Although probably few laymen who could trace thirteen conversions to one contact, as in this particular case, one never knew which contact would bear fruit.⁷

Growth of the Publishing Work

The program of literature distribution sponsored by the tract and missionary societies greatly increased the demand for Adventist tracts and books. By 1880 the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association had twenty hardbound books for sale, with more than thirty other titles available in paper covers. Some of the latter were condensations of larger volumes. The major Adventist author at this time was Uriah Smith. In addition to his commentaries on Daniel and Revelation Smith wrote books on the sanctuary and 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, the United States in prophecy, the nature and destiny of man, and a general treatise on the principal biblical doctrines as understood by Seventh-day Adventists. Ellen White's four *Spirit of Prophecy* volumes were an early version of her later Conflict of the Ages series. Other major authors were J. N. Andrews, James White, D. M. Canright, and J. H. Waggoner.

More than fifty tracts, ranging in size from eight to thirty-two pages and costing one to four cents each, covered major Seventh-day Adventist doctrines, with heavy emphasis on the Sabbath, the state of the dead, and last-day events. A special group of health books and tracts, most authored by Dr. J. H. Kellogg, also were published. Even the youth were not forgotten. In addition to four volumes of *Sabbath Readings for the Home Circle* there were the *Sunshine* and *Golden Grain* series. It is not hard to imagine some of the moral lessons children were expected to gain from *Gumbling Tommy!*

Gradually the missionary societies assumed responsibility for collecting the subscription price for church journals, as well as for persuading dozens of non-church members to take trial subscriptions to one of the Adventist periodicals. Local tract and missionary societies subscribed to *The Signs of the Times* in bulk for free distribution. In some instances they even underwrote the initial cost of tracts, periodicals, and small books so that a church member might initiate a canvassing career. This led to the appearance of a new group of Adventist workers—the colporteurs.⁸



George King



Maria Huntley

Literature Evangelists

About this time Ellen White placed her influence behind the call for putting colporteur evangelists to work “in all parts of the field.” “If there is one work more important than another,” she wrote, “it is that of getting our publications before the public, thus leading them to search the Scriptures.” The work of the colporteur was not to be belittled, nor were persons suited to canvassing to be encouraged to leave it for the regular ministry.⁹

It took the introduction of subscription book sales, however, to get colporteurs operating full time on a regular basis. Selling books on subscription was big business in late nineteenth-century America. Sales agents went door to door taking orders for later delivery for everything from county histories to the latest book by popular authors such as Mark Twain. In 1880 Dr. John Harvey Kellogg decided to test the subscription market for his recently completed, lavishly illustrated, 1600-page *Home Hand Book of Domestic Hygiene and Rational Medicine*. He personally instructed a small group of young men before sending them off to take orders. Kellogg’s book eventually went through several editions and was sold by the hundreds of thousands.

One of those whom Kellogg sent out was George A. King, a young Canadian who had come to Battle Creek with the desire to become a Seventh-day Adventist preacher. King’s lack of education and stumbling speech convinced James White that he had no gift for preaching. Still, Elder White wished to see the young man use his talents in spreading the Advent message. With this in mind White persuaded “Uncle Richard” Godsmark, who farmed near Battle Creek, to take King home and let him work for room and board until summer, when he might be assigned as an assistant with a tent company.

With Godsmark’s encouragement King spent his free moments preaching to empty chairs in the big parlor. At last arrangements were made for

him to give a trial sermon one Sabbath afternoon before the Godsmark family and visiting church friends. The sermon was a disaster. At its close Mrs. Godsmark tactfully suggested that perhaps King should try a less conventional way of preaching—selling and distributing Seventh-day Adventist tracts and booklets from house to house. Uncle Richard agreed to finance his initial supply. The first week King sold only sixty-two cents' worth of tracts, but he loved the work and soon became a successful salesman of tracts and subscriptions to *Good Health* and *Signs of the Times*.¹⁰

This colporteur who wanted to preach was not satisfied with selling only a health book. He wanted to see the entire three angels' messages placed before the people. In the fall of 1880 George King began to lobby with Seventh-day Adventist leaders. He suggested that they bind Uriah Smith's two smaller books, *Thoughts on Daniel* and *Thoughts on the Revelation*, into one volume. If such a book were given dramatic illustrations of the beasts and symbols discussed, he was sure he could sell copies easily. At last the publishing house managers agreed to bind up a limited number of this combination to see what George King could do.

King was successful enough so that the following year the Review and Herald Publishing Association decided to bring out a handsomely illustrated new edition. When the first copy was ready in the spring of 1882, George King rushed off to show it to the employees of a Battle Creek broom factory where he was temporarily employed. Enthusiastically he persuaded fellow worker D. W. Reavis to buy this first copy for "good luck." Within four days King took orders for twenty-five copies of Elder Smith's book. This was just the beginning. Soon others were in the field selling *Daniel and the Revelation*. King proved an excellent recruiter of colporteurs as well as an expert salesman. For the next quarter century, until his death in 1906, he sold thousands of dollars' worth of Adventist literature.¹¹

As canvassers went to territories farther away from Battle Creek, they found it more convenient to secure the books they sold from the state Tract and Missionary Society rather than to order directly from the publisher. Gradually the state societies took direction of all subscription sales in their territory, and the state agent became a recruiter and trainer of colporteurs. Just as the state societies themselves gradually evolved into book and Bible houses and then into today's Adventist Book Centers, so the state agent was gradually transformed into today's publishing director.

A new way had been found to present Adventist beliefs to an ever-widening audience at little expense to the church. Since colporteurs could sell the large subscription books for a substantial amount while buying them from the tract societies at half their retail price, they were able to make a living even if they sold modest numbers in any one day or week. Soon students were finding canvassing an excellent way to finance their education. Colporteurs swarmed into the field in increasing num-

bers. By 1886 the tract and missionary societies reported over 400 canvassers in the field.¹²

One other development within Adventism is directly traceable to the tract and missionary societies: the first systematic attempt to penetrate the large American cities with Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. Years earlier, in 1873, James White had suggested that the time had come to pay more attention to the big cities. However, Elder White, along with most Adventist preachers, appeared more comfortable in small towns and villages. It was in these areas that Adventist evangelists most easily attracted crowds and gained converts.

City Evangelism

City evangelism seemed to be waiting for an effective method of contacting people in a way that would identify those with religious interests. It was Stephen Haskell who saw the possibility of doing this through house-to-house visitation by canvassers, persons distributing tracts, and visitors who would offer to "hold a Bible reading" and examine pertinent texts on any religious topic.

Haskell's enthusiasm for the tract and missionary societies and their sponsorship of tract distribution and canvassing made them logical organizations to launch city evangelistic missions. Beginning in 1883 these societies worked closely with the state conferences in this project. By 1886 they had permanent missions operating in twenty-five major American cities and temporary ones in ten others. Included were such major cities as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

The plan was to secure a building or apartment that could serve as living quarters for workers assigned to the mission. It should include, if possible, a lecture hall for public meetings, a reading room, and a storage area for books and tracts. In 1886 some 102 experienced workers were employed in the city missions, and an additional 224 assisted them in order to learn methods of house-to-house evangelism. These workers conducted more than 3100 public meetings and gave more than 20,000 Bible readings that year. Their efforts led to 568 persons' accepting Seventh-day Adventist doctrines and joining the church. One of the more unusual aspects of the city missions was the work of the eleven ship missionaries who operated in eight port cities. These persons visited more than 5700 ships in 1886 and left with the crews literature totaling 259,777 pages.

During the 1880s the evangelistic mission helped Adventism take root in the large centers of population. The heavy costs involved, however, and the difficulty experienced in finding qualified managers for such work, eventually convinced the conferences to discontinue city missions; but they played a vital role at a crucial period of denominational growth.¹³

It was all very well to free Seventh-day Adventist ministers for public evangelism and to train church members to be lay missionaries, but it was also necessary to instruct, encourage, and preserve in the faith those who

accepted Adventist doctrines. If this traditional pastoral role were not to be filled by Adventist ministers except through occasional visits, other persons or institutions had to do the job. One means, dating back to the earliest days of organization, was the quarterly meeting. Once every three months the churches in an area gathered together for Sabbath services. Usually a minister, perhaps a conference official, was present to preside. Each member attending was called upon to evaluate his or her present spiritual state during a "social meeting." Those church members who found it impossible to attend a quarterly meeting were expected to give their testimony by letter. Failure to attend or send a letter was generally assumed to indicate spiritual problems. This alerted local church officers to visit and encourage the wavering member.¹⁴

Camp Meetings

As membership grew, some conferences expanded the late-summer quarterly meeting into a conference-wide convocation which might extend to four or five days. In September 1867 one such convocation in the Illinois-Wisconsin Conference attracted 300 church members, most of whom were housed in twelve tents pitched in a grove a few rods from the home of conference president Isaac Sanborn. This Johnstown Center meeting featured a number of sermons by James and Ellen White. At the Sunday afternoon service visitors swelled Ellen White's audience to nearly 1200. In essence this convocation was a small camp meeting without the name.¹⁵

It was just a year later, September 1-7, 1868, that the first officially designated camp meeting was held by Seventh-day Adventists on the farm of E. H. Root near Wright, Michigan. Camp meetings were a product of the American frontier, dating back to the early nineteenth century. They had been especially popular with the Methodists and had been used with good effect during the Millerite movement. Once Seventh-day Adventist numbers increased sufficiently to warrant such meetings, it was natural for leaders to initiate camp meetings as a means for bringing their scattered flock together for religious instruction and encouragement. Yet it was with some misgivings, and fear of the emotionalism and disorder which had frequently marred the spiritual tone of the frontier camp meetings, that the 1868 General Conference session voted to recommend such gatherings.

The fears proved groundless. The Wright meeting, which attracted as many as 2000 at some services, was a model of decorum. More than 300 persons camped throughout the week in twenty-two tents provided by the various churches. Two of the tents were occupied by believers from Wisconsin, another by members who had journeyed from New York. Nearly a dozen ministers were present to bring encouragement to those in attendance, but the principal sermons were given by the Whites and J. N. Andrews. Although the big Michigan and Ohio evangelistic tents were

pitched for use in case of rain, most meetings were held under the trees, with the congregation seated on rough log benches.

Fellowship with believers of like faith, a chance to share experiences and compare spiritual insights—these were prime features of the camp meeting. Two or three social meetings were held each day, and there was more time for sharing around the camp fires and during the common meals. J. O. Corliss presided over a book stand composed of three rough planks arranged in a triangle. Here he sold over \$600 worth of literature. A high point of the convocation was Elder White's Friday-afternoon altar call, during which sixty came forward to give their hearts to Christ for the first time and another 300 answered the call for backsliders to return.¹⁶

Later that same season other camp meetings were held in Illinois and Iowa. The next year seven states, from New Hampshire to Minnesota, followed the pattern established at Wright. All wanted the Whites to attend. This they attempted to do for many years in spite of the heavy strain this placed on them each year from August through October. The campers, too, sacrificed many conveniences for the sake of the spiritual benefits derived. Sleeping quarters were crowded as the members of a church shared one tent that had been partitioned down the middle to provide separate areas for women and men. Regular beds were not available, and the straw ticks provided did not always cushion the ground with complete satisfaction. Cooking was done around an open fire or cold foods were secured from the provision tent. Yet throughout the 1870s and 80s the popularity of camp meetings increased. Many states held several each year in various sections of their territory.

The camp meetings were more than just a time to confirm Seventh-day Adventists in the faith. They had a definite evangelistic purpose as well. For this reason, as well as to make them more available to all members in a conference, they were originally pitched at different sites each year. Sometimes, when there was a good publicity agent adept at approaching newspapers in the right way, huge crowds turned out for weekend services. The most impressive example was the Groveland, Massachusetts, camp meeting of 1876 when an estimated 20,000 persons came on Sunday afternoon to hear Ellen White, thanks in no small part to the excellent contacts Mrs. White's niece, Mary Clough, had made with the press. Later that same year at the Lansing, Michigan, camp meeting more than 1600 persons camped in 120 tents on the grounds. On Sunday an additional 6000 arrived in more than 1200 wagons and buggies.¹⁷

The Sabbath School

Although quarterly and camp meetings were valuable in keeping Seventh-day Adventists established in the faith, a more constant method of indoctrination was needed, especially for the young. This was provided by the Sabbath School. The use of Sunday Schools to bring religious instruction to children dates back to Martin Luther and John Knox. In

America the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, had begun Sabbath Schools as early as 1739. This Sabbath School introduced the plan of using small cards on which Bible verses were printed as part of the weekly instruction. Some forty years later Robert Raikes began the modern Sunday School movement in England among children exploited all week in the nation's factories. His goal was to teach the basics of reading and writing along with the elements of Christianity.

As in so many other things it was James White who gave Sabbath Schools the first impetus among Seventh-day Adventists. His concern for children of believers led him to launch *The Youth's Instructor* in 1852. A series of Sabbath School lessons was one of this journal's chief ingredients. White set the example for other sabbatarian Adventist companies by starting a Sabbath School in Rochester in 1853. John Byington soon followed in Buck's Bridge, as did Merritt Kellogg in Battle Creek.¹⁸

Yet many Seventh-day Adventist companies did not bother to form Sabbath Schools, and there was considerable variety among those that did. Some placed heavy emphasis on the memorization of numerous Bible texts. Others kept careful records both of attendance and the quality of pupils' recitations. Most schools early divided into two classes: children and adults. Each class decided what it would study. The majority followed the lessons in *The Youth's Instructor*, but sometimes these were missing for months at a time. At such times a class might decide to study the Sermon on the Mount, the book of Genesis, or the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. Although the children may have been "pleasantly entertained" by the variety of prophetic symbols in John's visions, their understanding of the prophet's message was probably limited.

During these first decades there was no central organization to give guidance to Sabbath School teachers and officers. There were no lesson aids for teachers or papers for students. Some of the larger churches did have small libraries of a dozen or so books in which those interested could do further study. Generally, however, all were dependent upon their own resources. There were no offerings, no mission appeals. Outside of the recitation period, during which students answered questions posed by the teachers, singing, prayers, and perhaps an introduction to the following week's lesson made up the rest of the program.

A partial attempt was made in 1863 to provide material more suitable to the varying age groups when Adelia Patten began lessons especially designed for children in *The Youth's Instructor*. Contemporaneously Uriah Smith published a series for adults in the *Review*. But neither of these lasted. A more successful and sustained effort came in 1869, when G. H. Bell, as editor of the *Instructor*, prepared and published separate lessons for children and youth. Collected into eight different yearly series, and later published as small books, Bell's lessons were used for a quarter century.¹⁹

Professor Bell's connection with *The Youth's Instructor* proved a boon

to the Sabbath Schools. Not only were lessons improved, but Bell shared with his readers the organizational plans that had contributed, under his leadership, to the success of the Battle Creek Sabbath School. Unfortunately, many Seventh-day Adventist churches lacked persons with Bell's dedication and abilities. Too frequently those in charge were more than willing to cancel the Sabbath School, especially on days when a visiting minister was available for the church service.

How could all the churches be led to strengthen their Sabbath School programs? At a Battle Creek Sabbath School teachers' meeting one evening Bell suggested that a state association of Sabbath Schools might enable the strong schools to encourage and help the weaker ones. The idea drew a favorable response, a committee was formed, and plans for a state Sabbath School Association were drafted and circulated among interested church leaders. Soon word came back from California that there, in August of 1877, representatives of the state's Sabbath Schools had organized a state association. Similar action was taken in Michigan a few weeks later. The next March delegates to the General Conference session established a General Sabbath School Association under the presidency of D. M. Canright, to tie together the various state Sabbath School organizations.

With contributions received from local schools the state and general associations began a systematic campaign to promote better Sabbath Schools. Among the first association accomplishments were the conducting of model Sabbath Schools at each camp meeting and the promotion of weekly offerings for use in purchasing necessary supplies such as songbooks, record books, maps, and *Youth's Instructors*. Some objected to offerings on Sabbath, but Ellen White approved the idea. At the General Association's initiative small, brown tin safes were made available to each school for a dollar. These were fastened securely near the door, and all who attended were encouraged to bring a penny with them each week to place in the box.

In 1885 Sabbath School members began to take an increased interest in missions. During the first quarter of that year the Oakland, California, school decided to give all its weekly offerings to help establish Adventism in Australia. A few months later the Upper Columbia and California associations voted to do the same. The idea caught on rapidly. When, in 1887, the General Association asked all the schools to give their offerings to help establish the first Seventh-day Adventist mission station in Africa, \$10,615 was collected.²⁰

The General Association, also in 1885, arranged for the publication of a small quarterly entitled the *Sabbath School Worker*. This contained articles on organizational and teaching methods. Several years later an economy drive relegated this material to an *Instructor* supplement. In 1890, however, the *Worker* returned, this time as a monthly that included mission articles and lesson helps as well as promotional materials.²¹

Work for the Youth

With improved Sabbath Schools and the founding of Battle Creek College in 1874 most adult Seventh-day Adventists seemed to feel that they had adequately provided for the spiritual needs of their children and youth. Not all youthful Adventists shared this view. In the summer of 1879 fourteen-year-old Luther Warren and seventeen-year-old Harry Fenner of rural Hazelton, Michigan, began to discuss how they might help their less-spiritual friends. Soon they devised the idea of a boys' missionary society.

The six or eight boys persuaded to attend the first meetings in Luther's bedroom were somewhat shy about praying, singing, and planning literature distribution together. They persisted, however, and before long some of the girls in the church desired to join their society. Meetings were moved into the parlor under the eye of a friendly adult. Soon activities broadened to include picnics, taffy pulls, sleigh rides, and other social events. But Hazelton was too far from the main centers of Adventism. The youth society there remained a local affair. It would be another quarter of a century before the General Conference would see the advantages of systematically promoting organizations such as the one Warren and Fenner had begun for the young people of their hometown.²²

Temperance Work

Apparently it took prominent and energetic leaders such as James White, Stephen Haskell, or G. H. Bell to move Seventh-day Adventists into organizing a particular new endeavor. Such a figure appeared in the late 1870s in the youthful head of the Battle Creek Sanitarium: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. Just as Haskell envisioned turning all church members into active lay evangelists, so Kellogg proposed making them into health and temperance propagandists. But first it was necessary to make certain that they, themselves, were practicing health reform principles. Kellogg suspected that many were not. During the winter of 1878-79 Dr. Kellogg stimulated considerable interest among Battle Creek Adventists in the possibility of organizing a national health and temperance society. With the active cooperation of the Whites and G. I. Butler the projected association became an actuality on January 5, 1879. Kellogg was elected president. The doctor, perhaps influenced by the recently organized Women's Christian Temperance Union, insisted that membership not be limited to Adventists, but be open to all "of good moral character" who would pay a modest twenty-five-cent initiation fee, annual dues of ten cents, and who would sign one of three temperance pledges. The American Health and Temperance Association encouraged its members to subscribe to a "teetotal pledge," agreeing to abandon the use of *any* narcotic or stimulant. This included alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee. For those not yet ready for such a complete ban, lesser pledges renouncing alcohol alone

were available. The association constitution indicated a view of temperance much broader than the wording of the three pledges. In order to promote all aspects of a member's health, state and local chapters were organized and an active campaign of distributing health literature and promoting temperance lectures was begun.

The 1879 General Conference session placed itself squarely behind Kellogg's temperance activities by voting that it was "the duty of all members of this denomination to become members of the American Health and Temperance Association, and to use their influence in inducing others to unite in this reformatory effort." Two years later the General Conference authorized meetings of the American Health and Temperance Association at each camp meeting. Kellogg, who continued as the association's president, also became its chief propagandist. His wide travels and enthusiastic lectures did much to swell the association's membership to 20,000 by the end of its first decade. These members distributed 1,500,000 health and temperance tracts. Kellogg was certain that the association could claim credit for staying a denominational tendency to drift away from health reform principles.²³

Growth of Institutions

Once Seventh-day Adventists conquered their original fears of organization, they were willing to establish a wide variety of institutions to fulfill the work they felt called to do. In all these ventures, James White played a leading role. In 1874 he was not only president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference, but of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, the Western Health Reform Institute, the General Tract and Missionary Society, and the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society as well. Several years earlier he had been elected president of a newly formed Seventh-day Adventist Benevolent Society. This organization, designed to care for "the relief of widows and orphans and of such other persons as may be worthy of assistance," never became active.

Some of the objectives of the Benevolent Society were later fulfilled in the transformation of the Battle Creek Church Maternal Association at the start of 1880. The mothers, who originally gathered together weekly for prayer and study, decided to devote three out of their four monthly meetings to mending clothes for Battle Creek College students. Gradually they assumed responsibility for helping their poor and unfortunate neighbors. Changing their name to the Maternal and Dorcas Association, they led Adventist women on a continuing interest in welfare activities.

Not all of James White's ideas materialized. In 1872 he had suggested organizing an Adventist-owned mercantile business to provide "hat, bonnets, and shoes, of the right style . . . at reasonable prices." He believed that such a store would "pay well" and be patronized "by a large portion of the more sensible part of the community." Yet such an establishment failed to get beyond the idea stage.²⁴

James White Leadership Ends

In spite of the heavy responsibilities he carried during the 1870s James White never fully recovered from the severe paralytic stroke suffered in 1865. The dedication, imagination, and concern of earlier years remained; the physical abilities did not. "They who knew him only since that time," J. H. Waggoner wrote, "cannot realize with what strength and energy he labored . . . previous to that time."²⁵

It was hard for Elder White to relinquish the burdens he had carried so long. But attempts to keep up the old schedule simply resulted in his becoming irritable and at times petulant. His wife noted that he had a tendency to become "suspicious of almost everyone, even of his own brethren in the ministry." Still his talents had been depended upon for so long that it was difficult for his brethren to let him lay the warrior's armor aside even as they noted his increasing tendency to become confused and forgetful.²⁶

Toward the end of his final term of service as General Conference president, Elder White came to realize that he was in danger of becoming "sour" and "worthless to any cause as a laborer, or as a counselor." He determined to retire and grow old gracefully. It was easier said than done. Shortly after George Butler replaced him in 1880, James began to fret over what he felt were Butler's and Haskell's wrong actions as leaders.

Mercifully the denomination was spared a bruising conflict between its principal founding father and the younger men who replaced him in leadership. In mid-summer 1881 Elder White contracted a virulent fever following a chill brought on by changing weather he and Ellen experienced as they returned from a speaking engagement. The best efforts of Dr. Kellogg and the sanitarium staff were unavailing; on August 6, 1881, James White's earthly pilgrimage ended. Although only sixty, he had worn himself out through vigorous service. His wife, also ill with a fever, was at first prostrated. Yet she found strength in the faith that God would sustain her. She determined "to take the work where he left it and in the strength of Jesus carry it forward to completion." During the thirty-four years left to her she did indeed battle nobly and well.²⁷

And the doctrines which James White had helped to study out and promulgate gained increasing numbers of adherents. The old general was dead, but the mighty army marched on with eyes still fixed on the heavenly Canaan to be opened before them at the second advent.

Suggested Reading:

Good monographic studies of the activities covered in this chapter are virtually nonexistent. E. Robinson's *S. N. Haskell, Man of Action*, pp. 24-47, gives an interesting account of tract and missionary society activities, and V. Robinson's *James White* (1976) provides a frank, yet sym-

pathetic picture of Adventism's principal "founding father." The *S.D.A. Yearbooks* for the 1880s provide useful information, much in tabular form. Interested readers must otherwise depend on the following general histories: M. Andross, *Story of the Advent Message* (1926), pp. 119-134, 158-166; E. Cooper, *The Great Advent Movement* (1968), pp. 67-80; J. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1892), pp. 232-234; M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chs. 12, 15, 21, 22; and A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: chs. 1, 3, 4.

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1. *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1889), p. 67.
 2. Bureau of Census, *Religious Bodies: 1906* (1910), p. 514.
 3. E. M. Robinson, S. N. Haskell, *Man of Action* (1967), pp. 25-28.
 4. Robinson, pp. 30-32; *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, November 14, 1871, p. 172; May 22, 1879, p. 163; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1502.
 5. Robinson, pp. 36-47.
 6. *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1884), p. 42f.
 7. *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1885), p. 58f; Robinson, pp. 42, 43.
 8. D. R. McAdams, unpublished manuscript, "History of the S.D.A. Publishing Work."
 9. E. G. White, *Testimonies*, IV: 389, 390.
 10. H. Lehmann-Huyst, *The Book in America*, 2nd ed. (1952), pp. 250-254; *Review*, February 1, 1923, pp. 21, 22; McAdams manuscript.
 11. McAdams manuscript; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 737.
 12. McAdams manuscript; *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1887), p. 50ff.
 13. McAdams manuscript; *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1887), p. 50ff.
 14. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1176.
 15. *Review*, June 18, 1867, p. 5; July 30, 1867, p. 108; August 13, 1867, pp. 140, 144; October 15, 1867, p. 288; W. C. White, "Sketches and Memories of James and Ellen G. White," *Review*, January 28, 1937, pp. 4, 5.
 16. *Review*, May 26, 1868, p. 356; July 14, 1868, pp. 56, 57; September 15, 1868, p. 172.
 17. *Review*, September 7, 1876, p. 84; October 5, 1876, p. 108; A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: 13-19.
 18. L. Flora Plummer, *Early History of the Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath School Work* (c 1910), pp. 3-7.
 19. Plummer, pp. 7-10; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1256, 1261; D. M. Canright, "Sabbath Schools," *Review*, December 25, 1866, p. 29.
 20. Plummer, pp. 10-17; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1259, 1260; *Review*, April 7, 1885, p. 224.
 21. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1618.
 22. M. Erickson, *Missionary Volunteers and Their Work* (n.d.), pp. 10, 11; N. Krum, *The MV Story* (1963), pp. 9, 10; S. Boucher, *Luther Warren, Man of Prayer and Power* (1959), pp. 39-43.
 23. R. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation (1964), pp. 247-249; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 38.
 24. W. H. Teesdale, "Ellen G. White; Pioneer, Prophet," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1932), p. 144; *Review*, May 26, 1868, pp. 356, 360; February 27, 1872, p. 88; April 1, 1880, p. 221.
 25. *Signs of the Times*, August 11, 1881, p. 354.
 26. E. G. White, *Testimonies* III: 86; G. I. Butler to J. S. White, March 29, 1875; J. H. Waggoner to J. S. White, March 21, 1879; Lucinda Hall to Mary Kelsey White, February 23, 1878; all in E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
 27. J. White, "Grow Old Gracefully," *Review*, May 15, 1879, p. 156; S. N. Haskell to W. C. White, November 24 and December 29, 1880, E. G. White Estate; Spalding, II: 213-215.

CHAPTER 11

Doctrinal Developments, 1849-1888

Seventh-day Adventists were not surprised at the continued growth of their church following James White's death. Although they recognized the major role that he had played in their organization, they saw their successes not as the result of human effort but of God's decision to present a last warning message to the world. Intensive Bible study following the Great Disappointment led them to identify themselves as the divinely commissioned heralds for the messages of the three angels pictured in Revelation 14:6-12. They were a people of prophecy; God was on their side. "We have the truth," Ellen White could write with confidence in 1850. "We know it."¹

Formal Creed Rejected

At the same time Seventh-day Adventist leaders had learned from their Millerite experience the dangers of spelling out their beliefs, at least as they applied to time, with too much precision. In the years following 1844 their concepts of Christ's work of atonement and the events preceding the second advent broadened considerably. Although by the end of 1848 they had agreed upon basic doctrines which would always be regarded as the pillars of their faith, they also recognized that continued study could lead to a more complete understanding of these "truths." Thus they steadfastly resisted the formulation or the appropriation of a specific, comprehensive doctrinal creed.²

Several other factors predisposed Seventh-day Adventists to be suspicious of formal creeds. On a number of occasions during the final phase of the Millerite movement Adventists had been disfellowshipped from their churches because of their millennial views. These had been inter-

preted as running contrary to established denominational creeds. The Christian Connection backgrounds of Joseph Bates and James White undoubtedly reinforced a suspicion of creeds. Early in the nineteenth century this denomination had taken the position that the Bible would be its only creed, Christian character its only test of fellowship. A similar position was taken by Seventh-day Adventist leaders during the organizational struggle of 1861. When finally more than a decade later Seventh-day Adventists did publish a statement of fundamental beliefs, they carefully announced that they had "no articles of faith, creed, or discipline aside from the Bible."

A small pamphlet categorizing basic Seventh-day Adventist beliefs in twenty-five articles was published in 1872 not to "secure uniformity," but rather "to meet inquiries," "to correct false statements," and "to remove erroneous impressions." Seventh-day Adventist leaders were particularly anxious to differentiate their views from those held by other Adventist bodies, "some of which, we think, are subversive of plainest and most important principles set forth in the Word of God." These twenty-five fundamental principles, later reprinted in both the *Review* and the *Signs of the Times*, form a convenient springboard for discussing developments within Seventh-day Adventist theology during the formative first quarter century of the denomination's organized existence.

Trinitarian Concepts

The first two propositions in the 1872 *Fundamental Principles* proclaimed a belief in "one God" and "one Lord Jesus Christ," and there was no affirmation of the Trinitarian concept of God common to most Christian creedal statements. The omission appears deliberate rather than accidental. In fact, when one considers the strong language used by most prominent early Seventh-day Adventist ministers, it is surprising that an outright condemnation of Trinitarianism did not appear.³

Again, perhaps, the Christian Connection backgrounds of Joseph Bates and James White may explain their rejection of Trinitarianism. The general belief in Christian Connection circles was that Christ was God's Son and man's Saviour but not coeternal with God the Father. The Holy Spirit was regarded as a "holy influence," rather than as a person of the Godhead. As early as 1848 James White had referred to the Trinitarian concept as "unscriptural." Loughborough, Uriah Smith, J. H. Waggoner, and D. M. Canright were only the more prominent Seventh-day Adventist theologians who agreed with White and Bates that Trinitarianism was contrary to common sense and of pagan origin. They considered it simply another instance, comparable to the Sunday sabbath and the natural immortality of man, where the Catholic Church had perverted the clear teachings of Scripture. During his comparatively brief sojourn among sabbatarian Adventists, J. M. Stephenson promoted strongly Arian views of the Godhead. The very use of the terms "Father" and "Son," Stephen-

son held, pointed out the absurdity of coeternality; sons were always younger than their fathers.

In part the Seventh-day Adventist pioneers' position was determined by the variety of Trinitarian views then current. Men like White, Bates, and Canright objected to any Trinitarian concept that interpreted the three members of the Godhead as being devoid of individual personalities and "without form or shape." To strict interpreters of the Bible such notions were "nauseating." Uriah Smith reasoned that the Bible references to the Holy Spirit's appearing as a dove or as cloven tongues of fire showed that it could not be a person. As late as 1891 he defined the Holy Spirit as "that divine, mysterious emanation through which they [the Father and Son] carry forward their great and infinite work."⁴

By the end of the century the Adventist ministry had largely swung over to viewing the Trinity as three coequal, coeternal members of the Godhead, united in substance, purpose, and character, but each with His own personality and work. This change of viewpoint appears attributable largely to sentiments Ellen White expressed with increasing frequency. Her statements became quite specific during the 1890s. There never had been a time when Christ did not exist, she wrote in her biography of Jesus, *The Desire of Ages*. As to the Holy Spirit, He was both a "person" and "in every sense God."⁵

The Atonement

The Seventh-day Adventist pioneers held a distinctive view of the atonement. Most believed contemporary theologians were wrong in emphasizing that the atonement had taken place at the cross. This to them was simply "the offering of the sacrifice." Their study of the Levitical types convinced them that atonement took place only when the priest presented the blood of the sacrificial victim before God. Thus, they reasoned, the atonement did not take place on the cross but in the heavenly sanctuary following Christ's ascension.

It was O. R. L. Crosier who, in his *Day-Star Extra* article in 1846, began the sharp differentiation over the time of the atonement. Although sabbatarian Adventist leaders profited greatly from Crosier's exposition on the heavenly sanctuary, they drew back from his "age-to-come" interpretation of the atonement's being finished only at the end of the millennium. The shut-door views of Joseph Bates and James White inclined them to think that Jesus was no longer interceding for the masses after He moved, on October 22, 1844, into the most holy place. The only exceptions they recognized were for those who had not knowingly rejected, and would later accept, the messages of Revelation 14. Such persons had their names borne into the most holy place on the breastplate of righteousness.

As increasing numbers were added to sabbatarian Adventist ranks during the 1850s, additional study of the Levitical system convinced Hiram Edson and J. N. Andrews that the start of the great antitypical day of

atonement did not limit those who might accept God's last messages and be covered by Christ's atoning blood. They noted that the regular sin offerings continued even on the tenth day of the seventh month.

It remained for J. H. Waggoner and Uriah Smith to spell out a detailed Seventh-day Adventist theology of the atonement in numerous articles in the *Review* and in extensive monographic works. Smith was particularly adamant in denying atonement at the cross. Such a view, he held, led either to Universalism (salvation for all) or extreme Calvinism (salvation only for the predestined elect). Smith saw the cross as the sacrifice which met the demands of a broken law. Atonement came when sinners consciously accepted that sacrifice in their behalf and changed their lives by obeying God's commands. This could take place only when Christ, following His resurrection, began His work in the holy place of the heavenly sanctuary.

An examination of Ellen White's writings indicates that during the course of the 1850s and 60s her concepts of the atonement were gradually broadening. She was moving beyond her contemporary Adventists in many respects. In 1864 she referred to Christ's sacrifice on the cross as atonement for sin; His work in the heavenly sanctuary "shed upon His disciples the benefits of His atonement." More and more the cross of Christ came to occupy a central place in her writings. She saw Christ's sacrifice as "the great truth around which all other truths cluster." Every doctrine quarried from the Word of God needed to "be studied in the light that streams from the Cross of Calvary."⁶

Ellen White's increasing emphasis on the cross did not eclipse Seventh-day Adventists' interest in the heavenly sanctuary or their understanding of the importance of the work going on there. Proposition 10 in the 1872 statement of *Fundamental Principles* covered the sanctuary doctrine. It was the longest of the twenty-five propositions. This seemed particularly fitting because, together with the closely related proposition dealing with the investigative judgment, the concepts affirmed here present the most distinctive Seventh-day Adventist contribution to Christian theology.

The Heavenly Sanctuary

Their faith in the validity and importance of October 22, 1844, confirmed by Crosier's explanation of Christ's change of work in the heavenly sanctuary on that date and by Ellen White's visions, sabbatarian Adventists still had to explain just what was now happening in the most holy place. Crosier pointed out that Christ would complete His atoning ministry with the "blotting out of sins." This he described as a process which included cleansing both the sanctuary and God's people and ended with the placing of the penalty for confessed sins upon the head of Satan, the author of sin. In general this idea was accepted by Joseph Bates and others.

Bates was one of the first sabbatarian Adventists to see the post-1844

period as a time of investigative judgment, a period when the cases of all who had ever professed Christ as Saviour would be examined. During this process the heavenly records would provide the universe with clear evidence that Christ was acting justly when He handed out the rewards and punishments at His second advent. Bates did not see all this clearly, and James White at first flatly rejected the idea of an “investigative” judgment. Throughout the 1850s, however, first J. N. Loughborough and then Uriah Smith systematized this doctrine on the basis of a close examination of the cleansing of the earthly sanctuary on the typical day of atonement. They also linked this concept with the message of the first angel of Revelation 14, who proclaimed, “the hour of His judgment is come.” By 1857 James White had accepted this line of reasoning, including the belief that the cases of the righteous dead had been opened for consideration first. At any time judgment might pass to living Christians. It was White who apparently coined the term “investigative judgment.” R. F. Cottrell later applied the term “executive judgment” to the actual giving of rewards and punishments at the second advent.⁷

What of the “blotting out of sins” which Crosier had written about as a major aspect of Christ’s work in the most holy place? During the late 1840s the prevalent sabbatarian Adventist opinion seemed to be that Christ was “blotting out” the “sins of ignorance” which His people had unknowingly committed. These, of course, were to be sought out and confessed. During the 1850s the concept was broadened; the blotting out of sins was seen as a judicial act in which an individual’s responsibility for confessed sins was placed to Satan’s account just prior to the second advent. This heavenly transaction would occur at the same time God’s Spirit was poured out in the “latter rain,” enabling the saints to endure the final conflict. It would occur after Christ had ended His mediatorial work in the sanctuary.

With the refining of the concept of the investigative judgment during the 1850s the blotting out of sins was reinterpreted as a progressive work occurring contemporaneously with this judgment. By the end of the 1860s some Adventist writers were broadening their understanding of the blotting out of sins to include the elimination of sin in the lives of the saints awaiting the advent. This was something Joseph Bates had hinted at twenty years earlier.⁸

The Sabbath

Sin, as every good Adventist knew, was a breaking of God’s law of ten commandments. Adventists saw the fourth or Sabbath commandment as the one most flagrantly violated, even by professed Christians. In the Seventh-day Adventists’ view, a major part of their work was to call attention to the true Sabbath. In this way its observance would become a clear test of an individual’s complete loyalty to God during earth’s final hour.

It took time for pioneers like Bates and White to work out this complete

view of the central importance of the Sabbath. At first their Sabbath views did not differ greatly from those of the Seventh Day Baptists, whom they long continued to regard as more truly their brethren than were members of other Christian denominations. By connecting Revelation 11:19 with October 22, 1844, Bates concluded as early as 1847 that after 1844 new attention was to be called to the law of God and especially to the Sabbath commandment. This would provide a new test of the love and loyalty of God's people. Gradually, particularly influenced by the writings of Bates, James White, and J. N. Andrews, Adventists came to see the Sabbath as the climax of the messages of the three angels of Revelation 14.⁹

During the late 1840s sabbatarian Adventists had viewed the three angels' messages as successive proclamations of specific truths: (1) the imminence of the second advent, (2) the apostasy of "nominal" Christian churches, and (3) the need to keep *all* of God's commandments. They saw the first two messages as being completed by 1844; the third it was their specific duty to proclaim. Thus the Sabbath was logically the main burden of James White's *Present Truth*. Yet believers must not lose the first messages; hence the *Advent Review's* appearance to recall the importance of their advent experience.

With the combining of these two early journals into the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, we see the beginning of an understanding that the three messages were progressive and cumulative rather than successive. This position was more clearly defined, especially by Ellen White, during the 1850s. Yet primary attention continued to be accorded to the third message, which was believed in effect to include the preceding two. Thus "the third angel's message soon became their greatest concern and the field of their most earnest study."¹⁰

To these early sabbatarian Adventists the final clause of the third message (Revelation 14:12) provided a dramatic portrayal of themselves. They were keeping *all* of God's commandments and patiently awaiting Christ's return. This last event, they now saw clearly, could not be pinpointed to occur on a specific date; but rather it would follow the completion of the investigative judgment.

A full proclamation of the third message required identification of "the beast," "his image," and "his mark." These were all clearly pointed out as destined to feel God's wrath and final destruction. By inference they could be linked to Babylon, from which the second angel had called God's people. It also appeared logical that those receiving the beast's mark were in sharp contrast to the group mentioned in Revelation 7 as being sealed with the "seal of the living God," the group who would join Christ in glory after His return.

Both Bates and James White had early identified the true Sabbath as God's seal. During the 1850s Uriah Smith demonstrated the fourth commandment's similarity to an earthly monarch's seal by pointing out that it not only identified the Ruler of the universe but also His office and

dominion. While recognizing the Sabbath as God's seal, James White rejected the idea that all Sabbath keepers had received this seal and were automatically sure of heaven. The Sabbath, White pointed out, was of no avail apart from a recognition of, and dependence upon, the merits of Christ's atonement for one's sins.¹¹

Study during the early 1850s convinced J. N. Andrews that the beast the third angel was warning against was that mentioned in the first part of Revelation 13. This he, along with many early commentators, identified as the papacy. Andrews then went on to conclude that the "image" was corrupt Protestantism backed by civil power. To him the Sunday laws of some states demonstrated that the image was already in the process of formation. It would be completed at a later date with a universal Sunday law.

The Mark of the Beast

As early as 1847 Joseph Bates had identified Sunday observance as a "mark of the beast." James White agreed. He felt, however, that since the third angel's message was a warning against receiving the beast's mark, it had not yet been placed on men and women. This would come later, when Sunday observance was made obligatory by law. Then the issue of obedience to God or the "beast" would be clearly drawn. At that time, according to Uriah Smith, all humanity would be divided into two classes: Sunday keepers and Sabbath keepers.¹²

From the start both Bates and White had seen the restoration of the true Sabbath as the work of "repairing the breach" in God's law referred to in Isaiah 58:12, 13. Their love for God and their desire to please Him in restoring honor to the Sabbath led the early Seventh-day Adventists to be concerned over the proper time for beginning and ending this day of rest. Influenced by his nautical backgrounds, Captain Bates advocated the view that the Sabbath commenced at 6 p.m. Friday and ended at the same time on Saturday. The captain's prominence as a Sabbath advocate led most of his associates to accept his views. Yet some, including James White, found Bates's arguments not entirely satisfactory. In the mid-1850s J. N. Andrews was asked to study the matter thoroughly. His scriptural investigations led Andrews to argue persuasively for starting and ending the Sabbath at sunset. For a short time Bates and Ellen White clung to six p.m., but Ellen's late-1855 vision endorsing the sunset position led to unanimity on this point. A decade later the Review office, as an aid to church members, produced the first Seventh-day Adventist calendar giving Sabbath sunset times.¹³

The Latter Rain

During their formative years sabbatarian Adventists had no idea that the duration of their "last message of mercy" to the world would extend beyond a few years. Eagerly they awaited a special outpouring of the Holy

Spirit in that latter rain foretold by the prophet Joel, together with a great revival of missionary activity—the loud cry of the angel of Revelation 18. As early as 1851, and again in 1856, they were certain that they were on the verge of this experience. Yet time lingered; the great spiritual outpouring connected with the “loud cry” failed to materialize.¹⁴

The failure of the “latter rain” to come as expected led to introspection on the part of some sabbatarian Adventists. As early as 1853 a *Review* correspondent suggested that it would be well for his fellow believers to heed the counsel given to the Laodicean church in Revelation 3:18. Although James White echoed this suggestion, it fell largely on deaf ears. Sabbatarian Adventists were sure that they were depicted as the Philadelphia church in Revelation. They saw the Laodicean message as applying to the other adventist bodies. Thus it came as a shock when in 1856 Ellen White, on the basis of a recent vision, emphatically advised her fellow believers to heed the counsel of the True Witness to the Laodiceans.¹⁵

Soon the pages of the *Review* were ablaze with readers’ reevaluations of their experiences; dozens acknowledged that they had become “lukewarm.” With dramatic suddenness sabbatarian Adventists completely revised their interpretation of the prophetic periods covered by the Philadelphia and Laodicea churches. They now saw the Philadelphia church as representative of the Millerite movement, while Laodicea pictured the last phase of the true church—in other words, themselves. In retrospect it is easy to see that the acceptance of the Laodicean message in 1856-57 was incomplete and temporary. At the time it seemed to many to herald the “loud cry” of the third angel.¹⁶

Although Seventh-day Adventists were early delivered from the snare of setting specific dates for the second advent, they continued to expect that event in the very near future. And they assiduously examined the prophetic portions of Scripture, especially the books of Daniel and Revelation, for clues as to the nature of coming events that would herald the approaching kingdom of Christ. As spelled out in Proposition 6 of their 1872 *Fundamental Principles*, Seventh-day Adventists affirmed that “a blessing is pronounced upon those who study” prophecy and that “it is to be understood by the people of God sufficiently to show them their position in the world’s history, and the special duties required at their hands.” Proposition 7 expressed faith that all biblical prophecy had been fulfilled “except the closing scenes.”

Final Events

As early as 1847 James White, perhaps influenced by Josiah Litch, parted company with most Protestant and Millerite expositors of prophecy by suggesting that the seven plagues of Revelation 16 did not run parallel to the seven churches and trumpets of earlier chapters, but were still in the future. These plagues, White reasoned, would come after

Jesus finished His work in the most holy place and immediately preceding the final deliverance of the saints from the time of trouble foretold in Daniel 12:1.

By 1850 the small bands of sabbatarian Adventists had largely accepted Elder White's views of the seven "last" plagues and the time of trouble. Even before this time there was a tendency to see certain world events then in process as leading naturally into the time of trouble. Joseph Bates so interpreted the revolutions of 1848 in Europe. Bates set a pattern followed by later Seventh-day Adventist commentators. In 1866, for instance, the *Review* speculated that the Seven Weeks War, then raging between Prussia and Austria, might turn into the last great battle of Armageddon.¹⁷

Of all the seven last plagues none proved so intriguing to Seventh-day Adventists as the sixth, which mentioned the drying up of the river Euphrates and a great battle of Armageddon. There was little in the description of the five earlier plagues to provide clues as to their imminent onset. Not so with the sixth. Mention of the Euphrates suggested specific events in the Near East. During the early 1850s Seventh-day Adventists generally believed that the Euphrates River would literally be dried up during the sixth plague. Then in 1857 Uriah Smith advanced the thesis that the Euphrates represented the territory through which the river flowed—the Turkish Empire. Later, in a series of *Review* articles on Revelation, Smith argued that the sixth plague's drying up of the Euphrates was symbolic of the "consumption of the Turkish empire which would then completely disappear."

Smith's stature as the chief Seventh-day Adventist interpreter of prophecy became established with the publication of his *Thoughts on Revelation* (1865) and *Thoughts on Daniel* (1873). By 1867 Smith had switched his earlier view that the king of the north in the last verses of Daniel 11 represented the papacy, to a belief that it, too, symbolized Turkey. Thus this king's coming to his end with none to help him (Daniel 11:45) coincided nicely with the view that the Turkish Empire was destined to disappear under the sixth plague. James White remained skeptical of Smith's new position and continued to view the king of the north as the papacy. Yet Smith's influence as a prophetic interpreter and his role as editor of the *Review* carried most Seventh-day Adventists along with him. For decades Adventists would be fascinated by events in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸

The United States in Prophecy

Another prophetic passage to which Seventh-day Adventists paid special attention was Revelation 13:11-17. By the early 1850s J. N. Andrews's identification of the two-horned beast mentioned here as the United States had been accepted. With a mixture of wonder, apprehension, and anticipation Adventists watched for events in the United States which

would herald its support of the image of the beast (protestantism) and its enforcement of the beast's mark (Sunday observance). Adventists were certain that much of the prophecy about the two-horned beast had already been fulfilled. Were not the wonders it was to perform evident in such things as the great American railroad network, American industry's harnessing of steam power, and the territorial growth of the nation itself? Some even suggested that the "fire come down from heaven" was the telegraph invented by American Samuel F. B. Morse!

Throughout the 1850s Adventists saw clear evidence that the United States was deserting its earlier lamblike innocence for the role of the dragon. American Protestantism was becoming corrupt, deserting the Bible for man-made creeds, and rivaling Catholicism in its devotion to laws designed to enhance Sunday observance. Basic principles of American democracy were also corrupted by the slave system. Support of slavery by many American churches was simply another evidence of Babylon's fallen condition. Since this was the course God predicted events would take, there was little purpose in Seventh-day Adventists' participation in the political processes. Moreover, there was absolute danger in cooperating with other Protestant groups in revivals or intercommunal activities. Any such cooperation might lead into incorporation in fallen Babylon. Were not the supposed revivals within American Protestantism but a prelude to the churches' engaging in persecution of those who failed to worship the beast or its image or receive its mark?¹⁹

"This Generation"

Adventists did not entirely confine themselves to looking to the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation for signs of the imminent end. The great prophecy of Christ in Matthew 24 provided material for speculation. In 1874 R. F. Cottrell continued to express assurance in the view, common since Millerite days, that "this generation" referred to in verse 34 could mean only that some who had seen the sun and moon darkened in 1780 and the stars fall in 1833 would be alive to see Christ's return. Two years later R. M. Kilgore had no doubts but that those then living would see the second advent. So sure were Adventists of the imminence of that event that it was hard for them to accept James White's admonition that in the exposition of unfulfilled prophecy, "where the history is not written, the student should put forth his propositions with not too much positiveness."²⁰

The Millennium

In addition to their convictions concerning the imminence of the advent, the believers' Millerite experience was reflected in a number of other Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal positions. They staunchly declared the popular Protestant view of the world's conversion and a temporal millennium preceding the advent to be a "fable of these last days."

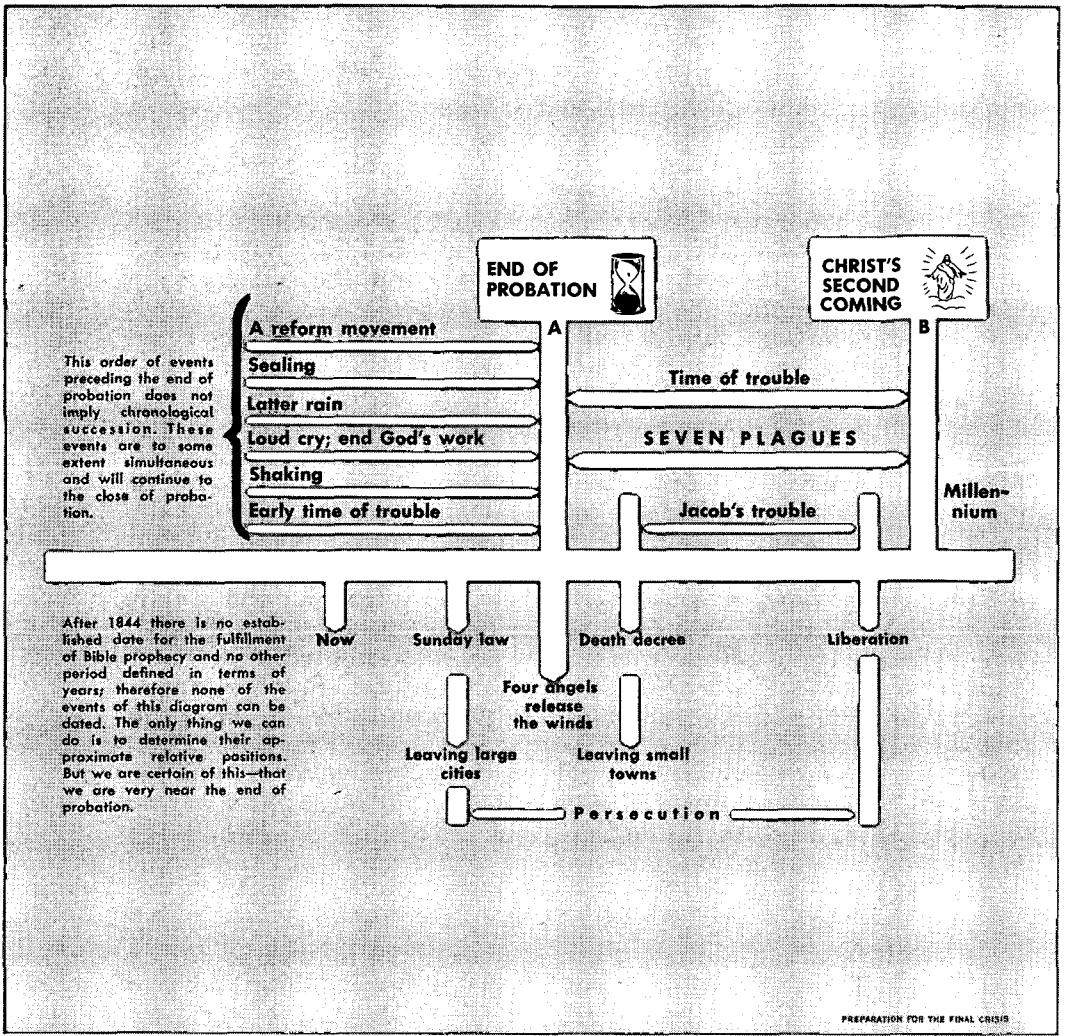


Chart of Final Events

All of the early Seventh-day Adventist leaders found George Storrs's explanation of death as an unconscious sleep biblical. An immortal soul already in heaven or hell seemed to obviate the need for the pre- and post-millennial resurrections they found taught in Scripture. Thus from the start Seventh-day Adventists taught conditional immortality, to be received by the righteous, living and dead, at the second advent. The increased interest in spiritism during the 1850s and 60s and the filtering of spiritualist concepts into Protestant circles were to Adventists more signs of the progressive fall of Babylon.²¹

The final three propositions in the 1872 declaration of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs touched on events that were to follow the second advent. All would have been quite acceptable to the Millerite forebears. Adventists expected the righteous to spend 1000 years in heaven with

Christ, “judging the world and fallen angels.” During this time Satan would be confined to a desolated earth. Following the millennium the righteous, along with the New Jerusalem, would descend to earth; and the wicked would be raised to receive final sentence of annihilation in the fires that would purify the earth from the curse of sin. Then new heavens and a new earth, with the New Jerusalem as its capital, would be the everlasting inheritance of the saints.²²

Baptism

With most Christians, Seventh-day Adventists considered baptism a basic Christian ordinance which gave visible evidence of repentance for sin and acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour. From the start Seventh-day Adventists held immersion to be the only biblically approved mode of baptism. This was only natural for the many Adventists who had earlier been Baptists. Immersion was taught also by the Christian Connection fellowship and was the method of baptism Ellen Harmon had chosen following her youthful conversion.

Throughout the 1850s and 60s there was considerable discussion of the need for rebaptizing those from other Christian communions who had accepted Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. There was general agreement that those who had simply been sprinkled in infancy should be immersed, as sprinkling was really no baptism at all. But what of those who had been immersed as adults? In a long *Review* article in 1867 James White suggested that a new baptism was called for when a person accepted “the truth” (distinctive Adventist views), had been immersed by an “unholy minister,” or had apostatized. At the 1886 General Conference formal action was taken allowing an individual who had been immersed when joining another denomination to decide for himself whether or not to be rebaptized. Ellen White counseled that rebaptism should not be made a test question for those who had been immersed but was to be left to such a person’s individual decision.²³

Adventists expected the new-birth experience, publicly proclaimed through baptism, to result in a moral change in each convert’s life. They recognized that the new life would be a growing experience, with a church member’s conduct becoming gradually more and more like that of Jesus. This was not a uniquely Adventist view, but Seventh-day Adventists went farther than most Christians in condemning worldly adornment, such as the wearing of gold, pearls, or items of “fancy” clothing. All such were held to give clear evidence that the wearer’s heart was fastened upon things of this world rather than upon heaven.

Health Reform

In the early 1850s tobacco, tea, and coffee were seen as injurious not only to health, but to an individual’s spirituality as well. How could a sincere Christian waste money on such harmful items when it might

better be used to spread the gospel? In 1867 the Whites and J. N. Loughborough even asked public forgiveness for selfishly spending money on photographs of themselves!

During the years immediately following Ellen White's health-reform vision, healthful living became almost a moral crusade for Adventists. To disregard the laws of health was considered tantamount to breaking the sixth commandment, hence, a sin. Yet legislating life-style was a touchy thing. The 1872 *Fundamental Principles* were silent on specifics of dress, decorum, and health habits.²⁴

Church Finance

This statement of beliefs was also silent on another sensitive area: the financing of the work of the church. Adventists had been somewhat slow in developing a doctrinal position on church finance. In the earliest days ministers largely supported themselves by part-time farming or engaging in a trade. James White occasionally worked in the hayfield or on the railroad to secure money to travel and to preach the third angel's message in person and through the press. Some Adventist laymen gave generous help to the slowly increasing number of advent preachers. For years Dan Palmer, the Jackson blacksmith, pressed a five-dollar gold piece into the hand of any minister who accepted his hospitality while passing through southeastern Michigan.²⁵

Believers' liberality seemed to increase with the onset of active tent evangelism in 1854. Then came the Panic of 1857, and funds dwindled to the point where many preachers abandoned the ministry and turned to secular employment in order to support their families. It was during this period of financial crisis that a group of Battle Creek members under the leadership of J. N. Andrews engaged in Bible study with the goal of discovering correct principles for supporting the ministry. The result was "Systematic Benevolence," adopted by the Battle Creek church in 1859 and recommended by them to other Advent companies.

Within the next several years Systematic Benevolence, based on Paul's instruction to the Corinthian church to lay aside offerings each first-day morning (1 Corinthians 16:2), gained wide acceptance. Members were encouraged to pledge weekly offerings proportionate to their income and property holdings. In 1861 James White suggested that believers estimate their income as 10 percent of the value of their property and give one tenth of this amount to systematic benevolence. The tithing principle was being introduced.

Throughout the 1860s and 70s the *Review's* columns carried numerous articles in support of systematic benevolence; gradually more precise tithing concepts developed. In 1876 the General Conference in session formally resolved that it was the duty of all brothers and sisters, "under ordinary circumstances, to devote one-tenth of all their income from whatever source, to the cause of God." This was at a time when the United

States was deep in the Panic of 1873, the worst financial depression the country had yet experienced. The average church member was slow to respond to the General Conference resolution. In 1878 a specially appointed committee produced a pamphlet giving Old and New Testament evidence in favor of reckoning the tithe on income rather than on property holdings. This pamphlet's wide circulation, coinciding as it did with an economic upturn, resulted in gratifying increases in tithes paid into what was still called the Systematic Benevolence Fund.²⁶

It was not easy at first to limit Systematic Benevolence funds to the support of the ministry although Seventh-day Adventist leaders believed this was a clear biblical doctrine. Local churches frequently appropriated these funds for church repairs or maintenance. The *Review* took a strong position against such actions. Church maintenance was to be financed from free-will and thank offerings. Yet an individual's use of his income was recognized as a highly personal matter, better left in the long run to the promptings of the Holy Spirit. The conferences stopped short of making payment of an honest tithe a matter of church discipline.²⁷

One final area from the 1872 *Fundamental Principles* deserves comment: Upon what authority did Seventh-day Adventists base all their doctrines? This was clearly a vital area because opponents freely charged them with following the visions of a deluded woman in preference to the Bible. To meet this charge the third proposition clearly affirmed Seventh-day Adventist belief "that the Holy Scriptures . . . contain a full revelation of his [God's] will to man, and are the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

The Prophetic Gift

Yet Adventists could not, and would not, deny that they were specially benefited by the ministry of Ellen White. Without mentioning her by name, Proposition 16 sought to put her work into proper perspective. After affirming that spiritual gifts (one of which was prophecy) were specifically promised the church, the point was made that "these gifts are not designed to supersede, or take the place of the Bible which is sufficient to make us wise unto salvation." Rather the gifts of the Spirit, especially in the last days, were designed "to lead to an understanding of that word which it had inspired, to convince of sin, and work a transformation in the heart and life." By the 1870s most Seventh-day Adventists were willing to argue that this was exactly what Ellen White had done and was doing.

Nearly a quarter of a century after Ellen's first vision her husband described the role he believed God designed for her to fill. Some critics had cast doubt on the idea of Mrs. White's being divinely led because for years she had agreed with Captain Bates that the Sabbath started at 6 p.m. Friday evening. "It does not appear to be the desire of the Lord," Elder White reasoned, "to teach His people by the gifts of the Spirit on the Bible questions until His servants have diligently searched His word." God had

not set the gifts “in the very front and commanded us to look to them to lead us in the path of truth, and the way to heaven.” Elder White saw God as using the gifts, “in the time of His choice [to] correct you, and bring you back to the Bible and save you.”²⁸

From the earliest days of her ministry Ellen White’s colleagues had seen her as an instrument through whom God provided direct encouragement, counsel, and reproof, but not as the source of some new belief or doctrine. Such came from the Bible alone. As General Conference president George I. Butler wrote, “If the Bible should show the visions were not in harmony with it, the Bible would stand and the visions would be given up.”²⁹

Recognizing the prejudice many of his peers had against visions and dreams, James White decided in 1851 not to publish any of his wife’s visions in the *Review*. Sabbatarian Adventists were just beginning to gain a hearing among some who had previously mocked them because of their Millerite backgrounds. Elder White wanted nothing to stand in the way of honest people’s examining Bible truths. He proposed to publish the visions in a *Review Extra* “for the benefit of those who believe that God can fulfill His word and give visions ‘in the last days.’”³⁰

Yet the failure of the *Review* over the next few years to publish more than a handful of Ellen White articles, and these of a general inspirational nature, did not free the emerging church from the criticism that it followed a prophet, not the Bible. In 1855 Elder White exploded. “There is a class of persons who are determined to have it that the *Review* and its conductors make the views of Mrs. White a test of doctrine and Christian fellowship. . . . What has the *Review* to do with Mrs. White’s views? The sentiments published in its columns are all drawn from the Holy Scriptures. No writer of the *Review* has ever referred to them as authority on any point.”³¹

If failure to publish Ellen White’s visions did not spare sabbatarian Adventists from criticism, it did seem to decrease their own interest in this supernatural method of God’s leading. At the same time the visions became “less and less frequent.” Ellen decided that her work was almost done. Not so. At a conference in Battle Creek in November 1855 the participants became convinced that the languishing condition prevailing in the infant church was due to a failure to properly appreciate divine leading through Mrs. White’s visions. Confessions were made, and the Battle Creek church endorsed a new plan to publish the visions in pamphlet form. A few hundred copies of a sixteen-page tract entitled *Testimony for the Church* appeared before the end of 1855. It was the first of a series that would eventually extend over fifty-five years and encompass nearly 5000 pages.³²

Objections to the visions continued. They were too hard to understand. The Bible said nothing about women’s receiving visions. Paul taught that women should not speak in public. The Bible was good enough. The

visions were the result of mesmerism or disease. All these and many more. Adventist leaders felt it necessary to answer these charges over and over again in subsequent years. Perhaps the most effective argument they ever developed was that the instructions given (1) led readers and hearers to the Bible and to Christ, (2) exhorted to the highest moral standards and fuller consecration to God, and (3) "brought comfort and consolation to many hearts." Did not such good fruits proclaim a good source? They were certain that they did.³³

Suggested Reading:

The most comprehensive general account of the development to S.D.A. theology is P. Gerard Damsteeg's *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (1977). Some of the issues mentioned in this chapter are treated in L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), chapters 9, 10, 16-18, 20 and in C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 106-124, 147-151. Good views of basic nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist doctrines may be gleaned from J. White, *Bible Adventism* (1877) and J. N. Andrews, *The Three Messages of Revelation 14:6-12* (1860) both recently reprinted in paperback editions. On Seventh-day Adventists' expanding view of the Laodicean Message see F. Lorenz, *The Only Hope* (1976). Significant theses on key Adventist doctrines, prepared at the S.D.A. Theological Seminary, are E. Gane, "The Arian or Anti-Trinitarian Views Presented in Seventh-day Adventist Literature and the Ellen G. White Answer" (1963) and R. Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905" (1970). S.D.A. attitudes toward the prophetic role of the United States in earth's final days may be seen in U. Smith, *The United States in the Light of Prophecy* (1872) and J. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in E. Gaustad, *The Rise of Adventism* (1975). The latter provides a fresh and intriguing modern interpretation. U. Smith's *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White . . .* (1868) is an early comprehensive defense of S.D.A.'s acceptance of Ellen White's prophetic gift. It may well be supplemented by the facsimile reprint, *Witness of the Pioneers Concerning the Spirit of Prophecy* (1961), compiled by the E. G. White Estate.

1. E. G. White, Letter 18, 1850, to Bro. and Sr. Hastings, E. G. White Estate.

2. L. E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (1954), IV: 1040.

3. *A Declaration of the Fundamental Principles Taught and Practiced by the Seventh-day Adventists* (1872). This document is conveniently reprinted in P. G. Damsteeg, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (1977), pp. 301-305.

4. E. R. Gane, "The Arian or Anti-Trinitarian Views Presented in Seventh-day Adventist Literature and the Ellen G. White Answer," unpublished M.A. thesis, Andrews University (1963), pp. 9-37, 42; H. Varner, "Analysis of the Seventh-day Adventist Pioneer Anti-Trinitarian Position," unpublished term paper, Andrews University (1972), pp. 1-18.

5. Gane, pp. 67-103; L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 296-298, 324.

6. P. G. Damsteeg, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (1977), pp.

170-176; M. J. Davis, "A Study of Major Declarations on the Doctrine of Atonement in Seventh-day Adventist Literature," unpublished M.A. thesis, Andrews University (1962), pp. 31-51; R. Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905," unpublished B.D. thesis, Andrews University (1970), pp. 193-196.

7. Haddock, pp. 175-177, 180-183, 190, 191; Damsteegt, pp. 125-132, 165-168; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 669-673.

8. Haddock, pp. 184-186, 189-191, 222-226; in "The Great Central Subject," *Review and Herald*, November 22, 1881, p. 328, Uriah Smith gives an excellent summary of the matured thinking of S.D.A.'s on the significance of the Sanctuary doctrine and the related views of the atonement, investigative judgment, and blotting out of sins.

9. Damsteegt, pp. 188, 189, 241, 242; C. Coffman, "The Development of an Understanding of the Message of the Third Angel of Revelation 14:9-12 from 1844," unpublished term paper, Andrews University (1972).

10. Damsteegt, pp. 165, 177-179, 189-195; Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, IV: 1043.

11. Damsteegt, pp. 143-146, 195, 196, 209-213.

12. Damsteegt, pp. 195-209.

13. J. Bates, "Time to Commence the Holy Sabbath," *Review*, April 21, 1851, pp. 71, 72; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1251, 1252; *Review*, December 19, 1865, p. 40.

14. Damsteegt, pp. 216-220.

15. *Review*, September 8, 1853, p. 71; *Testimonies*, I: 141-146.

16. Haddock, pp. 200-203; Damsteegt, pp. 244-248; F. Lorenz, "A Study of Early Adventist Interpretations of the Laodicean Message with Emphasis on the Writings of Mrs. E. G. White," unpublished B.D. thesis, Andrews University (1951), pp. 57-70.

17. Froom, *Prophetic Faith . . .*, IV: 1060, 1061; Damsteegt, pp. 214-216; *Review*, June 12, 1866, pp. 13, 14.

18. E. C. Webster, "An Historical Survey of the Interpretation of the 'Drying up of the Euphrates' Amongst Seventh-day Adventists," unpublished term paper, Andrews University (1972), pp. 4-7; as evidence of this fascination, see *Review*, July 11, 1882, p. 437; July 18, 1882, p. 456; and Land, "The Perils of Prophecy," *Adventist Heritage* I (January 1874): 28-33, 55, 56.

19. J. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience" in E. Gaustad, *The Rise of Adventism* (1975), pp. 178-199; Damsteegt, pp. 197-203.

20. *Review*, November 29, 1877, p. 172; July 28, 1874, p. 56; May 18, 1876, p. 155.

21. *Fundamental Principles* (1872); Haddock, p. 214; Damsteegt, pp. 132, 183.

22. *Fundamental Principles* (1872).

23. Froom, *Prophetic Faith . . .*, IV: 1044; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 126, 127; B. Moore, "The Seventh-day Adventist Position on Re-baptism in the 19th Century," unpublished term paper, Andrews University (1971), pp. 1-17.

24. Damsteegt, pp. 224-240; Haddock, pp. 206-208, 217-220; *Review*, May 8, 1866, p. 180; May 22, 1866, pp. 196, 197; March 5, 1867, p. 192; June 7, 1881, p. 364; September 26, 1882, p. 621.

25. *Review*, April 5, 1881, p. 216.

26. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1452-1455; M. Martin and L. Gelber, *Dictionary of American History* (1965), p. 465.

27. *Review*, March 2, 1876, p. 67; October 14, 1880, p. 252; January 15, 1881, pp. 35-37.

28. *Review*, February 25, 1868, p. 168.

29. *Review Supplement*, August 14, 1883, p. 12.

30. Quoted in A. L. White, *Ellen G. White, Messenger to the Remnant* (1969), p. 51.

31. *Review*, October 16, 1855, p. 61.

32. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, pp. 52, 53, 62, 63.

33. [U. Smith], *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White, A Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts According to the Scriptures* (1868), pp. 6, 7.

CHAPTER 12

Righteousness by Faith: Minneapolis and Its Aftermath

Many readers glancing through the 1872 statement of basic Seventh-day Adventist beliefs might well have received the impression that Adventists were “legalists.” The emphasis seemed to be on what man must do rather than on what Christ had done and would do in and through His followers. Hidden away in the center of the statement was the acknowledgment that no people could “of themselves render obedience” to God’s just requirements, but were dependent on Christ both for justification and for “grace whereby to render acceptable obedience to his holy law in time to come.” Yet these words were followed by several propositions emphasizing one’s duty to keep the Ten Commandments. They came far short of a ringing assertion that it was Christ’s righteousness alone, lovingly offered and appropriated through faith, that made the believer acceptable to God.

The founders of Seventh-day Adventism had not intended to move in this direction. It was their love for Jesus, their appreciation of what He had done for them, that had made them so eager for His return in 1844. But then, in their bitter disappointment, they had become conscious of a work to be done before Christ’s return. The breach in God’s law must be repaired—the seventh-day Sabbath restored. Here was a test, divinely ordained, to demonstrate whether or not those who professed to love God actually did so.

By the 1870s and 80s a new generation of Seventh-day Adventists had arisen. Ridiculed as legalists and Judaizers by fellow Christians, persecuted in some areas, these Seventh-day Adventists searched the Bible to sustain their Sabbath beliefs. They found it a veritable arsenal of proof texts which could be marshaled with crushing logic to demonstrate the

perpetuity of the Sabbath. They courted debate and, imperceptibly to themselves, tended to become just what they were charged with being: legalists looking to their own actions for salvation rather than to Jesus Christ.¹

Had Seventh-day Adventists listened carefully and applied all that Ellen White was saying during these years, the story might well have developed differently. In 1856 Mrs. White had shocked her fellow believers by pointing out their Laodicean condition. Contrition and repentance followed. But then came preoccupation with the necessity for denominational organization, the American Civil War, new light on healthful living, and advancing the third angel's message in distant places. In all of these it was so easy to let the attention focus on what the *individual* must *do*. (Americans were, after all, known as a nation of doers).

Ellen White tried valiantly to counteract the tendency of Adventists to flatter themselves on their good moral character and obedience to God's laws. "We must renounce our own righteousness," she wrote in an article prepared for the 1882 camp meetings, "and plead for the righteousness of Christ to be imputed to us. We must depend wholly upon Christ for our strength. Self must die. We must acknowledge that all we have is from the exceeding riches of divine grace." As Ellen saw it, faith in Christ's sacrifice and merits should be followed by love, "and love by obedience." Then the Holy Spirit would provide the power to transform the believer into "the divine image." Sadly Mrs. White expressed the belief that "this experience is understood by but few who profess the truth."²

The Message of Waggoner and Jones

What would it take to make Adventists understand? Perhaps a new voice? A challenge from within their ranks to some firmly held interpretation? Both were in the making. The very summer of Ellen White's appeal a twenty-seven-year-old physician was sitting on the edge of the Healdsburg, California, camp-meeting crowd. Just what triggered the unique insight he was about to experience is unknown, but suddenly Ellet J. Waggoner seemed to see a vivid representation of Christ hanging on the cross. As never before the realization flooded over him that this act of love was for *his* sins. God the Son was freely offering to him, E. J. Waggoner, His righteousness in place of a life of sin. Deeply moved, the young doctor resolved that all his future study of the Scriptures would be directed toward more fully comprehending this glorious truth and making it intelligible to others.³

Ellet Waggoner was a second-generation Adventist. His father, "J. H.," had been one of the first to join the sabbatarian Adventists from outside Millerite ranks. Elder J. H. Waggoner soon became well-known in Adventist circles; he was highly respected for the cogent reasoning evident in his sermons and *Review* articles. At James White's invitation Joseph Waggoner had moved from Michigan to California to help in editorial

work at the Pacific Press. In 1881 he succeeded Elder White as editor of the *Signs of the Times*.

The next year another young man, Alonzo T. Jones, also became an assistant editor of the *Signs*. Jones differed markedly from young Waggoner, who was “short, stocky, somewhat diffident,” “a product of the schools, with a leonine head well packed with learning, and . . . a silver tongue.” Alonzo Jones had spent three years in the United States Army. Becoming convinced of the truth of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine while serving at Fort Walla Walla, he “studied day and night to amass a great store of historical and Biblical knowledge.” In spite of a “naturally abrupt” manner, “uncouth posturing and gestures,” and “a singularity of speech and manner,” the tall, angular Jones became a powerful preacher who won many persons to the advent cause. These two young men, physically and temperamentally so different, were soon closely associated in a campaign that would shake Adventism like an earthquake.⁴

When J. H. Waggoner left in 1886 to help strengthen the Adventist publishing work in Europe, his son and Jones became coeditors of the *Signs*. Both men also taught occasionally at Healdsburg College. Intensive individual study, especially of Romans and Galatians, had turned both young men into enthusiastic preachers of “righteousness by faith” in the merits of Jesus Christ. Seeking to correct what they regarded as an unbalanced viewpoint within Adventism, the duo set out to convince readers of the *Signs*, students at Healdsburg, and members of the San Francisco and Oakland churches that righteousness by faith must become much more than an abstract doctrinal theory. It must be a living reality, a precious experience transforming the life of believers.

Official Reaction to the Message

It would seem that such a campaign would have called forth the hearty approval of Adventism’s world leaders. Not so. Back at denominational headquarters in Battle Creek two respected elder statesmen became increasingly agitated over the new wind blowing out of the west. They were General Conference president George I. Butler and *Review* editor Uriah Smith. These men took particular exception to the exegesis of Galatians 3 promoted by Waggoner and Jones. The Westerners had reverted to the early Seventh-day Adventist position that the law Paul here referred to as the “schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ” (verse 24) was the whole body of moral law including the Ten Commandments. This position Adventists had almost entirely abandoned during the 1860s and 70s; the “schoolmaster” law was reinterpreted to mean the ceremonial and sacrificial laws of Moses which pointed forward to the Messiah. This reinterpretation had developed largely as a reaction to Protestant clergymen who interpreted Paul’s statement in Galatians 3:25 (“we are no longer under a schoolmaster”) to mean that the Ten-Commandment law had been abrogated; thus, the seventh-day Sabbath was no longer viable.

To President Butler, Waggoner and Jones's teaching on Galatians 3 would play directly into the hands of enemies of the Sabbath. And this just at the time when persecution of Seventh-day Adventists for Sunday-law violation in Arkansas and Tennessee seemed to herald the long-expected final test of loyalty to God. In addition Smith was concerned because Jones, on the basis of extensive historical study, was pointing out that Seventh-day Adventists had erred in listing the Huns as one of the ten kingdoms described prophetically in Daniel 7. Jones believed that the Alemanni should be substituted for the Huns. Although Smith earlier had encouraged Jones to investigate these details closely, he now had qualms about accepting anything which would indicate error, however insignificant, in Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of the prophecies.⁵

Of particular concern to Elder Butler was the fact that Waggoner and Jones had given their views such wide publicity before bringing them before the church's "leading brethren" for approval. This course of action could lead only to division and controversy, hence Butler felt it his "duty to bring the subject before the General Conference . . . the only tribunal in our body where such questions can be properly considered and passed upon."

In the summer of 1886 Butler appealed to Ellen White, then on a two-year mission to Europe, for any light which she might have on the subject of the law referred to in Galatians 3. Receiving no immediate answer, Butler persuaded the 1886 General Conference to establish a nine-member theological committee to consider the divergent viewpoints. After hours of debate this committee, which included Butler, Smith, and Waggoner, divided five to four in support of the view that it was indeed the ceremonial law that was referred to in Galatians 3. Fearing that this close division, if revealed, would only intensify the controversy, Butler settled for a conference vote expressing disapproval of any doctrinal discussion in church schools or journals which might cause dissension. On this point he had the backing of eight of the members of the theological committee. Only E. J. Waggoner continued to press for freedom of discussion.⁶

The next spring the major participants in the debate all received words of censure from Ellen White. Waggoner and Jones were reproved for their overconfident attitude and for publicly agitating matters Mrs. White deemed of secondary importance. Seventh-day Adventists, she told these young men, must present a united front before the world. Butler and Smith were reminded that they were not infallible. They should be careful not to take an overly sharp attitude toward younger workers. Ellen White refused to state her opinion as to which law was referred to in Galatians or to take a position in the Huns-Alemanni controversy. Instead, she declared that an open and frank discussion of the entire matter was now imperative.⁷

Eighteen months passed before the discussion Ellen White requested

took place. During the interim Waggoner and Jones did not push their views openly and vigorously. Both, especially Elder Jones, became active in the movement to oppose Sunday laws. Jointly they edited *The American Sentinel*, a new journal the Pacific Press had begun in 1886 to foster the cause of religious liberty. In 1888 Dr. Waggoner did prepare a small tract entitled *The Gospel in the Book of Galatians* as a response to Elder Butler's earlier *The Law in Galatians*. These were distributed upon request to those who had received Butler's pamphlet and to those interested in a more thorough exposition of Waggoner's position.

Some time before the 1888 General Conference was called to convene on October 17 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the decision was made to let Waggoner and Jones present their views before the church leaders there assembled. Jones was invited to present his research on Daniel 7, especially the ten kingdoms which succeeded the Roman Empire, at a special Bible Institute called for the week preceding the conference. Waggoner was scheduled for a series of devotional talks during both the institute and the conference. It was expected that in these he would present his understanding of the relationship of Christ and His righteousness to distinctive Adventist doctrines.⁸

Malaria and nervous exhaustion caused by years of overwork kept Elder Butler from attending the Minneapolis Conference. But from his sickbed in Battle Creek the General Conference president wired his chief supporters, men like Uriah Smith and J. H. Morrison, president of Butler's old home Iowa Conference, to "stand by the old landmarks." Butler's suspicions had been aroused by a letter from California reporting that Jones and Waggoner had enlisted W. C. White, James and Ellen's younger son, and others from the West Coast to stampede the General Conference into accepting their views.⁹

The 1888 Conference

Many of the delegates to the Minneapolis Conference came with strong prejudices against the young Westerners, who were looked upon as challenging both the church leadership and basic tenets of the denomination. These prejudices were in some instances strengthened during the course of Elder Jones's exposition of the great historical prophecies. Jones had done his homework well. No one was able effectively to dispute the historical evidence he cited in favor of the Alemanni's right to supplant the Huns as one of the ten kingdoms succeeding Rome.

Uriah Smith, Adventism's most noted prophetic expositor, was placed on the defensive. On one occasion he modestly disclaimed originality for the list of kingdoms he had given in *Thoughts on Daniel*. Smith admitted having simply followed Millerite and earlier interpreters on this point. In reply Jones remarked rather caustically, "Elder Smith has told you that he does not know anything about this matter. I do; and I don't want you to blame me for what he does not know." Ellen White immediately rebuked

this rash statement, but its impact on many delegates remained. Although they could not controvert Jones's reasoning, they were appalled by his brashness and retreated to the security of the familiar and traditional list. A sharp division developed, with delegates calling themselves "Huns" or "Alemanni" after the interpretation they accepted. Thus did a dispute over a minor point set the pot of controversy boiling before the really significant theological presentation began.¹⁰

As Dr. Waggoner's studies on Romans and Galatians progressed, many delegates found his views to be far different from what they had expected. Waggoner refused to be drawn into debate over the law in Galatians 3. The real point, he affirmed, is that all *any* law can do is to demonstrate man's sinfulness and inability to justify himself before God. But Waggoner was enthusiastic over the divine remedy available to all who have faith to believe. Christ, in whom dwelt "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (Colossians 2:9), stood anxious to cover the repentant sinner with His own robe of righteousness, thus making him acceptable before God. Christ also stood just as ready to impart victory over future sins as to forgive those that were past.¹¹

The traditionalist camp was surprised at the impact of Waggoner's studies. Many delegates later maintained that "their true Christian experience in the gospel" began at this time. Particularly disconcerting to Smith, Morrison, and their supporters was Ellen White's strong endorsement of the thrust of Elder Waggoner's messages. In the ten formal presentations she made during the course of the institute and conference, Mrs. White challenged the delegates to a deeper study of God's Word and a genuine heart conversion to Christ. She confessed to seeing "the beauty of truth" in Dr. Waggoner's presentations "of the righteousness of Christ in relation to the law." In simple words she repeatedly directed the delegates to consider Christ, His sacrifice, and what He wanted to do for His people.

At one point in the proceedings Elder R. M. Kilgore, a member of the General Conference Committee, moved that any further discussion of "righteousness by faith" be postponed until some later time when Elder Butler could be present. Ellen White was immediately on her feet, protesting that the Lord's work was not to wait on any man. Waggoner's presentations continued.¹²

The main formal attempt to "answer" Waggoner's line of reasoning was made at the conference by Elder J. H. Morrison. He began by maintaining that Seventh-day Adventists had always believed and taught justification by faith—which was technically true, although Morrison failed to recognize that this vital doctrine had become obscured by the heavy Seventh-day Adventist emphasis on obedience to the law. In fact, Elder Morrison expressed the fear that Waggoner's messages were directing attention away from the special message Adventists had been commissioned to give during earth's final hour: the need to return to explicit obedience to the

Sabbath commandment! Sincere as Morrison's presentation was, it seemed to some that "His fodder ran short" and "that he was in the dark."

Waggoner and Jones presented a unique rebuttal. They confined themselves simply to reading alternately and without comment, sixteen passages of Scripture. To one observer this made "an everlasting impression . . . that time can never efface."¹³

Apparent Rejection of Message

Yet the opposition refused to admit defeat. In what was without doubt the saddest aspect of the conference, prejudice and jealousy degenerated into open criticism and jesting in the halls and boardinghouses where the delegates stayed. "The servants whom the Lord sent," Ellen White reported, "were caricatured, ridiculed, and placed in a ridiculous light." The criticism extended to Ellen White herself. It was intimated that she was becoming slightly senile and had been completely "taken in" by Jones and Waggoner. To a correspondent Mrs. White wrote: "My testimony was ignored, and never in my life was I treated as at the conference." Ever after she would remember this quarrelsome, unchristian conduct; to her it was a "*terrible experience* . . . one of the saddest chapters in the history of the believers in present truth."¹⁴

No formal vote either approving or rejecting any of the controverted points was taken by the 1888 conference. If such a vote had been planned, Ellen White effectively blocked it by a message read to the delegates shortly before they dispersed for home:

"The messages coming from your president at Battle Creek, are calculated to stir you up to make hasty decisions and to take decided positions; but I warn you against doing this. You are not now calm; there are many who do not know what they believe. It is perilous to make decisions upon any controverted point without dispassionately considering all sides of the question. Excited feelings will lead to rash movements. It is certain that many have come to this meeting with false impressions and perverted opinions. They have imaginings that have no foundation in truth. Even if the position which we have held upon the two laws is truth, the Spirit of truth will not countenance any such measures to defend it as many of you would take."¹⁵

Political Outcome

Some idea of the deep division among the Minneapolis delegates may be inferred from the problems that arose over selecting those who would lead the denomination during the coming year. Elder Butler had announced that his health would not allow him to continue in the presidency. Ellen White approved Butler's decision to step down. To a family member she confided that he had already been in office three years too long and had come to think of himself as virtually infallible. But who should succeed him? When Mrs. White's advice was asked, she suggested

Elder O. A. Olsen, then working to broaden Adventism's base in Scandinavia. Not having been present in Minneapolis, Olsen was not clearly identified with either faction. His previous experience as conference president in four midwestern states had brought him into close association with Elder Butler, and he proved acceptable to the latter's partisans.

Although Uriah Smith was allowed to retire as conference secretary, he was replaced by D. T. Jones, a Butler supporter. By a remarkably close vote of forty to thirty-nine the delegates decided to retain Elder Butler on the General Conference Executive Committee. He declined this assignment, however, and a few weeks later retired to Florida to nurse his sick wife and regain his own health. W. C. White was then selected by the executive committee to serve as acting president until Elder Olsen could return to the United States.¹⁶

As the delegates left Minneapolis, W. C. White observed that they went "with a great variety of sentiments. Some felt that it had been the greatest blessing of their lives; others, that it marked the beginning of a period of darkness, and that the evil effects of what had been done at the conference could never be effaced." Years later A. T. Jones remembered that those present at Minneapolis had divided into three camps: (1) those who wholeheartedly accepted the presentations on righteousness by faith, (2) those who rejected them, and (3) those who were undecided in the matter.

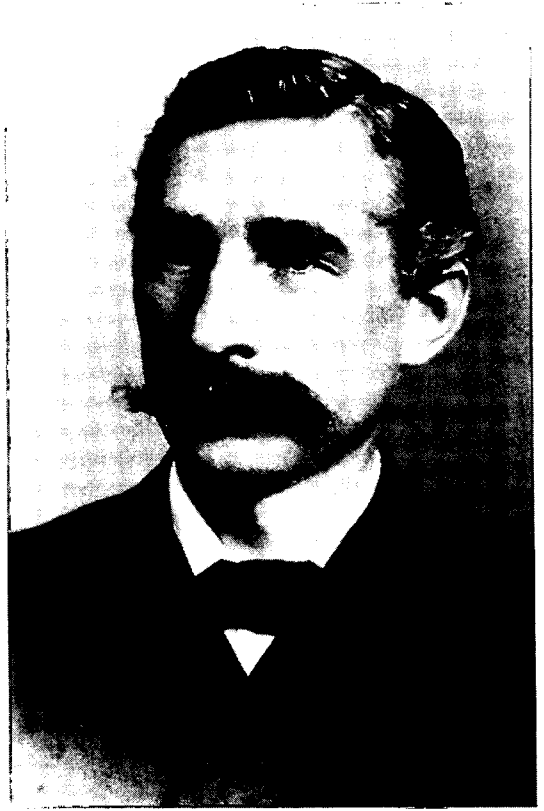
Ellen White Counsel

Ellen White was sadly distressed at the prejudice and pride of opinion that had kept many of the leading ministers from engaging in prayerful and open-minded study of the Scriptures. For herself, she recognized in Dr. Waggoner's studies the same glorious truths that had been repeatedly presented by God's Spirit to her and which she had tried for forty-four years to pass on to her church. This was not new light, she maintained, but "old light placed where it should be in the third angel's message." The conference had been "the hardest and most incomprehensible tug of war we have ever had among our people," and Ellen "tremble[d] to think what would have been" if she had not been there. Minneapolis shook Ellen White's confidence in many of her former close associates, but she had found two new allies there who could present with power just the messages from God which she believed the people needed. She was determined that they would be heard.¹⁷

If church leaders could not hear, Ellen White would go direct to the people. But first she would make one more attempt to reach those at the top. Thus the month following the conference saw her in Battle Creek, where others had arrived before her. Their reports, along with letters from Minneapolis, confirmed Elder Butler's prejudices and suspicions. Ellen White tried to impress Butler with her desire for unity, that all she desired was "to see the matter as it is, and make things straight"; but she felt he virtually ignored her, one he had repeatedly acknowledged as the Lord's



E. J. Waggoner



A. T. Jones

special messenger. Sadly she decided that she could do nothing to help him at this time.

Others in Battle Creek also treated Mrs. White coolly. Always before when in this city, so long her home, she had been urged to speak in the tabernacle. Now, although the customary invitation was given, two of the local elders called to inquire what her topic would be. The hint was not very subtle, and Ellen firmly told them that this was a matter best left between her and the Lord. She also urged them to invite A. T. Jones to speak in the tabernacle. They hedged, saying they would need to check first with Uriah Smith. Then do so quickly, Ellen urged, because Elder Jones has a message from God for the people. Jones did get to preach, and many were benefited.¹⁸

Rebuffed at headquarters, Mrs. White began a wide swing throughout the East: South Lancaster, Washington, D.C., Chicago. South Lancaster was S. N. Haskell country, and Haskell had sided with Waggoner on the 1886 Theological Committee. Ellen's reception here was all that she had hoped for. To her it seemed that the message she brought rekindled the spirit and power of the 1843-44 movement. In Washington she "saw the work of God. His spirit was poured out in rich measure."

Chicago proved another triumph. Ellen was greatly encouraged by the first major break from the ranks of those church leaders who had closed their ears and hearts to the Minneapolis message. Elder R. M. Kilgore,

Illinois Conference president, caught the joy of depending “entirely upon Christ’s righteousness, and not upon works of merit.” Confessing his wrong attitude at Minneapolis, Kilgore telegraphed Seventh-day Adventist congregations throughout the area to join the spiritual feast they were enjoying as they listened to Ellen White and Alonzo Jones.

But it was not always this way. At the invitation of Michigan Conference President Isaac Van Horn, a doubter at Minneapolis, Ellen White journeyed to Potterville to meet with the ministers of his conference. She hoped for great things, only to be disappointed. The leaders in the church’s largest conference stood by Elders Butler and Smith. It was much the same at Des Moines, where she met the Iowa Conference workers. Although Ellen felt the Spirit of the Lord working, there were no thorough confessions of wrong attitudes by leaders who had been so active in the opposition at Minneapolis.¹⁹

Throughout the summer and fall of 1889 Ellen White, Jones, and Waggoner fanned out across the nation, speaking at camp meetings and ministerial institutes. Sometimes they went together, sometimes separately. Ellen would not go to all the places to which she was invited. If she perceived that a local leader was still holding adamantly to the opposition role he had assumed at Minneapolis, she felt it would be more profitable to go elsewhere. In general she was gratified by the people’s response. At the Pennsylvania camp meeting many “testified to the fact that they had never before attended meetings where they had received so much instruction and such precious light.” Years later A. T. Jones remembered that the activities of this summer had “turned the tide *with the people*, and *apparently* with most of the leading men.”²⁰

Most, perhaps, but not all. Utilizing his position as editor of the *Review*, Uriah Smith expressed the fear that Waggoner and Jones were directing Seventh-day Adventists toward antinomianism (the belief that under the gospel dispensation, faith alone is sufficient, obedience to the moral law is unnecessary). “The law is spiritual, holy, just, and good, the divine standard of righteousness,” Smith proclaimed. “Perfect obedience to it will develop perfect righteousness, and that is the only way anyone can attain to righteousness.” Of course, Smith continued, all Seventh-day Adventists knew that perfect obedience could be rendered only with Christ’s help.²¹

Smith’s article drew a vigorous protest from Ellen White. So much so that he felt it necessary to back down a bit, claiming his position had been misunderstood. All he wanted was for equal prominence to be given to Christ and “the law of righteousness,” anything less provided only an “imperfect and incomplete view.” Having said this, Smith dropped discussion of justification by faith in the columns of the *Review*. It was a different story in the *Signs*, where E. J. Waggoner was editor.

A year after Minneapolis another General Conference session rolled around, this time in Battle Creek. Ellen White noted a major difference:

“The spirit that was in the meeting at Minneapolis is not here.” The summer’s work had been effective. So had Elder Olsen’s leadership. Ellen found him standing “well, firm and free, and boldly on the right side.” Instead of the ridicule and jesting which had characterized the 1888 conclave, there were many testimonies “that the past year has been the best of their life [sic]; the light shining forth from the Word of God has been clear and distinct—justification by faith, Christ our righteousness.”²²

Ministerial Institutes

As the next few months passed, Adventist audiences continued to hear much about the need to trust solely in Christ. During the two winters that followed the 1889 General Conference special institutes were held in Battle Creek especially for Seventh-day Adventist ministers. Mrs. White and both Elders Jones and Waggoner served as instructors at the first institute, and Waggoner aided in the second as well. At the 1891 General Conference, Dr. Waggoner presented a series of sixteen lectures on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, an outstanding biblical source for enlightenment on justification by faith.

All of this, along with continued emphasis in the *Signs*, helped quicken the religious experience of many Seventh-day Adventists. Ellen White rejoiced as she saw “how wonderfully the Spirit of God wrought.” Yet she also continued to mourn the failure of key men to see fully the significance of the Minneapolis message. She was distressed at the personal rancor they continued to bear toward Jones and Waggoner, men whom she was positive had been sent of God at this time to herald a vital truth. Ellen was particularly concerned over the continued covert opposition of Uriah Smith. His position as editor of the *Review* and his long role as a denominational spokesman gave him wide influence. She saw him as a roadblock preventing other key leaders such as D. T. Jones, R. C. Porter, J. H. Morrison, and LeRoy Nicola from coming into the light.²³

Confession and Contrition

During the closing days of 1890 Ellen White was especially burdened for Elder Smith. She wrote several earnest appeals to him. These, coupled with her moving Week of Prayer call for church members to *truly* repent and *really* come to Christ, had a deep effect on Uriah Smith. Only a few days later he requested a personal interview with Mrs. White, during which she noted a much different attitude on Smith’s part. This was followed by his meeting with a small group of church leaders two days later to confess his wrong attitudes and mistaken opposition to the messages presented in 1888. He repeated and expanded these confessions on several occasions before large audiences in the Battle Creek Tabernacle.

Ellen White rejoiced that Elder Smith had “fallen on the Rock and was broken.” Once more his influence would point in the right direction.

Others would follow his example, but not at once. And their delay, Mrs. White was certain, hindered the cause she loved from advancing as it should. She saw the work of revival begun with "the revelation of the righteousness of Christ" in 1888 as "the beginning of the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth" (Revelation 18:1-3). This was the "Loud Cry" that was immediately to precede the second advent. But the "blindness" of many had "hindered the advancement of the very message God meant should go forth from the Minneapolis meeting" and as a result Adventists were "years behind" where God intended them to be.²⁴

Statements such as these must have caused a great deal of soul-searching among those who still harbored doubts as to whether or not Waggoner and Jones's messages were really of God. In the early months of 1893 several prominent actors in the Minneapolis debate changed sides: I. D. Van Horn, LeRoy Nicola, and J. H. Morrison. Of Morrison Elder Jones later wrote that he "cleared himself of all connection with that opposition, and put himself body, soul, and spirit into the truth and blessing of righteousness by faith, by one of the finest and noblest confessions that I ever heard."

That June the "old general" who had felt repudiated at Minneapolis joined the group who now recognized that "additional light of great importance" had begun to shine at that historic convocation. It was not easy for George I. Butler to admit mistakes, but he did so manfully. The years since 1888 had been hard ones for him, full of "affliction, weakness, sorrow, perplexity, temptation, and trial, but not," he stirringly affirmed, "of apostasy." The next year he joined A. T. Jones in bringing the major addresses to the Florida camp meeting. Following the death of his invalid wife Butler returned to active leadership, first as president of the Florida and later the Southern Union Conference.²⁵

Not all of those who had jeered at Minneapolis followed the example of Smith, Butler, and Morrison. One group especially, made up of leaders in the business management of the Review and Herald Publishing Association, were particularly obdurate. They included Clement Eldridge, A. R. Henry, Harmon Lindsay, and Frank E. Belden. Their "malarious" influence spread throughout Battle Creek and proved a snare to O. A. Olsen in the later years of his General Conference presidency. All but Henry eventually severed connections with Adventism, and Henry's declining years were spent in quarrelsome litigation with the church and its institutions. One scoffer, Louis R. Conradi, did much to build up Adventism in Germany, only eventually to turn openly against it in the 1930s. His doctrinal deviations began in 1888.²⁶

The 1890s

Throughout the 1890s the image of the two young men, widely regarded from 1886-89 as mavericks out to break the unity of the church, changed radically. They became virtual heroes. Elder Jones led the fight for reli-

gious liberty, became a respected Bible teacher at Battle Creek College, was a member of the General Conference Committee, and from 1897 to 1901 was editor of the *Review*. Uriah Smith, his old antagonist, was demoted during those years to associate editor. Jones made major presentations at the General Conferences of 1893, 1895, and 1899. During the entire decade his voice was frequently and effectively heard proclaiming the need to trust in the sanctifying righteousness of Christ.

Dr. Waggoner continued in editorial work at the Pacific Press until 1891. The next year he went to England to edit *Present Truth*, the Seventh-day Adventist evangelistic paper there. He remained for a decade, returning briefly to America to play major roles in the General Conferences of 1897, 1899, and 1901. His pen stayed active in the cause he had begun in 1886.²⁷

But undoubtedly the most active pen during this decade was that of Ellen White. During the 1890s she published five books which had woven through their pages, in simple but effective form, the great truths of man's need to depend completely upon Jesus for both justification and sanctification. These books were *Patriarchs and Prophets*, *Steps to Christ*, *The Desire of Ages*, *Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing*, and *Christ's Object Lessons*. Their continuing influence has prevented Seventh-day Adventists from ever again falling into quite the same danger from legalism that existed in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁸

A Faltering Reform

And what of the spiritual awakening which had followed Minneapolis and seemed during the next several years to herald the onset of the "latter rain" and the earth's final hours? It faltered, wavered—and got sidetracked for a quarter of a century. The reasons were many. Pockets of resistance to the 1888 message, especially as it related to the law in Galatians, persisted, especially in the Great Plains states, Texas, and sections of the Far West. As late as 1902, Ellen White reported that there were some "not yet healed of their defection" in this matter, but who were ready to "plunge into this subject once more."²⁹

Then, sadly, during the early years of the twentieth century, those two messengers of 1888, Jones and Waggoner, faltered in their belief in some aspects of the advent message. Their lights dimmed and all but went out. Ellen White had foreseen this possibility. "It is quite possible that Elder Jones or Waggoner may be overthrown by the temptations of the enemy," she wrote in 1892; "but if they should be, this would not prove that they had had no message from God, or that the work that they had done was all a mistake." Ellen recognized that some who had opposed the 1888 message all along would use any such defection by the messengers as proof that the message was faulty. Such a position she termed a "fatal delusion."³⁰ Yet the faltering of the messengers unquestionably helped to sidetrack the revival of the early 1890s.

There were other reasons. Too much of the “spirit of Minneapolis” continued in the church—the spirit of criticism, faultfinding, and controversy. Other men and issues were involved, but the spirit was there—and it was *not* the Spirit of Christ. Doctrinal heresy threatened early in the twentieth century in the form of pantheism, insidiously promoted by leading figures of long standing in the church. Church leaders became preoccupied with the building of institutions, and more time was spent in planning schools, sanitariums, and publishing houses than in making Christ central in all Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. A heavy burden of debt accompanied the building of these institutions, adding its strains to the load carried by harried administrators. There were problems of reorganization, transfer of church headquarters, a sudden explosion into dozens of mission fields. All these, and more, tended to center Seventh-day Adventist administrators’ eyes on problems of organization rather than on Jesus, *the* solution to all problems. But that story is to come.

Suggested Reading:

The General Conference of 1888 and the impact of the presentation of Righteousness by Faith in Christ alone on the S.D.A. Church have been the subject of considerable interest and controversy. The student may well begin with the pioneer study by A. G. Daniells, *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926). A compilation of enlightening Ellen G. White statements may be found in *Selected Messages*, Book I, pp. 350-400. Brief and, on the whole, balanced accounts of the controversy are found in A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II, chapter 15, and in C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 231-241. Some forty years after the Minneapolis General Conference, a succession of S.D.A. ministers began to assert that the message of righteousness by faith had been rejected by the church in 1888. These charges called forth a series of replies, all worth examining although all somewhat overly optimistic and defensive. Each has its distinctive insights and limitations. They are: N. F. Pease, *By Faith Alone* (1962), particularly chapters 8-10; A. V. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966); and L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 148-374, 518-540, 673-686. For the best idea of what was actually presented at Minneapolis see E. J. Waggoner’s *Christ and His Righteousness* (1890) and *The Glad Tidings* (1900), both available in recent paperback reprints.

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1. A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: 281-288.
 2. E. G. White, *Testimonies*, V: 219, 220.
 3. L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 239, 240.
 4. Spalding, II: 291; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 707, 1385.
 5. Froom, pp. 240, 241; Spalding, II: 291, 292; E. J. Waggoner, “Comments on Galatians 3. No. 9,” *Signs of the Times*, September 2, 1886; G. I. Butler, *The Law in the Book of Galatians: Is it the Moral*

- Law, or does it Refer to that System of Laws Peculiarly Jewish?* (1886), pp. 3, 4; *Advent Review*, October 27, 1885, p. 666; December 8, 1885, p. 768.
6. Butler, *The Law in the Book of Galatians*, p. 6; Butler to E. G. White, June 20 and December 16, 1866, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *Review*, December 14, 1886, p. 779.
7. E. G. White letters, B-37-1887 and B-13-1887, E. G. White Estate.
8. E. J. Waggoner, *The Gospel in the Book of Galatians; A Review* (1888), p. 1; C. C. McReynolds, "Experiences while at the General Conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1888," unpublished manuscript, E. G. White Estate, Document File 189; R. T. Nash, "The Minneapolis Conference—an eyewitness account," unpublished manuscript, June 25, 1955, E. G. White Estate, Document File 189.
9. McReynolds manuscript; Nash manuscript; Froom, pp. 241, 242; E. G. White, Letter H-7-88, E. G. White Estate.
10. A. T. Robinson, unpublished manuscript, January 30, 1931, E. G. White Estate, Document File 189; A. T. Jones to "Brother" Holmes, May 19, 1921 (copy), E. G. White Estate, Document File 53.
11. N. Pease, *By Faith Alone* (1962), pp. 132-135; Froom, pp. 188-217. Froom argues that the studies Waggoner presented were published in essentially the same form in his book *Christ and His Righteousness* (1890). The problem with this view is that the book is based largely on Hebrews, while the limited contemporary reports in the *Review* indicate that Waggoner's message was primarily based on Romans and Galatians. It seems probable, however, that the main thrust of Waggoner's presentations do come through in *Christ and His Righteousness* and in his later books, *The Gospel in Creation* (1893) and *The Glad Tidings* (1900).
12. Jones to Holmes, May 19, 1921; Nash manuscript; Ellen White's 1888 presentations are conveniently available in A. V. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory* (1966), pp. 242-302; the E. G. White quotation is found in Olson, p. 295.
13. Nash manuscript; Froom, pp. 246, 247.
14. E. G. White, "Looking Back at Minneapolis," MS 24, 1888; E. G. White, Letter 14, 1889, Letter 7, 1888, and Letter 179, 1902, E. G. White Estate; Froom, pp. 249, 250.
15. E. G. White, MS 15, 1888, quoted in Olson, pp. 295, 296.
16. *Review*, November 13, 1888, pp. 713, 720; E. G. White, letter W-82-1888; *Review*, November 27, 1888, p. 749; *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, November 2, 1888, p. 2.
17. W. C. White letter, November 11, 1888; E. G. White, "Looking Back," MS 24, 1888; E. G. White letter, W-82-1888; E. G. White, MS 30, 1889, Jones to Holmes, May 19, 1921, E. G. White Estate.
18. E. G. White letter, B-18-1888; E. G. White, MS 30, 1889, E. G. White Estate; E. G. White, "Revival Work in the Battle Creek Church," *Review*, February 12, 1889, pp. 106, 107.
19. E. G. White letter, W-1-1889; E. G. White, MS 30, 1889, E. G. White Estate.
20. E. G. White letter, U-3-1889, E. G. White Estate; E. G. White, "Camp Meeting at Williamsport, Pennsylvania," *Review*, August 13, 1889, pp. 513, 514; Jones to Holmes, May 19, 1921.
21. U. Smith, "Our Righteousness," *Review*, June 11, 1889, pp. 376, 377.
22. E. G. White, letter, W-30-1890; E. G. White, MS 10, 1889, E. G. White Estate; Olson, pp. 62, 63; Pease, pp. 150-152.
23. E. G. White letter, S-59-1890; E. G. White, MS 22, 1890, E. G. White Estate; Olson, pp. 66-81, 92.
24. Olson, pp. 92-99; E. G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," *Review*, November 22, 1892, pp. 722, 723; E. G. White letter, B-2-1892, E. G. White Estate.
25. Olson, pp. 82-91, 107-111; Jones to Holmes, May 19, 1921.
26. Olson, pp. 116-128; Froom, pp. 677, 678; D. A. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe* (1975), pp. 286-296.
27. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 707, 1563.
28. Pease, pp. 164-172.
29. E. G. White letter, B-179-1902; A. G. Daniells letter to W. C. White, August 4, 1901, and May 12, 1902, E. G. White Estate.
30. E. G. White letter 24, 1892, E. G. White Estate.

CHAPTER 13

The Expansion of Institutions, 1877-1900

During the twentieth century Seventh-day Adventists have become widely known for their many excellent institutions: publishing houses, hospitals, schools. The number, variety, and geographic distribution of these institutions would amaze the early pioneers, for during Adventism's first several decades institutions developed slowly. Yet the last two decades of the nineteenth century were already marked by the beginnings of what now appears as an "institutional explosion."

Colleges

No area provides better evidence of the growing denominational commitment to institutions than the rapidly expanding Seventh-day Adventist educational system. Although "system" is undoubtedly too strong a word for these early decades, yet by 1900 the outline of a system was clearly visible. In the spring of 1882 the denomination's first officially sponsored school, Battle Creek College, seemed on the verge of collapse. Simultaneously, South Lancaster Academy and Healdsburg College were struggling to get underway. Both had the opportunity of learning from some of the mistakes made at Battle Creek.

Lacking a large Seventh-day Adventist community with whom students might board, Healdsburg was forced to inaugurate a school home or dormitory. So successful was this experiment that Battle Creek College committed itself to the same system shortly after reopening in the fall of 1883.

Healdsburg also pioneered in implementing Ellen White's counsel to combine intellectual activity with a program of manual labor. All students

spent two hours each school day working under the direct supervision of a teacher. This innovation succeeded while the student body remained relatively small. It proved a different story when attendance surpassed 100. Healdsburg's limited campus (seven acres) prevented the development of extensive self-sustaining industries; as a result the work-study program suffered. Still, what was to become a distinctive characteristic of Seventh-day Adventist education had been given its first serious trial run.¹

Battle Creek College

The trustees of Battle Creek College determined not to fall behind in any good thing. Sparked by Dr. Kellogg, they set out to introduce practical courses in printing, tinsmithing, tent manufacture, and broom and shoe making. Young women might learn millinery, dressmaking, and hygienic cookery. Plans were made to rent land on which students could be trained to cultivate fruits and vegetables.

Unfortunately the trustees' enthusiasm was not shared by most of the Battle Creek College faculty and students. President W. W. Prescott proved a key figure. Although he sincerely wanted to follow Ellen White's counsels, Prescott was not the manual-labor type. He did believe in mixing physical activity with study, but preferred to do this in the gymnasium. The students heartily agreed. A "monster debate," occupying most of one Sunday afternoon, effectively demonstrated student opposition to making vocational classes an integral part of their educational program.

Other factors were lessening many a trustee's interest in manual labor. With enrollment passing 500 the vocational facilities were badly overtaxed. To expand them would require substantial expenditures. Then, too, most of the vocational departments seemed always to operate at a loss, and the college was already in debt. One industry alone appeared to make money—the printshop. But was not this competing with the *Review* and Herald Publishing Association? The *Review* managers thought so and added their influence to those desiring to "shelve" vocational education and manual labor.²

By 1889, with the virtual demise of the work-study program at Battle Creek College, lively students sought other ways for expending their energies. Baseball, football, soccer, and tennis became popular. Soon teams formed and competitive matches were arranged. One football game between American and British students produced unusual excitement. A local press report of the game came to Ellen White's attention in far-off Australia. "She was aghast" and soon directed a sharp rebuke to President Prescott. A Seventh-day Adventist school was not to be a place for students "to perfect themselves in sport," Ellen White wrote. This would be to follow the worldly plan of recreation and amusement and would result "in loss every time." Prescott and his faculty saw the danger; matched games were prohibited.

But soon a new diversion hit the campus: the “bicycle craze” reached Battle Creek. “One evening in May 1894, some 250 cyclists paraded from the college campus through the suburbs and city, their wheels decorated with flags and Japanese lanterns.” Again Ellen White felt impelled to sound a warning, this time against unnecessary and excessive expenditure for what was fast becoming more a “status symbol” than a mode of efficient travel and healthy exercise.³

One should not assume that Battle Creek College students merely played and rode bicycles. There was much solid study and plenty of work at the sanitarium or *Review* to earn funds for expenses. President Prescott and his faculty promoted a strong spiritual atmosphere that included required attendance at daily chapel and worship periods. Rules were strict, but this did not seem to discourage attendance. By 1888 Battle Creek College enrollment was pressing 600. This included students at all levels from primary grades through college. With smaller constituencies to draw from, Healdsburg that year had about 175 students; South Lancaster Academy, 100.

Many Adventist children and youth who desired an Adventist education found it difficult to attend any of the three schools in existence. This was particularly true of those living on the Great Plains and in the Pacific Northwest. The expense of traveling the long distances involved and the thought of sending younger students so far from home led to a demand that local conferences organize their own schools. By 1888 new schools had appeared in Minnesota, Kansas, and Oregon.

Elder Prescott, who in 1887 added the responsibility of serving as the first General Conference education secretary to the presidency of Battle Creek College, took a rather dim view of this sudden mushrooming of new schools. He feared so many would be started that it would be impossible to staff and equip them properly. This would lead to a poor quality of education, the disillusionment of parents and students, and a collapse of the entire endeavor.⁴

Union College

At Prescott’s suggestion, the state conferences lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains agreed to combine in supporting one strong, centrally located school. In turn, the General Conference accepted responsibility for building and operating the proposed school and contributed \$20,000 for dormitories. The remainder of the building fund was to be contributed by the conferences involved. Responsibility for selecting a school site was delegated to a committee composed of Prescott and the presidents of the area conferences.

After studying prospective locations in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, the committee decided to start the new school near Lincoln, Nebraska. It was heavily influenced by the offer of 280 acres of free land southeast of the city. Construction began in the spring of 1890, with school opening in the

fall of 1891. When the local conferences proved dilatory in contributing their shares of the funds for building, it was only the financial genius of A. R. Henry, the General Conference representative, that kept enough money available to pay for materials and labor. Henry sold a large part of the original land grant and bought, subdivided, and resold neighboring land at a profit in order to finance the construction.

The new school was named Union College at the suggestion of Prescott, who added the job of serving as its first president to those he already carried. The name grew out of the fact that the school was the result of the united efforts of eight state conferences.

From the start church leaders planned that Union College should serve as the school to train German-American and Scandinavian-American workers. These students were immersed in their own culture. Housed in separate dormitory areas, they attended separate classes and church services conducted in their respective languages. This plan continued for nearly twenty years.⁵

Walla Walla College

A visit to the Pacific Northwest in 1890 convinced Prescott that it would be wise to consolidate the educational efforts of church members in that area as well. At this time there were three Seventh-day Adventist academies operating in Oregon: at Coquille on the Pacific Coast, in Portland, and in Milton. Local Adventists at first opposed consolidation but were eventually won over to the idea. The school-locating committee decided on a site just west of Walla Walla, Washington, where a wealthy fruit grower offered them forty acres of land.

Classes at Walla Walla College began in December 1892. While Prescott added the presidency of the new school to those he already carried at Battle Creek and Union, direction was really in the hands of E. A. Sutherland, principal. A man of strong convictions, Sutherland convened his faculty for a week or more prior to opening day in order that its members might jointly study Ellen White's counsels on education. From the start Walla Walla College demonstrated its commitment to health reform by serving only a lacto-ovo-vegetarian diet; it was the first Seventh-day Adventist school to take this step.

Sutherland, officially promoted to the presidency in the school's second year of operation, was not a believer in traditional curricula or degrees. Instead he launched a short one-year course designed especially to prepare mature students as effective church employees.⁶

By the spring of 1895 Professor Prescott reported that Seventh-day Adventists were operating "five colleges, five academies, and from fifteen to twenty preparatory schools." This budding educational network was no longer confined to North America. In 1893 South African Seventh-day Adventists had launched the Claremont School (forerunner of Helderberg College); the following year saw the founding of Avondale College in

Australia. Several of the schools operating as academies in 1895 would mature into colleges: Keene Industrial Academy, Oakwood Manual Training School, and Graysville Academy.⁷

Avondale College

In preparing his 1895 report Prescott could hardly have recognized the impact that the Avondale school was to have on Seventh-day Adventist education. Yet, more than any other Seventh-day Adventist college, Avondale was closely associated with Ellen White; it bore the clearest imprint of her philosophy of education. One of the first things Mrs. White did upon arriving in Australia late in 1891 was to tell the local Adventists that God wanted them to start a school for their youth. It was too expensive to send students to America for training; more important, Mrs. White was certain that even American Seventh-day Adventist education would not provide the best preparation for the pioneer work which needed to be done in Australia and the islands of the Pacific.

Some Australian Adventists had been discussing their need for a school for several years. With fewer than one thousand church members in all of Australia, however, this idea seemed premature to many. Nevertheless they rented several houses in Melbourne and began a Bible school, primarily to train colporteurs and Bible workers. Ellen White was far from satisfied; she continued to press for a rural location with plenty of land on which industries could be developed as an integral part of a coordinated work-study program.

In response to Ellen White's urgings those attending the first Australian camp meeting in 1893 appointed a committee to locate a rural school setting. After months of searching these men discovered a 1450-acre estate approximately seventy-five miles north of Sydney and bordering the little village of Cooranbong. Priced at only three dollars per acre and set in beautiful, natural surroundings, the estate seemed just what they were seeking.

Ellen White was invited to join the locating committee for an on-the-spot inspection. Before reaching Cooranbong, Mrs. White had an impressive dream. She seemed to be walking over the estate when suddenly, in the midst of nowhere, she observed a neatly-turned furrow nearly a foot deep and two yards long. As she watched, two of the committee approached and commented that the soil was poor. She then heard an angel say, "False witness has been borne of this land."

Later as Mrs. White traversed the Cooranbong property, she saw the neat furrow of her dream. There was no indication as to how it had been turned; but there were the men, examining it and making adverse criticisms. Mrs. White's dream and the sudden healing, following special prayer, of one of their number, convinced the committee that God was leading them to establish a school at Cooranbong. Nevertheless the soil's appearance, so different from what some of them had known in the

midwestern United States, continued to trouble them. It was decided to get an expert from the state agricultural service to test the soil. His report was devastating. The land, he reported, would not produce enough to support a bandicoot (a rabbit-sized Australian marsupial).

Although a down payment had been made on the Cooranbong property, some of the men now began to vacillate; not so Ellen White. She was certain that God would "spread a table in the wilderness." Mrs. White demonstrated her faith by purchasing a few acres of the property, building a home there, and planting a number of fruit trees. She personally borrowed \$5000 to loan to the school so that building construction might begin. Money came in slowly. Only a few days before school was scheduled to open in April 1897, the buildings were still uncompleted; there was no money to hire workers! Ellen White met the emergency by calling for volunteers and by releasing her own staff to help carry brick, nail flooring, and paint walls. The school opened as scheduled, but with only four teachers and ten students. By the end of the term enrollment had increased to sixty.

Avondale was literally hewn out of a forest as trees were felled and sawed into lumber, stumps were grubbed out and fruit trees planted. A few years later students reaped a bountiful harvest of peaches, oranges, lemons, mandarins, and nectarines. With deep plowing and scientific management the farm produced many types of vegetables and grains. A dairy and health food factory were begun. The faculty joined students in a work program on Sundays and in the afternoons.

Recognizing that many eager students could not attend Avondale for lack of funds, the Australian conferences early developed a successful student-loan fund to supplement work in the school industries. By 1899 a modest hospital had been started adjacent to the Avondale school. It not only served the nearby community, which had formerly lacked such facilities, but also carried on a program of health education and served as a place where students could learn to give simple treatments and care for the sick.

Avondale School for Christian Workers set a pattern that heavily influenced the development of future Seventh-day Adventist schools. Among other things, it demonstrated (1) the practicability and advantages of an ample campus located in a rural environment, (2) the feasibility of a strong work-study program, (3) the value of school industries both as a source of student labor and as a help to the school's operating budget, (4) the need for systematic "student aid" funds, (5) the success of student involvement in welfare and missionary activities in place of extensive recreational and sports programs, and (6) the practicability of Ellen White's counsels on education. Perhaps the strongest testimony to the value of the type of education pioneered at Avondale is that during the seven decades following its founding more than 80 percent of its graduates entered denominational service.⁸

Church-wide Education

Back in the United States Professor Prescott saw possibilities for more efficiently utilizing the large number of Seventh-day Adventists teaching in public schools. Why not convene them in a special training institute and inspire them to teach in local church schools? The plan might have worked, except—the denomination had no system of church schools. As a substitute, Prescott organized the first church-wide educational convention for teachers within Seventh-day Adventist schools. Meeting at Harbor Springs, Michigan, in the summer of 1891, this group spent six weeks studying basic principles of Christian education and trying to decide how Seventh-day Adventist education should differ from that available elsewhere.

Prescott, Ellen White, and Elders E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones led out in the Harbor Springs discussions. P. T. Magan, then teaching history at Battle Creek College, remembered that most of the time was devoted to discussing “the elimination of pagan and infidel authors from our schools, the dropping out of long courses in the Latin and Greek classics, and the substitution of the teaching of the Bible and . . . history from the standpoint of the prophecies.” Although no great curriculum changes were immediately forthcoming, the next few years saw a definite attempt to incorporate more formal Bible and history study, along with a reduction of time spent on classical languages. Manual labor and school industries, however, seem to have been largely ignored.⁹

In spite of Prescott’s hopes and a resolution from the 1887 General Conference session recommending that local congregations establish church schools, primary education got off to a slow and sporadic start among Seventh-day Adventists. Although the various academies and colleges all included pupils in the primary grades, this was of benefit principally to families living in the Adventist communities surrounding these schools. Few parents wanted to send their preteenagers many miles from home to attend school.

Shortly after the founding of South Lancaster Academy its promoters had tried to demonstrate the advantages of church schools. The academy offered a short three-week course in the spring for persons desiring to conduct demonstration church schools for interested congregations during the summer. Elder Haskell’s hope that this would lead to a system of permanent church schools was not realized at this time. Few of the schools started in scattered areas maintained the quality or continuity of the South Stukely, Quebec, school which continued for over three decades following its founding in 1884 and attracted many non-Adventist students.¹⁰

Educational Reform

The real breakthrough in the establishment of Seventh-day Adventist church schools came during the final years of the nineteenth century. In

part the sudden expansion of those years (from eighteen schools in 1895 to 220 in 1900) was a by-product of the education-reform movement that hit Battle Creek College in 1897. By March of that year a number of articles in the *Review* had described the development of Avondale after the pattern advocated by Ellen White. These articles struck a responsive chord in the hearts of several reform-minded Seventh-day Adventist leaders, principally Dr. J. H. Kellogg and Alonzo T. Jones. They, in turn, took the initiative in securing a reform-minded president for Battle Creek College—Edward A. Sutherland of Walla Walla College. Kellogg liked Sutherland's devotion to vegetarianism and his willingness to sponsor vocational and manual labor programs. Jones was attracted by Sutherland's attempt to make the Bible the basis for instruction in all academic areas.

Aided by Percy T. Magan and M. Bessie De Graw, President Sutherland set out to revolutionize Battle Creek College. Extensive periods of revival were encouraged among students and staff. The reformers had no fear that increased interest in spiritual matters would impair academic excellence. A call to Christian service—to make every vocation simply an adjunct to evangelistic missionary activity—was sounded with enthusiasm. The classical curricula virtually disappeared; classes were restructured to fit into reform departments devoted to teacher preparation, canvassing, medical missionary work, a commercial course, music, and manual training.

The wave of reform activity at Battle Creek College coincided with Ellen White's increased emphasis on the need to develop, "Wherever there are a few Sabbath-keepers . . . a day-school where their children and youth can be instructed. They [church members] should employ a Christian teacher, who, as a consecrated missionary, shall educate the children in such a way as to lead them to become missionaries." Sutherland emphatically concurred. When in the fall of 1897 calls came to Battle Creek for teachers for five new church schools, Sutherland's faculty decided to appeal to students in the teacher-training program to sacrifice completion of their education in order to begin these schools at once. More than enough volunteers responded; the church-school boom had begun. The dedication of these young teachers, some still in their late teens, did much to convince local congregations of the value of church schools.¹¹

Sutherland's evangelistic fervor not only stimulated the growth of church schools, but also contributed to the growth of Seventh-day Adventist secondary schools. In the process Cedar Lake Industrial Academy in north-central Michigan, and Wisconsin's Woodland Industrial School at Bethel, drew some of the younger students away from Battle Creek College. Coincidentally a considerable disenchantment among many students with what they regarded as Sutherland's extremism, and his urge to shorten courses, speed students into evangelistic endeavors, and end the granting of "papal" degrees led to a sharp decline in the Battle Creek

College enrollment. Other schools, notably Union College, benefited; but they too were plagued with difficulties.

Not the least of these difficulties was a growing burden of debt, much of which resulted from a commendable effort to keep tuition low in order to attract students. The severe economic depression of the early 1890s was also a factor. Even under financial stress the number of Seventh-day Adventist colleges and academies seemed to increase more rapidly than the supply of experienced administrators. This led to a constant, and sometimes wasteful, shuffling of personnel. Problems there were, but there was growth as well.¹²

Medical Institutions

Adventist medical facilities also grew, nowhere more dramatically than in Battle Creek. Here energetic Dr. Kellogg kept up an almost continuous building program. The modest sanitarium he had inherited in 1876 had, a quarter century later, become a giant complex capable of accommodating 700 patients. A staff of nearly 1000 catered to the whims of the wealthy who had “discovered” Battle Creek. The resulting “grand hotel” atmosphere was a keen disappointment to Ellen White.

As the sanitarium grew, Kellogg tried a variety of methods to assure its becoming the great educational force he envisioned. In the fall of 1877 he launched a special School of Hygiene at the sanitarium. Some denominational leaders urged him to seek state approval for conferring the M.D. degree on students who satisfactorily completed the twenty-week course this school offered, but the doctor firmly declined. He wanted simply to provide basic instruction in nutrition and hygiene for those interested in medicine as a career and to others who were content to spread the gospel of healthful living through lectures, demonstrations, and personal example.

Dr. Kate Lindsay

Kellogg also recommended that Adventists begin a school of nursing, perhaps in connection with Battle Creek College. When the college trustees proved reticent, Kellogg and Dr. Kate Lindsay convinced the sanitarium board to take this step. In 1883 two young women answered a public call to enroll in a three-month course in nursing procedures and the art of massage. That fall the course was lengthened to six months, shortly thereafter to two, and then three, years. The popularity of the nursing course increased dramatically; by the 1890s several hundred were enrolled in the program.

A major part of the success of the Battle Creek Sanitarium School of Nursing was due to Dr. Lindsay. The product of a Wisconsin farm, “Dr. Kate” early developed an appetite for learning that mystified her parents. At twenty-five she left home to work at the Western Health Reform Institute. Finding no program for training would-be nurses in Battle



C. H. Jones



Kate Lindsay

Creek, Kate soon moved on to New Jersey to study nursing for two years at Dr. R. T. Trall's Institute. Back in Battle Creek as a trained nurse, she was next urged to enroll in a medical course, a daring thing for women in the early 1870s. Admitted to the second class that accepted females at the University of Michigan Medical School, Kate studied diligently and won the desired M.D. in 1875. Then it was back to Battle Creek and agitation for an Adventist nurses' training program. Once it was established, she did much of the teaching until she left Battle Creek in 1897 for mission service in Africa.¹³

The Kellogg Expansion

Although the School of Hygiene lapsed after several years, Dr. Kellogg reactivated it in 1889 under a new name: the Sanitarium Training School of Medical Missionaries. Throughout the next decade this school offered a variety of courses ranging in length from one month to two years. Many were designed especially for ministers and their wives, foreign missionaries, and teachers in Adventist schools. It was Kellogg's goal to prepare all Adventist workers to be knowledgeable in physiology, nutrition, and the simple treatment of illness through the use of hydrotherapy, massage, exercise, and dietary reforms.¹⁴

In addition to being a vigorous advocate of educational and health reforms, Dr. Kellogg had a tender regard for individuals in need. This was dramatically evidenced during the 1880s when he and Mrs. Kellogg opened their home to a variety of orphans. Unfortunately the doctor's

resources were not sufficient to care for the many orphans who came to his attention. He became convinced that this was a problem for the entire church. Why not establish an orphans' home in Battle Creek under Seventh-day Adventist supervision and control? With Ellen White's approval Kellogg began to suggest such a possibility in the columns of *Good Health* and *The Medical Missionary*, a journal he began in 1891 as the voice of the Health and Temperance Association.

At the 1891 General Conference session Kellogg made a stirring appeal in behalf of both the church's orphans and the aged. He sufficiently impressed the delegates so that they voted to establish "a home for orphans and destitute aged persons" to be named, at the doctor's suggestion, after James White. Kellogg was elected president of the projected institution's board. Immediately he engaged in a fund-raising campaign—and found it much easier to locate needy orphans and old people to occupy the proposed home than to secure funds to construct it!

When funds for building an orphans' home were eventually secured, they came through the generosity of a wealthy non-Adventist sanitarium guest. Mrs. Caroline Haskell agreed to donate \$30,000 provided that the orphans' home was named for her late husband (no relation to Elder S. N. Haskell) and was operated on a nonsectarian basis. Her offer was accepted, and the Haskell Home officially opened early in 1894. Plans for a home for the aged to be known as the James White Memorial Home were temporarily shelved. Once the orphans' home, which was capable of sheltering 200 children, was running smoothly, Kellogg led out in developing a more modest home for the aged. Both the Haskell and James White homes received funds for operating expenses from offerings received periodically in Adventist churches across America.¹⁵

Some Seventh-day Adventist leaders wanted Dr. Kellogg to become General Conference medical secretary and assume responsibility for all church charitable activities. This would have corresponded with Elder Prescott's role as educational secretary. Kellogg rejected this idea as centering too much power in one individual. Instead he convinced the 1893 General Conference to organize the Seventh-day Adventist Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to do this job. Kellogg did agree to serve as the association's president. This organization not only supervised the Haskell and James White homes and the various Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums springing up in the United States and abroad, but also helped during the following decade to launch more than a dozen vegetarian restaurants and thirty hydropathic treatment rooms.

Work for the Poor

During the later 1890s the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association promoted welfare missions to serve the poor and unemployed in a dozen large American cities scattered from New York to San Francisco. This work was the outgrowth of an experiment Kellogg had begun in a

small way in Chicago in 1892. That year a prosperous Chicago banker agreed to his dying daughter's request that he provide funds for a Battle Creek Sanitarium nurse to work among Chicago's poor. The enthusiastic reports this initial nurse gave of the opportunities for service soon led others to join her; some did private-duty work among the wealthy and used their income to support the work of colleagues among the poor.

When in 1893 Kellogg received an offer of \$40,000 for philanthropic work from two relatively new Adventists, he envisioned a much larger work in Chicago, but operated in somewhat the same manner. The money was invested in a sanitarium catering to the rich, and its earnings supported work for the poor. Within the next half dozen years, the Chicago Medical Mission developed a wide range of social services, including a free medical dispensary, free baths, a free laundry, a visiting-nurses' service, a free kindergarten for working mothers, nutritional and child-care classes, a penny lunch counter, a cheap rooming house, an employment agency, a program for reclaiming prostitutes and drunkards, and a number of boys' clubs. The mission even operated a 160-acre farm outside the city, where alcoholics could receive temporary employment far from the temptations of city life.

All of this cost money, much more than the meager profits the Chicago Sanitarium provided. Kellogg next hoped to utilize the profits from his cereal and vegetable-protein creations to support city mission work, but they, too, proved insufficient. There was no choice but to appeal for general church support. Meanwhile, Ellen White became alarmed at the direction this welfare work was taking. It seemed likely to absorb a major portion of the denomination's finances and was diverting members from heralding the three angels' messages in a strong way. Local conference administrators shared Ellen White's concern. In the face of growing opposition the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association gradually phased out the city welfare missions.¹⁶

The Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association's resources were already badly strained as a result of the decision in 1895 to launch a medical school. Adventist leaders had long been concerned with the problem of providing quality medical education for their interested youth without seeing distinctive Seventh-day Adventist health reform principles sacrificed. The School of Hygiene had been one attempt to inculcate sound principles before exposing prospective medical students to the more traditional drug-oriented therapy of the medical schools. But by 1890 good medical schools were no longer willing to accept courses taken in unrecognized schools as fulfilling part of their requirements.

For a few years it seemed to Kellogg and his associates that the Battle Creek Sanitarium might carefully select good prospects and sponsor their education at the University of Michigan Medical School. A boarding house in which to accommodate these students was secured in Ann Arbor. They spent summers in Battle Creek working at the sanitarium in order

more fully to absorb Adventist health principles. Yet much of what was taught in Ann Arbor proved contrary to the practices at Battle Creek. Some students, like David Paulson and Daniel and Laretta Kress, could take the best Ann Arbor had to offer without forsaking the insights of Battle Creek. Many could not, and it was this fact that led to the decision to begin a Seventh-day Adventist medical school.

An Adventist Medical School

American Medical Missionary College started its first class of forty medical students in the fall of 1895. Classes were given principally at Battle Creek, but the facilities of the Chicago Medical Mission were also utilized for clinical work. Unlike many medical schools of the day, the American Medical Missionary College began clinical experience during the student's first year of study. By the end of the century the American Medical Missionary College had secured membership in the Association of American Medical Colleges and could proudly announce that its graduates were acceptable to the major medical examining boards in the nation.

Launching a medical school during a period of economic depression proved no small task. This was particularly true because Kellogg was determined not to charge tuition. Instead, students were expected to work two hours daily for the sanitarium; additional hours of work might be exchanged for board and room. Thus the sanitarium became the principal financial support for American Medical Missionary College. Kellogg, in his multiple roles as medical superintendent of the sanitarium, president of the American Medical Missionary College, and president of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, was obviously the linchpin in the entire Seventh-day Adventist medical program.

Approximately half of Dr. Kellogg's time during the 1890s was spent in traveling to the Adventist sanitariums that were being established in various parts of the country. He aided these institutions by providing advice on patient care and building construction and by performing surgery in difficult cases. During these same years Kellogg also played a major role in developing a Seventh-day Adventist sanitarium at Guadalajara, Mexico. His advice was sought on all manner of details as Adventist medical work got underway in Scandinavia, Switzerland, Germany, England, South Africa, Australia, and South America.¹⁷

Publishing Expansion

Unlike the success in the medical work, the expansion which took place in Seventh-day Adventist publishing during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not dramatically linked with one individual. Publishing had no Dr. Kellogg, yet its growth was also substantial. The two major printing plants begun by James White formed the backbone of Adventist publishing activities. By 1881 the Review and Herald press was

said to be "the most complete in the State of Michigan." In the years that followed, C. H. Jones built the Pacific Press into "the largest and best-equipped publishing plant in the West."¹⁸

Such excellence had its price: accepting contracts for regular commercial printing in order to keep the new presses operating economically. This type of work, of course, had to be ready on the dates promised, even if this meant delay for church publications. Growth in size also led to managers' becoming concerned with showing a better profit on their operations each year. Increased commercial contracts appeared to be the answer. By 1899 the General Conference president estimated that 80 percent of the printing done at the Review was of a commercial nature. Not surprisingly, press workers began to think of their activities as a business operation for which they should be compensated more liberally. The evangelistic dedication shown by workers of an earlier era seemed to be fading away.¹⁹

Much of the profit made by the two major publishing houses was used to secure better equipment or to expand facilities. Pacific Press, for example, opened a branch office in New York City in 1888 and one in London the following year; in 1893 a Kansas City, Missouri, branch was added. In other cases publishing-house profits were used to provide loans for hard-pressed Seventh-day Adventist institutions or to get a new publishing house started overseas.²⁰

And during the last two decades of the nineteenth century Seventh-day Adventists established publishing houses in more than a dozen countries outside the United States. The first permanent one, that in Oslo (then Christiania), Norway, had its origin when J. G. Matteson began publishing the Norwegian *Signs of the Times* in January 1879. Two years later the first book, a small hymnal including a number of songs Matteson had composed himself, came from this press.

Publishing Abroad

In 1885 publishing activities began in both Switzerland and France and also half a world away in Australia. The first party of Adventist missionaries to Australia included a printer, Henry L. Scott, and a colporteur, William Arnold. The next year an Adventist publishing house was established in Sweden, followed in 1887 by one in London and in 1889 by one in Hamburg, Germany. The worldwide expansion of Adventism during these years comes through clearly in the publishing offices established during the 1890s: South Africa (1890), Denmark and Finland (1893), Canada (1895), India (1896), and Argentina (1897).²¹

The multiplication of publishing houses in distant parts of the world was not without problems. One of the most dramatic of these came during the severe economic recession that hit Scandinavia at the end of the century. The Norwegian Publishing House had borrowed heavily from local banks, in part to secure money for other denominational needs in

Scandinavia. Its managers had also cosigned notes for persons who had earlier done this same favor for them. Now the banks suddenly demanded approximately \$70,000 in outstanding loans. Already hardpressed financially, some General Conference officials felt bankruptcy proceedings for the Norwegian office was the only way out. This brought violent protests from former General Conference president O. A. Olsen, then in charge of Adventist work in Scandinavia. Eventually a plan was arranged for repaying the debt over a three-year period. The publishing house was saved and the reputation of Seventh-day Adventists in Scandinavian financial circles vindicated, but at the price of many hours of study, labor, and concern on the part of top denominational leaders. The Christiania case is a classic example of the problems that frequently came with the operating of institutions deemed necessary to the cause.²²

Publishing in Braille

As the century closed, the General Conference was gingerly inaugurating a new type of publishing—producing materials for the blind. In 1897 the International Tract Society, a General Conference subsidiary, purchased a stereotype machine which could be used to prepare plates for Braille duplication. A few tracts were produced; but it was not until Austin Wilson, a twenty-seven-year-old blind student at Battle Creek College, began a campaign among church leaders that the General Conference Committee decided to start a ten-page monthly journal for the blind. Wilson was given the task of printing the magazine. He and his wife used a common clothes wringer to make the impressions of seventy-five copies of the first issue of the *Christian Record*, which was dated January 1900. It was a small but significant beginning.²³

New schools, new sanitariums, new programs, new publishing ventures, new lands in which all of these activities were taking place. Small wonder that O. A. Olsen wrote despairingly, “It is utterly impossible to give proper care and attention, and to follow up and successfully develop so many different enterprises.”²⁴ That was 1896, and the geometric growth of Adventist institutions and activities was really only beginning.

Suggested Reading:

For developments within S.D.A. education during the period 1882-1900 see E. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1958), especially pp. 61-70, 78-97, 110-128, 229-238, 259-266, and 285-303. The central role of Battle Creek College makes E. K. Vande Vere’s *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 48-91, especially relevant. On the early days of Union College see E. Dick, *Union: College of the Golden Cords* (1967), pp. 1-100; for Walla Walla College see *Sixty Years of Progress* (1952), pp. 87-130. Basic to an understanding of the growing S.D.A. medical work is D. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1943), pp.

183-241. Additional insights, especially as they pertain to two major figures, may be gleaned from R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), and K. Nelson, *Kate Lindsay, M.D.* (1963). For a warm, human-interest account of the experiences of one medical student at school and as a young doctor at the Chicago Medical Mission, see C. Clough, *His Name Was David* (1955), pp. 20-85. The only readily available story of the growth of S.D.A. publishing, C. Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), is more episodic and impressionistic than it is a detailed history. In the older general S.D.A. histories see A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: chapters 17, 19, and M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapter 31.

1. E. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1958), pp. 85-88, 99, 100; E. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 50, 51.
2. J. H. Kellogg letter to W. C. White, November 3, 1882, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Vande Vere, pp. 56, 57, 62, 63.
3. Vande Vere, pp. 63, 64.
4. Cadwallader, pp. 229, 230; E. C. Walter, "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Higher Education in the United States," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California (1966), p. 63.
5. E. Dick, *Union: College of the Golden Cords* (1967), pp. 1-100.
6. *Sixty Years of Progress: Walla Walla College* (1952), pp. 87-129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
8. Cadwallader, pp. 110-128; A. Jorgensen, "A Memorial of Divine Guidance," *The Ministry* (August 1975), pp. 14-16; W. J. Gilson, "The History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in Australia and New Zealand," unpublished manuscript in Andrews University Heritage Room.
9. Vande Vere, pp. 61, 62.
10. Cadwallader, pp. 66, 285-287; W. Brown, comp., *Chronology of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (1972), pp. 11, 12.
11. Cadwallader, pp. 290-303; Vande Vere, pp. 73-86; M. Spalding, "Volunteers of '97," *The Journal of True Education*, vol. XV (June 1935), pp. 8-10.
12. Vande Vere, pp. 85-90; Dick, pp. 79-86, 89, 90; Cadwallader, pp. 94-98.
13. R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 65, 66, 97-99; K. Nelson, *Kate Lindsay, M.D.* (1963), *passim*.
14. Schwarz, p. 99; D. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1943), pp. 210, 211.
15. Schwarz, pp. 151, 152, 158-161.
16. Schwarz, pp. 161-170; see also Schwarz, "Adventism's Social Gospel Advocate: John Harvey Kellogg," *Spectrum*, I (Spring 1969): 15-28; J. Butler, "Ellen G. White and the Chicago Mission," *Spectrum*, II (Winter 1970): 41-51; R. Rice, "Adventists and Welfare Work: A Comparative Study," *Spectrum*, II (Winter 1970): 52-63.
17. Schwarz, *J.H.K., M.D.*, pp. 103-106; Robinson, pp. 212-241; R. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1964), pp. 316, 317.
18. M. C. Hetzell, *The Undaunted: The Story of the Publishing Work of Seventh-day Adventists* (1967), pp. 11, 19.
19. C. A. Irwin to E. G. White, November 19, 1899; P. T. Magan to E. G. White, November 24, 1899, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
20. R. B. Lewis, *Streams of Light: The Story of the Pacific Press* (1958), p. 20; G. I. Butler to W. C. White, October 1, 1885; I. H. Evans to E. G. White, November 1901, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
21. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 861, 1170; *S.D.A. Yearbook for 1906*, *passim*.
22. G. A. Irwin to E. G. White, October 27 and December 21, 1899; Irwin to W. C. White, December 25, 1899; I. H. Evans and J. N. Nelson to Irwin, January 1900 (copy); O. A. Olsen to Irwin, February 21 and April 10, 1900; Olsen to E. C. White, March 4, 1901, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
23. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 281; Hetzell, pp. 147, 148.
24. Olsen to W. C. White, May 21, 1896, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.

CHAPTER 14

Mission Advance, 1887-1900

From 1885 onward Seventh-day Adventist mission activities expanded dramatically. To some extent Adventists reflected the general Protestant interest in foreign missions at this time. Stirred by men like Dwight L. Moody and John R. Mott, hundreds of American youth pledged to carry the gospel to earth's remotest corners; to evangelize the world "in this generation."¹

Adventists had their own particular promoters of missions; none more influential than Stephen Haskell and Ellen White. These two wrote and spoke with the conviction of firsthand witnesses to the challenge and opportunities of distant lands. In 1882 Haskell made his first visit to Europe. Three years later he pioneered the Advent message in Australia and New Zealand. During 1889-90, accompanied by young Percy Magan, he circled the globe, surveying the opportunities and problems awaiting Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in Africa, India, and the Orient. Magan's picturesque reports in *The Youth's Instructor* captured the interest of hundreds.

Beginning in the summer of 1885, Ellen White spent two years in Europe. Visits to England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, and Italy deepened her concern that the three angels' messages be proclaimed widely. From 1891 to 1900, with her son William, Mrs. White labored in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. During these years her letters constantly reminded American Adventists of their global responsibilities.²

Many other Adventist leaders also became personally exposed to the world outside America. In 1884 George I. Butler became the first General Conference president to visit Europe. Four years later O. A. Olsen was

called back from Scandinavia to become the church's chief executive. His successor, G. A. Irwin, visited Australia in the midst of his term of office. J. H. Waggoner gave the last three years of his life to strengthening the publishing work in Europe.³

Literature Evangelism

Membership growth in Europe, the first area outside North America to have officially organized Seventh-day Adventist churches, was steady, but not dramatic. Canvassing and tent evangelism, so successful in reaching thousands in America, appeared less effective in Europe. J. N. Loughborough found that although curiosity initially brought out substantial crowds in England, the island's wet climate proved hard on both the tent and the people's comfort.

As for canvassing, the first periodicals and books sold in England were imported from America. Peculiarities of style and spelling irritated many Britons, already suspicious of foreigners, especially Americans. To remedy this difficulty the *Present Truth* was begun as a monthly magazine in 1884 and by 1888 sold 10,000 copies per issue. Young women canvassers were its most successful promoters. Under E. J. Waggoner's editorship during the 1890s *Present Truth's* circulation climbed to 17,000.⁴

Although Ellen White recognized the value of public meetings and encouraged tent evangelism in Europe, she stressed also the prime importance of door-to-door visitation. Individual contacts, she believed, would prove the most fruitful when those making the visit did not press Adventists' peculiar views too strongly at first. Stephen Haskell preferred this method and determined to put it into practice in England when, in 1887, he arrived to direct Seventh-day Adventist work.

Bible Workers

One of Haskell's first moves was to transfer the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters and printing activities to London. Previously Adventists had largely avoided the capital city. Next, Haskell started three female Bible workers on a visitation program. Before the year was over, this corps of visitors had trebled. The Adventist workers found a warm welcome among a few London Seventh Day Baptists, but their leader, Dr. William M. Jones, warned Haskell not to expect the English to accept the Sabbath as readily as had Americans. Gradually, however, Sabbath keepers multiplied in London.

Although Seventh-day Adventists were slower in sending workers to Great Britain than to the European continent, once they committed themselves, successively top leaders were dispatched to England: Loughborough, Haskell, Prescott, E. J. Waggoner. Special emphasis was placed on training colporteurs; by 1896 there were seventy-seven in the field. Evangelistic campaigns throughout England and Wales led to the organization of a few small churches, but Scotland remained virtually untouched

until the twentieth century. Ireland did not fare much better, with only a few believers “gathered out” in Ulster.

England

In spite of its small membership, England became a center for spreading Adventism to the four corners of the world. In large measure this was due to the dedicated efforts of Liverpool “ship missionary” George Drew, who placed literature in scores of ships visiting this busy port and convinced captains to leave Seventh-day Adventist literature at many of their ports of call.⁵

Scandinavia

Probably nowhere else in Europe did Seventh-day Adventists enlist as many adherents initially as in Scandinavia. This was due largely to the energy and vision of J. G. Matteson, a firm believer in the literature ministry. Matteson launched both an evangelistic and a health journal for Denmark and Norway and authored and printed a variety of books and tracts. In 1880 he organized the Danish churches into the first conference outside North America. Seven years later, at Moss, Norway, during the first camp meeting held in Europe, the Norwegian Conference was formed. By this time a succession of American workers had joined Matteson, including two brothers, O. A. and E. G. Olsen.

Matteson trained an effective corps of canvassers from among his early converts. By 1884 they had pierced the Arctic Circle, and a few years later a small company of Sabbath keepers existed in Hammerfest, “the world’s northernmost city.” Before the end of the century Adventists baptized their first member from among the nomadic Laplanders.

Although the population of Sweden was larger than that of Norway and Denmark combined, Adventists found it more difficult to gain adherents there. The powerful Swedish state clergy proved bitterly antagonistic, securing the temporary imprisonment of one of the first evangelists. Yet Matteson was able eventually to attract 1000 listeners to a tent meeting in Stockholm in 1887.

In spite of their own difficulties the Swedish Seventh-day Adventists determined to answer the call of a Finnish ship captain who had accepted Adventism as the result of purchasing books from George Drew in Liverpool. Conference president Olaf Johnson took two female Bible instructors and began work in the Finnish capital of Helsinki in 1892. In spite of threats from the Russian officials who then governed Finland, a colporteur work developed gradually; and by the end of the century there were three tiny Finnish churches.

Danish Adventists also determined to launch a missionary endeavor of their own. In 1897 they dispatched David Östlund to the Danish colony of Iceland. On his way Östlund encountered an Icelandic Adventist couple returning from America. They had read of his proposed mission and had

sold their farm to return to their homeland and help him. Like Matteson, Östlund knew the printing trade. He established his own press and in 1900 began a semi-monthly magazine, *Fraekorn* ("The Seed"). It soon became the most widely circulated journal in Iceland.

By 1900 Scandinavian Adventists had developed secondary schools in Denmark and Sweden and operated a number of private treatment rooms. In 1898 Dr. J. C. Ottosen had launched what would become the most famous Adventist sanitarium in Europe: Sködsborg. Located a few miles north of Copenhagen, Sködsborg began with only twenty patients; but its combination of hydrotherapy with massage, exercise, and special diets soon won influential patrons, including members of the royal family.⁶

Central Europe

In central Europe, where Adventism had first taken root, progress seemed pitifully slow. There were few American Adventists who spoke French easily, none having a mastery of Italian or Romanian. The Bourdeau brothers were hardly sufficient for the job of warning France and French Switzerland, yet they were also dispatched to Italy and Romania. Unable to speak to the people in these last two countries except through interpreters, they won few converts. Gradually the Romanian believers became scattered, and Adventism also disappeared there. D. T. Bourdeau expended considerable effort in the Waldensian valleys of northwest Italy but with little noticeable result.

The major effort in Switzerland was to establish the publishing house at Basel. A substantial building was erected in 1884, and with help from W. C. White and H. W. Kellogg of the Review, a good printing establishment was developed. Here French, German, Italian, and Romanian journals, tracts, and books were published. Because of Sunday law difficulties German language printing was transferred to Hamburg in 1895. Secular printers were hired to do the remaining printing, and the publishing building was converted to a sanitarium. With no one to carry on a strong program for training colporteurs, this major type of Adventist witness languished in France and Italy until the twentieth century.⁷

Russia

Meanwhile Adventist literature was arousing interest in southern Russia, particularly in the Crimea. Generations earlier the Czar's government had encouraged German farm families, many of them Mennonites, to settle in this area. Later some from these families emigrated to the United States, settling on the Kansas and Dakota plains. By the late 1870s Adventism had taken root in several of these German-Russian communities, and soon Seventh-day Adventist tracts were being sent to relatives and friends in the "old country."

One day in 1882 a Crimean neighbor confided to Gerhardt Perk that he had some interesting, but dangerous, tracts which he had received from

America three years earlier. His curiosity aroused, Perk asked to see some of the tracts. After much pleading the neighbor agreed to loan him one entitled *The Third Angel's Message*. In the seclusion of his haymow Perk read the tract three times then sent to the American publishers for additional literature. From the liberal supply of German tracts received, Perk learned virtually all the distinctive Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. He was convinced they were correct but hesitated to keep the seventh-day Sabbath.

About this time Perk also became an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As he traveled throughout Russia selling Bibles, several incidents occurred which he considered clear evidences of divine care for him. He decided God would continue that care if he accepted what he was certain was Bible truth. His decision made, Perk added Adventist literature to the Bibles he was selling. This made his work much more dangerous, as Adventist tracts and papers were an open invitation to readers to leave the Orthodox state church. Proselyting was strictly forbidden by Russian law, and in these years following the assassination of Alexander II there was stern repression of all Russian dissidents. Perk was not the only agent scattering Adventist ideas in south Russia, for among the German-Russian Seventh-day Adventists in Milltown, South Dakota, an octogenarian longed to return to Russia to share his newfound faith. His age and a speech impediment made this seem foolish to his fellow believers, yet the old man would not be dissuaded. Arriving in Odessa virtually penniless, he sold his boots to secure transportation to the Crimea. Once there, he developed an ingenious way to witness. He would take several tracts to the village marketplace and request persons to read to him, pleading poor eyesight. If the reader seemed interested, he was promptly presented with the tract. When the local priest wanted to have the old man arrested, the people in the community shamed him for thinking a nearly blind old man could be harmful. For over a year seed was sown in this way; it bore a harvest.⁸

When L. R. Conradi arrived in Switzerland from the United States in 1886, he was almost immediately confronted with an appeal from Gerhardt Perk to visit Russia. Conradi accepted, and that summer he and Perk traveled throughout the Crimea preaching openly. A public baptism and the organization of a Seventh-day Adventist church proved too much for the authorities. Conradi and Perk were ordered to appear before a local judge, who promptly ordered them imprisoned for teaching Jewish heresy.

For forty days the two men endured the privations of a cramped cell, meager food, and intimidating threats. At last, through the intervention of the American minister in St. Petersburg, Conradi and Perk were released. Undaunted by their experience, the two men continued to visit interested persons in south Russia and among the German colonists in the Volga River basin, but they were much more cautious in their public activities.

During the next few years several German-Russian Adventists from Kansas returned to the Caucasus and Volga regions. They found it relatively easy to work among the German colonists but more dangerous to speak to native Russians about religious matters. Yet the growing number of German Adventists in Russia did share their beliefs. Imprisonment and banishment to remote areas, including Siberia, followed. The only result was to start Adventist companies in new areas. As in the early days of Christianity, persecution seemed to advance rather than hinder the Adventist cause.⁹

Germany

The spread of Adventism in Germany proper seemed to stagnate after James Erzberger returned to Switzerland in 1878. For the next eight years, until Conradi arrived, there was no Seventh-day Adventist minister working in the land of Luther. A dynamic executive and thorough organizer, Conradi was the main pillar of German Adventism for the next thirty-five years. After carefully preparing a number of tracts he set out in 1888 to organize an effective canvassing work in Germany. Gerhardt Perk, constantly in danger of persecution in Russia, was recruited to sell Seventh-day Adventist literature in the German Rhineland. He was soon joined by a German-Swiss.

Aided by several German-American evangelists, Conradi in 1889 established headquarters for the German church in Hamburg. Within five years he had organized a training institute for colporteurs and Bible workers, a city mission, and a publishing plant. By 1894 Conradi had nearly fifty colporteurs working in Germany and among German-speaking persons in Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and the Netherlands. Publishing activities were expanded to prepare literature in a dozen languages in addition to German.

Facilities for a Seventh-day Adventist educational institution were too limited in Hamburg. In 1899 a country estate near Magdeburg was purchased; here Friedensau Missionary Seminary developed. Its bakery and health-food factory helped students earn while they learned. Soon a smithy, locksmith shop, and woodworking plant were added. By 1900 Adventist membership in Germany was approaching 2000; this was more than three times the number of advent believers in France, Switzerland, and Italy combined.¹⁰

The two years of military service required of all German young men proved a problem. How were draftees to relate to demands for ordinary labor on the Sabbath? Courteously, but firmly, they refused to engage in it, even when threatened with death. One young man explained to a court-martial that he could cite a hundred Bible texts for observance of the Sabbath on Saturday. If shown one text calling for Sunday observance, he would agree to work. A confrontation with the military chaplain ended in the young Adventist's favor, and the court simply decided to dismiss him

from the army. Others were not as fortunate; they spent months and years in prison, until finally army medical examiners began to find all manner of excuses for rejecting Seventh-day Adventist recruits.

Imprisonment was also often the lot of Adventist believers who failed to send their children to school on Saturdays. On this point the most government authorities would compromise was in allowing Adventist children to study their Bibles rather than regular lessons in school on Saturday, but they must attend.

In contrast to procedures in the United States, where Seventh-day Adventists had worked first in the villages and rural areas, German evangelistic efforts were directed toward the cities. Sometimes considerable ingenuity was demonstrated. When colporteurs could not gain permits for house-to-house selling, they hired a room to serve as a bookshop and then were able to solicit orders for the shop. If complaints led to the banning of a particular book, it was rebound under a new title and sales continued. With such a spirit it is no wonder that German colporteurs took the lead in introducing Adventism into Holland, the Austrian Empire, the Balkans, and Poland.¹¹

Southeastern Europe

In southeastern Europe Seventh-day Adventist teachings entered the Turkish Empire through the labors of a self-supporting Greek shoemaker. Theodore Anthony, a recent immigrant from Constantinople, accepted Adventism in California in 1888. Almost immediately he determined to return to his birthplace to spread his newfound faith. Anthony's initial contacts with Greek and Armenian Christians aroused antagonism within the registered Christian churches; soon some Quakers complained of his activities and secured his arrest. After he spent two weeks in prison, the puzzled Moslem authorities released Anthony, who began work at his cobbling trade, discreetly sharing religious thoughts with customers in whom he discerned a spark of interest in matters of church doctrine or of world affairs.

Before long this humble shoemaker located an energetic young Armenian, Z. G. Baharian, and convinced him of the truthfulness of Adventist doctrines. Baharian spent the next two years in Basel becoming more thoroughly established in his new beliefs. When he returned to Turkey, he and Anthony held evangelistic services and contracted with a local printer to print tracts. The printer suggested that it would probably be necessary to bribe officials for the necessary permit to publish such material. This Baharian and Anthony refused to do, but they did leave their manuscripts with the printer. During slack periods in the shop, typesetters were put to work on the Adventist tracts. Soon the printer had so much invested in the Adventists' job that he took responsibility for getting the publishing permit himself, something it might have been virtually impossible for the two Adventist men to do.

The Near East

During the 1890s Baharian and Anthony raised up several small companies of Sabbath keepers throughout Asia Minor. Always they worked under extreme difficulties, threatened by authorities and mobs; frequently imprisoned, yet never discouraged. By the start of the twentieth century there were several hundred believers in Turkey.¹²

The murder of Dr. Ribton and several others during the riots of 1882 brought a temporary end to Adventist work in Egypt. Then around 1900 several Armenian Seventh-day Adventist families from Turkey settled in Cairo and Alexandria; and an Italian believer, J. Leuzinger, began ship missionary work in bustling Port Said. Shortly thereafter Louis Passebois, his wife, and Ida Schlegel started a health home and restaurant in Cairo. Cautiously they combined religious teaching with their medical ministry. In 1901 Elder Conradi organized the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Egypt.¹³

Australasia

Half a world away Adventist activity in Australia and New Zealand progressed steadily. Initial opposition to "American" literature was largely overcome through organizing the Echo Publishing Company to produce local papers, tracts, and books. Two of the early converts in Australia were printers who abandoned their private business to develop the Echo office. Pioneer colporteur William Arnold discovered a good market for Adventist literature. For the first six weeks Arnold did not sell one book, but dedicated persistence paid off. Suddenly he began to sell a dozen or more copies of *Daniel and the Revelation* each day. During the three years he spent in Australia he sold over 2000 books. From his profits Arnold donated \$1200 to purchase the first press for the Echo Publishing Company.

In 1895 American E. R. Palmer arrived in Australia from Oklahoma to organize the canvassing work. By 1900 he had seventy colporteurs in the field from among a Seventh-day Adventist membership of 2000. For the next decade Australia served as "the model field for the book work."¹⁴

Early Adventist efforts in Australia centered around the suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, where tent efforts and camp meetings proved effective among middle-class individuals from the professions and small businesses. A notable feature in Australia was the tendency for entire families to join the church. This was true also in New Zealand, which S. N. Haskell visited in the fall of 1885. Haskell persuaded Edward Hare, with whom he boarded in Auckland, of the truth of Adventist doctrine and was immediately urged to visit Hare's father some 150 miles away. Haskell complied and was well received by "Father" Joseph Hare, a local Methodist preacher. The elder Hare, along with other members of his family, also accepted Adventism. Edward's brother, Robert, was soon on

his way to Healdsburg College to prepare for the ministry. He returned to labor more than thirty years in Australia and to rear two sons whose names would add luster to the Adventist cause in later years.

The Australasian field was blessed with particularly good help from America. In 1886 the Arthur Daniells family was sent to New Zealand for evangelistic work. Later Daniells became president of the New Zealand Conference. In 1892 he moved to a similar position in Australia, where he became closely associated with Ellen and Willie White. During the next eight years this trio helped lay the foundations for an effectively coordinated publishing, educational, and medical work directed toward evangelistic outreach.¹⁵

The Pacific Islands

The same year that Daniells left for New Zealand, an Adventist layman and ship carpenter, John I. Tay, arrived off a tiny Pacific island whose history had intrigued Americans and Britons for decades: romantic Pitcairn. Here nearly 150 descendants of *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian wives lived in a simple, devout society. James White and John Loughborough had heard of Pitcairn in 1876 and managed to send a box of Adventist literature to the islanders by one of the ships that called there infrequently. The strange titles of some of the tracts coupled with ignorance of Seventh-day Adventists aroused the suspicion of the island leaders. The box was stowed away without its contents being read. Ten years later it was discovered, and some of the younger islanders read the tracts and noticed how heavily the doctrines presented were buttressed by biblical quotations. They were surprised to find evidence that Saturday was the true Sabbath; perhaps four out of five who studied this matter were convicted by the arguments, but all hesitated to change long-established habits.

It was at this juncture that John Tay arrived. For years he had dreamed of visiting Pitcairn; now he requested permission to stay on the island until the next ship called. After considerable discussion the islanders agreed. Tay soon won their hearts with his gentle Christian ways. When he spoke by invitation at the first Sunday service following his arrival and used this opportunity to discuss the true Sabbath, many were convicted. Further study convinced the doubtful; and by the time the American left the island five weeks later, all its adult inhabitants had accepted the full range of Seventh-day Adventist doctrines.¹⁶

The news of the conversion of the Pitcairn Islanders sent a thrill throughout Seventh-day Adventist ranks. Was not this a clear signal from God to open work in the islands of the Pacific? True, steamship connections were irregular; yet a way must be found. Why not build a small missionary ship to carry personnel and supplies from island to island? The 1887 General Conference authorized spending \$20,000 to build or buy such a vessel to be in operation by the next year.

Closer consideration convinced Adventist leaders that a suitable ship could not be readied that quickly; so they decided to send John Tay back to Pitcairn to strengthen his converts. Elder A. J. Cudney of Nebraska was to accompany him and baptize the new believers. The two set out to reach Pitcairn by different routes; Tay by way of Tahiti, Cudney via Hawaii. But no ships planning to stop at Pitcairn were located in either place. Impatiently, Cudney decided to purchase an old schooner offered for sale at a bargain price. After hiring a crew he started for Tahiti to pick up Tay, but with craft and crew he was lost at sea. John Tay finally returned to San Francisco alone.

This experience confirmed the General Conference's decision to build a seaworthy vessel for interisland service. Sabbath Schools across the United States enthusiastically agreed to contribute their offerings for the first half of 1890 to build a mission ship. Children sold candy, cakes, and popcorn balls so that they might have a part in buying the needed nails, boards, and canvas. And Sabbath School members were invited to suggest a name for the ship. Many names were proposed; at first *Glad Tidings* seemed to be the choice, but eventually the vessel was christened the *Pitcairn*. How appropriate to honor the island which had awakened Adventists to the challenge of the many coral strands dotting the Pacific!

It was October 1890 before the two-masted, 100-foot-long schooner *Pitcairn* was ready to sail with its crew of seven and three missionary couples: the John Tays, the E. H. Gateses, and the A. J. Reads. It took thirty-six days to make the 4000-mile trip from San Francisco to Pitcairn, where their arrival brought great rejoicing. Elders Gates and Read baptized eighty-two of the islanders and organized a church and Sabbath School. After several weeks' stay the mission ship moved on to Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, Fiji, and Norfolk Island. At each of these stops, and others as well, the workers held meetings, sold books, and awakened interest.

Two years later the *Pitcairn* returned to San Francisco, her voyage a success. Elder and Mrs. Gates had been left at Pitcairn, the Reads at Norfolk Island. But a price had been paid, a price that would be all too common in the future. John Tay, who had stayed to pioneer the work in Fiji, died there only months later; the same fate had befallen Captain J. O. Marsh while the *Pitcairn* was being refitted in New Zealand.

Throughout the remainder of the decade the *Pitcairn* continued to carry missionaries to light gospel fires in islands that had names strange to American ears: Roiatea, Rurutu, Rarotonga. But by 1900 maintenance expenses were too great and steamship schedules were more regular and dependable: the *Pitcairn* was sold.¹⁷

South Africa

A cobbler introduced Seventh-day Adventism into Turkey, a ship carpenter to the Pitcairn islanders, and it was through a diamond-pro prospector

that the three angels' messages first came to South Africa. As early as 1878 William Hunt, who had learned the Adventist faith from Loughborough in California, shared Adventist literature with J. H. C. Wilson, former Wesleyan Methodist preacher in the Kimberley diamond fields. This led Wilson and several others to announce their intentions to become Seventh-day Adventists.

It was, however, seven years later that a chain of events began which resulted in the arrival of the first Adventist missionaries in the Cape Colony. At this time two Dutch farmers independently became convinced from their study of Scripture that Saturday was the true Sabbath. George van Druten had his interest aroused through a remarkable dream; Pieter Wessels's study of the subject came as the result of a stepbrother's chance remark meant to discourage his serious interest in biblical religion. On a Saturday afternoon stroll van Druten and his wife came across miner Hunt studying the Bible rather than working his claim. He became the avenue through which first the van Drutens and then the Wesselses learned of Seventh-day Adventists.¹⁸

Excited to learn that there was a church organization in America keeping the seventh-day Sabbath, the two South Africans sent off an appeal to Battle Creek for a Dutch-speaking minister to come and teach them more. They accompanied their letter with a draft for £50 (approximately \$250 U.S. at that time). When this "Macedonian call" was read at the 1886 General Conference, the audience was so moved that it spontaneously rose and sang the Doxology. The next July a missionary party of seven led by D. A. Robinson and C. L. Boyd, including two colporteurs and a Bible instructor, arrived in Cape Town. None of the group spoke Dutch; Adventists at that time did not have such a person to send.

Meanwhile, Wessels and van Druten had not been idle. When he reached Kimberley, Boyd found some forty persons interested in becoming Seventh-day Adventists. While Boyd proceeded to Kimberley, most of the mission party remained in the Cape Town area. When tent meetings failed to attract much of a crowd, these workers turned to house-to-house visitation and tract distribution. Particularly effective at this method of labor was young David Tarr, a former Methodist lay preacher who had learned basic Adventist doctrines from Pieter Wessels. In sharing his new faith convincingly with his brothers, Tarr began a chain reaction that was to provide Adventism with nearly a score of full-time workers in South Africa.¹⁹

Gradually several small Seventh-day Adventist churches were organized throughout the Cape, all among persons of European descent. Elder Boyd became interested in presenting the message of salvation to the African tribal peoples in the area, but his "individualistic temperament" kept him from gaining support among his fellow workers. Before he could develop a program for native Africans, he was recalled in 1890 to America. A stream of South African youth that included David Tarr and

several of the Wessels brothers also headed for the United States to attend Battle Creek College.

In 1891 discovery of diamonds on the farm of Johannes Wessels, Pieter's father, injected a new and, among Adventists, unusual element into the South-African picture. Father Wessels received over one and a quarter million dollars from the de Beers' Mining interests for his farm. Impressed by the denominational institutions they had observed in Battle Creek, the Wessels brothers advocated a similar complex for South Africa. Within a short time, and with the Wesselses' liberal support, the Cape area could boast an Adventist college, sanitarium, publishing house, and orphanage. A benevolent home, providing food, lodging, and medical help for the increasing number of destitute persons, was begun in the Kimberley area.

Unfortunately Seventh-day Adventist membership growth did not keep pace with the size of the church institutions established. This was not such a problem as long as the Wessels family continued to underwrite the costs of the institutions, but the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) adversely affected many of their investments. Some of the family also became estranged from certain of the American workers. When in the early twentieth century the Wesselses' contributions were drastically reduced, it became obvious that the few hundred Adventists in South Africa could not support Battle Creek-style institutions. Nor could the General Conference give financial aid. It, therefore, proved necessary to dispose of the orphanage, sanitarium, and benevolent home. The college and press were continued, but in a much more modest manner.²⁰

Rhodesia

Meanwhile the General Conference, at the prompting of the Wessels family, had decided to try to obtain for a mission station in the territory north of the Cape Colony land recently occupied by the British South Africa Company. At the close of what they feared was a rather unsatisfactory meeting with Cecil Rhodes, Adventist representatives A. T. Robinson and Pieter Wessels received a sealed letter which they were instructed to deliver to Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, Rhodes's representative in Bulawayo, Rhodesia. The letter granted them all the land they could use. Overjoyed, they requested 6,000 morgen (slightly more than 12,000 acres), for which they were to pay a nominal \$60 quitrent annually.

Development of Solusi Mission on the Rhodes grant began in 1894 and proved no easy task. At first there was considerable opposition among some Adventist leaders back in America into accepting a grant of land as a governmental favor. A. T. Jones feared that this violated Seventh-day Adventist principles of church-state separation. A letter from Ellen White admonishing them not to "withdraw themselves from the help that God has moved men to give, for the advancement of His cause," convinced the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board to proceed with the project. Hardly was the settlement of the mission begun before a tribal revolt

forced the missionaries to withdraw for five months. Famine and an outbreak of rinderpest, destroying all the mission cattle that had survived the war, followed in quick succession. Shortly thereafter the missionaries' ranks were decimated by a virulent malaria epidemic. For a time it seemed the station would be closed, but conversions among the Africans in the area led the missionaries to disregard a Mission Board directive to move elsewhere. Solusi, the oldest Seventh-day Adventist mission among indigenous Africans, was saved.²¹

During the year that Solusi was founded an attempt was also made to open Seventh-day Adventist work along the west African coast in present-day Ghana. Here interest in Adventism had been aroused through tracts left by a visiting ship's captain. Two nurses arrived in 1895, and a medical work was instituted. Within two years' time the constant scourge of fever, which earned the area the title "the white man's grave," forced the abandonment of the mission until early in the twentieth century.²²

Middle America

The story of Seventh-day Adventist entry into the tropical lands of the Caribbean is the story of tracts, colporteurs, and dedicated women determined to share a new-found faith with old friends and relatives. In 1883 a Seventh-day Adventist ship missionary in New York City persuaded a ship captain to deliver a bundle of literature to Georgetown, British Guiana. The captain fulfilled the promise by flinging the parcel on the wharf; a bystander gathered a few of the papers as they scattered, read them, and lent them to neighbors. Several began to keep the Sabbath, and one woman forwarded copies of *Signs of the Times* to her sister in Barbados. Here they fell into the hands of descendants of an old slave mother who years before had alerted her children to be on the watch for the restoration of true Sabbath observance.

In response to inquiries from British Guiana, veteran canvasser George King accompanied Elder G. G. Rupert to Georgetown in 1887. During three months King sold \$800 worth of books. Over the next few years William Arnold followed up his earlier successes in Australia by making five trips through the Caribbean islands, selling over \$8000 worth of books. Arnold sent in the names of more than 1000 persons whom he felt would be interested in receiving literature.²³

Even before Rupert and King's visit to Georgetown, Mrs. E. Gauterau, an Adventist converted in California, returned in 1885 to her native Bay Islands off the coast of Honduras to share her new faith. Six years later Elder Frank Hutchins, the first permanent missionary, arrived to follow up the interest she had created. The Sabbath Schools provided funds for Hutchins to build a fifty-foot mission schooner, the *Herald*, to work among the Bay Islands and along the Central American coast. Across the Caribbean Mrs. A. Roskrug, who had been introduced to Adventism in far-off

England, returned in 1888 to Antigua. Soon she had a small Sabbath School meeting weekly.

A book sold by William Arnold in Antigua (ca.1890) was forwarded to the purchaser's son in Jamaica. This man, James Palmer, wrote to the publishers in Battle Creek for more literature. Some of the tracts he received, including "Elihu on the Sabbath," Palmer gave to a local doctor. Having no interest in them, the doctor passed the leaflets along to Mrs. Margaret Harrison, an English socialite who did charitable work at the hospital. Mrs. Harrison was convicted by the Sabbath truth but hesitated for some time to keep the day. In 1893 she went to the Battle Creek Sanitarium for treatment. While there she attended the General Conference session, during which she appealed for a minister to be sent to Jamaica. Again through Sabbath School offerings her plea was answered. A good number of young people were among the early converts in Jamaica; many became energetic colporteurs. By the time the Jamaica Conference was organized in 1903, there were 1200 Seventh-day Adventists on the island.²⁴

Mexico

It was an Italian-American tailor turned colporteur named Marchisio who in 1891 first spread Adventist literature in Mexico. With no Spanish-language publications available, Marchisio sold English copies of *The Great Controversy* in Mexico City. Two years later Dan T. Jones led a group of medical workers in establishing a sanitarium and school at Guadalajara. When G. W. Caviness was nudged out of the presidency of Battle Creek College in 1897, he was sent to Mexico to help in a new interdenominational Bible-translation project. Assisted by several Mexican-American families, Caviness in 1899 launched permanent Seventh-day Adventist work in Mexico City through the avenue of an English-language school.²⁵

South America

An enthusiastic attempt by Frank C. Kelley to introduce Adventism into Colombia during the late 1890s ended after three years when his wife's health forced him to return to America. Kelley had gone as a self-supporting missionary, selling photographic equipment and giving English lessons to earn a living. Unfortunately, for two decades there was no one to further Kelley's pioneer work.²⁶

Although Spanish and Portuguese are the principal languages spoken in South America, Seventh-day Adventists gained their first converts from among German- and French-speaking immigrants to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In large part this was due to the lack of Seventh-day Adventist literature in Spanish or Portuguese until the very last years of the nineteenth century.

The first Seventh-day Adventists to reach South America were Claudio

and Antonieta de Dessignet, who had learned the Seventh-day Adventist message from D. T. Bourdeau in France. They immigrated to Chile in 1885. Simultaneously two families in different areas of Argentina learned of Adventists from newspapers they had received from Europe. In northern Argentina Italian emigrants Pedro Peverini and his wife read a scoffing article in a Waldensian journal mentioning the teaching of *Les Signes des Temps* that the end of the world was near. Mrs. Peverini obtained a subscription to *Les Signes* through her brother in Italy. It led the Peverinis to become Sabbath keepers. Farther south Julio and Ida Dupertuis, members of a Swiss-French Baptist colony, had a somewhat similar experience.

Julio and Ida Dupertuis convinced several other families in their group of the new doctrines they were discovering. Around 1889 they also began corresponding with the International Tract Society in Battle Creek. Their inquiries started Seventh-day Adventist leaders thinking about opening work in South America. Funds, of course, would be necessary for such a project, and so the Sabbath School Association agreed to assign the offerings it collected during the last half of 1890 to the "South American Mission." These totaled a little over \$8000.²⁷

Argentina

Early in 1890, before any regular Adventist workers could be sent to Argentina, four German-Russian farm families from Kansas, led by George Riffel, decided to go there as self-supporting workers. Riffel had spent several years in Argentina earlier but had been driven out by grasshoppers. In Kansas he learned of Adventism through L. R. Conradi's evangelistic meetings. Thrilled, he wrote of his new faith to friends in the German-Russian colonies in Argentina. When one wrote back that he believed in the Sabbath and would keep it if someone would keep it with him, Riffel decided to return to Argentina. On the day the Riffel party arrived in the Entre Rios area of Argentina they met a fellow-countryman, Reinhardt Hetze, who had heard the advent message before leaving Russia but was not following Seventh-day Adventist teachings. As the newcomers eagerly shared their beliefs with Hetze, he was convicted, kept the next Sabbath, and became a staunch Seventh-day Adventist.²⁸

Late in 1891 the first three official Seventh-day Adventist representatives to South America arrived in Montevideo, Uruguay. They were colporteurs sent to make their own way selling German and English books among a population that was largely Spanish-speaking. None of the three spoke Spanish. Discouraged by the small English and German communities in Montevideo and by a stiff import duty on books, they quickly decided to move on to Buenos Aires. The first six months were hard ones, but they made one important convert, twenty-one-year-old Lionel Brooking, to whom one of the trio had sold *The Great Controversy*. Unable to continue in his job and keep Sabbaths, Brooking gladly began canvassing.

Here was a Spanish-speaking canvasser, but with no Spanish books; so he began selling French books to French Protestant immigrants.

The calls of Dupertuis, the reports of the colporteurs, and requests from the Riffel colony finally led the General Conference in 1894 to send Elder F. H. Westphal to superintend the development of Adventist work in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil. By that time colporteurs had sold over \$10,000 worth of literature in Argentina and southern Brazil, and there were probably 100 Adventist believers in Argentina.²⁹

There were no direct steamship connections between the United States and Argentina in those years. The Westphals traveled via England, accompanied by Mrs. Westphal's brother and sister-in-law, the W. H. Thurstons, who were headed for Rio de Janeiro to open an Adventist book depository. Thurston spoke no Portuguese and had no Portuguese literature; so he supported himself by selling English and German books. The first months were hard ones for the Thurstons; at one time they were saved from extreme hunger when a missionary of another denomination gave them an unsolicited loan. Yet Thurston became a valuable colporteur agent.

Brazil

The first advent seeds in Brazil had been sown when some Seventh-day Adventist missionaries sent literature to the father of a young German whom they had met on board a ship bound for Europe. Copies of the Adventist German periodical, *Stimme der Wahrheit* ("Voice of Truth") stirred up an interest among the German colonists in southern Brazil's Santa Catarina state. In 1893 the trio of American colporteurs, joined by Brooking, moved into southern Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro they converted Alberto Bachmeyer, a young German sailor, who began canvassing before he was baptized.³⁰

In 1895 Jean Vuilleumier of Switzerland was dispatched to aid Westphal in Argentina. The new recruit's familiarity in languages proved extremely useful. In one report Vuilleumier recalled that in thirty-three different areas of Argentina in which he had worked, he had used French in sixteen places, German in nine, Spanish in six, and English in two.³¹

Chile

The same year Vuilleumier arrived in Argentina, two American colporteurs, Fred Bishop and Thomas Davis, began the first serious Adventist endeavor in Chile. The two had come with several suitcases of books but very little money; in fact, after paying the boatman to row them ashore, they landed in Valparaiso with exactly one Chilean peso! Bishop immediately attempted to sell some English *Bible Readings* but could find no one who could understand him until on the second day a sailor pointed him to a section of the city where a number of English settlers lived. That day he sold six *Bible Readings*; soon they were running out of books.

Bishop and Davis attempted to learn Spanish by using the Bible as a textbook. One day as they were standing on the street reading Psalm 103 aloud, young Victor Thomann overheard them. Previously in a dream he had seen these two men doing this very thing; now he readily accepted them as messengers from God. With his brother Eduardo, Victor was soon selling the few small Adventist tracts available in Spanish. Eduardo became the first editor of the Spanish *Signs of the Times*, which the brothers launched in January 1900 in Valparaiso. Two and a half years earlier the Argentinian believers had begun the monthly *El Faro* ("The Lighthouse") in Buenos Aires.³²

From Argentina the Adventist faith was spread by colporteurs into Uruguay and Paraguay. A group of self-supporting believers moved from Chile into Peru in 1898. During 1897-98 a former Presbyterian canvasser, not yet a Seventh-day Adventist, first sold *Patriarchs and Prophets* and *Steps to Christ* in Bolivia. He suffered persecution and imprisonment that ended in a miraculous delivery. Without a doubt, colporteurs were the heroes of the initial Adventist attack on South America, "the bastion of Catholicism."³³

India

Seventh-day Adventist colporteurs were also the pioneers in India, beginning work among the English-speaking population of the large cities in 1893. Two years later Miss Georgia Burrus, a young Bible instructor from California, arrived as the first Mission Board appointee. The board paid her transportation to Calcutta, but thereafter she was on her own. For a year she scrimped along learning Bengali, before an unknown patron in South Africa sent money. Reinforcements arrived at the end of the year. The next spring Miss Burrus and Mae Taylor opened a small school for Hindu girls. This opened an avenue for them to visit in the *zenanas* (women's quarters) of the large Hindu families. It was through these contacts that the first Seventh-day Adventists came from Hinduism.

Through public lectures in English, the opening of treatment rooms, and the printing of a few tracts in Bengali, the Adventist message spread. After two years' work, there were perhaps four or five Bengali families and as many Europeans who had accepted the Adventist faith. In 1898 W. A. Spicer arrived in Calcutta and a few months later began an evangelistic monthly, the *Oriental Watchman*. As the century closed, the foundations of Seventh-day Adventist work in India were in place, but as yet sustained work was confined to only a few locations.³⁴

Along the eastern coast of Asia Adventism by the end of the century had managed only a pitifully small toehold. Abram La Rue was continuing the self-supporting ship-colporteur work he had begun in Hong Kong in 1887, but his converts were largely British seamen. Too old to master Chinese and able to pay for only a few small tracts to be translated into that language, La Rue could not touch the millions for whom he yearned to labor.

The Far East

In 1896 President W. C. Grainger, an early convert of La Rue's in California, inspired by the work in Hong Kong, left Healdsburg College to open work in Japan. T. H. Okohira, a young Japanese who had accepted Adventism in California, accompanied him. They established an English-language school in Tokyo and soon had sixty young men attending. The first two Japanese converts were soldiers, one an army doctor. Within nine months of their arrival Grainger and Okohira began a small Japanese-language monthly, *The Gospel for the Last Days*. Its cost was paid from profits derived from the sale of health foods to the non-Japanese community in Tokyo. Three years after his arrival in Tokyo Elder Grainger died. The work he helped to initiate would be copied and expanded decades later by enthusiastic young student missionaries.³⁵

As the twentieth century dawned, Seventh-day Adventists had initiated work on all of the continents and in most of the major nations of the world. The last quarter of the nineteenth century had seen the Adventist concept of missions dramatically expanded. Yet in 1901 Adventists were still largely an American church; four out of every five Seventh-day Adventists still lived in the United States. These members had only recently discovered that they had a very real mission field right in their own midst.³⁶

Suggested Reading:

The *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* is a good place to begin when seeking information on early Adventist work in a particular geographic area. D. A. Delafield's recent *Ellen G. White in Europe, 1885-1887* (1975), highlights an experience that undoubtedly did much to shape Mrs. White's views on mission work. Probably the best overall survey of the early Adventist mission advance is W. A. Spicer's *Our Story of Missions* (1921). For S.D.A. work in Great Britain, see G. Hagstotz, *The Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933* (1936); for Australia, A. S. Maxwell, *Under the Southern Cross* (1966); for South Africa, L. F. Swanepoel, "The Origin and Early History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa" (1972); for Inter-America, W. Amundsen, *The Advent Message in Inter-America* (1947); and for South America, W. Brown, "The Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Austral South America, 1785-1912" (1953). The Adventist conquest of Pitcairn has attracted many writers, but the most complete and readable account is A. Christensen's *Heirs of Exile* (1955). In the older histories see A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: chapters 12, 16; and M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapters 19, 20, 23, 25-30, 32.

1. S. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), pp. 864, 865.
2. E. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell: Man of Action* (1967), pp. 57-159; D. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe, 1885-1887* (1975), *passim*; A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols., II (1962): 220-223, 354, 355.
3. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 210, 1028, 1564; G. A. Irwin to E. G. White, October 13, 1899, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
4. G. Hagstotz, *The Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933* (1936), pp. 45, 46, 111-117.
5. Delafield, pp. 62, 63, 72; Hagstotz, pp. 56-59, 95, 112-177; W. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions* (1921), pp. 121, 122, 125, 126.
6. Spicer, pp. 105-115; *Outline of Mission Fields Entered by Seventh-day Adventists* (1908), pp. 17-20; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 386, 387, 460, 613, 614, 1006, 1354, 1444, 1445.
7. Spicer, pp. 157-167; *Outline of Mission Fields . . .*, pp. 26-29; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 476, 691, 833, 834, 1227, 1447, 1448.
8. Spicer, pp. 171, 172; Spalding, II: 225-228.
9. Spicer, pp. 172-179; Spalding, II: 228-234.
10. Spicer, pp. 129-132; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 509-511, 483; *General Conference Daily Bulletin* (April 9, 1901), p. 159; Delafield, pp. 154-276.
11. Spicer, pp. 132-135, 137, 141-156.
12. Spicer, pp. 189-195; Spalding, II: 235-238; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 118, 119, 1505.
13. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 60; *Outline of Missions . . .*, pp. 33, 34.
14. Spicer, p. 282; D. McAdams, "Edwin R. Palmer: Publishing Secretary Extraordinary," *Adventist Heritage* II (Summer 1975), 52, 53.
15. A. Maxwell, *Under the Southern Cross* (1966), pp. 27, 28; Spicer, pp. 281-290; M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), pp. 379-396.
16. R. Young, *Mutiny of the Bounty and Story of Pitcairn Island 1790-1894* (1894), pp. 233, 234; A. Christensen, *Heirs of Exile* (1955), pp. 193-200.
17. Christensen, pp. 211-278; Olsen, pp. 445-457.
18. L. Swanepoel, "The Origin and Early History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa," M.A. thesis, University of South Africa (1972), p. 1-6.
19. Swanepoel, pp. 6-21; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1363, 1364.
20. Swanepoel, pp. 21-25, 38-49, 54-58, 78-95; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1365, 1366.
21. Swanepoel, pp. 65-77; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1358, 1359.
22. *Outline of Missions . . .*, pp. 42, 43; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 512.
23. W. Amundsen, *The Advent Message in Inter-America* (1974), pp. 78-81; G. Enoch, *The Advent Message in the Sunny Caribbean* (1907), p. 6.
24. Amundsen, pp. 82-91; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 696, 697.
25. Amundsen, pp. 92-94; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 873, 874.
26. Amundsen, p. 95; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 328.
27. W. Brown, "The Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Austral South America, 1785-1912," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California (1953), pp. 33-44, 55, 56, 232, 233; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 67-69, 261, 262.
28. Brown, pp. 45-49.
29. Brown, pp. 64-74.
30. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 183-186; Brown, p. 75.
31. Brown, p. 89; J. Vuilleumier, "A Polyglot Field," *The Missionary Magazine*, November 1899, p. 489.
32. Brown, pp. 157-173.
33. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 168, 169, 1080, 1081, 1103, 1544.
34. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 625-627.
35. J. Oss, *Mission Advance in China* (1949), pp. 84-87; M. Harley and R. Wheeler, *Pastor La Rue, the Pioneer* (1937), pp. 154-182; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 700, 701.
36. *General Conference Bulletin, 1901-1902*, pp. 596, 597.

CHAPTER 15

Entering a Neglected Field

It was not until the 1890s that substantial Seventh-day Adventist penetration of the southern United States began. Early Seventh-day Adventists followed the general American trend of migrating westward from their first bases in New England and New York. Even if they had wanted to move south, their abolitionist beliefs would have made them unwelcome in an area wedded to a slave economy.

With the end of slavery Adventists might have joined other evangelical churches during the late 1860s and 70s in sending teachers south to open schools for the freedmen. The 1865 General Conference did recognize that “a field is now opened in the South for labor among the colored people and should be entered upon according to our ability.” Unfortunately during these years that ability was not very great. Both ministers and funds were in short supply.¹

Early Efforts in the South

During the 1870s several individual Seventh-day Adventists made transitory efforts to help former slaves obtain a basic education. In Texas Eddie Capman began a night school which met three times a week in a small twelve-by-fourteen-foot cabin. Twelve blacks, ranging in age from eight to forty, attended. Some months later two experienced teachers from Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Clarke, went to Texas with General Conference blessing, but at their own expense, to expand Capman’s work. Soon Clarke was calling for a licensed preacher to come and organize churches.²

In 1877 Elder R. M. Kilgore responded to this plea. Kilgore’s eight years of labor in Texas were not without difficulties; several times he was

threatened with lynching, and on one occasion his tent was burned down. Public opposition may have led to the curtailing of the church's unofficial educational work for blacks. As an ex-Union officer, Kilgore was sensitive to the charge that Adventists were "Yankees" come "to preach nigger equality"; a charge he denied. Opposition from prejudiced whites may also have contributed to the early demise of a school for freedmen begun in 1877 by Mrs. H. M. Van Slyke in Ray County, Missouri.³

From the start Seventh-day Adventist preachers were puzzled over how to relate to Southern attitudes toward race. It was E. B. Lane who in 1871 answered the first call from the South for an Adventist minister. During his initial evangelistic series, held in a railroad station, Lane acceded to local custom by preaching from the doorway between adjoining waiting rooms in which black and white listeners were seated separately. Only one church was organized at the close of this series, in Edgefield Junction, Tennessee, however, and it included about a dozen black believers. Similar procedures were followed during later evangelistic efforts in Kentucky and Virginia.

During the General Conferences of 1877 and 1885, the question of whether or not to bow to Southern prejudices by establishing separate work and separate churches for blacks was debated. Most speakers believed that to do so would be a denial of true Christianity since God was no respecter of persons. In 1890, however, R. M. Kilgore, the Adventist leader with the most experience relative to the South, argued for separate churches. D. M. Canright had urged this policy as early as 1876 during a brief period of labor in Texas. Eventually their recommendations prevailed, but the policy was never defended on grounds other than those of expediency.⁴

Charles M. Kinney

Charles M. Kinney, the first Afro-American ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister, had rather definite convictions on the relationships that should prevail between black and white Adventists. Although Kinney looked upon separate religious services for the two groups as "a great sacrifice" on the part of blacks, he believed this preferable to segregating Afro-Americans in back pews of churches. If there were only a few black believers in an area, Kinney favored their integration into a church with whites. But as soon as numbers warranted, he believed blacks might well be organized into a separate church. Eventually all black churches should join in a conference that would "bear the same relation to the General Conference that white conferences do."⁵

Kinney was an interesting person. Born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, he worked his way west after the Civil War. In 1878, at the age of twenty-three, he attended an evangelistic effort conducted by J. N. Loughborough in Reno, Nevada, and became a charter member of the small church organized there. Kinney's service as secretary of the Nevada Tract and Missionary Society convinced conference leaders he had the potential to

become a valuable church worker. They sponsored him for two years of study at Healdsburg College. From Healdsburg Kinney went at General Conference request to labor among the blacks who had begun migrating to Kansas in substantial numbers in 1879. Later Kinney worked in St. Louis, Missouri, where he apparently encountered his first taste of racial prejudice among fellow Adventists. For more than two decades he labored across the upper South, organizing black churches and becoming the first major Adventist spokesman of Afro-American aspirations.⁶

It was nearly two decades after Lane's initial series of meetings at Edgefield Junction that Kinney became pastor of the first separately organized black Seventh-day Adventist church in this same village. During the intervening years Adventist work in the South had largely been confined to Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Texas. In 1873 a feeble flicker of interest appeared in Alabama as the result of the work of J. M. Elliot, a Southern white who had been blinded while fighting in the Union Army. Elliot had accepted Adventism during a stay in the North, but returned to Alabama at war's end. His sharing of his new faith with old friends led them to call for the services of an Adventist minister, but there seemed to be no one to send.

C. O. Taylor

The call to Alabama was finally answered four or five years later when Elder C. O. Taylor, an old Millerite preacher, spent the years from 1876 to 1879 roving through the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Taylor went primarily to areas where interest in Adventism had been aroused by literature sent by friends. Although he kept on the move too much to build up any major congregations, several of the families he converted played important roles in later Adventist evangelism.⁷

During the 1880s interest in Adventism throughout the Southern States was promoted largely by laymen, some newly arrived from the North, and by itinerant colporteurs. Regular preachers appeared only spasmodically. The New Orleans Exposition of 1884-85 seemed an opportunity to gain publicity for Seventh-day Adventist views; so R. M. Kilgore and H. W. Cottrell spent some weeks in the city preparing a display of literature. A city mission followed. Similar city missions were opened in Atlanta, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama. In each, colporteurs played a key role. Their income came entirely from sales commissions, although when the General Conference approved of C. W. Olds's moving his family to join him in Birmingham, they did promise that if he "got into a tight place, we will try to help him some."⁸

Ellen White Counsel

It took an earnest admonition from Ellen White to jolt Adventists into realizing their duty to share their faith with Afro-Americans. Even then

the jolt was a delayed-action one. On March 21, 1891, Mrs. White read a "testimony" before a group of thirty top Seventh-day Adventist leaders assembled for the biennial General Conference session. Although recognizing that her message would cause controversy, Ellen White felt impelled to speak frankly on the subject of church race relations. She implied that the preceding General Conference had erred by capitulating to white prejudices against integrated churches and church services.

"The color of the skin does not determine character in the heavenly courts," Mrs. White affirmed. Blacks were to have "just as much respect as any of God's children." She went on to say that Jesus made no difference between whites and blacks "except that He has a special, tender pity for those who are called to bear a greater burden than others." To slight a brother because of color was the same as to slight Christ. Calling for more missionary work among all classes in the South, Ellen White indicated that this applied particularly to blacks. "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people," she declared. Both white and black Adventists were to be trained to educate the millions of Afro-Americans who had been so long oppressed and "downtrodden."⁹

James Edson White

Although Mrs. White's appeal was soon printed in tract form, it took nearly three years for anyone to pay much attention to it. Then suddenly its message found a very receptive audience in Ellen's oldest living son, James Edson White. Edson, as he was customarily called, had many of his father's characteristics although he lacked his acumen. "Creative, resourceful, and energetic" in the various enterprises that enlisted his interest, he was also somewhat undiplomatic, unpredictable and, at times, "a bit eccentric." Trained as a printer in his youth, Edson had worked at both the Review and Herald and the Pacific Press before launching his own printing business, devoted chiefly to the publication of hymnbooks and Sabbath School materials.

During the late 1880s, Edson transferred his printing business to Chicago. Success in business eluded him; his debts increased, and at the same time his spiritual condition deteriorated. Then in the late summer of 1893 he went through a spiritual crisis during which he determined to reenter denominational service. At this opportune time he chanced to hear a talk by Professor C. C. Lewis on the needs of black Americans in the Southern States. Edson thought of offering himself for evangelistic service in Tennessee. Before he could act on this tentative plan, however, he met Will Palmer, an old friend and associate who had also recently experienced a spiritual rebirth and was back in Battle Creek attending a Bible Institute at the college. At Palmer's urging Edson and his wife, Emma, decided to return to Battle Creek and enter the Bible Institute.¹²

A contact during the Institute with Dr. J. E. Caldwell, who had been

laboring among blacks in Knoxville, Tennessee, increased Edson's interest in such work. Caldwell told Edson about his mother's 1891 appeal, but later inquiries concerning it among General Conference officials failed to uncover anyone who seemed aware of its existence. Then a casual discussion with a painter in the Review and Herald plant revealed that this man had observed some of the forgotten tracts in an unused office. Reading his mother's appeal thoroughly confirmed Edson's determination to begin educational and evangelistic work among Southern blacks.

Steamship Evangelism

After Edson persuaded Will Palmer to join in his plans, Edson's entrepreneurial instincts blossomed. The two men speedily put together a simple religious reader, entitled *The Gospel Primer*, to fulfill a threefold purpose: (1) its sales would finance their mission project, (2) it would be simple enough for use in teaching illiterates to read, and (3) it would convey Bible truths in clear, simple language. Such a book had been envisioned by the General Conference officers for use among blacks nearly five years earlier but had never been produced. *The Gospel Primer* was an instant success, and White and Palmer immediately commissioned the building of a river steamer to use as headquarters for their projected work in the South.

By this time the two men had learned enough about Southern society to know that teaching blacks what were regarded as "strange" religious ideas might well make it difficult for them to secure accommodations among whites. Yet lodging with blacks would be considered a major breach of social mores and probably would lead to their being forced out of the area. Having their own living accommodations on a boat seemed an ideal answer. Since Edson had worked for a time on riverboats on the upper Mississippi River, he was doubly drawn to such a solution for their needs.¹¹

Ironically, it almost proved easier to build the boat, soon christened *Morning Star*, than to get the blessings of the General Conference on their plans. Both White and Palmer possessed mechanical skill. Now they built their own boiler while a local church member donated his labor in putting together the ship's engine. Within five months the steamer was completed. After considerable misgivings the General Conference Committee agreed to send the two men with missionary credentials and the promise of eight dollars per week salary for each, but with no money for the expenses of the *Morning Star*. The Committee also appointed another worker, H. S. Shaw, to have general supervision of the work for blacks throughout the South. White and Palmer were to work in an assigned area and engage in "no new schemes . . . without their plans being first submitted to the General Conference Committee."¹²

It took another six months to get the *Morning Star* down the Kalamazoo River, across Lake Michigan in a storm, and down the Illinois and Missis-

sippi Rivers to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where the party was to begin labor in an area where blacks outnumbered whites by a substantial margin. In the process White recruited several additional crew members, secured government approval of the ship's construction, and providentially managed to have dismissed a \$500 fine for navigating the Mississippi with an unlicensed black pilot.¹³

About a year before the January 1895 day when the *Morning Star* steamed into Vicksburg, an independent black preacher who had learned some Adventist truths from reading *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* had come to the city from Arkansas. He proved a powerful preacher, but his fearless denunciation of sin led community leaders to turn the people against him. Before falling martyr to an angry mob Alonzo Parker warned that God would give them "just one more chance" by sending messengers with a "stricter message." His prophecy made a deep impression on Vicksburg's black community, many of whom saw its fulfillment in the arrival of Edson White and his party.

The *Morning Star* group received a cordial welcome from the black Mt. Zion Baptist congregation. Katie Holston, one of the members, invited the newcomers to attend a prayer group in her home; soon they were visiting Sunday Schools in a variety of churches. Sensing the eagerness of black adults to learn, Edson and his helpers began an evening school two nights per week. More than fifty attended the first night; soon this number had doubled. Fearful of arousing prejudice, Edson held back from introducing the Sabbath, but the little band of missionaries met each Saturday for services on the *Morning Star*. Before long there were questions concerning this practice. Some of the black leaders, finding White's explanations satisfactory, changed days of worship. This aroused the hostility of local pastors, and before long the *Morning Star* group were not welcome in any of the area churches.

Edson's troubles multiplied. The closing of the churches meant that he would have to hire a hall to continue the night school. At the same time the Review and Herald manager decided to discontinue publishing *The Gospel Primer* in favor of a similar work upon which they could gain larger profits. This was catastrophic, as royalties from the *Primer* paid the operational expenses of the *Morning Star*. Palmer was dispatched to Battle Creek to reason with General Conference leaders. Rather grudgingly, the General Conference, which published some materials independently, agreed to back one edition of 20,000 of the *Primer*.¹⁴

A Chapel in Vicksburg

A church of their own in Vicksburg seemed vital to the small band of missionaries and their recent converts. With much sacrifice and the help of friends in the North, their dreams became a reality. For \$160 they constructed a small unpretentious chapel, twenty by forty feet in size. At first local authorities seemed determined to prevent the building of this

church; but persistence and prayer paid off, and on August 10, 1895, General Conference president O. A. Olsen was on hand to preach the dedicatory sermon.

Olsen's interest in work for blacks seemed to be increasing, perhaps because of Ellen White's extensive series of articles in the *Review* during late 1895 and early 1896. In this series she repeatedly called for greater efforts in evangelizing the South, particularly its black population. Forced by the difficult climate of Vicksburg to spend at least some of the summer months in Battle Creek, Edson likewise actively promoted work among the Southern blacks. He also completed arrangements for some of his mother's writings on the life of Jesus to be published in simplified book form as *Christ Our Saviour*. Mrs. White assigned the royalties from this book to help support Edson's work. Such financial aid was vital to the expanded plans Edson envisioned.¹⁵

When Edson and Emma White returned to Vicksburg, it was without the help of the Palmers; Will had been asked to promote the publishing interests of the General Conference Association. Before expanding his operations geographically Edson determined to strengthen his Vicksburg base. The night school was reactivated in the new church; an evangelistic series, advertised by colorful handbills printed on the little press the Whites had brought from Battle Creek, was begun. Yet the people seemed reticent to attend until prejudice was dispelled through the kindly ministrations of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Kynett and nurse Ida Wekel, who arrived to support Edson's program through medical missionary work. Again the night school was crowded as 150 students jammed the little church built to hold 100.

As an aid in organizing and promoting their expanding operations, Edson and his associates organized the Southern Missionary Society. Sale of stock in this new organization would help to provide funds for its work. It could also receive and disburse gifts and hold title to any properties acquired. Acutely aware of the economic difficulties facing Afro-Americans, Dr. Kynett, the society's first vice-president, planned to begin a laundry, a bakery, and a weaving business. Meanwhile Edson White, as president, was appealing to Northern Adventists to share serviceable used clothing with his needy black friends. As the night school continued to grow, an addition to the church building became necessary. This also housed a thousand-volume library Edson collected for use by his students and church members.¹⁶

Up the Yazoo River

With the work in Vicksburg progressing nicely Edson prepared to move up the Yazoo River, which joined the Mississippi a few miles north of Vicksburg. The Yazoo wound through a heavily populated black area. First it was necessary to refit and expand the *Morning Star*. In addition to enlarged living quarters, a chapel, reading room, and printing office were

added. Edson was also busy writing another simplified doctrinal book, *The Coming King*, whose sales would help finance his work.

Deterred by fever and shortage of funds, it was not until December 1897 that Edson was able to head the *Morning Star* up the Yazoo. He was accompanied by Elder G. A. Irwin, the newly elected General Conference president. At Yazoo City they held services with a woman who had accepted the Advent message in Alabama. On the next trip up the Yazoo, the *Morning Star* was detained for a week near an isolated plantation by mechanical difficulties. Both whites and blacks attended services on the boat, but they sat separately. At first the blacks were assigned back seats, but later Edson ran a curtain down the center of the chapel and preached simultaneously to both races from the front.

Edson disliked segregated services but felt that something was being accomplished in getting whites even to attend services with blacks. Soon, however, even though he had unwillingly switched to entirely separate services, he was threatened with ostracism and possible lynching if he continued educational work for the blacks living on the big river plantations. Such racial prejudice continued to be difficult for Adventist leaders to understand. In a letter to W. C. White in 1895, O. A. Olsen had indicated disapproval of separate work for the two races in the South. He believed the gospel should overcome prejudice and pointed to the seeming success Catholics experienced while ignoring the color line.¹⁷

During Edson's trips along the Yazoo he discovered 240 acres of timberland for sale. Convinced that here was another chance to earn money to finance his work, he ignored his mother's counsel against becoming involved in business ventures and made a deposit on the land. Logging operations were begun and an extensive strawberry bed set out; then came a disastrous spring flood. Although the *Morning Star* crew won praise for helping to evacuate threatened residents and their livestock, Edson's real estate venture was dealt a death blow. Chastened, he decided to stay, in the future, with evangelistic and educational work.

Malaria, yellow fever, and preoccupation with financing his projects took Edson White away from Mississippi for months at a time. Yet capable assistants remained behind, and the work prospered. New schools were begun; a portable chapel was built in Battle Creek and shipped south for use along the Yazoo. Since the financial distress of the General Conference (along with a latent distrust of some of Edson's ventures) limited the official support given Edson's work, he determined to appeal directly to rank-and-file church members. Soon two small power presses on the *Morning Star* were turning out the first issues of the *Gospel Herald*. It advertised the work in the South and carried liberal selections from Ellen White's testimonies favoring work among blacks. Ten thousand copies of the first issue were sent out along with a call for regular subscriptions. Gradually the *Herald* changed into a regular evangelistic journal for the South and was finally absorbed into *These Times*.¹⁸

Financial pressures continued to plague the work in Mississippi. As a result of Ellen White's articles in the *Review*, the Sabbath Schools collected nearly \$11,000 in the first half of 1896 to forward the work in the South. Yet Edson's group failed to receive any of this amount. Again the entrepreneurial side of his father's character appeared in the son. The *Herald* advertised a variety of goods for sale, from sewing machines to rubber stamps. Profits were used to build churches and schools and to provide the expenses of Edson's associates and of operating the *Morning Star*. Interested Adventists who could not buy, or donate cash, were encouraged to send grains, dried fruits, or canned vegetables and fruit to Vicksburg and Yazoo City.

Edson's solicitation of food and used clothing was not for himself and his helpers alone; he was constantly aware of the pitiful conditions under which thousands of black sharecroppers existed. With a near failure in the cotton crop during 1898 a bad situation became worse. The crew of the *Morning Star* distributed over seventy-five barrels of clothing as well as free cornmeal, flour, and molasses. All the while Edson was urging the farmers in the area to diversify their crops: to plant peanuts, potatoes, and garden vegetables. Unfortunately this had no appeal to white landlords interested only in a cash crop they had known for years: cotton.¹⁹

Late in 1898 the arrival in Yazoo City of F. R. Rogers and his family from Walla Walla, Washington, provided Edson with the strong and imaginative support he had missed since Will Palmer returned to Battle Creek. Rogers gave the next fourteen years of his life to teaching and preaching among Southern blacks. His disregard for personal comforts and health eventually made him a martyr to this work.

Rogers arrived none too soon. Both Edson and Emma White were seriously ill that winter. Edson lost twenty-five pounds in a few weeks. Funds continued to be in short supply. As if this were not enough, white vigilantes threatened to blow up the *Morning Star* and close the schools the Southern Missionary Society had begun throughout the Yazoo delta.

A leave of absence in Battle Creek improved the Whites' health, but scarcely had they returned to Mississippi before violence erupted. Dan Stephenson, a native white Mississippian teaching in one of the Adventist schools for blacks, was escorted out of town by determined men. One of the black Adventist leaders, N. W. Olvin, was viciously whipped; his wife shot in the leg. The books, maps, and supplies of the Calmar school were burned and a threatening notice affixed to the schoolroom door. As Edson wrote his mother, it was "Ku Klux days all over again." Small wonder that Ellen began to suggest more caution in avoiding antagonizing the racial prejudices of the Southern power structure. It would scarcely be wise to jeopardize the lives of workers and face the possibility of being entirely shut out of the area.²⁰

In an effort to diffuse antagonism toward the Southern Missionary Society's education work Edson made F. R. Rogers superintendent of

education and depended almost entirely upon black teachers to staff the growing number of schools. By the early years of the twentieth century the society had nearly fifty schools in operation. But for Edson White the front-line days in Mississippi were virtually over. The Yazoo City newspapers kept inciting opposition to his projects. And then N. W. Olvin was imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. As he considered these facts and also the adverse effect of the malaria-infested lowlands on his health, Edson decided to move the headquarters of the Southern Missionary Society to Nashville. In this city there were a number of educational institutions for blacks, and racial prejudices were not so virulent as they were farther south.²¹

In 1901, not long after Edson transferred the Southern Missionary Society headquarters to Nashville, Adventist leaders in the Southern States organized the Southern Union Conference. The society became the branch of the union conference specifically charged with educational, evangelistic, and medical work among blacks. In 1909 its activities were transferred to the newly created General Conference Negro Department. By that time it was sponsoring fifty-five primary schools with more than 1800 pupils in ten of the Southern States. It had also opened medical facilities for blacks in the Nashville and Atlanta areas and had succeeded in increasing the number of black Adventists in the South to more than 900. There had probably been less than fifty when Edson White had conceived his "mission to Black America" some fifteen years earlier.²²

Oakwood College

A few months after the *Morning Star* first arrived in Vicksburg, the leading officers of the General Conference decided to develop an industrial school for blacks that would draw in the best students from primary schools like those Edson White was inaugurating. Following counsel from Ellen White, they began a search for land in the area of Nashville, Tennessee, or northern Alabama. The locating committee, composed of General Conference president O. A. Olsen, treasurer Harmon Lindsay, and George Irwin, superintendent of the Southern district, paused in their search at Chattanooga. There in a special prayer session they pled with tears for divine direction. Proceeding to Huntsville, Alabama, they learned of an old 360-acre plantation for sale. The mother of the agent handling the property had been a patient at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Through this favorable contact the committee secured the estate for only \$6700, a thousand dollars less than the original asking price.²³

Impressed by the large number of huge oak trees on the estate, Olsen and Irwin decided to name the new school "Oakwood." The early months of 1896 were spent in clearing brush from the run-down land and in attempting to get the dilapidated manor house, barn, and nine old "slave" cabins in usable shape. S. M. Jacobs, a successful Iowa farmer, came down to manage the property. A visit by Irwin and others to Booker T.



Partial View of the Campus of Oakwood College

Washington's Tuskegee Institute helped confirm the founders' views that Oakwood should place heavy emphasis on vocational training.

The top Adventist leadership was eager to get the Oakwood property in shape for school to open in the fall of 1896. Elders Olsen and Irwin spent several weeks helping repair the manor house; Olsen plastered, while Irwin acted as "tender, mixing mortar and carrying it upstairs." Later, Olsen spent some time in plowing the fields, while Irwin wielded a paintbrush. Several would-be students had already arrived and were quickly put to work. From the start Olsen had decided that Oakwood would run a year-round, rather than just a nine-month, school program; only in this way could the school make proper use of the farmland and give the practical instruction in agriculture which he felt was vital.²⁴

During the first summer there was considerable prejudice among surrounding farmers, not just against the idea of having a black school in the area, but because Mr. Jacobs was regarded as another know-it-all Yankee who had come down to teach them how to farm. When Jacobs marshaled his small farm crew to help several neighbors through periods of difficulty, a more favorable image was created—one that was to last.

Even before school opened officially in November 1896, Mr. Jacobs's son and daughter held evening classes for the eager students. The sixteen boarders who were present on opening day increased to twenty-three in two months' time; another fifteen attended as day students. By the start of 1898 there were facilities to accommodate fifty boarding students at Oakwood. These young people studied half of each day and worked the other half to pay for board and tuition. In addition to agriculture the boys at Oakwood learned masonry and carpentry, while the girls received instruction in cooking, sewing, laundering, and gardening.

Over the next two decades a wide variety of buildings were added to the campus, with most of the building being done by the students themselves. Even so, facilities could not be enlarged rapidly enough to meet the demand. When the century closed, fifty-five students jammed the dormitories, while half that many were turned away for lack of room. Because the first students had had so little opportunity for education, instruction at Oakwood during the initial decade was given at the secondary level. In 1917 the school was elevated to junior-college status.²⁵

Madison College

Less than a decade after the founding of Oakwood for blacks, another school for whites was established as the result of Ellen White's continued calls for Seventh-day Adventists to devote more attention to the neglected Southern States. The key personalities were Edward A. Sutherland and Percy T. Magan, who in 1901 had led in the relocating of Battle Creek College at Berrien Springs, Michigan. Both men were educational reformers and firm believers in the guiding messages continually issuing from Ellen White's pen. They determined to resign their posts in Berrien

Springs and establish a school in the South where students could be trained to serve as self-supporting missionary teachers. They would prepare their students to combine evangelism with better farming methods and correct health principles. Thus they could minister to all the needs of the deprived hill people of the South.

Sutherland and Magan intended to locate their school in the mountains of eastern Tennessee or in the western section of the Carolinas, but at Mrs. White's urging they agreed to explore the area around Nashville. After unsuccessful weeks of hunting for a site the two men accepted an invitation from Edson White to cruise up the Cumberland River on the *Morning Star* with his mother and some others. About ten miles north of Nashville the *Morning Star* broke down. While waiting for repairs, Ellen White and Will Palmer went ashore. As they began walking over a run-down farm, Ellen suddenly became excited; the place resembled an area she had seen in vision. She urged Sutherland and Magan to buy the property.

Dismay filled the hearts of the would-be school developers. They pointed to the run-down buildings, the eroded land, and the asking price for the farm, which they were sure was much too high. Mrs. White was unperturbed. Whom were they expecting to help? she asked. The answer was "the poor farmers in the hill regions." Then, Mrs. White replied, would it be well for your demonstration farm to be on good-quality land so much different from that of the people you propose to help? As far as funds were concerned, they should trust the Lord to meet their needs. She would call upon the people to help them. She urged Mrs. Nell Druillard, Sutherland's aunt and a woman who had shown pronounced financial abilities through the years, to join these "boys" in their new enterprise.

Still Sutherland and Magan hesitated, but finally they decided Ellen White's urging was a clear test of their belief in her divine inspiration. Sensing a chance to make more money from these "Yankees," the farm's owners suddenly raised their price by \$1000. All but Mrs. White interpreted this development as a way out of a situation they had been hesitant about from the first. She insisted they still should buy the place, and buy it they did. By the time they obtained possession, October 1, 1904, the founders had incorporated the new enterprise as the Nashville Agricultural and Normal Institute; its proximity to Madison, Tennessee, soon led it to be known as the "Madison School." Ellen White further demonstrated her support by accepting a position on the institute's board of directors, the only time she served in such a capacity.²⁶

There were only eleven students on hand when the first term of the Madison School began in the fall of 1904—idealistic young people who had followed Magan, Sutherland, Mrs. Druillard, and M. Bessie De Graw down from Berrien Springs. The school was operated as a big family, with students and teachers joining together in morning and evening worship. Throughout the day all participated in the work necessary to make the farm pay. It was not unusual for the dean [Magan] to drive the mule team

for plowing while one of the lady teachers set off to town in a cart to market "the butter made by the president [Sutherland] in the lean-to creamery." In the evening, around the big fireplace, there were "mingled discussions of folklore and pedagogy and balanced rations with needlework and knitting and administration of bran poultices to chapped hands."²⁷

Only the simplest furnishings were provided at Madison; plank tables and dry-goods-box dressers were the rule. Food was largely restricted to what could be produced on the farm. The philosophy of the founders was that the more closely conditions in the school approximated the conditions students would face when they went out to teach, the more easily would they adjust to their vocations. There was no steam heat, no electricity, no expensive farm machinery of the kind not used by the Southern farmers the school hoped to serve. As the numbers of students increased, they were put to work constructing simple residence halls; thus the art of building was added to the science of farming.

There were many unconventional features in the educational system inaugurated at Madison. Student labor, rather than cash, was accepted for tuition. This meant that cash necessary for operating expenses must come from the sale of school products or from patrons, like Mrs. Josephine Gotzian, who believed in the purposes for which Madison had been founded. Ellen White made numerous appeals to those with means to "help the work at Madison."

The governing body at Madison was not the faculty or a president's council, but the entire school family sitting in session, called the "Union Body." Working together in this group, students and teachers jointly made rules, enforced discipline, planned for needed improvements, and directed the various departments of the school. Only matters requiring cash expenditures were referred to the board of directors. One night each week was set aside for a meeting of the Union Body.

Each student at Madison studied only one major subject per nine-week term; he received three hours of class instruction per day and was allowed an equal time for preparation. Part of the students studied in the morning, the rest in the afternoon. The average student needed to put in six hours of labor daily in one of the school industries to meet school expenses. Working side by side with teachers in the garden and dairy or in the field or poultry house brought a close spirit of fellowship. All knew that these departments were vital to produce cash for the institution's needs. Frequent changes in work assignments allowed all to acquire proficiency in a variety of areas.

The Madison School made no provision for organized athletics or for clubs, classes, or other groups which might encourage rivalry and competition. Students were expected to be adult enough to find recreation in intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Sutherland and Magan recognized that the kind of school they were operating was not for everyone, but only for those motivated by a consuming love for Christ and a desire to see His

love revealed to others. Theirs was designed to be truly a "missionary school."²⁸

The vast majority of students coming to Madison expected to be teachers or health workers in rural communities. They studied Bible, history, science, or grammar during the regular nine-week terms. Short, three-week sessions devoted to practical skills like carpentry, cobbling, or blacksmithing were offered between regular terms. The first year Mrs. Druillard offered a one-year course in practical nursing and hydrotherapy. Later, when a sanitarium was added to the school in 1907, this course was lengthened to two years. In all subjects the emphasis was on teaching the student to be proficient enough to teach the same subject matter when he went out on his own.

Expansion in the South

It was about a year and a half after Madison opened that the first members of the school family left to start "out-schools." Fifteen miles from Madison three members of the original group purchased 250 acres of land and developed the Oak Grove Garden School. They came as settlers, but at the community's request were soon operating a three-teacher school for seventy-five to eighty children. With the Oak Grove Garden School firmly established, two of the founders moved twenty miles east, where in the hills above Gallatin they began the Fountain Head School, which later developed into Highland Academy.

By 1915 there were thirty-nine of these self-supporting groups spread across Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina. More than three quarters of them had already begun free primary schools. Back at Madison, Magan, already forty-four years of age, and Sutherland, forty-six, decided to take the medical course to strengthen the school and sanitarium complex they were operating. Commuting to Nashville by motorcycle, they studied at the University of Tennessee and received their medical degrees in 1914. Although the following year Dr. Magan left to become dean of the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University Medical School), Dr. Sutherland directed the Madison complex for another thirty years.²⁹

Even before the Madison School was begun, Ellen White had in 1903 urged the founding of a similar school for blacks in the Nashville area. During the next few years she repeated this recommendation several times. In studying these statements O. R. Staines, Oakwood's business manager, became impressed that he should resign and start such a school. After consulting with Magan and Sutherland and securing Mrs. White's approval, he began the search for a suitable location.

At last a run-down, but promising, farm was located six miles from the center of Nashville. Staines and his mother used their available cash for a down payment, and Staines immediately left for Michigan to canvass friends and relatives for help in paying the balance and in securing livestock and equipment to begin the new institution, which he had

named the Hillcrest School. Michigan Adventists gave cows, horses, buggies, and an assortment of farm machinery—enough to fill a railroad car. For nearly a year Staines traveled through Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan, raising funds to complete paying for the land.

It was late in 1908 when the first three students from Mississippi arrived at the Hillcrest School, but classes did not actually begin until January 1909. By the fourth year there were twenty students, all determined to go out as teachers of their own people. These students were housed in five small cottage-type units rather than in regular dormitories. Hillcrest was close enough to Madison so that several of the teachers of practical arts there could assist in instruction at Hillcrest.

Sadly, the Hillcrest School did not survive long enough to do the extensive work that its founders envisioned. During its few years of operation, however, it helped prepare several dozen young people for effective service under the most difficult of circumstances. One example will illustrate this fact. The mission school started for black children at Ellisville, Mississippi, was about to close when Watt Bryant, a Hillcrest student, decided to keep it going. Moving his family to a nearby forty-acre farm, he fought drought that burned up most of his corn and sorghum. Yet he stayed on and provided a home for a mission-minded black teacher, Lily May Woodward. Without conference support, Lily May had to charge her students ten cents per week tuition. This gave her enough to pay the Bryants \$1.25 a week for board and room, and \$1.50 to support an orphaned brother and sister in Atlanta, pay her tithe, and have forty cents left each week for personal expenses. Yet the school was saved, and this demonstrated that the money invested in Hillcrest would bear fruit abundantly.³⁰

Suggested Reading:

By starting with E. G. White's *The Southern Work* (1966), the student can get a feel for the stirring messages that propelled Edson White into opening the first extensive S.D.A. work for Afro-Americans. Edson's work is well told in R. Graybill's *Mission to Black America* (1971). For a full understanding of Ellen White's later statements on black-white relationships see the same author's *E. G. White and Race Relations* (1970). Valuable background material and insights, which are even more helpful for a later period, may be gleaned from J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975). The unpublished manuscript "Light and Shades in the Black Belt" (1913) prepared by A. Spalding for Ellen White's office contains much valuable material, but is marred by the racial stereotypes of the period. A good, fairly contemporary, picture of the Madison School, which captures the excitement of the founders, is Spalding's *The Men of the Mountains* (1915). The small collection of E. G. White materials originally published as *Special Testimonies, Series B., No. 11* and republished (1946, 1958,

1971) as *The Madison School*, provides a good view of Mrs. White's enthusiasm for the Madison experiment. In A. Spalding's *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), see II: chapter 18 and III: chapter 10.

1. *Review and Herald*, May 23, 1865, p. 197.
2. *Review*, May 25, 1876, p. 166; December 14, 1876, p. 192; April 5, 1877, p. 111.
3. *Review*, February 22, 1877, p. 59; September 6, 1877, p. 86; A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II: 184, 185.
4. J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975), p. 18; Spalding, II: 171, 172, 187, 188; *Review*, December 5, 1871, p. 198; April 1, 1875, p. 110; March 9, 1876, p. 78; December 14, 1876, p. 192.
5. Report of an interview between Elder R. M. Kilgore and C. M. Kinney, October 2, 1889, in Reports, Narratives, ca. 1890-1901 folder, presidential document file, Record Group 11, General Conference archives.
6. R. Graybill, lecture at Andrews University, February 11, 1975; S.D.A. General Conference Committee minutes, March 22 and April 16, 1888.
7. Spalding, II: 172, 173, 179-182.
8. General Conference minutes, April 4, 1888; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 22, 74, 75, 235, 236, 466, 467, 504, 505, 727-729.
9. E. White, "Our Duty to the Colored People," in *The Southern Work* (1966), pp. 9-18.
10. R. Graybill, *Mission to Black America* (1971), pp. 13-15.
11. Graybill, pp. 16-22; General Conference Committee minutes, November 9, 10, 1889.
12. Graybill, pp. 23-26; General Conference Committee minutes, April 20, 1894; J. E. White to A. G. Daniells, April 21, 1921, Daniells's incoming correspondence, General Conference archives.
13. Graybill, pp. 7-9, 27-39.
14. Graybill, pp. 41-55; O. A. Olsen to A. O. Tait, January 8, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
15. Graybill, pp. 56-65; E. White, *The Southern Work*, pp. 25-65; General Conference Association minutes, October 31, 1895, presidential file, General Conference archives.
16. Graybill, pp. 66-76; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1396, 1397.
17. Graybill, pp. 76-86; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, April 18, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
18. Graybill, pp. 87-103; General Conference Committee minutes, October 21, 1896, May 3, 1898; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, p. 525.
19. Graybill, pp. 106-119.
20. Graybill, pp. 116, 117; 120-132. See also R. Graybill, *E. G. White and Church Race Relations* (1970), especially pp. 53-69.
21. Graybill, *Mission to Black America*, pp. 133-144.
22. S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1394, 1395; [A. Spalding] "Lights and Shades in the Black Belt" (1913), pp. 301-304; O. Edwards, "Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Work Among Negroes in the Alabama-Mississippi Conference," unpublished M.A. thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary (1942), pp. 65-71.
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27. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 152, 153.
28. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 153-159.
29. Spalding, *The Men of the Mountains*, pp. 166-174; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 828, 1442.
30. [Spalding], "Light and Shades," pp. 329-359.

CHAPTER 16

Troubles Within and Without

Busy as they were, finding men to carry the advent message into new areas and building and staffing an expanding network of institutions, Seventh-day Adventist leaders could not ignore other pressing problems. During the early 1880s they noted in some Protestant circles a growing demand that the civil government become more heavily involved in religious issues and activities. This seemed to signal a train of events which Adventist prophetic interpreters expected would immediately precede the advent. At that time, Ellen White had written, “dignitaries of church and state will unite to bribe, persuade, or compel all classes to honor the Sunday . . . [and] legislators will yield to the popular demand for a law enforcing Sunday observance.”¹

The National Reform Association

This movement troubling Adventists had its origins during the crisis years of America’s Civil War. A number of sincere Christians saw this terrible holocaust as a chastening from God, designed not only to awaken Americans to the sin of slavery, but also to point out their failure to recognize God in the national constitution. Early in 1864 these men formed the National Reform Association to lobby for a Constitutional amendment specifically acknowledging the United States as a Christian nation. This, they hoped, would stay the increasing secularization of American society, most notably demonstrated in a growing laxness, especially among recent immigrants, toward Sunday observance.

The founders of the National Reform Association denied any desire to unite church and state; they did believe, however, that the state’s strong arm could rightly be used to enforce the “general principles” of Chris-

tianity. Dishonesty and corruption, so widespread in public life during the Grant administration, convinced many concerned Americans that the National Reform Association's program deserved support. Yet when the issue was presented to the Congress in 1874, the legislators decided against placing anything in the Constitution which might be construed as supporting a particular religious creed.²

Rebuffed at the national level, the National Reform Association switched tactics and began pressing for enforcement of state Sunday laws, many of which dated back to colonial days but had not been enforced for years. The association's strength in Pennsylvania contributed to both the passage of an expanded Sunday law in 1879 and the defeat of a clause exempting conscientious observers of the seventh day from its penalties. Sunday law agitation in several other states followed, although in most cases such laws and their enforcement were defended as the simple support of a civil rest day having no religious connotations. In the Southern "Bible Belt," however, enforcement "was more openly religious." Arrested for plowing in his fields on Sunday, a Georgia Seventh-day Adventist was sentenced to thirty days in jail when he refused to pay the fine levied against him. This man's death, shortly after his release, was probably hastened by the "wretched conditions" under which he was confined.

Sunday Laws and Prohibition

Many Americans saw Sunday laws as an infringement upon their civil liberties. Frequently these same people took a similar stand regarding legislation limiting liquor consumption by restricting saloons and the sale of alcoholic beverages. As the American public divided into two camps, Adventists, with their firm commitment to temperance, found themselves the uncomfortable allies of liquor interests in the fight to preserve individual liberties.

In 1882 California (where W. C. White had been arrested for keeping the Pacific Press operating on Sunday) became a major battleground with liberal anti-Sunday law and anti-liquor regulation advocates on one side and those favoring state action in both areas on the other. When the Republican party platform endorsed Sunday-law enforcement, California Adventists deserted this party which they had traditionally supported ever since 1856, and gave their votes to the Democrats, who opposed Sunday legislation. The Pacific Press published a special issue of the *Signs of the Times* to explain the church's position on Sunday laws. In the election the Democrats won control of the state legislature and repealed the Sunday law. To Adventists the conclusion was obvious: participation in the political process was worthwhile, even if one was embarrassed by one's allies.³

Anxious that fellow Christians know their temperance convictions, Seventh-day Adventists joined the effort to establish statewide prohibi-

tion in Iowa as soon as they had satisfied themselves that a Sunday law would not automatically follow in prohibition's wake. To publicize their reasons for observing Saturday and opposing Sunday laws Adventists in 1884 also began the *Sabbath Sentinel*, a small monthly. During the single year of its existence more than 500,000 copies were circulated.

Persecution for Sunday Labor

These actions failed to forestall persecution. In 1885 five Adventists, one of them a minister, were arrested for Sunday labor in Arkansas at the instigation of fellow Christians. There was no concurrent effort to stop non-Adventists from working on Sunday. Earlier the clause exempting those who observed another day from the penalties of Sunday law violation had been repealed. The trial judge informed the defendants that no one had a right to place his own conscience above a law of the state. In harmony with General Conference counsel, the convicted Adventists accepted a jail sentence rather than pay the fines levied against them. In this way they hoped to focus public attention on the issues of conscience and constitutional rights involved.⁴

Sunday law prosecutions in Arkansas were soon followed by similar cases in Tennessee. In each state the state supreme court upheld the convictions. Throughout the next decade "over one-hundred Seventh-day Adventists in the United States and about thirty in foreign countries were prosecuted for quiet work performed on the first day of the week, resulting in fines and costs amounting to \$2,269.69, and imprisonments totaling 1438 days, and 455 days served in chain gangs."⁵

Adventists were particularly concerned with the growing support given Sunday legislation by temperance organizations. By 1887 both the Prohibition Party and the Women's Christian Temperance Union favored Sunday laws as one means of improving American morality. That same year Reverend Wilbur Crafts organized the American Sabbath Union Party dedicated to this same purpose. Such national associations, with their skill at rousing public opinion, suggested a need for a countervailing organization to present the Adventist point of view. As a start Adventist leaders established a special religious-liberty committee in each conference. The work of these committees proved effective. An attempt in Minnesota to repeal the exemption clause which protected sabbatarians from Sunday law prosecution was successfully blocked. In Arkansas religious liberty advocates were able to secure the reinstatement of an exemption clause in that state's Sunday law.

The Blair Bill

Sunday advocates once more shifted their activities to the national level, where the Women's Christian Temperance Union led the campaign for a ban on "Sunday mails, Sunday trains, and Sunday parades in the army and navy." With the cooperation of Crafts and his supporters the

Women's Christian Temperance Union launched a gigantic petition drive in 1888, and New Hampshire Senator Henry W. Blair capped their success by introducing his Sunday Rest Bill in Congress. Crafts energetically set about securing the support of the Methodist General Conference, the Presbyterian General Assembly, the Baptist Home Missionary Society, and several other religious groups. The clearly religious language incorporated in the Blair Bill, however, resulted in its defeat.⁶

This action did not end the struggle. With the aid of Crafts Senator Blair eliminated the religious terminology in his bill and added an exemption clause. This last maneuver satisfied the Seventh Day Baptists, but not A. T. Jones, who represented the Adventist viewpoint before the Blair committee. Jones argued that just laws did not need exemptions; religious liberty was a right, not a privilege to be granted or withdrawn at a majority's discretion.

Once again the Blair Bill failed to enlist enough support to become law, but Adventists decided that this was no cause for complacency. Their concern increased when Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore and the chief Roman Catholic spokesman in the United States, placed his support behind the drive to limit Sunday labor. Simultaneously the National Reform Association sought to enlist the support of organized labor by posing as champions of the two million American workers forced to work seven days a week.

Even before the Sunday law issue reached the national arena, the Pacific Press had, in 1886, begun a monthly journal, *The American Sentinel*, devoted to religious liberty. A succession of capable editors (J. H. Waggoner, E. J. Waggoner, A. T. Jones) set out to remind Americans of the historical backgrounds of the separation of church and state that had been incorporated into the Bill of Rights. Adventist leaders also promoted a petition campaign against the Blair Bill, sponsored religious-liberty lectures, and published a succession of pamphlets on the issues involved. Local conference "press committees" contacted newspapers for editorial support of their cause.

National Religious Liberty Association

This activity culminated in July 1889 in the founding by Battle Creek leaders of the National Religious Liberty Association. Just as the American Health and Temperance Association had been formed to mobilize Adventists and others to fight alcohol and tobacco, so this new organization would seek to arouse public opinion to any erosion in the historic separation of church and state in America.⁷

Within a year the newly organized association had its first major test: Representative Breckenridge introduced a bill in Congress to prevent anyone's being forced to work on Sunday in the District of Columbia. This measure was presented as designed to protect workers from unscrupulous corporations and as such won considerable labor support. But Jones and

the Religious Liberty Association leaders saw the Breckenridge Bill in a different light. To them it was a clever way to get Congress to establish a precedent; a national Sunday law would be a logical next step. Jones and two other Adventist ministers, accorded the privilege of testifying before the House committee considering the bill, effectively presented the Adventist viewpoint. In spite of pressure from Crafts and his allies the committee refused to report the bill out to the House because of its religious connotations.

In other areas the Religious Liberty Association had less success. In spite of a lengthy legal fight it was unable to overturn the conviction of Tennessee farmer R. M. King for working on Sunday. Prosecution of Adventists for Sunday-law violation subsequently increased in Tennessee although major newspapers throughout the nation deplored this type of religious bigotry and persecution.

The association was also unable to prevent Congress from voting in 1892 to close the Columbian Exposition in Chicago on Sundays as a condition for receiving federal funding. Given the privilege of stating the Adventist position before the congressional committee which supervised the exposition, Jones found the members generally uninterested in his arguments that Congress had no right to either open *or* close the exposition on a day widely regarded as a day of religious worship.⁸

Extreme Positions

Jones's emphatic views on complete separation of church and state led him to push the Religious Liberty Association into some extreme positions from which it later chose to retreat. Among these were (1) that the denomination should not accept exemption of its church buildings or institutional properties from civil taxation, (2) that Adventists could not morally accept gifts from governmental agencies (the Solusi land grant discussed in chapter on Mission Advance), (3) that it was wrong for Adventists imprisoned for Sunday labor to work extra hours in place of working on the Sabbath while in jail, (4) that it was wrong to vote or participate in any way in political processes, and (5) that if Adventist employees wanted to work six days per week in denominationally owned establishments, it was wrong not to allow them to do so.

The Adventist publishing houses in Switzerland and England came into conflict with government officials in the last of these areas. Both countries had factory laws which attempted to protect women and children by limiting their work week; these limitations included a prohibition against Sunday labor. In Switzerland in 1893 and England in 1895 the Adventist leaders, with approval from Battle Creek, took the position that the part of the fourth commandment which said "Six days shalt thou labor" was as binding as that part forbidding work on the seventh day. To refuse employees who wanted to work on Sundays the privilege of doing so would be for the church to be in the indefensible position of enforcing

the "mark of the beast." A series of fines culminated in the closure of both printing establishments. The management preferred this course to what was regarded as a "compromise" of principles. In England the press was later reopened, but with no female employees or boys under sixteen on the labor force; the Swiss closure became permanent.⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century American temperance groups had largely divorced themselves from advocates of Sunday-law enforcement. It is quite possible that the close contacts Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Kellogg developed with temperance leaders helped alter the latter's views of Seventh-day Adventists. Mrs. Kellogg served the Women's Christian Temperance Union for years, first as its national superintendent of hygiene and later as head of its social purity department. Dr. Kellogg was a frequent lecturer at Women's Christian Temperance Union conventions. The persistent work of the Religious Liberty Association probably also had its effect. Whatever the reason, as the twentieth century dawned, both Sunday-law agitation and the arrest of Adventists for working on Sunday virtually disappeared. Some church leaders wondered if continuation of the Religious Liberty Association was worth the effort and expense.¹⁰

The extreme positions relative to church-state relations taken by A. T. Jones and certain other religious liberty leaders illustrates a problem that plagued Adventists in other areas as well. "We as a people are so likely to go to extremes on . . . almost everything," commented General Conference president George Irwin in 1899. A few months later Stephen Haskell observed that in his more than forty years with the Adventist cause he had never "seen such a time as now, when there seems to be a special burden on the minds of so many of the people of God to get something 'new.'" Both Haskell and A. G. Daniells, who became General Conference president in 1901, saw this as resulting from a satanic attempt to pervert the 1888 message of righteousness by faith and thus direct the Adventist ministry "away from the fundamental truths for this time."¹¹

Church leaders remembered how earnest spiritual revivals at Healdsburg in 1885 and Battle Creek in 1892-93 had stagnated and been followed by periods of "spiritual darkness." The Healdsburg experience was marred by a fanatical objection to the practice of receiving Sabbath School offerings; it degenerated into sharp criticism of church leadership. In Battle Creek enthusiasm for competitive sports diverted college students from "taking hold of God [in such a way] as we have never known before." In these instances, Ellen White wrote, satanic agencies were present "pressing their powers upon every soul to make of none effect the showers of grace that have come from heaven to revive and quicken the dormant energies."¹²

What were some of the "extreme" theological positions threatening to divert Adventist ministers in the 1890s? One was the proper relationship between prayer for the sick and medical procedures in time of illness. Some leaders, including A. T. Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and W. W. Prescott,

for a time took quite radical positions bordering on faith healing.

A few Adventist preachers became convinced that the seal of God could never be placed "on any person of grey hairs, or any deformed person, for in the closing work, we would reach a state of perfection both physically and spiritually where we would be healed from all physical deformity." E. J. Waggoner came close to this view when he promoted the idea that the Old Testament sanctuary was a type of the human body and that the cleansing of the sanctuary mentioned in Daniel 8:14 referred to the development of Seventh-day Adventist health teaching. At Battle Creek College some staff members advocated the view that all life was sacred and thus it was wrong to kill any living thing, even insects, snakes, or rodents. They proposed trapping the rats from the college buildings and releasing them outside the city limits!¹³

False Prophets

In a sermon before the 1899 General Conference, E. J. Waggoner suggested that all who kept God's commandments should also have the spirit of prophecy. The question of whether or not specific divine counsels would come to Seventh-day Adventists only through Ellen White had led to controversy earlier. As far back as 1884 Anna Garmire of Petoskey, Michigan, claimed to be receiving visions through which God revealed to her, among other things, that probation would close for all sinners in October 1884. In Ellen White's opinion Miss Garmire's inspiration came more from her father than from the Lord; most Adventists agreed that it did.

Yet during the 1890s, just after the Whites had left America for Australia, another earnest young Christian woman began receiving what she considered to be visions instructing her to send out "testimonies" to others. The tone of these communications and the simplicity of Anna Phillips's life convinced A. T. Jones and W. W. Prescott that here was another messenger from God. Even Stephen Haskell, who knew Miss Phillips personally, was inclined to think that the Lord was giving her direct personal guidance, although he was less certain that she was receiving messages for others. It took some rather pointed communications from Ellen White to convince all those involved that Anna was well-meaning and sincere, but mistaken.¹⁴

The confusion over Anna Phillips's possible role in the church was symptomatic of the troubled conditions which plagued Adventist headquarters in Battle Creek during the decade from 1894 to 1903. In 1896 O. A. Olsen saw a "darkness . . . pressing closer and closer upon the church at Battle Creek," with the "insinuations and doubts" expressed there being assimilated by a large number of Adventists around the world. This was doubly heartbreaking because hopes had been so high a few years earlier. Olsen remembered that during 1892 "the opposition to righteousness by faith gave away, and our people and ministry generally fell in with

that truth." Wonderful spiritual meetings followed. At the 1893 General Conference there was talk "that the latter rain had commenced, and that the message was going with a loud voice." People's pocketbooks had been touched as well as their hearts; offerings increased—so much so that at times the General Conference officers "were perplexed how to properly care for the money that we had on hand."¹⁵ Now, only a few years later, confusion, mistrust, and uneasiness prevailed.

Financial Troubles

What had gone wrong? For one thing, there was a rapid reversal in the favorable financial situation. In part this was due to the severe depression which hit the United States in 1893 and persisted for the next four years. By October 1893 General Conference treasurer W. H. Edwards was already noticing that the denomination's income was being affected. He did not, however, blame all of this on the growing depression; some reduction he believed came from a feeling among "brethren of means" that church funds were not always wisely used. Edwards sensed particular resentment over the financing of long trips abroad by men from headquarters. Although this was done to get a better concept of the best ways for starting Seventh-day Adventist work in new areas of the world, there had been unfortunate experiences which tended to alienate many church members.

Fresh in Edwards's memory was the extended trip that L. C. Chadwick, president of the International Tract Society and a member of the Foreign Mission Board, had made throughout South America and the Caribbean during 1882. Chadwick had moved rather suddenly into his General Conference posts in 1890 from the leadership of the Pennsylvania Tract and Missionary Society. An energetic man with more ambition than judgment, he became involved in questionable financial transactions that ended in the spring of 1893 in the abrupt termination of his denominational employment. "You know that the Chadwick escapade has cost the cause \$4,000," Edwards wrote, "and it is hard to discern what good his trip has done. If he got any points that might be used in the cause, he is using them for the Baptist denomination which he has joined, and for whom he is preaching."¹⁶

Sometimes gifts received from members ended up becoming more of a liability than an asset to the General Conference. During financial "hard times" members frequently made gifts of property to the church simply to escape the burden of mortgage payments. Depressed real estate prices often made it impossible for the conference to dispose of the property at a profit. At the same time it had to pay the legal expenses involved in property transfer and hire someone to look after the transactions.

Although Adventist offerings began to diminish in 1893, it was another two years before the denomination was in really serious financial difficulties. These two years saw the General Conference greatly increasing its

corps of laborers and also starting out on a number of missionary enterprises. Between 1892 and 1895 the General Conference payroll trebled.¹⁷

How was this expense met? The answer is from borrowed money. O. A. Olsen remembered that during the early days of the depression scores of Adventist believers, fearing that the “banks were unsafe . . . brought their money to us in large quantities, and we were almost suffocated with loans, not donations of course. We took as many of these loans as we dared, and the result is that we are paying interest on large amounts and really working on borrowed capital.” Olsen and his associates hoped that many of these loans would be converted into outright gifts. Too often this was not the case. When creditors requested repayment, the money had been used—to purchase the Oakwood School property, to send missionaries to South America, or for any one of dozens of other projects. It became a constant worry for church officials to try to juggle their income in such a way as to pay back loans as requested and still have funds available to meet the operating expenses of a worldwide work.¹⁸

During these years the General Conference had several main sources of income, all of which tended to be affected by prevailing economic conditions. The tithe, which had since the 1870s been devoted to ministers’ salaries, was controlled completely by the local conferences. They passed along ten percent to the General Conference to use in paying its workers. Income from tithe varied considerably from conference to conference. Some could support only a skeleton ministerial force, others developed a surplus. At one time the small South African Conference had \$50,000 on deposit in local banks. Yet it was not until 1905 that a definite way was instituted for using such surpluses to aid the church in other areas. Up until that time a local conference might, if the people chose, loan some of its tithe money to a sister conference or to a denominational institution, but this was not something which could be depended upon.

Decline in Offerings

Sabbath School offerings in the 1890s were controlled by the Sabbath School Association and were generally specifically committed to beginning work in new areas. This was fine for expansion but also added a burden because funds must be found from other sources to meet operating expenses in these new fields. The General Conference obtained these sustaining funds from two principal sources: first-day offerings and a special Christmas offering. Beginning in 1887 all Seventh-day Adventist families who were “really true to the cause” were urged to follow Paul’s counsel in First Corinthians 16:2 and “systematically lay by something every first day morning for the advancement of . . . [the] foreign work.” The special Christmas offering was received at the end of the annual Week of Prayer. For years it was the major source for meeting the continuing needs of the mission fields.¹⁹

By 1895 income from all offerings had declined substantially. First-day



O. A. Olsen

offerings were down \$5000, the Christmas offering down \$12,000, while Sabbath School offerings were down \$2000. An analysis of one quarter's first-day offerings showed that they amounted to less than six cents per person. President Olsen felt that the depression was being used by many as an excuse not to give. In this difficult situation the idea of a denominational budget first occurred to Olsen; he requested subordinates to estimate as closely as possible the income expected during the coming year from all of the various offerings. Had they done this earlier, he believed, they might "have avoided the present financial embarrassment." If they do not now "take measures to systematize . . . our finances, the results will be disastrous."²⁰

While income declined, expenses had a way of growing. The Boulder Sanitarium, begun in 1895, was a prime example. A year later Olsen reported that it had cost "much more than was at first anticipated. Such things have a wonderful ability to grow on our hands." By mid-1896 General Conference secretary L. T. Nicola reported, "The treasury is empty today. We are unable to send out any money; demands for it are about as urgent as ever." To complicate the situation Francis Wessels was demanding immediate repayment of some of the thousands of dollars his family had loaned the General Conference. Nicola felt he must remind President Olsen that "for quite a number of months . . . I have tried to express this sentiment: that the Seventh-day Adventist denomination would not look with favor upon a large accumulation of debts, and you would have no thanks from our people for killing yourself in attempting to

carry too heavy loads in shouldering the responsibilities of the work." Nicola was undoubtedly trying to prepare Olsen to accept the fact that he was likely to be replaced at the 1897 General Conference session.²¹

G. A. Irwin, who succeeded Olsen in 1897, proved hardly more successful in meeting the financial crisis which continued to plague Adventists long after substantial economic recovery began that year. The General Conference treasury ended 1898 with a cash balance of only \$61.20. It was still hundreds of thousands of dollars in debt. The next year Irwin sought to improve the financial picture by encouraging denominational employees in the United States to take a 25 percent wage cut. Yet this did not solve the problem. When A. G. Daniells succeeded Irwin in 1901, he found that the church was nearly \$20,000 behind in paying its workers. By 1902 it was estimated that all Seventh-day Adventist institutions combined were carrying a debt of approximately two million dollars.²²

A decade of fighting debt had disastrous effects on the entire church. Elder Daniells saw it as taking "our strength and our ability away from real good gospel work all through our ranks," and turning "the whole lot of us [into] a body of twisters and turners and schemers and grabbers to get hold of money to pay these debts." Small wonder that he was determined to change this picture, however heavy the consequences might be.²³

Expansion in Battle Creek

Much of the debt contracted during the 1890s had been incurred in the building of Adventist institutions. Denominational headquarters at Battle Creek was a prime example. During this decade substantial additions were made to the sanitarium, Review and Herald, and Battle Creek College plants. The sanitarium expanded its food manufacturing business; a medical school, orphanage, and an old people's home were started. As Ellen White saw things, the leaders were adding building upon building, supposing "that this would give character to the work." Not so, she opined; it was the leaders' "own character [that] needed the transforming grace of Christ."

A constantly expanding complex of institutions in Battle Creek required ever more Adventists to locate there in order to operate them. But a concentration of Adventists in Battle Creek meant that there were fewer available to witness in other parts of the world. Elder Olsen recognized the force in Ellen White's counsel to make "other centers so that the work might be better equalized," but he lacked the strong personality to withstand arguments of men like Kellogg and A. R. Henry of the Review and Herald, who favored continual expansion in Battle Creek in order to make the facilities there the most efficient.²⁴

The expansion of activities in Battle Creek also encouraged those who resided there to think of themselves as the hub around which the entire Seventh-day Adventist system moved. Nothing of importance, leaders in the various enterprises felt, should be done without consulting headquar-

ters. This led to frequent delays and failure on the part of Adventist leaders at local levels to make any move without securing approval from Battle Creek. A few men at the top thus held tremendous power over the development of the entire denomination.

Secularism

Such a centralization of power would have been questionable under the best of circumstances; the character of several of the men involved made it even more dangerous. Ellen White was particularly concerned over the influence of A. R. Henry and Harmon Lindsay. Both had been active in the financial management of the church for years when Elder Olsen became General Conference president. In 1889 Lindsay was serving as General Conference treasurer, Henry as treasurer of the Review and Herald and president of the General Conference Association, the legal body which held title to the church's general properties. Because of their positions and experience, and also because he lacked confidence in his own financial judgment, Olsen leaned heavily on the advice of these two men.²⁵

Henry, the more forceful of the two, had been persuaded by G. I. Butler to join the Review management in 1882. He came from Indianola, Iowa, where he had been a successful bank president and cattle dealer. In his efforts to improve the financial status of the Review Henry launched a campaign to reduce the amount of royalties paid authors of the books being published. This brought him into conflict with Ellen White, who took the position that an author was entitled to a just compensation for his labor and should not be pressured to give up his rights simply to increase a publisher's profits. Henry was unmoved. In 1898 he remembered that on this subject "all Sister White ever said to me has never changed my mind and never will."

Without a doubt Henry played a major role in changing the Review and Herald from a printing business that was losing money to one which made substantial profits. He was largely responsible for developing an extensive banking business at the Review, accepting and paying out deposits from individual Adventists as well as from church institutions. He had a flair for making profits from real estate transactions; this he put to use for the denomination during the construction of Union College and the Boulder Sanitarium. Sometimes he used General Conference or Review funds temporarily for his private commercial ventures which included a livery stable, a lumber business, a coal yard, and the management of a number of rental properties. The end result of these activities was that Henry came to think principally in terms of profits and losses, of what would or would not be a shrewd business deal. With his forceful, sometimes abrasive, personality, he tended to dominate a council; his influence was not such as to encourage the spiritual fruits: humility, generosity, patience, and meekness.²⁶

Although also shrewd in business dealings, Harmon Lindsay had a very

different type of personality. Olsen characterized him as one who “says but little openly but mutters a great deal.” He preferred to deal with “Henry with his outspoken way, [rather] than Lindsay with his murmurs.” But Lindsay had been around Battle Creek for a long time; he served as General Conference treasurer as early as 1874. Having been active in the development of the sanitarium and Battle Creek College, he had a broad knowledge of the workings of Adventist institutions—a knowledge that made him appear a valuable counselor to Olsen.

If Elder Olsen had possessed a more discerning and forceful personality, he might have profited by the sound financial knowledge of Henry and Lindsay while avoiding their “clever” deals which wrung any legal, if not always ethical, advantage from a situation. Olsen later admitted that he had frequently erred by sitting quietly in a council meeting where the discussion was “entirely out of place, and decidedly contrary to the Spirit of Christ.” Had he faithfully reproofed such “unchristian speeches,” he believed, he might have saved the cause he loved much grief.²⁷

It took some rather pointed statements from Ellen White before Olsen could bring himself, toward the end of 1895, to break with the policies and advice of Henry and Lindsay and arrange for others to carry the responsibilities these men had borne. At a later date A. G. Daniells characterized Olsen’s problems aptly. “He tries to please all parties,” Daniells wrote, “and you know there is nothing that will distract a person’s mind and bring a nervous tension more than strong persons pulling in opposite directions.” Olsen, himself, realized that he was “naturally of a cautious and timid disposition”; this had led him “to speak and act with uncertainty where I ought to have been firm and decided.” A man who valued “tenderness, patience, and forbearance,” Elder Olsen was anxious to spare the feelings of the men whose advice he must now lay aside. He did not send them away with harsh words of condemnation; instead, there were only words of understanding, appreciation, courage, and faith.²⁸

Changes in Leadership

By the spring of 1896 Olsen had become convinced that it was not his “duty to serve as the president of the General Conference any longer than until the next meeting of the Conference.” He favored the selection of W. C. White as his successor. That fall Olsen began a serious effort to correct the secular spirit that had become so widespread among the Adventist community in Battle Creek, particularly among the employees of the Review and Herald. Olsen regretted that “in the midst of the great rush of business, there seems to be a lack of time for sober thought and devotion.” He was particularly “exercised” over the “disbelief, skepticism, and indifference that are manifested by our people with reference to the gift of prophecy.”²⁹

Correcting long-standing abuses at the Review proved a difficult task. Since at least the beginning of the decade the gap between the manage-

ment and the workers in the plant had been widening. As the plant grew in size, secured improved machinery, and stepped up its volume of commercial work, those at the top began to think of it primarily as a business operation. These men, particularly Clement Eldridge and Frank Belden, were affected by the good salaries paid their counterparts in similar business positions. They felt they deserved like consideration. When they did not get all to which they felt entitled, they left the Review for private business opportunities in Chicago.

Even after Eldridge and Belden's departure there was continued pressure for higher wages from the managerial and supervisory personnel at the Review. By 1896 these men were receiving salaries exceeding those of members of the General Conference Committee. At the same time Review laborers were poorly treated. An investigation in the summer of 1897 revealed that the managers consistently neglected to give merit increases as promised. The laborers also felt that if they began to make good wages through piece-work rates, the rates would invariably be lowered. A. T. Jones, who chaired the investigating committee, felt that this was clear evidence of the correctness of Ellen White's charge that covetousness was woven "into nearly all the business transactions of the institution." The investigators also faulted the Review management for (1) failing to carry on a systematic training program for youthful apprentices, (2) maintaining a patronizing attitude toward the workers, (3) failure to advance persons within the organization when openings developed, (4) not taking care to appoint only spiritual men to supervisory posts, (5) failing to carry on an evangelistic work among the substantial number of non-Adventist workers in the press, and (6) failure to provide sanitary and clean premises throughout.³⁰

The new leaders who took over the Review following the removal of A. R. Henry were pledged to correct the wrongs Jones's committee pointed out. One basic thing they did not change: they saw no need to reduce the amount of commercial work done at the press. As a result, by 1901, when I. H. Evans became general manager of the Review, he found that the bulk of the business was still "quite largely with the outside advertising commercial work." Montgomery Ward catalogs were more important than religious books and periodicals. To A. G. Daniells it was a shame for the Review to "have their solicitors in Chicago and other places driving like Jehu to secure commerce." The Review managers were not the only ones trapped by commercial contracts. Out on the West Coast, the "big business" of the Pacific Press was "theater, streetcar, and other tickets." It would take several disasters to get the two principal Seventh-day Adventist publishing houses to confine their work to religious literature.³¹

In spite of Elder Olsen's attempts to soothe A. R. Henry's feelings when he was replaced as Review manager in 1896, this separation was not accomplished without pain. Through combining their shares of stock in

the publishing company with a number of proxies which they controlled and cumulating their votes, Henry and Lindsay were able to reelect Henry to membership on the Review board of directors against the wishes of the church leadership. The next year Henry dropped a bombshell by filing a civil suit against the General Conference Association. He asked for \$50,000 in damages, claiming that letters from Ellen White which Olsen had circulated about him were libelous and had heavily damaged his character in Battle Creek and among Adventists generally.³²

This action caused anger in denominational circles. Soon the new Review manager charged Henry with misappropriating \$40,000 in Review and Herald funds while in its employ. The Review managers filed suit to reclaim this amount. In return Henry started litigation against the Review, claiming he had been vastly underpaid during his fifteen years with them. Largely on the initiative of A. T. Jones, a compromise was arranged and all of the lawsuits withdrawn, with the Review managers and Henry agreeing to arbitrate their differences. During a lengthy hearing Henry told the Review board of directors that for fifteen years he had planned "that if ever this denomination laid their hand on me in violence . . . I would bring them to order." He intended to be vindicated and "would never let up as long as there was life in me." The arbitrators decided that Henry had indeed been underpaid and was entitled to receive an additional \$33,000 for his years of service. This the Review managers declined to pay.³³

Relationships between Henry and denominational leaders continued strained and at times became publicly acrimonious. Then President G. A. Irwin invited Henry to attend the 1899 General Conference session. Here a number of the leading brethren asked his forgiveness for treating him in an un-Christlike way. Henry appeared mollified. During the final decade of his life there were other periods of irritation between Henry and church leaders, but he remained a Seventh-day Adventist until his death in 1909. Not so with Harmon Lindsay, who gave up his faith of more than forty years and died a Christian Scientist.³⁴

The 1890s were years of advance—and years of difficulty. The stresses and strains which a global church found accompanied the host of programs and institutions it had developed clearly demonstrated that it had outgrown the organizational structure of 1863.

Suggested Reading:

The milieu in which the S.D.A. attitudes toward religious liberty were formed is presented in E. Syme, *A History of S.D.A. Church-State Relations in the United States* (1973), pp. 20-52. This work is based on the author's earlier "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts on Church and State" (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1969). For a more complete documentation of individual aspects see W. Blakely, ed., *American State*

Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation (1911 ed.). A famous case of Sunday-law persecution is detailed in R. Graybill, "Tales of a Tennessee Chain Gang," *Liberty*, January-February 1973, pp. 2-5. These events are also covered in A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), II, chapter 13, and M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), chapter 24. Much of Ellen White's *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (1923) is drawn from her writings of the 1890s and provides a good picture of how she viewed denominational problems of that day. These are also treated briefly in A. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), pp. 115-130, 143-148.

1. E. White, *The Great Controversy* (1884 ed.), p. 410.
2. E. Syme, "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts on Church and State," Ph.D. dissertation, American University (1969), pp. 80-87.
3. Syme, pp. 88-98.
4. Syme, pp. 99-103; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1618; *Review and Herald*, October 27, 1885, p. 666; December 1, 1885, p. 744; December 8, 1885, p. 768.
5. W. Blakely, ed., *American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation* (1911), pp. 733, 734.
6. Syme, pp. 105-113.
7. Syme, pp. 113-121; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1160, 1161, 1320.
8. Syme, pp. 121-132.
9. *American Sentinel* editors to O. A. Olsen, December 3, 1894; W. A. Spicer to O. A. Olsen, November 29, 1895; C. P. Bollmann to O. A. Olsen, December 9, 1896, Olsen incoming correspondence, General Conference archives; General Conference Association minutes, November 4, 1895, General Conference archives; D. McAdams, manuscript History of S.D.A. Publishing work.
10. Syme, pp. 145-150; R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 84, 156.
11. Irwin to E. G. White, January 20, 1899; Haskell to E. G. White, November 10, 1899, and July 27, 1900; Daniells to E. G. White, September 10, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
12. A. L. White, "Revivals—the Time When God and Satan Work," *Review*, August 2, 1974, pp. 4-7; A. White, "Revival in Battle Creek," *Review*, August 9, 1974, pp. 7-9.
13. O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, October 9, 1891; Olsen to E. G. White, March 10, 1892; S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, October 3, 1899; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, March 16, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
14. E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, 2 vols. (1958), II: 72-95; S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, January 4, 1892, March 9 and October 10, 1893, April 20 and 22, 1894, F. M. Wilcox to D. A. Robinson, March 8, 1894 (copy); O. A. Olsen to E. G. White, March 29, 1894, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
15. O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, August 30, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
16. W. H. Edwards to O. A. Olsen, October 5, 1893, Olsen incoming files, General Conference archives; General Conference Committee minutes, August 27, 1891; February 25, 1893; March 13 and 21, 1893; July 4, 7, and 10, 1893.
17. Edwards to Olsen, October 5, 1893, Olsen incoming files; Olsen to S. N. Haskell, December 11, 1895; Olsen to D. T. Jones, December 22, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
18. O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, November 5, 1895; Olsen to A. R. Henry, November 28, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives; L. T. Nicola to Olsen, November 21, 1895, Nicola letterbooks, General Conference archives.
19. S. N. Haskell to F. M. Wilcox, January 26, 1896 (copy); G. I. Butler to E. G. White, September 30 and October 8, 1885; G. A. Irwin to E. G. White, September 28, 1899; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, June 8, 1904; I. H. Evans to W. C. White, January 4, 1898, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *Review*, December 13, 1887, p. 776; May 11, 1905, p. 9.
20. Olsen to L. T. Nicola and J. I. Gibson, November 21, 1895; Olsen circular letter to "leading brethren," November 28, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
21. Olsen to W. C. White, June 17, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives; Nicola to Olsen, July 15 and 23, 1896, Nicola letterbooks, General Conference archives.
22. *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, February 17, 1899, p. 11; I. H. Evans to E. G. White, March 17, 1898, C. A. Irwin to E. G. White, September 28, 1899, and April 12, 1900; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, August 4, 1901, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; General Conference Committee minutes, November 11, 1902.

23. Stenographic report of special committee meeting held in the office of A. G. Daniells, October 30, 1902, Kellogg folder, presidential file (1890-1910), General Conference archives.
24. E. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (1944), p. 319; C. Wilcox to O. A. Olsen, November 29, 1894, Olsen incoming letters; Olsen to J. H. Kellogg, May 21, 1896; Olsen to E. G. White, May 22, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
25. White, *Testimonies to Ministers*, pp. 320-330; A. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), p. 126; O. A. Olsen to S. N. Haskell, December 11, 1895, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
26. Testimony of A. R. Henry before the Review and Herald board in the matter of arbitration, February 22, 1898, File Folder 251, presidential file, 1890-1910; Statement of A. R. Henry before the General Conference Committee, October 17, 1899, General Conference Committee folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; E. G. White, *Testimonies on Fair Dealing and Book Royalties* (n.d.), *passim*.
27. O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, November 5, 1895; Olsen to Review and Herald board of managers, September 14, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
28. Olson, pp. 126-128; Daniells to W. C. White, June 14, 1902, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; O. A. Olsen to E. G. White, December 9, 1895; Olsen to J. N. Nelson, January 12, 1896; Olsen circular letter to "leading brethren," January 22, 1896; Olsen to A. R. Henry, June 22, 1896, and February 26, 1897; Olsen to H. Lindsay, June 22, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
29. O. A. Olsen to J. N. Nelson, January 12, 1896; Olsen to W. C. White, April 23, 1896, Olsen to W. W. Prescott, September 22, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
30. Olson, pp. 117-122; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, January 6, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives; informal report of committee to investigate affairs in the Review and Herald office, August 8, 1897; reports, narratives folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives.
31. I. H. Evans to W. C. White, July 16, 1901; A. G. Daniells to E. R. Palmer, August 23, 1901 (copy), E. G. White Estate, incoming files; S. P. S. Edwards, "Story of a Meeting," Document File 2058-a, E. G. White Estate; O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, May 11 and June 9, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
32. *Battle Creek Moon*, May 19, 1897; General Conference Committee minutes, February 28, 1896; report of special meeting in the Battle Creek Tabernacle, February 28, 1896, reports, narratives folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, May 21, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
33. Transcript of the arbitration hearing between A. R. Henry and the Review and Herald board of directors, Folder 251 (S.D.A. Publishing Association—A. R. Henry Case), presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; *Battle Creek Sunday Record*, March 20, 1898.
34. Olson, p. 128; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, p. 789; G. A. Irwin to E. G. White, March 26, 1899, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.

CHAPTER 17

The Reorganization Movement, 1888-1903

In size and extent the Seventh-day Adventist Church was very different in 1901 from what it had been when organized in 1863. Instead of a group of six local conferences scattered across the upper American Midwest, it now encompassed fifty-seven local conferences and forty-one organized missions located in every major part of the world except China. By 1901 the evangelistic working force had grown from thirty to nearly 1600; in place of the 3500 members of 1863 there were 78,188, representing more than 2000 local congregations. No longer could the General Conference president give careful attention to minute details of denominational growth and nurture as James White had done throughout the 1860s and 70s.¹

Without question James White, in spite of his refusal to serve as the first General Conference president, played the dominant role in the organizational structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the first two decades of its existence. White did serve as president of the church from 1865 to 1867 and again from 1869 to 1871 and 1874 to 1880.

The Leadership Centralized

In 1873 George I. Butler, at that time the church's chief executive, composed an essay on "Leadership" in which he pointed out that "there never was any great movement in this world without a leader; and in the nature of things there cannot be." He believed God specially qualified men and women to lead in a cause and appointed them to be leaders. Moses, Joshua, David, and the apostles were cited as examples. As far as Seventh-day Adventists were concerned, Butler maintained, "the leadership of Elder White and wife is incontestable." Since this was clearly in

“the providence of God,” Butler concluded that it was the duty of all Adventists in matters of church policy to give Elder White’s “judgment the preference, and cheerfully endeavor to carry it out as fully as though it was [sic] our own.” To do otherwise could be attempting to usurp “the position God has assigned to him.”²

Although Butler’s essay, officially endorsed by the General Conference in session and printed in pamphlet form, was meant to uphold the Whites and rebuke those who were critical of them, its sweeping statements made both James and Ellen nervous. In an article in the *Signs of the Times* James observed that Christ had never appointed one particular disciple to direct the affairs of His church. Some months later Ellen wrote that “Satan would be pleased to have one man’s judgment control the minds and judgment of those who believe the present truth.” While acknowledging that James had necessarily led out during the early days, Ellen went on to say that once organization had been accomplished, “then it was the proper time for my husband to cease to act longer as one man to stand under the responsibilities and carry the heavy burdens.” She declared that both she and James had “made mistakes in consenting to take responsibilities that others should carry.”³

The Will of the People

In spite of these statements James White in 1874 once more accepted the presidency of the General Conference. At the conference session the following year, chastened by a testimony from Ellen White, George Butler proposed a resolution rescinding the endorsement of his “leadership” tract; a committee was appointed to study the matter. Two years later the General Conference officially voted to abrogate all portions of the tract which seemed to imply that leadership in the church was confined to any one man. Instead, the conference resolved “that the highest authority among Seventh-day Adventists is found in the will of the body of that people, as expressed in the decisions of the General Conference when acting within its proper jurisdiction . . . such decisions should be submitted to by all without exception, unless they can be shown to conflict with the Word of God and the rights of individual conscience.”⁴

Nevertheless, since delegates from the local conferences, who made up the General Conference, were together for only several weeks each year, it was only natural for Adventists to look to the executive committee and the General Conference president for leadership. This was particularly true when forceful men like James White and George Butler were at the helm. Butler succeeded White again in 1880. Events of the next few years proved that he had not entirely abandoned the underlying principles expressed in his “leadership” essay. As duly elected General Conference president, Butler expected to lead.

The geographic spread and growing variety of denominational enterprises, however, made it increasingly difficult for the General Conference

president and his executive committee to provide counsel and guidance in all areas. By 1885 the International Tract and Missionary Society, the Sabbath School Association, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society, the Health Reform Institute, and the American Health and Temperance Society were all operating as quasi-independent organizations allied with, but not subject to, the General Conference. In addition to serving as General Conference president, Butler was president of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association (the legal name of the Review and Herald) and the Seventh-day Adventist Educational Society (which managed Battle Creek College). S. N. Haskell headed the Tract and Missionary Society and the Pacific Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association; W. C. White presided over the Sabbath School Association. Haskell and White were also members of the five-man General Conference Executive Committee (popularly termed simply the General Conference Committee). Dr. J. H. Kellogg headed both the Health Reform Institute and the American Health and Temperance Society.⁵

In 1885 O. A. Olsen was the only member of the General Conference Committee besides Butler who resided at headquarters in Battle Creek. Haskell lived in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, W. C. White was in Europe, and R. A. Underwood, the fifth member, lived in Ohio. Since all these men traveled extensively, this made frequent consultation virtually impossible. As a result, each tended to set policy and lead in the area of his special interest; coordinating the various church activities had to be done by mail or at infrequent meetings.

The European Council

Slow mail communication across the Atlantic early demonstrated the inefficiency of referring to Battle Creek all matters on which advice and counsel were needed. It was to alleviate this need that Haskell was sent to tour the European field in 1882. During his visit a plan was developed to bring the leading workers in Europe together for a period of counsel. Loughborough, from England, and Matteson, from Scandinavia, joined Haskell and J. N. Andrews and his collaborators in Basel, Switzerland. So profitable did this first European Missionary Council seem to the participants that they established a rudimentary organization and planned to repeat it annually.

The illness and death of Elder Andrews, who had been chosen chairman of the European Council, prevented its meeting in 1883, but a second meeting was held in mid-1884 at the time of President G. I. Butler's visit. This time there were delegates from Romania and Italy as well. In its constitution the European Council provided for executive committees of three to supervise each of the three main geographic areas of Europe in which Adventists were laboring: Scandinavia, the British Isles, and Cen-

tral Europe. The chairmen of these committees would, in turn, form the Executive Committee for the entire European field. Thus the work was interwoven and experience learned in one area of labor could be shared with workers in another.

During the second European Missionary Council considerable time was spent in discussing common practical problems. Among these were (1) the holding of training institutes for prospective national workers, (2) providing experienced help for Italy and Romania, (3) the urgent need for denominational schools due to such problems as required Saturday attendance in the public schools, (4) attaining financial self-sufficiency, (5) the need to encourage simplicity in dress and worship, and (6) the establishment of a European publishing house in Switzerland.⁶

It was partly in response to an invitation from the second European Council that Ellen White, her son W. C., and daughter-in-law Mary visited Europe from 1885 to 1887. This visit allowed them to take part in the council sessions of 1885 and 1886. The 1885 session lasted two weeks, with time taken daily for spiritual meetings in addition to the business sessions. At W. C. White's suggestion the council made recommendations to the General Conference relative to finances and workers. These actions from those most directly involved in the European field simplified the job of church leaders in America as they considered what must be done to aid Europe.

Participation in the European councils confirmed Ellen White's belief in the dangers of one or two men's trying to lay down specific guidelines for all to follow. For the next fifteen years she repeatedly urged church leaders to counsel together and to allow more individual initiative on the part of younger workers. Rather pointedly she advised one leader to "take your hands off the work, and do not hold it fast in your grasp. You are not the only man whom God will use. Give the Lord room to use the talents he has entrusted to men, in order that the cause may grow."⁷

In an effort to make wider consultation possible the 1886 General Conference expanded the membership of its Executive Committee from five to seven. That same year a separate legal corporation, the General Conference Association, was established to hold property for the worldwide church and to serve as "the financial department of the General Conference." George Butler served as president of both the General Conference and the Association. In 1887, under the title of corresponding secretary, an administrative assistant was provided to help President Butler with the growing amount of clerical work. The 1887 conference also elected three additional general secretaries to supervise specific aspects of the church's work: (1) education, (2) foreign missions, and (3) home missions. The occupant of the last of these three posts was specifically charged with promoting evangelical missions in the large American cities. Two years later this work was phased out and the secretary discontinued, but the other two secretarial posts continued through 1896.⁸

Abortive Reorganization Attempts

The success of the European Council led some who were familiar with its workings to propose at the 1888 General Conference session that the United States and Canada be divided into segments, each including several state conferences or mission fields. It would then be possible to hold regional councils during which common problems and projects could be discussed. But the 1888 General Conference showed little interest in this proposal. Its newly elected executive committee, however, did divide North America into four large districts with a member of the committee assigned to give special attention and supervision to each.

The following year General Conference delegates paid considerable attention to problems of organization. Upon the recommendation of President O. A. Olsen, the delegates officially approved the districting plan but increased the number of districts to six. Both geographic factors and the size of the Adventist membership in the local conferences were taken into consideration in drawing district boundaries. Deciding to make the meetings of the General Conference itself biennial rather than annual, the delegates planned that district councils should meet in those years when the General Conference did not.⁹

The organizational matter eliciting the most discussion in 1889 was a plan for integrating the various associations and societies, such as the Sabbath School Association, more closely into the conference structure. The conference's plans committee recommended replacing the separate organizations with a secretary in each conference and at the General Conference level. This individual, who would carry the main responsibility for promoting a particular line of work, would probably be a member of the conference executive committee. The plan, with obvious similarities to the American cabinet system of government, would provide for the unified and coordinated promotion of each type of Adventist endeavor. Yet to many delegates this proposal seemed directly contrary to Ellen White's suggestion for training more individuals to take an active part in the work of the church; they feared the plan's centralizing tendency would concentrate power in a few hands at the very time they were being urged to increase the number of counselors.

Discussion of the new proposal occupied the conference for three sessions. By that time it became apparent that the delegates were deeply divided as to its wisdom. Probably wishing to avoid a replay of 1888, the plans committee requested that its recommendation be withdrawn, and the conference voted to expunge the entire discussion from its records. The 1889 conference actually established another semi-independent organization: the Foreign Mission Board. Although its membership included the General Conference Committee, it was broader than this group alone. The new board was "to appoint, instruct, and direct the foreign missionaries of the denomination."¹⁰

The Publishing Interests

The report of a newly established committee on consolidation of publishing interests at the 1889 session revealed a strong push toward centralized control of all denominational publishing activities. The committee, including representatives of both the Review and Herald and the Pacific Press, called for the formation of one corporation to own and control "all our publishing interests, and thus bring our work under one general management." This, they believed, would alleviate "all sectional feeling and personal interests." Review and Herald leaders, such as Clement Eldridge, were particularly active in promoting this consolidation.

Over the course of the next several years the General Conference Association did engage in some independent publishing. Promoters of consolidation saw this as a prelude to the culmination of their plans. But there was persistent and effective opposition from one influential source: Ellen White. From the start she saw no light in this type of consolidation. Instead, the various publishing houses "must stand separate, each preserving its own individuality." Mrs. White's position that "God's cause is not to be molded by one man, or half a dozen men" effectively blocked a plan which she characterized as "wrong, decidedly wrong."¹¹

Each of the geographic districts established by the 1889 General Conference continued under the supervision of a member of the General Conference Committee. This district superintendent served as liaison between the local conferences in his district and the General Conference. He attended the conference sessions and camp meetings in his district, provided counsel for local leaders, helped plan for speakers at ministerial institutes and camp meetings, and alerted the General Conference Committee to any developments within the district which seemed likely to affect the entire church organization.

Union Conferences

Four years after the district plan had been approved by the General Conference, President Olsen suggested organizing "conferences intermediate between the General Conference and the state conferences" in each district. Yet he made no strong push in the direction of implementing this idea. It was another eight years before the American districts were organized into "union conferences." Overseas it was a different matter. In 1894 forty delegates at the first Australian camp meeting organized the Australasian Union Conference, which became a pattern for the union conferences developed in America seven years later.¹²

Meanwhile, the idea of substituting subject-area departments within the conference structure in place of the variety of Seventh-day Adventist associations and societies had not been forgotten. Asa T. Robinson, a member of the 1889 plans committee, was sent in 1891 to organize South

African Adventists into a conference. Robinson believed that the number of South African members was too small to warrant also organizing a Sabbath School Association, Tract and Missionary Society, etc., each with its own set of officers. Deciding that the 1889 plan would work well under these circumstances, he wrote President Olsen for permission to try it out. When Olsen delayed answering in order to secure the views of other members of the General Conference Committee, Robinson went ahead and organized the conference as he had proposed. Olsen's reply, when it finally came, was filled with fears of overcentralization, but by that time the scheme seemed to be working so well that it was allowed to remain.

A few years later Robinson was transferred to Australia, where he became president of the Victoria Conference. There he shared the success of the simplified South African organization with some members of his conference committee. They decided to inaugurate the same system in Victoria. At first W. C. White and A. G. Daniells, of the Australasian Union Conference, opposed the idea, Daniells calling it "anarchy." Years later Robinson remembered that this experience left him feeling like a "cancelled postage stamp." But the Australians insisted on trying the program; soon Daniells and White were converted to its advantages and they reorganized the other conferences in the union along the same lines.¹³

Delegates to the General Conference of 1897, held in College View, Nebraska, struggled to implement recent suggestions from Ellen White to relieve the General Conference president of some of his heavy responsibilities. They decided to elect three different men to head the Foreign Mission Board, the General Conference Association, and the General Conference administration in North America. In addition to holding all of these positions Elder Olsen had also served as president of the International Tract Society and the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association. Now Olsen was sent to organize the European field into a union conference, and George Irwin, superintendent of the Southern District, was elected president of the General Conference in his stead.

Irwin was given a mandate to organize the districts into union conferences after the Australasian model, but he was no more successful in turning them into real administrative units than Olsen had been. In another effort to involve more individuals in decision making, the General Conference Committee was once more enlarged, this time to thirteen members. In the hope that the removal of some denominational offices from Battle Creek would correct the evils of centralization that Ellen White had been deploring, the Mission Board was relocated in Philadelphia. Within a short time this appeared to have contributed to administrative confusion rather than strength.

The newly elected president of the General Conference Association summed up the state of affairs as follows: "No one can ever know the sad condition that things are in here. . . . Even we, who pretend to be in the light, cannot agree on many things among ourselves, letting alone those

who are disaffecting and sowing discord. What we need at the present time is unity in our midst. There is a prevailing feeling that every man should do as he pleases.”¹⁴

1899

The ~~1889~~ General Conference session reverberated with complaints concerning the inadequacies of the existing denominational structure. Delegates seemed more willing to criticize than to suggest concrete remedies. W. W. Prescott, who had been sent in 1897 to foster Adventism in the British Isles, complained of mismanagement of funds intended for the mission fields. He suggested that the church’s organization was interfering with the Lord’s work by coming between God and His people. Citing an Ellen White letter indicating that for several years she had not considered a General Conference session to be “the voice of God,” A. T. Jones called prominent leaders by name to repent of their actions and attitudes. Emotions ran high during the period of confessions and prayer which followed. But while Jones seemed to relish the role of reproving prophet, he failed to heed Ellen White’s warning that “an evil spirit . . . cast drops of gall into his words.” From this point on his attitude became more critical and abrasive.

A day or two later E. J. Waggoner advanced his own diagnosis of the church’s organizational problems: failure to give more than lip service to the doctrine of righteousness by faith. Adventists were trying to devise a suitable organization in their own strength, Waggoner suggested, whereas if they allowed the Spirit of God to work in each individual’s life, any kind of organization would work. Prescott agreed—and went on to criticize overcentralization in the church, which he believed had created a virtual ecclesiastical despotism.¹⁵

Arthur G. Daniells

Throughout the subsequent biennium a conviction grew in the minds of many Adventist leaders that the organizational structure and administration of the church would be the major issue confronting delegates at the 1901 General Conference. To many it seemed vital that Ellen White attend this gathering, and there was general rejoicing when she returned from Australia to the United States in the fall of 1900. She had been preceded by Arthur G. Daniells, who had for the previous thirteen years directed the Adventist work first in New Zealand and after 1892 in Australia. Daniells had returned to America via South Africa and Europe. He was a vigorous man in his early forties whose abilities had been recognized some years earlier by O. A. Olsen. “There are but few members of our General Conference Committee that have as many good qualifications as Brother Daniells has,” Olsen wrote. “He is a good speaker, he is a careful manager; he has order and neatness in his work.”¹⁶

Probably many of the more than 200 delegates who streamed into Battle Creek in the spring of 1901 shared the sentiments Arthur Daniells had expressed nine months earlier. “It will be a great calamity to have this



A. G. Daniells

Conference go through as the last one did," Daniells had written. Ellen White agreed. The day before the 1901 conference formally opened, Mrs. White called a large number of Adventist leaders to meet with her informally in the Battle Creek College library. The group included the General Conference Executive Committee, the members of the Foreign Mission Board, local conference presidents, and leaders from the educational, publishing, and medical institutions.

For an hour and a half this seventy-three-year-old "mother" of the church discoursed earnestly on the need for immediate and far-reaching changes in the structure and management of the cause she loved. "God calls for a decided change." This must begin at once: "Do not wait until the conference is over, and then gather up the forces to see what can be done." Representatives "from all lines of our work" must be involved in planning the work of the church; "every institution should have a voice. . . ." She indicated that there were to be "no kings" in the Seventh-day Adventist organization; a new approach to the problems facing the conference session must be taken. Ellen White made a particular point of calling for a blending of the "gospel work" and the "medical missionary work."¹⁷

Reorganization

The next day, at the opening session of the conference, Mrs. White once more stressed the need to begin a thorough reorganization. She indicated that this work should have been done ten years earlier: "Greater strength must be brought into the managing force of the Conference." Just how this was to be done she could not say, but it was definitely *not* to be done "by intrusting [sic] responsibilities to men who have had light poured upon them year after year, and yet have not heeded the light that God has given them."

As Mrs. White finished speaking, Elder Daniells asked for the floor. He recounted briefly the meeting of the previous day in the college library; many of those in attendance had felt that "a change of conference management should be introduced at the beginning of the conference." In behalf of this group he moved the formation of a large committee to be composed of the current leaders of the General Conference, the General Conference Association, the Australasian and European Union Conferences, the Foreign Mission Board, the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, the major publishing houses and colleges and "old hands" like J. N. Loughborough, S. N. Haskell, A. T. Jones, and W. W. Prescott. This committee (later termed the Committee on Counsel) was to organize itself, add to its membership any others necessary to make it representative of "the work of . . . Seventh-day Adventists throughout the world," and then prepare "the business to bring before the delegates."¹⁸

Daniells's motion was supported by S. N. Haskell and, after a brief discussion, adopted unanimously. For the next few days, as the rest of the

delegates listened to sermons and reports from various parts of the world field, the Committee on Counsel, which eventually numbered nearly seventy-five, divided itself under Daniells's direction into subcommittees and tackled the "rather nebulous task of guiding the conference and bringing about a reorganization."

It was the subcommittee on organization, chaired by W. C. White, that brought the first substantive recommendations before the General Conference delegates. After a careful description by Daniells as to how the Australasian Union Conference was organized and how it functioned, the delegates from each General Conference district were urged to frame a constitution and organize a union conference for their district. Representatives from the Southern District were the first to respond to this call; but before the conference session had ended, all the other districts had also formed union conferences. As part of the constitutional changes made in 1901 the union conferences replaced local conferences as the constituent parts of the General Conference.¹⁹

Ellen White thoroughly approved the organization of these union conferences. She believed that it would be "for the health of the different conferences to have it thus." It was not, as some feared, to have a disintegrating effect on the church. "The Lord God of Israel will link us all together," Mrs. White affirmed. "The organizing of new conferences is not to separate us. It is to bind us together."²⁰

The next major item introduced by the Committee on Counsel involved a thorough-going revision of the way the General Conference Executive Committee was constituted. It was to be enlarged to twenty-five members, six to be chosen by the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, and the remaining nineteen by the session delegates. These nineteen were to include the presidents of the union conferences and five individuals with special "ability to foster and develop the true evangelical spirit in all departments of the work." These five were to be kept free "from any special business cares" so that they might "act as teachers of the gospel message in all parts of the world." It was understood that as more union conferences were formed, their presidents would be added to the Executive Committee, thus expanding its membership beyond the twenty-five originally elected. This enlarged Executive Committee was to "take the place of all present boards and committees, except in the case of essential legal corporations."

Discussion of such a basic change in the body which would direct the work of the church between General Conference sessions consumed several days. Some delegates questioned the special representation granted the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Elder Prescott, in replying for the Committee on Counsel, indicated that such a move would not have been necessary if the medical work had been represented in proper proportion at the conference session. He implied that the denomination had been slow to recognize medical missionary work as "an

essential organic part of the work of this message.” Aware that the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association employed some 2000 workers as compared to only 1500 under the direction of the General Conference, the Committee on Counsel was obviously anxious to make sure that Dr. Kellogg and others from this dynamic organization became an integral part of the denominational leadership team.²¹

As the discussion developed, it became evident that, although there was not specific recommendation to that effect, the Committee on Counsel also expected the educational and publishing interests of the church to be specifically represented on the General Conference Committee. This was not the case, however, with the Tract Societies, Sabbath Schools, and Religious Liberty Association. These organizations were to become departments of the conference and, while the Executive Committee would naturally look for “the best person they can find in the denomination, to look after that line of work,” there was no guarantee that this person would be a member of the committee.

Some delegates questioned the recommendation that the new Executive Committee be given the power to select its own chairman and other officers. Since, in deference to the fears of men like Jones and Prescott, there was to be no General Conference president as such, the General Conference Committee chairman would be the church’s chief executive. Would it not be abdicating power and responsibility for the delegates to leave the selection of such a person solely in the hands of twenty-five men? Committee spokesmen answered “No”; this new General Conference Committee would actually be more representative of the various interests of the church than were the assembled delegates. Such a provision, W. C. White pointed out, would also allow officers to be changed more frequently; it might be, for instance, that experience would show “that no one should be chairman of the committee for . . . more than twelve months at a time.”²²

General Conference Departments

After thorough discussion the delegates voted to accept the new type of Executive Committee. They also agreed to a series of suggestions which in effect placed all of the work of the Foreign Mission Board in the hands of the Executive Committee. This was calculated to end the confusion of the previous years when the Mission Board had been forced to work with three different organizations—the General Conference Committee, the General Conference Association, and the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association—when sending workers to overseas fields.

In harmony with the plans to departmentalize, the officials of the Sabbath School Association, the Tract and Missionary Societies, and the Religious Liberty Association immediately took action to wind up their affairs as independent organizations and turn their assets and files over to the secretaries assigned by the General Conference Committee to pro-

mote these lines of work. Similar action followed in the local conferences. This action, Daniells maintained, would "simplify our machinery." He pointed out that many had felt that in the past Adventists had "multiplied organizations and boards and institutions until the talent of this denomination is to a large extent withdrawn from the field, and placed over the machinery to keep it running."²³

The reorganization of the denominational structure accomplished at Battle Creek in 1901 had both centralizing and decentralizing aspects. Departmentalizing the various lines of endeavor under the General Conference Committee, and subsequently at lower levels under the union and local conference committees, centralized authority, control, and direction in the hands of a group designed to be a kind of cross section of the church's employees. There seems to have been no thought of including laymen on these governing committees.

Decentralization was evident in the formation of the union conferences. That they might have more authority over the work in their territories, the General Conference Committee was authorized to transfer ownership of, and responsibility for, educational institutions such as Oakwood Industrial School and Union College to the unions in which they were located. During the next two years, in an attempt to ease and simplify its financial problems, the General Conference Committee decided to transfer all assets and liabilities of the General Conference Association to the union conferences in which the various denominational properties were located.²⁴

Divine Guidance

Time alone would demonstrate the effectiveness of the organizational structure devised in 1901. The subsequent growth and expansion of Adventism provides evidence that the work of this "Great Conference" was extraordinarily successful. Ellen White, who had been fearful at the start as to how matters would go, testified at the end of the session that she "was never more astonished in my life than at the turn things have taken at this meeting. This is not our work. God has brought it about."²⁵

Yet during the two years before the next official meeting of the General Conference, several weaknesses in the constitution adopted in 1901 became evident. These were studied, discussed, and corrected during the 1903 session. Two of the three basic changes made in 1903 were hotly debated. One of these provided for the conference session itself to elect a General Conference president, treasurer, and other officers rather than to entrust this task to its Executive Committee. The other made provision for transacting business when the full Executive Committee was not in session. The third, which formalized the provision for departmental organization and the creation of new departments as the need arose, was not controversial.

A. G. Daniells, who had been selected as chairman of the Executive

Committee in 1901, found perplexities arose in filling out legal forms and papers for the denomination. Many times the signature of a "president" was required. Daniells soon began using this title, as a practical response to the problem, even though some church leaders felt strongly that Ellen White's earlier counsels indicated there was to be no "president" of the General Conference. Then, during a major policy disagreement in the fall of 1902, a minority of the Executive Committee unsuccessfully attempted to replace Daniells as chairman. It appeared to Daniells and his associates that the church needed stable leadership between conferences, and this from persons selected for their administrative roles by the whole body of delegates. In spite of vigorous opposition from A. T. Jones, allied with certain medical and educational leaders, the majority of the delegates agreed.

With the members of the General Conference Committee living in widely scattered sections of the United States and abroad, it was impractical for all of them to be together except for perhaps two or three weeks during the year. How could business be transacted at other times? After considerable debate, with Jones objecting to the use of the word "quorum," the delegates finally compromised by agreeing that the president, or one of the two vice-presidents, when joined by at least four other members of the committee, should "be empowered" to transact business "in harmony with the general plans outlined by the Committee," providing four of the group agreed with the action.²⁶

A Loophole

In one major respect the reorganization of 1901 was a sad failure. The plan to allow the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to select six members of the General Conference Committee was designed to cement a harmonious cooperation between the denomination's medical and evangelical workers. This arrangement succeeded for about one year, but by the summer of 1902 it was beginning to disintegrate. In the process the unchallenged leader of the Adventist medical fraternity, John Harvey Kellogg, locked wills with an equally determined Arthur Daniells in a controversy which was to affect the denomination for years to come.

Suggested Reading:

Although not generally available, the most succinct treatment of the organizational struggles of Seventh-day Adventists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is G. Jorgensen's "An Investigation of the Administrative Reorganization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as Planned and Carried Out in the General Conference of 1901 and 1903," M.A. thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary (1949). C. C. Crisler's *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (1938), pp. 135-176,

covers the main issues, but in a disappointingly superficial way; the same is true of A. Olson's *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901*, pp. 166-199. Valuable for understanding Ellen White's philosophy of organization is the collection of her writings included in Crisler, pp. 203-265. Accounts of the "Great Conference" (Spalding's term) are found in A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), III: 19-46, M. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1925), pp. 625-635, and C. M. Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (1976), pp. 251-261. None of these secondary accounts, however, is a satisfactory substitute for the verbatim record of the General Conference sessions of 1897, 1899, 1901, and 1903 carried in the *General Conference Daily Bulletin* for those years.

1. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1326, 1327.
2. G. I. Butler, *Leadership* (1873), pp. 1, 2, 11, 13.
3. J. White, "Leadership," *Signs of the Times*, June 4, 1874, p. 4; E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 4 vols. (1885), III: 501.
4. G. Butler, "A Confession," *Review and Herald*, February 25, 1875, pp. 70, 71; *Review*, August 26, 1875, p. 59; *Review*, October 4, 1877, pp. 105, 106.
5. *The Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* (1886), *passim*.
6. *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1886), pp. 10, 11; *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists* (1886), pp. 109-113.
7. *Historical Sketches*, pp. 113-118; Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe, 1885-1887* (1975), pp. 66-85, 216-225; G. A. Jorgensen, "An Investigation of the Administrative Reorganization of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as Planned and Carried out in the General Conferences of 1901 and 1903," M.A. thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary (1949), pp. 14, 15; C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (1938), pp. 121-133.
8. *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1887), pp. 32, 33; *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1888), pp. 11, 44, 51.
9. Crisler, pp. 135-137; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 499, 500.
10. A. T. Robinson, "Autobiographical Sketch," in Jorgensen, p. 127; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 910; see also O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, March 25, 1892, in Jorgensen, pp. 120-126.
11. C. D. Anderson, "The History and Evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Church Organization," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University (1960), pp. 179-182; *S.D.A. Yearbook* (1890), pp. 54, 55; E. G. White, *Consolidation of the Publishing Work* (n.d.), *passim*.
12. Crisler, 138-143; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 105.
13. Robinson, pp. 127, 128; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1222; L. Swanepoel, "The Origin and Early History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South Africa, 1886-1920," M.A. thesis, University of South Africa (1972), p. 26.
14. Jorgensen, pp. 20-23; Crisler, pp. 152, 153; *S.D.A. General Conference Daily Bulletin*, March 2, 1897, pp. 213-215; I. H. Evans to E. G. White, March 17, 1898, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
15. *Daily Bulletin*, February 23, 1899, pp. 60-64, 73-77; February 26, 1899, pp. 85-94; Jorgensen, pp. 24, 25.
16. W. W. Prescott to W. C. White, October 26, 1899; Prescott to E. G. White, April 26, 1900; Daniells to W. C. White, August 23, 1900, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Olsen to Prescott, August 30, 1896, Olsen letterbooks, General Conference archives.
17. Daniells to W. C. White, August 23, 1900, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; E. G. White, manuscript 43, 1901, E. G. White Estate.
18. *Daily Bulletin*, April 3, 1901, pp. 24-27.
19. Jorgensen, pp. 31-33; A. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), pp. 187-189.
20. *Daily Bulletin*, April 5, 1901, pp. 68, 69.
21. Jorgensen, pp. 34-36; Olson, pp. 179, 180.
22. Jorgensen, pp. 35-40; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, July 1, 1901, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
23. Jorgensen, pp. 40-42, 44-47; *Daily Bulletin*, April 15, 1901, p. 228.
24. *Daily Bulletin*, April 17, 1901, p. 281; April 18, 1901, p. 310; Jorgensen, pp. 53-55.
25. *Daily Bulletin*, April 25, 1901, p. 464.
26. Jorgensen, pp. 49-51, 63-71; A. G. Daniells to Dr. C. C. Nicola, July 30, 1906, Daniells letterbooks, General Conference archives; Olson, pp. 196, 197.

CHAPTER 18

The Kellogg Crisis, 1901-1907

Few men played a more dominant role in the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church from 1876-1904 than John Harvey Kellogg. His facile pen, persistent voice, abundant energy, and creative imagination had made him by 1900 the best-known Seventh-day Adventist among the general public. Deeply committed since youth to improving health through better sanitation, dietary reform, and the use of natural remedies such as sunshine and exercise, Kellogg was also vitally interested in educational reform, publishing, and service to society's unfortunates—orphans, the poor, unemployed, and alcoholics. Although reared a Seventh-day Adventist from infancy, he was not as concerned about promulgating the perpetuity of the moral law or even the imminence of the second advent. The part of the gospel that appealed to Kellogg was healing the sick, clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry. "For thirty years" he "dreamed that the whole Seventh-day Adventist denomination would sometime become . . . medical missionaries"; that they would play the role of "Good Samaritan to all the world."¹

The Leader

Dr. Kellogg's humanitarian beliefs were firmly held and liberally practiced. Unfortunately he found it more difficult to practice generosity toward those who either disagreed with his ideas and programs or did not assign the same importance to them that he did. As a youth Kellogg was inclined to be headstrong and ambitious; in later years he became stubborn and domineering. He himself admitted that he found it "difficult to carry a fraction of a burden and leave the rest. If I have any responsibility in a matter, I somehow cannot avoid feeling a burden of [for] the whole."

He also had a tendency to be jealous of potential rivals, so much so that when other doctors at the Battle Creek Sanitarium began to build an independent reputation, he quietly arranged for them to be transferred elsewhere. Some colleagues believed that it was only Kellogg's insistence that the sanitarium remain basically a "one-man show" that kept it from developing into the kind of internationally famous medical center that the Mayo Institute over in little Rochester, Minnesota, soon became.²

Criticism of the Clergy

Early in his career Dr. Kellogg complained that there was a "general backsliding" among Adventists in the area of health reform. He attributed this retrogression to the Adventist ministry, claiming that they "discourage the people by their example." Kellogg was particularly irritated over the failure to ban flesh foods from the provision tent during camp meetings. Even worse were the ministers who came to Battle Creek on church business and ordered steak or chicken when taking meals at the sanitarium!

Kellogg's criticism of the Adventist clergy soon progressed to matters other than their lack of commitment to vegetarianism. Many early Adventist ministers had little formal education. With his medical degree, wide reading, and extensive travel Kellogg clearly felt culturally superior to these men "of very mediocre ability." He was particularly critical of the way they dispensed church funds, "wasting" money which should have been used to build up medical institutions on unnecessary ministerial travel or lavishing it unwisely on publishing houses. Frequently the doctor lashed out at what he characterized as the "dictatorial" manner Adventist preachers assumed. They were, he maintained, "in the habit of managing everything," and "seemed determined to do so."³

In view of this attitude it is easy to understand why Dr. Kellogg was so insistent on preventing the Battle Creek Sanitarium, or any other line of medical endeavor, from coming under the control of the Adventist ministry. And Kellogg was certain that General Conference leaders were continually plotting and scheming to gain control of all Adventist medical institutions and work. He once wrote: "It seems incomprehensible that men should get so exalted in their own estimation as to form conceptions that a preacher is so much superior to a doctor or a doctor so much inferior to a preacher, that the doctor, or even a company of Christian doctors, would not be capable of directing their own work, in which they have been trained for years, while the preacher, who has had no experience in the work whatsoever, becomes by virtue of his ministerial license, competent to direct the physician or the nurse."

The more Kellogg became suspicious and resentful of his clerical associates, the more he tended to disparage them "in every way that he could." A natural result was that this attitude in turn "bred ill feeling" on the part of a large number of Adventist ministers. Many fell into the habit

of questioning and condemning any Kellogg project or teaching. This disparaging attitude extended to the cereal and vegetable protein creations which the doctor developed during the 1890s—until, Kellogg observed, it became apparent that there might be considerable profit in the manufacture and sale of these products. Then the ministers demonstrated “a most greedy disposition . . . to take possession of our Food Business and utilize it for building up Conference enterprises.”⁴

Nonsectarianism

This climate of mutual misunderstanding and mistrust persisted throughout most of the period of John Kellogg’s Adventist years. While Kellogg was complaining that the preachers wanted to control Seventh-day Adventist medical work, but not finance it adequately, Adventist leaders frequently expressed concern that the medical and welfare work was growing out of all proportion to that of evangelistic. They were also concerned about laxness in Sabbath keeping and “worldliness” at the sanitarium and Kellogg’s growing emphasis on the “undenominational and unsectarian” aspects of his work.

It was during the rechartering of the Battle Creek Sanitarium in the late 1890s that the terms “undenominational and unsectarian” first appeared to trouble Adventist leaders. The original sanitarium charter expired in 1897. Entrusted by the sanitarium directors with the job of securing a new charter, Kellogg devised the plan of forming a new Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association to acquire the assets and maintain the work of the old Health Reform Institute. Stockholders in the institute became members of the new association and were allowed to nominate additional members for each share of stock beyond the initial one held.

Kellogg was particularly anxious that the sanitarium receive recognition as a charitable organization. In part this was to prevent claims for a share of the institution’s increased worth on the part of “greedy” stockholders; in part, to save on future expenses by establishing the tax-exempt status of the sanitarium. With this in mind the new association applied for a charter under the Michigan statute governing charitable institutions. Members in the new association were required to sign a statement agreeing that the work of the sanitarium would be “of an undenominational, unsectarian, humanitarian, and philanthropic nature.”

The words “undenominational” and “unsectarian” bothered several staunch Adventists. Kellogg sought to disarm them by explaining that this simply meant that the sanitarium could not “give benefits to a certain class, but must be for the benefit of any who are sick. The institution may support any work it chooses with the earnings of the Association, but cannot discriminate against anyone because of his beliefs.” Satisfied by this explanation, church leaders made no further objection to the new association’s charter.

Subsequent developments, however, convinced many Adventists that

Kellogg was guilty of dissembling. He soon announced that the sanitarium could not be used "for the purpose of presenting anything that is peculiarly Seventh-day Adventist in doctrine," and that membership in the governing association was "as open to a Catholic as to a Seventh-day Adventist." How could this last statement be harmonized with one by Ellen White of twenty years earlier that "It was in the purpose of God that a health institution should be organized and controlled exclusively by S. D. Adventists"?

Adventist suspicions increased when Kellogg suddenly discovered that the law under which the sanitarium was now chartered prevented it from sending any part of the institution's profits outside the state of Michigan. This announcement disturbed Ellen White in particular. She remembered that when she and James had solicited funds to launch the Health Reform Institute, they had promised that it would use its earnings to help other church institutions. Now help was desperately needed in many places, and Kellogg was maintaining that the mammoth institution he had developed could not give this help!

Moves Toward Independence

Although Dr. Kellogg publicly stated that there had been no change in the sanitarium's ownership, control, management or principles, and that "no change of any sort has been contemplated," his private statements were of a different nature. In 1905 he wrote that he had anticipated an eventual break between himself and the church fifteen years earlier and had prepared for such an eventuality during the preceding decade. This was why he had insisted upon the sanitarium's remaining a "private, distinct, independent corporation." He personally drew up the sanitarium association's charter so that he would not be at the mercy of the General Conference, "but would be able to stand alone if I should have to." How well he had done his work would be clear only after his Adventist connections were finally severed.⁵

Dr. Kellogg was not the only one who during the 1890s foresaw a possible break between the interests he represented and the rest of the church. From far-off Australia Ellen White directed urgent appeals to George Irwin to utilize his position as General Conference president in healing the developing breach between the church's medical and clerical workers. Irwin professed a desire to do that very thing, but to him it seemed impossible because "the Doctor will not permit it."

At the same time that she was writing to Irwin, Mrs. White was sending letter after letter of advice, counsel, and caution to Dr. Kellogg. She had known him intimately since his childhood; with her husband she had helped finance his medical education. No one had given more vigorous support to the health principles Kellogg promoted than Ellen White. Thus she felt entitled to point out in a kindly, yet emphatic, manner what she considered flaws in the doctor's character and policies.

Almost as if she were reading his thoughts, Ellen White warned Kellogg not to harbor plans to separate Adventist medical work from the other programs of the church. She forthrightly pointed out that his criticisms of the ministry tended to undercut their influence and that his careless remarks frequently cast doubt on fundamental Adventist doctrines. Kellogg's heavy emphasis on medical and humanitarian endeavors, Mrs. White felt, was obscuring basic salvation doctrines and leading to the use of a disproportionate amount of funds for such projects. She was also concerned that Dr. Kellogg had gathered too much power into his own hands, power of which he boasted but which he did not know how to use correctly.⁶

As might have been expected, Dr. Kellogg reacted strongly to Mrs. White's criticisms. He particularly resented the fact that duplicate copies of some of the letters addressed to him were sent to other Adventist leaders, who circulated them and used them as evidence that he was "a plotter and a schemer and a selfish, covetous, ambitious wire puller." For a time it appeared to the doctor that there was "nothing left for me but to step out." Soon, however, he became convinced that Ellen White was writing on the basis of incorrect information, that "some one has made you believe things of me that are utterly false."

Rejection of the Prophetic Reproof

Although Mrs. White quickly dismissed the implication that she was being influenced by misinformation as a tactic always used by those who did not want interference with their plans, Kellogg soon felt that he had a concrete example to support his allegation. Ellen White wrote of a vision during which she had observed a large and expensive building in Chicago, operated as part of the Kellogg-sponsored Chicago Medical Mission. She had been shown that God did not want Adventist funds used to erect such buildings. Kellogg's reply was that no building resembling the one described existed; Mrs. White *must* be misinformed.

Ellen White was puzzled. It was several years before she learned that some of Kellogg's associates had, during the doctor's absence, commissioned blueprints for a building very similar to the one she had seen. Kellogg had later vetoed the construction of this building. With this information at hand, Mrs. White indicated that the vision had been designed to prevent a wrong course of action; Kellogg's knowledge of the facts should have led him to recognize this. The doctor was clearly dubious of this explanation. During the remainder of his life he frequently cited the "Chicago building vision" as proof that one could not always believe all that Mrs. White wrote.⁷

By 1900 Dr. Kellogg began to tell old friends that he was convinced that Ellen White had become his enemy and was determined to "drive him to the wall." He was too experienced in matters of church policy to make such a charge publicly. As one who knew him well wrote: "No man knew

better how to steer his way, straight or devious, in the councils and cabals in which he had a part, how to employ a plastic surgery upon his creations which appeared ill-featured, and how to reform his lines after a seeming defeat." In public Kellogg charged General Conference president George Irwin with poisoning Ellen White's mind against him and W. C. White with "tampering" with the things his mother wrote.⁸

Convinced that she must publicly demonstrate her confidence in, and affection for, Dr. Kellogg, Mrs. White accepted an invitation to stay in his home during the 1901 General Conference session. She recognized that there was some hazard in doing this—Kellogg critics were likely to say that she was falling under the doctor's influence. Nevertheless she determined to make an all-out effort to promote better feelings between Dr. Kellogg and the Adventist ministry, and also to solidify the doctor's attachment to the church.

Her effort to convince Kellogg of her friendship did not lead Ellen White to cease reproving him for what she considered to be wrong policies. Even before coming to Battle Creek she condemned the contracts he was insisting be signed by prospective students at the American Medical Missionary College and the Battle Creek Sanitarium School of Nursing. These contracts bound the future doctors and nurses to work for several years after graduation under the direction of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Other contracts bound institutions affiliated with the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association to abide by all policies laid out by the board of directors, which Kellogg dominated. As Mrs. White saw matters, these contracts and those Kellogg insisted be signed by any of the small health food manufacturing plants established in connection with Seventh-day Adventist schools centered too much power in one man. "The Lord is not to be hindered in His workings by any monopolies," she declared.⁹

Shortly before the 1901 General Conference session began, Ellen White called together the leaders of the most prominent Seventh-day Adventist educational, medical, and publishing institutions. She advised them that God could not approve many of the things being done in their institutions. Relative to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, Mrs. White reported that it "should be moved into the country and not be so large. Unless there is a change, God's hand will be laid heavily upon you."

Decentralization Counseled

Less than a year later some recognized the heavy hand of God in the tragic fire that completely destroyed the main sanitarium buildings on February 18, 1902. The ashes were scarcely cold before Kellogg was busy planning to rebuild. Although he was careful to secure the General Conference Committee's approval of his plans to erect an improved plant in Battle Creek, Kellogg seems to have made no attempt to scale down the size of the institution radically, to relocate it in the country, or to substitute

several smaller sanitariums in different places for the one mammoth institution. Nor did he seek Ellen White's approval on his plans for rebuilding. Perhaps he remembered too well her statement of a decade earlier that she "sincerely wish[ed] that the Sanitarium were miles away from Battle Creek. From the light given me of God, I know this would be better for its spirituality and usefulness."¹⁰

For six months Ellen White held her peace; then she wrote Kellogg that rebuilding a larger sanitarium on the site of the old was a mistake. She repeated this publicly at the 1903 General Conference session. Dramatically Kellogg volunteered to sell the new plant and move the sanitarium wherever church leaders would direct. Mrs. White refused this proposal, but she also counseled Adventists not to tie up their money by investing in bonds the sanitarium was issuing to underwrite the cost of rebuilding. To do so would prevent funds from being used in other places where they were needed.

Dr. Kellogg strongly resented the failure of most Adventists to buy sanitarium bonds. He saw this as indicative of the general lack of denominational support in his efforts to rebuild after the fire. "The whole denomination," he declared, was simply "looking on with their hands folded." If such a condition continued, he predicted, "they will find out some day that this institution will slip out of their hands."¹¹

Pantheism

Another problem was also complicating the financing of the new sanitarium building: Kellogg's promotion of pantheistic ideas. The doctor's quick mind was particularly attracted to speculative and esoteric matters. More than two decades earlier he had discussed with Ellen White some of his unconventional theories concerning the nature and presence of God. She had strongly advised silence on such matters and, for a number of years, Kellogg had heeded her advice. Then suddenly, during the late 1890s, while Mrs. White was in Australia, ideas of the immanence of God in all living creatures began to surface in Adventist circles. Kellogg was not the only one to propound such theories, although he did so frequently at the 1897 General Conference session. Men like Prescott and E. J. Waggoner promoted similar ideas. In fact in later years, A. G. Daniells saw Dr. Waggoner as the chief aggressor in this matter.

Although some church leaders were disturbed over the promotion of such views, the matter did not become a real point of controversy until the spring of 1902. At that time the General Conference Committee approved a plan to mobilize the entire church membership to sell half a million copies of *The Living Temple*, a new health book Dr. Kellogg had recently completed. All of the profits from this book were to go to support the rebuilding of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the elimination of the debts of other sanitariums. This plan was patterned after a similar campaign of two years earlier when Ellen White had donated all profits from her book



The Original Battle Creek Sanitarium

Christ's Object Lessons to help retire the debts of Adventist colleges.

While *The Living Temple* was still in the early stages of production, A. G. Daniells carefully alerted its author to the need for avoiding anything which might provide "ground for misunderstanding and criticism." Daniells went on to remind Kellogg that "there are some who fear that you are grazing about very close to pantheism. In fact, some have felt from your talks about God in man, that you are practically a pantheist." Although Daniells denied that he felt this way about Kellogg's views, he urged extreme care because, "None of us want to disseminate error, whether it be intentional or not." He also expressed satisfaction that Kellogg had asked Professor Prescott to read the manuscript critically. Prescott seems to have profited by a special message on the relationship between God and nature which Ellen White had sent to the 1899 General Conference session, and had abandoned his pantheistic views. Elder Daniells felt certain that whatever "will pass his reading will stand with the people."¹²

As Prescott read the galley proofs of *The Living Temple*, he was disturbed not only by certain phrases Kellogg used, but also by his tendency to cite Scripture texts out of context. He foresaw that readers were likely to misunderstand phrases such as “there is a tree-maker in the tree, a flower-maker in the flower,” and “God himself enters into our bodies in the taking of food.” Prescott objected not so much to Kellogg’s putting forth new ideas for study and criticism as he did to these appearing in a book “that our whole denomination would be asked to sell.” Thus he recommended deleting “a considerable portion of those paragraphs which deal with such abstract subjects as the soul, consciousness, identity, personality, mind-cure, Christian Science, and other[s] . . . of similar sort.”¹³

Financial Disagreement

Unfortunately, before Dr. Kellogg could carefully consider and discuss Prescott’s recommendations, he had had a sharp disagreement with Elder Daniells, a disagreement which convinced him that the new General Conference leaders selected in 1901 were no more sympathetic to the medical work than their predecessors. During the summer of 1902 both Kellogg and Daniells were in Europe on church business. Of major importance to Kellogg was the development of a sanitarium in England. When he discovered a favorable site for such an institution, he was eager for Daniells and the members of the General Conference Committee traveling with him to approve its purchase.

There was one major problem: no money was on hand for this purpose; it would have to be borrowed. But Daniells and his associates had firmly decided to avoid the pitfalls of the 1890s; they were not going to increase the huge debt already burdening Adventists. Daniells recognized that this policy would “seem hard to those who want the institutions,” but he was determined to set his face “like a flint against the creation of further debts.” To Kellogg this appeared shortsighted and unreasonable. While professing also to dislike debt, he maintained that he was not afraid of it, since he had probably paid off more debts through his own efforts than anyone else in the denomination. He refused to be mollified by Daniells’s promise to make a special effort to raise \$20,000 for an English sanitarium once he had returned to America.

This far-reaching disagreement concerning correct policies of institutional finance was aggravated by several other incidents during this European visit. In observing the eating habits of some of the men accompanying Daniells, Kellogg became convinced that none of the group was a vegetarian. This reawakened his old complaints about the ministry’s leading the people astray by their example. At the same time, in conversations with Daniells, Kellogg cast doubt on the belief that all of Mrs. White’s writings could be considered inspired by God. To clinch his argument he pointed to a particular Ellen White “Testimony” as one that

he had inspired himself. Daniells, who came to consider Kellogg "a master of sophistry," later remembered that he was nearly "brought to ruin by the cunning insinuations of doubt" that the doctor attempted to plant in his mind at this time.¹⁴

Breakdown of Relationships

Once the cordial relationship with Kellogg which Daniells had worked so diligently to maintain began to break down, it deteriorated rapidly. Some time prior to the fall meeting of the full General Conference Committee in 1902, the two men had another sharp disagreement involving finances. The Moline, Illinois, Sanitarium found itself hard pressed to pay a \$1000 annuity that was due. Kellogg wanted Daniells, at this time also president of the Lake Union Conference, to give the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, controller of the Sanitarium, \$1000 of union tithe money to meet its obligation. This Daniells refused to do, on the basis that it would not be a proper use of the tithe. He did offer to loan the association this amount if it would agree to pay it back. Kellogg turned down this proposal.

Daniells also became convinced that the Battle Creek Sanitarium was being rebuilt much more lavishly and at greater expense than had been agreed upon. He feared that this inevitably meant a larger debt for the institution. When questioned, Kellogg maintained that the building facilities were no larger than needed, although he tacitly admitted that expenses were much higher than expected and that the sanitarium debt was being increased due to the failure of the denomination to provide adequate financial support. At the same time, Kellogg maintained, there was really no lack of money within the church; tithe money was being "squandered" in a way that was a "burning disgrace."¹⁵

It was during these troubled days that the General Conference Committee listened to Professor Prescott's criticisms of *The Living Temple*. Kellogg professed willingness to modify the book's language as "he did not wish to crowd upon the brethren anything unwelcome to them." After considerable discussion a committee composed of Prescott, Kellogg, A. T. Jones, and Dr. David Paulson was appointed to examine the manuscript further and report to the full General Conference Committee. A week later all but Prescott reported finding nothing objectionable in the book. Yet as Daniells had suspected in the spring, the majority of the General Conference Committee sided with Prescott and refused to go ahead with the projected campaign to sell 500,000 *Living Temples*.

Undismayed, Kellogg immediately ordered an initial printing of 5000 copies of his book. But fire, which on December 30, 1902, destroyed the Review and Herald plant, prevented this order from being filled. During the next several months Kellogg led an unsuccessful attempt to replace Daniells at the 1903 General Conference session. A brief period of reconciliation followed, during which both Kellogg and Daniells agreed to bury

their differences and work in unity for the good of the entire church program. As the summer wore on, however, it became evident that the doctor was still determined to publish *The Living Temple*. Daniells also became convinced that Kellogg was still attempting to undercut Ellen White's influence among Adventists; he saw it as his duty to defend Mrs. White and her prophetic role, whatever the cost might be.¹⁶

A special meeting of church leaders called by Elder Daniells in October 1903 was disrupted when a group of Kellogg adherents once more pressed for acceptance of the ideas presented in *The Living Temple*. Dr. Paulson had rallied most of the Adventist physicians to Kellogg's support; they were joined by educators E. A. Sutherland and P. T. Magan and by Elders A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner. For a time it seemed to Daniells that this group would convince the majority of those assembled to support what Daniells now clearly considered to be pantheistic heresies.

Then, just at the end of a particularly trying day, two letters from Ellen White arrived. In these she spoke out in clear condemnation of the ideas contained in *The Living Temple*; the book, she stated, contained "statements that the writer himself does not comprehend." She went on to characterize the passages which spoke of the personality of God as "a snare that the enemy has prepared for these last days." Mrs. White advised that a firm position be taken: "make not one concession on any point concerning which God has plainly spoken."

The following morning Daniells read Mrs. White's letters to the church leaders as they assembled for the first meeting of the day. A pronounced shift in sentiment was immediately noticeable. Dr. Paulson, who had been leading the pro-Kellogg forces, "was profoundly impressed. He had not been looking for such a thing, and seemed thoroughly stunned with the force of the statements that were made." Along with Jones and Waggoner, Paulson acknowledged that here was a message direct from God which must be accepted. Kellogg, too, seemed subdued and agreed to make no more attempts to market *The Living Temple*. Again there was a general spirit of reconciliation and a pledge of unity.¹⁷

Unfortunately, this reconciliation proved no more lasting than the one of the previous spring. In part this was because Kellogg found it difficult to admit that his views were really pantheistic. He stoutly maintained that his beliefs on the nature of the Deity were no different from those of Ellen White or of such prominent Adventist theologians as Jones and Waggoner.

The Battle Creek College Issue

In reality there were many issues besides pantheism which now divided Kellogg from the church's clerical leaders. In early 1903 the doctor began to agitate for the reestablishment of a college in Battle Creek. One of the actions of the conference of 1901 had been to approve moving Battle Creek College to a rural location. Although Kellogg had favored this move, he now decided that a college in Battle Creek was necessary to

make it easier for students in the medical school to make up academic deficiencies. Through his friendship with Sutherland and Magan, the president and dean of Battle Creek College at the time in question, Kellogg secured the use of the old college charter which had not yet expired. He began to advertise the availability of college instruction in Battle Creek once more. Church leaders interpreted this as a direct effort to thwart the will of the General Conference. They also suspected that Kellogg was attempting to lure young Adventists to Battle Creek, where he could infect them with his doctrinal heresies.¹⁸

Kellogg's efforts to lure the brightest young Adventists into medical careers had been a complaint of Adventist ministers for years. They claimed that he promised such youth, including talented young preachers, everything from financial independence to freedom from persecution in the "last days." The doctor complained that almost the exact opposite took place. It seemed to him that the ministers brought great pressure on promising youth to go into preaching or colporteur work, while encouraging the less talented to consider medical or nursing careers.¹⁹

Differing viewpoints on the operation and control of church institutions, which had long lurked beneath the surface, came into full view at the 1903 General Conference. The debate, in which Kellogg took an active part, occurred over a resolution recommending that all Seventh-day Adventist institutions be owned by church members through one of the existing conference organizations. Kellogg saw this as a move to get every sanitarium, school, publishing house, and even small vegetarian restaurants and treatment rooms, under the control of conference committees dominated by ministers. Proponents of the resolution argued that any institution begun as a church project with the contributions of many members should belong to all rather than simply to those who were members of the association established to operate it legally. Ownership, Elder Daniells noted, need not necessarily mean control; the owners could establish a separate board to set policies and operate the institution.

But Kellogg did not see things in this light. "Ownership always means control," he declared, "and when you say that ownership doesn't mean control, you don't know what you are talking about." He also expressed the fear that this move would limit the resources of many church institutions. In several cases, most notably that of the Haskell Home, he had received substantial gifts for humanitarian projects carried on by the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, but with the distinct provision that this money was not for Adventist church work as such. The doctor also maintained that he knew of individuals who were placed in charge of sanitariums simply because they were members of the conference committee, when they had no sympathy with true sanitarium principles. Such a situation he felt to be intolerable and wrong. He strongly endorsed a statement by W. C. White that "where the burden of labor is,

there rests the burden of control.” As Kellogg saw matters, those who gave their lives in service to build up the work of an institution should control that institution.

The Final Break

In spite of his vigorous opposition Dr. Kellogg sensed that the majority of delegates did not agree with him. Of the resolution under discussion he said, “I expect you will pass it; but I want you to know that I object to it and do not expect to be bound by it in anything I have anything to do with.” The resolution was passed, and Kellogg was true to his word. He refused to consider the Battle Creek Sanitarium a denominationally owned institution. No conference committee composed of nonvegetarians was going to give orders to him in *his* work!²⁰

What turned out to be the last good opportunity for a reconciliation between Dr. Kellogg and General Conference leaders occurred a little more than a year after the close of the 1903 General Conference session. The occasion was a convocation of the Lake Union Conference at Berrien Springs, Michigan. Hard-pressed financially at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, losing medical and nursing students as a result of his constant controversies with church leaders, Kellogg seemed ready to recant his theological heresies and step out of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association.

Unfortunately, W. W. Prescott turned a sermon he was scheduled to deliver into a blistering attack on Dr. Kellogg’s pantheistic teachings. This called forth a rejoinder in kind from A. T. Jones, who pointed out in detail Prescott’s own past flirtation with pantheism. Ellen White, who was on the grounds but not in the audience to hear either Prescott or Jones, made a stirring appeal for unity. Many of Kellogg’s supporters confessed having cherished a bitter attitude toward the General Conference leaders. In turn some of these men acknowledged mistakes in their attitude toward the medical workers. But Kellogg made no confessions; he regarded some that were made as “mere form intended to meet the emergency.”

Elder Daniells also proved unwilling to hold a personal conference with Dr. Kellogg to try to adjust their differences. He saw no room for compromise in the area of correct doctrine or principles of church administration, the issues he felt divided the two camps. On both of these matters Daniells believed counsel from Ellen White was clear—counsel that Kellogg was determined to ignore or discredit. Daniells later admitted that the strain from two years of controversy had brought him at this time to a near physical and mental breakdown. He did not feel up to a personal confrontation with the indefatigable Kellogg.²¹

The General Conference Medical Department

By the fall of 1904 the General Conference Committee decided that it would be wise to try to organize Adventist medical work as a department

of the General Conference as had been done in the case of the Sabbath School, publishing, educational, and religious liberty departments. Kellogg and A. T. Jones, the latter serving as president of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, were asked to transfer association properties to conferences or local associations and then to disband their organization. For the most part they complied. Kellogg would not acquiesce, however, in the church's securing the Guadalajara, Mexico, Sanitarium—the first Adventist medical missionary endeavor outside the United States. Using the pretext that the Battle Creek Sanitarium had loaned money to the Mexican sanitarium, he arranged for it to receive the title to the Guadalajara property.

To the further dismay of General Conference officials, they discovered that the Medical Missionary Association had some \$80,000 of liabilities, but virtually no remaining assets. Kellogg arranged for the association to go into bankruptcy, with I. H. Evans, General Conference treasurer, appointed as receiver. In effect, this left Evans the responsibility of dealing with the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association's creditors, most of whom were Seventh-day Adventists who had lent money to the association on its notes. Kellogg saw nothing wrong with this procedure. He reasoned that the denomination should consider the doctors and nurses trained, the medical missionaries sent overseas, and the sanitariums begun as value received for these loans it was now called upon to repay. "You have killed the baby," the doctor told Daniells, "and you must pay the funeral expenses."

Kellogg was not quite as harsh as he sounded. He did use personal funds to repay some of the loans made to the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Others were repaid by the Battle Creek Sanitarium or the American Medical Missionary Board, a charitable foundation Kellogg endowed with stock received from his cornflakes invention. With some justification he also pointed out that if the various state conferences had not diverted to other purposes Missionary Acre Funds promised to the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, its financial situation might not have been so bad. Kellogg had launched the Missionary Acre program in 1895 by encouraging farmers to dedicate the proceeds from a specific piece of land to support medical missionary projects. The idea caught on and was, for a few years, quite popular.²²

New fuel seemed constantly to be heaped upon the fire of denominational controversy. Although Kellogg disbanded the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, he continued to publish its journal, *The Medical Missionary*. With other Adventist periodicals virtually closed to him, this seemed the only forum for getting his views before the people. He promoted it vigorously, much to the dismay of Daniells and his associates, who considered *The Medical Missionary* "the most subtle, deceptive and dangerous publication ever put out by the denomination."

Church leaders also feared that Kellogg was secretly trying to gain

possession of the Battle Creek Tabernacle by influencing the trustees who held title to the property in behalf of the local congregation. The doctor maintained that this was nonsense. Then there was a prolonged dispute over payment for the old Battle Creek College building, now occupied by the American Medical Missionary College, which Kellogg continued to control.

So acrimonious did relationships with Kellogg become that by the summer of 1905 the General Conference leaders decided that it was useless to talk with him any longer; they would deal with him in the future only through Judge Jesse Arthur, who had for many years served the church and its institutions as legal counsel. This decision was made after several harrowing interviews which Daniells described as follows:

“He [Kellogg] had not had an opportunity to tell us what he thought of us for at least a year, and so he pulled out the stopper and let it run. In our first interview he talked for most of the time from 8:30 to 12:30 at night. In the next interview he must have talked three solid hours. . . . When we would attempt to explain any point or protest against false statements of facts, he would appear to get very angry, and claim to be very much injured by our statements. At last we became so weary and disgusted that we decided that it was useless for us to meet him any more.”²³

Termination of Membership

It was another two years before, on November 10, 1907, the Battle Creek Seventh-day Adventist church formally dropped Dr. Kellogg from its membership rolls. A few days before this two veteran Adventist workers, A. C. Bourdeau and G. W. Amadon, had held a seven-hour interview with the doctor to ascertain his true attitude toward Adventist doctrines. Kellogg was invited to the business meeting at which continuation of his membership was to be considered, but he declined to attend, sending his secretary, Dr. James Case, instead.

As Elder M. N. Campbell, the Tabernacle pastor, outlined the reasons why Kellogg should be dropped from Adventist membership, he did not cite his pantheistic heresies or the policy differences with church leaders. Instead he pointed out that Kellogg had not attended Tabernacle services for many years, had not contributed tithe or other offerings to the local congregation and, most importantly, was antagonistic “to the gifts now manifest in the church” (Ellen White’s prophetic role). With little discussion, the approximately 350 members gathered for the business session voted unanimously to drop Kellogg from their membership.

The doctor professed that he had “no fault to find,” with this action, “as I have not felt particularly proud of my associates in Battle Creek for some time, and I certainly have not received any comfort and consolation from the church fathers and mothers for some years.” Kellogg joined no other church. At different times during his remaining thirty-six years he maintained, with varying intensity, that he had not changed his religious

beliefs or practices. His attitude toward Elders Daniells, Prescott, and other General Conference leaders remained bitter. A decade after the official end of his Adventist membership Kellogg told old friend P. T. Magan that the only time he would be at peace with these men "will be when we are all dead."

Fourteen months after his expulsion from the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Kellogg retaliated by dropping Daniells, W. C. White, and many other Adventist ministers from membership in the Michigan Sanitarium and Benevolent Association, which legally controlled the Battle Creek Sanitarium. This was possible through a provision he had included in the new charter secured for the sanitarium during the 1890s that allowed association members present in person at an annual meeting to drop any members found to be antagonistic to the work of the association. With only twenty-eight persons out of an association membership of more than 700 in attendance, Kellogg had no trouble in officially purging his old opponents.²⁴

General Conference leaders might have persuaded a sufficient number of loyal Adventists to attend this annual meeting to prevent Kellogg's action and wrest control of the sanitarium from his hands. Evidently they decided it was not worth the effort, heartache, and adverse publicity. Too much time and energy had already been expended on what they considered a hopeless cause; they must get on with the work God had called them to do.

Suggested Reading:

A good overview of the main issues in the controversy between Dr. Kellogg and church leaders is found in A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 130-144. These events have been treated extensively by R. Schwarz in his various works on Kellogg: *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), 174-192, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1964), pp. 347-417, and "The Kellogg Schism: The Hidden Issues," *Spectrum*, IV (Autumn 1972), 23-39. E. K. Vande Vere's compilation, *Windows: Selected Readings in Seventh-day Adventist Church History, 1844-1922* (1975), pp. 222-267, provides extracts from a good variety of contemporary views on the important issues of control and pantheism. For a picture of Kellogg and his attitude shortly before his death in 1943, see A. Baker, "My Years With John Harvey Kellogg," *Spectrum*, IV (Autumn 1972), 40-45.

1. J. H. Kellogg to S. N. Haskell, February 6, 1906, June 8, 1908, Kellogg Papers, the museum, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

2. R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 137-146.

3. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1964), pp. 348-350.

4. Schwarz, "The Kellogg Schism: The Hidden Issues," *Spectrum*, IV (Autumn 1972), 26, 27.
5. G. I. Butler to E. G. White, August 23 and December 16, 1886; G. A. Irwin to E. G. White, January 30, October 3, and November 10, 1898, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 353-360; Schwarz "The Kellogg Schism," pp. 27, 28.
6. Irwin to E. G. White, November 10, 1898, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 368, 369; Schwarz, "The Kellogg Schism," p. 33; Schwarz, "JHK, M.D.," pp. 177, 178.
7. Schwarz, "The Kellogg Schism," pp. 33, 34.
8. A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), III: 135; Irwin to E. G. White, July 19, 1900, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
9. Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 372, 373; E. G. White to Kellogg, July 28, 1901 (Letter K-180-01); E. G. White, Letter 33, 1901; Manuscript 42a, 1901, E. G. White Estate; *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, April 12, 1901, pp. 204, 205.
10. S. P. S. Edwards, "Story of a Meeting," Document File 2058-a, E. G. White Estate; Schwarz, "JHK, M.D.," pp. 69-71; Schwarz, "The Kellogg Schism," p. 34; E. G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, VIII: 134.
11. Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 374, 375; "Stenographic Report of a Special Committee meeting held in the office of A. G. Daniells, October 30, 1902," J. W. Kellogg case folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives.
12. Spalding, III: 134-138; E. G. White, MS-70-05, E. G. White Estate; *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, February 16, 1897, pp. 36, 45, February 18, 19, 1897, pp. 76-84; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, December 22, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Daniells to J. H. Kellogg, April 14, 1902, Kellogg folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; E. G. White, "The True Relation of God and Nature," *Daily Bulletin*, March 6, 1899, p. 157.
13. [W. W. Prescott] "Suggestions on Matter Found on Galleys 1-129, inclusive, of matter for Dr. Kellogg's new book, *The Living Temple*," May 19, 1902, Kellogg folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives.
14. Schwarz, *JHK, M.D.*, pp. 182, 183; Daniells to W. C. White, July 6, 1902, July 2 and October 28, 1904, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
15. Stenographic Report of a Special Committee meeting held in the office of A. G. Daniells, October 30, 1902, Kellogg folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; Stenographic Transcript of the Meeting of the General Conference Committee, November 16, 1902, General Conference Committee folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives.
16. General Conference Committee minutes, November 14, 22, 1902; Daniells to W. C. White, September 29 and December 24, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Schwarz, *JHK, M.D.*, pp. 181, 182, 186, 187.
17. Daniells to W. C. White, October 23, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; A. G. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936), pp. 336-340.
18. Daniells to W. C. White, October 29 and December 27, 1903, January 1 and 8, 1904, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Kellogg to G. I. Butler, June 27, 1904, Kellogg Papers, museum, Michigan State University; Spalding, III: 133, 134.
19. P. T. Magan to W. W. Prescott, April 21, 1896 (copy); Daniells to W. C. White, May 17, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; Schwarz, *JHK, M.D.*, pp. 175, 176.
20. *Daily Bulletin*, April 3, 1903, p. 67, April 6, 1903, pp. 73-82.
21. S. P. S. Edwards to E. K. Vande Vere, July 28, 1957, in E. K. Vande Vere, comp., *Windows* (1975), p. 229; Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 400-402; Daniells to W. C. White, April 13, June 12, and October 28, 1904, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
22. Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 402-405; R. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: Adventism's Social Gospel Advocate," *Spectrum*, I (Spring 1969), 25; Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, February 2, 1905, Kellogg folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives; Daniells to W. C. White, February 16, 1905 and January 16, 1906, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
23. Daniells to W. C. White, July 3, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files. See also Daniells to W. C. White, March 22 and April 11, 1905, *Ibid.*, and Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 406-408.
24. Schwarz, "JHK: American Health Reformer," pp. 408-414; A. Baker, "My Years With John Harvey Kellogg," *Spectrum* (Autumn 1972), 40-45.

CHAPTER 19

The Dispersion From Battle Creek

James and Ellen White's 1854 decision to move the infant publishing house to Michigan was an important milestone in the history of the developing Seventh-day Adventist Church. "From the time we moved to Battle Creek," Ellen wrote, "the Lord began to turn our captivity."

In succeeding years, as first the Health Reform Institute and then the college joined the Review office in Battle Creek, the number of Adventists needed to operate these institutions grew. Persons desiring the advantages and security of living among those of similar values and beliefs flocked in, and Battle Creek became a secular "Jerusalem" to many church members.

Problems at Headquarters

The increasing Adventist concentration in Battle Creek disturbed Ellen White. In later years she observed that some church members "seemed to think that when they reached Battle Creek they would be near heaven, that in Battle Creek they would not have many temptations." Such a view was completely false; "they did not know that it was in Battle Creek that the enemy was working the hardest." A large number of Adventists in one place increased temptations to pride, complacency, gossip, and criticism; and this congestion deprived other localities of the witness church members were called to give. In no uncertain terms Mrs. White declared that she had received "light from God that it is entirely contrary to his [*sic*] principles so heavily to center the important interests at Battle Creek."¹

By the early 1890s Mrs. White was urging Battle Creek Adventists to move "out to other fields." These testimonies were "very plain and emphatic." "It has been stated directly," one contemporary observer

reported, "that unless some move of this kind was [*sic*] made, the Lord would send a scourge upon Battle Creek which would drive the people out." Some did go, but more crowded in to take their places.

The adverse effects on the spirituality of the church members accelerated. Gossip became particularly prevalent. "If an angel from Heaven should appear in the streets of this place," a recently returned missionary observed, "I fear he would not escape evil remarks." And one who was concerned with the education of the hundreds of young people in the city warned: "The spiritual atmosphere here is anything but favorable for the training of even our best and most staunch young men and women for the work. They cannot help but see the condition of apostasy which exists to a very great extent in the church."²

E. A. Sutherland and P. T. Magan, the educational reformers placed in charge of Battle Creek College in 1897, were the first who demonstrated a real interest in removing one of the principal Adventist institutions from Battle Creek. "Within a year after he became president, Sutherland was urging Mrs. White to use her influence to relocate the college." Surprisingly, she now cautioned patience and temporary delay. Yet perhaps this was not so strange. Ellen White probably understood better than most the opposition that Sutherland and Magan's educational reforms would trigger. Why add to this the certain opposition of Battle Creek property owners who held a vested interest in retaining the college in their midst?

Then there was the problem of the more than \$80,000 college debt. Would it not be wise to pay this prior to relocating, lest it prove a major hindrance to a fresh start on a new campus? With this in mind Mrs. White donated the manuscript for her book *Christ's Object Lessons*, and the entire denomination was soon launched upon a campaign to sell thousands of copies, with all profits going to reduce the debts of Seventh-day Adventist colleges.

Yet another problem must be faced: selling the college property in Battle Creek. Ellen White suggested that perhaps Dr. Kellogg could be persuaded to purchase it for use by the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Although Sutherland and Magan pressed the doctor to do this, it was not until after he had talked extensively with Mrs. White during the 1901 General Conference session that Kellogg agreed to the proposal.³

Time to Move Out

Early one morning as the 1901 conference was drawing to a close, Mrs. White invited Dean Magan to an interview. She was now ready to advise immediate relocation of the college, even though the church might not realize more from the sale of its buildings and campus than was needed to retire the remaining debt. "It is time to get out now," the aging leader said, "for great things will soon be happening in Battle Creek." Later that day, in addressing the conference delegates, Ellen White challenged them to move the college out of Battle Creek. "Get an extensive tract of land," she

advised, "and there begin the work which I entreated should be commenced before our school was established here—to get out of the cities, to a place where the students would not see things to remark upon and criticize, where they would not see the wayward course of this one and that one, but would settle down to diligent study."

Ellen White recognized that moving to a more rural area would mean fewer students, but this was not sufficient reason to forestall the move. While expressing approval for the reforms Sutherland and Magan had already instituted at the college, she also indicated that more changes needed to be made. Some would resist stubbornly, but that should not deter the two young reformers; they should "go forward in the name of the Lord God of Israel."

That very day both the conference delegates and the college trustees voted to seek a rural location for the school. Several days later the sanitarium constituency agreed to buy the college buildings for use by the American Medical Missionary College and the sanitarium Nurses Training School. As Mrs. White had anticipated, the vote to move precipitated a wave of criticism throughout Battle Creek's West End. She once more found it necessary to proclaim publicly that moving the college was "in accordance with God's design." Within a matter of days the search for a new site began in earnest.⁴

Berrien Springs

For the past two years Sutherland had been intrigued with the quiet little village of Berrien Springs, located on the banks of the St. Joseph River in Michigan's southwestern corner. Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, a prominent former Women's Christian Temperance Union lecturer and a recent convert to Adventism, had called Sutherland's attention to Berrien Springs by arranging for him to give several addresses there in a lecture series sponsored by a handful of socialists who were ambitious to start a "People's University." During his visit Sutherland strolled along the river, observing orchards and vineyards that formed the heart of the Michigan fruit belt. He sensed possibilities in the location for the type of school he envisioned.

It was Sutherland and Magan's goal to develop a school that would be "the Avondale of America." They dared to hope that with a proper plant, located on good soil, they could make their school financially self-supporting. They would develop an Adventist educational institution which, while belonging to the church, would not require continuous operational subsidies. At the same time students would not be saddled with high tuition charges, but could earn money in school industries to pay the major part of their educational expenses.

During the four years preceding 1901 the reformers had already radically changed Battle Creek College. It did not seem essential to Sutherland to keep students in a program until they had acquired a degree.

Rather, it was more important to get them working at spreading the Adventist faith to all people, everywhere. They should go out as ministers, teachers, colporteurs, nurses, and as missionary farmers, carpenters, or businessmen, knowing a trade by which they might earn a living. Vocational classes were revived. As part of the program the reformers purchased an eighty-acre farm where students could be taught the best agricultural methods. In 1899 Sutherland decided to stop granting degrees or holding formal commencement exercises. These remnants of a "papal system" had no place in a Seventh-day Adventist school!⁵

Now with the official vote to move Battle Creek College, Sutherland and Magan were given the opportunity of locating their "reformed" college in a spot where even more innovations could be tried. To make certain that no good prospective site was overlooked, the two men and some of their associates crisscrossed southwestern Michigan by freight train and bicycle. One beautiful May day Sutherland brought Magan to the prosperous Garland farm situated just north of Berrien Springs on a high bluff overlooking the St. Joseph River. Below on the flatlands lay the Richardson farm, run-down but available for purchase. If only they could get Garland's well-kept acres in addition to the Richardson place, they would be in possession of a campus rich in possibilities.

Edgar Garland was a "public-spirited promoter" of the Berrien Springs area. He could see the advantages of securing a college for his community. After considerable nudging from Magan he accepted a five-dollar bill in return for an option on his place that would hold until the college trustees could examine it and reach a decision. It was enough for Sutherland and Magan. They hurried back to Battle Creek and prepared to move. Earlier Magan and another faculty member had, on their own security, borrowed \$3000 from a local bank for moving expenses. To the jeers of some West End residents, the college personnel loaded sixteen freight cars with equipment. Without waiting for board approval of the new location, Sutherland ordered the freight cars moved to Berrien Springs.

Emmanuel Missionary College

In mid-July the proper church officials convened to examine the proposed site. Sutherland's confidence proved justified; they voted to purchase the 272 acres on the two farms for \$18,000. A new name would also be needed—with a campus ninety miles from Battle Creek the school could hardly be called Battle Creek College. The name "Emmanuel" had been popular with the college family since the revivals of 1898. On Magan's motion the school was rechristened Emmanuel Missionary College. Including the word "missionary" was logical in view of the reformer's desire to emphasize this aspect of all the training programs offered, but "college" was more surprising. The school was incorporated under the Michigan law for operating charitable institutions—scarcely the normal thing for a "college." Since Sutherland and Magan had aban-

done the granting of degrees, a term such as "institute" might have been more logical. Yet apparently some of the trustees were not willing to abandon completely the concept of a college, and so that designation was retained. It would be another decade before this part of the school name could reasonably be considered an accurate indication of the educational level offered its students.⁶

Even before the official vote to purchase the new property, college officials had announced that a summer session and teachers' institute would be held in Berrien Springs. Accommodations were makeshift. Students lived in tents this first summer, while the old courthouse and adjoining jail (vacant since the county seat had been moved several years earlier) provided space for faculty offices and recitation rooms. With Dean Magan established in the former sheriff's office and classes held in old jail cells, there was plenty of material for campus wits to joke about!

Tents might be all right for summer housing, but other arrangements had to be made before the opening of the fall term. As it turned out, the administrators' faith was sorely tested. It was not until the day before classes began that arrangements were completed for renting an old summer hotel for use as student living quarters. To make it livable during winter months forty small wood-burning stoves were purchased and enough chimneys somehow installed to accommodate the stove pipes.

A New Emphasis in Education

The fifty students on hand at the opening of the first full term were soon caught up in a program that differed radically from a traditional college course. Classes were held from seven in the morning until noon; afternoons were spent in working on the farm or in constructing the buildings planned for the new campus. Construction proceeded only as fast as money became available for building materials; the administration was determined to avoid debt. By the summer of 1902 only two major buildings were ready for occupancy. One of these included the carpentry shop where boys constructed window casings for future buildings using only the simplest of hand tools.

Some of the faculty wanted to build with bricks manufactured in a campus kiln, but Sutherland would not have anything so pretentious. "We want our buildings to be simple and small, without heat and electricity," he said, "for that is the kind of buildings our students will find in the mission fields. There must be no one large and handsome building, nor must the buildings be erected on the ordinary quadrangular plan, but on a meandering line in order to get plenty of fresh air and sunshine. . . . Such an arrangement will discourage the growth of pride and institutional spirit."⁷

One by one a succession of buildings, all constructed by student labor, appeared on the campus. Austere, wooden, they made no pretense of beauty or architectural style. The one exception was the study hall, which

boasted a bulbous, ornamental bell tower, for half a century the identifying mark of the college in alumni eyes. The founders exulted in the skills students learned as they built. When it came to installing the heating plant in the study hall, Magan wrote that although this “was a new experience to the boys . . . they have gone at it with a good courage and have done splendidly.” Splendidly, but not always accurately; when finished, the domestic arts building turned out to be “twenty-two inches narrower at one end than at the other!”

Development of both campus and curriculum was constantly hindered by insufficient finances. Sutherland and Magan were forced to spend far too much time away from the college, soliciting funds and promoting the sales of *Christ's Object Lessons*. The frequent absences of the school's two principal administrators and visionaries kept some of their programs from operating as satisfactorily as they might have under more constant direction. Magan was an advocate of student government, and junior faculty members appointed by the administration from among the student body helped establish policy and regulate discipline. By encouraging student cooperation and self-direction Magan and Sutherland hoped to develop students mature enough to make residence-hall deans obsolete. It was a dream that never materialized.

Another Sutherland program, the one-study plan, evoked a mixed reaction from students and faculty alike. On the basis of his own experience Sutherland was convinced that students would profit from taking only one subject during each of the three regular academic terms. The daily schedule was rearranged to provide for a full eight-hour work day, followed by a brief chapel and three hours of classwork. Unfortunately, eight hours of heavy work on the farm, in the laundry, or on construction did not leave most students alert enough to concentrate fully on their evening classwork. The faculty, who worked along with the students during the day, were not left enough time to develop stimulating presentations. Most felt that not much learning occurred under this system; rather, it appeared to encourage students to drop out at the end of a term rather than to remain through the entire academic year.⁸

Expansion of Small Schools

As the Emmanuel Missionary College regular enrollment faltered, Sutherland became increasingly interested in summer schools and educational institutes. One of his major visions was the preparation of hundreds of church-school teachers. He planned to provide them with such a practical education in nature study, horticulture, and the Sloyd system of manual training that public-school teachers would swarm into his summer schools to gain the superior training offered there. As they went back to their schools, these teachers would take Seventh-day Adventist textbooks with them—and also a devotion to the Bible. Such persons would be in a perfect position to help finish the evangelization of the world.

Sutherland was an educational philosopher as well as a curriculum innovator. Arguing that “throughout the Bible the church is symbolized by a woman—a mother,” he went on to reason that “a mother’s first duty is the proper education of her children.” This led him to conclude that Adventists should provide, through a second tithe, “universal free education” for all the church’s children. In turn, church schools would aim “to turn each student into a proselyter [*sic*] for the church.” If this course were adopted, Sutherland saw “hundreds and thousands” going into mission work. How could the work entrusted to Seventh-day Adventists be completed more quickly?⁹

Yet in spite of Sutherland’s vision and dedication, there were unmistakable signs that his administration was in trouble—that he was losing the confidence of some of his faculty and many of the trustees. A declining enrollment and an increasingly close identification with the independent Dr. Kellogg were factors in Sutherland’s fall from favor. Many also considered his innovations too radical; they could not forget that even such a staunch Sutherland supporter as Ellen White had written in 1899 that he “tended to carry correct reform to ‘extremes.’”

When the Lake Union Conference constituency met at the college in May 1904, Sutherland and Magan felt such a chill in their relationship with church leaders that they decided to resign and start a completely independent, self-supporting school somewhere in the South. Ellen White, who was present, made no attempts to dissuade them. Yet she refused to consider that their work at Berrien Springs had been a failure. Rather she proclaimed them “as men who have made a success.” The educational system they had pioneered had been “carried forward in right lines under very discouraging circumstances.”

After this kind of endorsement the college trustees made a half-hearted attempt to retain the two men in their posts. They suggested that it might be possible for them to administer both Emmanuel Missionary College and the small school they planned to develop in the South. In the course of the summer, however, under the prodding of Ellen White, Sutherland and Magan’s ideas for their southern school expanded considerably. It became obvious to all that they could not do justice to both schools. With their departure Emmanuel Missionary College began a slow evolution back toward a more traditional college curriculum and program. But the reformers’ work would never be entirely eradicated. A strong industrial program continues to the present as a hallmark of the Berrien Springs campus.¹⁰

The persistence of Sutherland and Magan, combined with the counsels of Ellen White, had persuaded the 1901 General Conference to approve the removal of one of the three major Seventh-day Adventist institutions existing in Battle Creek. It would take two major tragedies to jar church leaders into accepting the wisdom of further dispersion. During the 1901 conference, Ellen White spoke earnestly of deficiencies existing in the

college, the publishing house, and Battle Creek Sanitarium. She urged both the college and sanitarium administrators to move their institutions into rural areas. Kellogg and his associates were also warned that the sanitarium had become too large. Turning to the Review and Herald representatives, Mrs. White remonstrated that it was "not right to bring a large number of our young people into the city to do missionary work in the Review and Herald office and use most of their energy in doing commercial work for the world." Unless this policy was changed, she reported, "God's hand will be laid heavily upon you."

Yet in spite of these solemn warnings, only the college leaders, who were already anxious to leave Battle Creek, made an immediate effort to follow Mrs. White's counsel. There seems to have been no thought given to relocating the sanitarium and scaling down its size; policies and practices at the Review and Herald continued as before. Church leaders did attempt to bring new management to the Review by inviting C. H. Jones from the Pacific Press to assume the position of general manager at the Review. But Jones would not come. Almost incredulously, and a bit bitterly, Elder Daniells reported that Jones wrote "as though Battle Creek were about to be given over to the enemy, and as though the Review and Herald would probably be burned up soon for its great sins."¹¹

Fire in Battle Creek

Less than a month later fire did come to Battle Creek. But it was the sanitarium, rather than the Review and Herald, that went up in flames. Early in the morning of February 18, 1902, a fire of undetermined origin broke out near the sanitarium pharmacy. Spreading rapidly, the conflagration had by daylight completely destroyed the main building, the charity hospital, and several smaller structures nearby. Miraculously, none of the staff, and only one of the four hundred patients in residence (an elderly man who tried to reenter the inferno to rescue his life savings) lost his life.

Church leaders were distressed at the loss of the sanitarium but not yet ready to consider that they had really been visited by a divine judgment. They felt differently ten months later, when the Review and Herald burned to the ground. On the evening of December 30 A. G. Daniells was conferring in his office with I. H. Evans, Review general manager. Suddenly the lights went out. Rushing out into the street, the two men saw that the entire pressroom was ablaze. "We endeavored to get into the front office to rescue documents and furniture," Daniells wrote the next day, "but we could do very little. The building was filled with a dense oily smoke, calculated to suffocate one in a very short time." The best efforts of the fire department proved useless. Within one hour's time the main Seventh-day Adventist publishing house was a smoldering ruin.

One fire could be interpreted as a regrettable accident, but two within less than one year appeared to many Adventists a different matter. "Were these judgments of God?" they questioned; was He warning them to leave

Battle Creek? Although local citizens immediately began urging that the Review be rebuilt at once, denominational leaders suddenly turned cautious. "We shall not be in any hurry to settle this question," Daniells stated. "We must take time to seek the Lord, and counsel with our brethren."¹²

Some Adventists reacted strongly against the idea that God was in any way responsible for the sanitarium and Review fires. "I do not believe that our God is a god of vengeance," proclaimed sanitarium chaplain Lycurgus McCoy. "That is a heathen idea. . . . It was not an act of God but the negligence of men."

Others were not so sure. *Review* editor W. W. Prescott reasoned that "God's hand is in every occurrence, and how we relate ourselves to it determines whether we are heathen or Christian. The heathen says, 'My God is angry with me: I will do what I can to appease him.' But the Christian says, 'My God is correcting me in love. I will answer to His discipline, and obey His will.'"

Elder Daniells agreed with Prescott. "God has always disciplined His people like a Father," he maintained; "and when He permits calamities to come upon them, whatever the immediate cause, there is a meaning in them. And that meaning we must discover and heed."¹³

There was little question in Ellen White's mind as to the meaning of the two tragedies that had occurred in Battle Creek. In addressing the 1903 General Conference session, she reported that she had been distressed "for many days" prior to the Review fire. She had desperately hoped that calamity might be averted through her repeated calls to repentance. It was during this period of her anguish that she "saw the representation of danger,—a sword of fire turning this way and that way." Shortly thereafter she learned of the Review's destruction. In this calamity she saw "the mercy of God . . . mingled with judgment," in that no workers had lost their lives. They had been spared, she believed, "that they might do the work which they had neglected to do and which it seemed impossible to make them see and understand."¹⁴

Move of the Review

The fire does appear to have caused Adventist leaders to decide to make some definite changes in policy. Less than a week after the Review burned, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association directors voted to completely discontinue commercial work. During the next three months there was much serious discussion over relocating both the publishing house and General Conference headquarters. This move had been debated earlier, but the Review fire added impetus to the discussion. With their expanding world consciousness many Adventist leaders came to the conviction that headquarters should be near a major Atlantic seaport, the better to supervise contacts with overseas areas. This had been, in large part, behind the earlier move of the Foreign Mission Board, first to

Philadelphia and later to New York City (see pages 278, 279).

A resolution to move church headquarters "to some place more favorable for its work on the Atlantic Coast" triggered considerable discussion at the 1903 General Conference session in Oakland, California. Finally, during a public meeting, Ellen White was asked for her views on the matter. Her answer was unqualified: "Move." She also observed that "The very worst thing that could now be done would be for the Review and Herald office to be once more built up in Battle Creek." Mrs. White gave no specific counsel as to the exact location of either headquarters or the Review and Herald. Of primary importance to her was a conviction that God wanted denominational leaders "to work with a different influence, and [be] connected with altogether different associations from what you have had of late in Battle Creek."¹⁵

Whatever doubts the majority of delegates may have had were quickly removed by Mrs. White's statement. Approval for relocating church headquarters in a spot to be selected by a committee of Adventist administrators was voted. The delegates also recommended that the legal constituency of the Publishing Association move the Review and Herald from Battle Creek, preferably to the same location as the General Conference offices. This action was taken as requested a few days later, but not without strong dissent from some Battle Creek Adventists. Lycurgus McCoy, who led the opposition to a move, saw the proposal as just another way for the General Conference Committee to control completely all denominational enterprises.

Maintaining that the committee was not infallible, McCoy announced that although they were "men of excellent character," he did not consider them "a competent body to run a commercial enterprise." McCoy questioned what he considered the prevailing view "that a man is not capable of filling an office unless he is an elder. He must be an ordained minister or a licensed minister." It would be much better, McCoy believed, to get wise laymen "to look after these secular affairs."

The fact that Ellen White had approved the removal of the Review did not count with McCoy. Although he did not "question her sincerity," he indicated that he did "not believe that the Lord has spoken to her on this question, although she believes it."¹⁶

An attitude such as McCoy expressed carried little weight with General Conference leaders. Within less than a month a locating committee had begun an intensive search for a suitable headquarters site along the Atlantic seaboard. Attention centered particularly on the New York City area.

The committee preferred a suburban location along a main railroad. Investigation in the Connecticut and Long Island areas proved fruitless, but the men were more favorably impressed with Elizabeth, New Jersey, and the small village of Fishkill, some sixty miles up the Hudson River from New York City.

Washington, D.C.

Before any definite decision could be made, several letters arrived from Ellen White. In one she indicated that she was "not in favor of it [Review] being near New York; she recommended that "the advantages of Washington, D.C., should be closely investigated." In a later letter Mrs. White was more emphatic. "From the light given me," she wrote, "I know that, for the present, the headquarters of the Review and Herald should be near Washington. If there is on our books and papers the imprint of Washington, D.C., it will be seen that we are not afraid to let our light shine. Let the publishing house be established near Washington."¹⁷

As a result of this counsel Elder Daniells and another committee member boarded a train for Washington. For several days they tramped the city with little success. Then, just as they were about to end their search, they found the little suburban village of Takoma Park, just across the District of Columbia border in Maryland. Village officials were favorable; the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ran nearby; there were electric railway connections to downtown Washington, and much of the area was as yet undeveloped. In fact about one mile from the center of the village they discovered a fifty-acre tract of land upon which a Boston physician named Flower had planned to begin a medical facility. Financial difficulties had caused him to abandon the project, and the mortgage holder was willing to sell it for one tenth of the original investment. The two men were convinced that Providence was pointing the way to Takoma Park.

A few weeks later a representative group of Adventist leaders gathered in Washington to canvass the possibilities further. They agreed to buy the Flower property and also decided to purchase several acres of land just inside the District on which to erect the Review and Herald plant and General Conference headquarters. A large sixteen-room building was rented in downtown Washington for use until their own facilities were built. A new Review and Herald Publishing Association was incorporated in the District of Columbia to acquire the assets of the old Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association of Battle Creek.

Daniells and his associates had moved rapidly. They were anxious to get out of Battle Creek, where they found the atmosphere "depressing." In the old headquarters, Daniells reported, "we are constantly hearing the most annoying and harassing rumors. It is a gloomy place." Ellen White not only approved the move, but also declared that never again should Seventh-day Adventists become as firmly anchored as they had been to Battle Creek. "If after a time the Lord says, 'Move away from Washington,' we are to move," Mrs. White wrote. "We are pilgrims and strangers in this earth, seeking a better country, even a heavenly. When the Lord tells us to move, we are to obey, however inconvenient and inconsistent such a command may seem to us to be."¹⁸

It proved more difficult to finance the move to Washington than the General Conference officials had expected. This was partly due to the actions of a disgruntled group of shareholders in the old Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association. Led by A. R. Henry, these men threatened to seek a court injunction preventing the removal of any publishing house property unless their stock was purchased at an inflated price. Although this required almost all of the cash the General Conference had available, Daniells and his associates decided it would be cheaper to give in to these demands than to face lengthy litigation and the adverse publicity likely to accompany it. In early August Daniells, General Conference secretary W. A. Spicer, vice-president and *Review* editor W. W. Prescott, and a group of clerical assistants packed four freight cars with office furniture, records, and their own household furnishings and moved them to the nation's capital. Daniells had to stop at several camp meetings en route to solicit and borrow enough money to pay the freight bills and meet the expenses of settling into the new location.

For three years the *Review* staff shared the old residence the General Conference had rented at 222 North Capitol Street in the center of Washington. Working conditions were anything but ideal. A linotype machine, composing outfit, a folder, trimmer, stitcher, and a small job press were all crowded into what had formerly been the kitchen and dining room. Editorial offices were upstairs along with those of the General Conference officers. Only an apprentice linotype operator of all the skilled publishing house workers accompanied the editorial staff to Washington. For months the office had to hire a non-Adventist union linotypist to set most of the copy for the one monthly and three weekly journals which continued without interruption.¹⁹

The first several years following the move to Washington proved especially taxing for the top denominational leaders: Daniells, Prescott, and Spicer. They had to supervise an expanding worldwide work with an inadequate staff from unfamiliar and cramped quarters. These were the years of the Kellogg controversy, with all of the problems of an organizational and theological nature which it posed. In addition the Autumn Council of 1903—the first to meet in Washington—approved the building of a new school and sanitarium on the fifty acres that had been purchased in Takoma Park. Money had to be raised for these projects as well as to build adequate quarters for the *Review* and *Herald* and a General Conference office building. Daniells drove himself intensely, frequently putting in fourteen- to eighteen-hour days at his desk for months at a time. His companions carried on similar programs. Daniells wrote his longtime friend W. C. White that Spicer was carrying the load of two men, while Prescott was working so hard that only treatments given him each night by his wife enabled him to sleep.²⁰

In spite of the hard work involved, church leaders were convinced that they had certainly made the right move by leaving Battle Creek for

Washington. They were particularly gratified that church members around the world seemed so genuinely to approve the transfer. This approval was shown tangibly by liberal contributions to the building fund established for the Washington enterprises. Within less than two years' time, more than \$100,000 had been donated for this purpose, substantial amounts coming from as far away as New Zealand.

Washington Sanitarium

Daniells and his associates were particularly anxious to begin sanitarium work in Washington. They felt an added urgency following the 1903 Autumn Council, during which several of Dr. Kellogg's medical associates let it be known that Kellogg was in Washington at the request of prominent government officials to investigate the possibility of starting a branch of the Battle Creek Sanitarium in the capital. The Daniells group members were determined to preempt sanitarium work so that they might develop an institution, free of Kellogg influence, on what they considered to be correct principles. Since it would take time to construct a satisfactory building in Takoma Park, they rented an old mansion on Iowa (now Logan) Circle, once occupied by General U. S. Grant. There they began offering a program of hydrotherapy treatments, exercise, and corrective diet.

Despite difficulty in securing a competent physician for the Washington work, the Iowa Circle Sanitarium enjoyed gratifying patronage from some of Washington's most influential families. Contacts with relatives or staff of leaders like Senators William B. Allison of Iowa and John Spooner of Wisconsin encouraged church leaders to hope that the favor of such men would facilitate their work not only in the capital, but throughout the nation.

Slowly funds for the Takoma Park sanitarium accumulated. To help the project along Ellen White donated the profits from the sale in the Eastern States of her book *The Ministry of Healing*. Construction was begun in 1906, with the first patients admitted in the early summer of 1907. The Washington Sanitarium, as it was called, was intended as a sharp contrast to the one church leaders were losing that same year in Battle Creek. The rebuilt Battle Creek institution was capable of handling nearly 1000 patients at a time, but the Washington Sanitarium was designed to accommodate forty. Gradually, through the years, the Washington Sanitarium was also expanded, but by the 1960s it still had a bed capacity of less than one third that of Kellogg's Battle Creek giant.²¹

Construction of the Washington Training College preceded that of the sanitarium by two years. This school, likewise, was not designed to grow to the size of old Battle Creek College. The fifty students who began classes in its yet unfinished buildings on November 30, 1904, constituted about one third the maximum student body church officials desired. The college, to be operated directly under the watchful eye of General Con-

ference officials, was designed primarily to prepare missionaries for overseas assignments. This goal was expanded in 1907 when the school was rechristened the Washington Foreign Missionary Seminary. For the next seven years it sought to provide background orientation for missionaries under appointment. Proximity to General Conference headquarters permitted lectures in the seminary by officials like Daniells and Spicer, both of whom had known overseas service and were dedicated to the rapid expansion of Adventism outside the United States. In 1914 its constituency changed the Foreign Missionary Seminary into a more traditional liberal arts college.²²

A New Beginning

Daniells and his associates saw the move to Washington as more than just an opportunity to escape from the sad conditions in Battle Creek. It was an opportunity to begin anew: to develop model medical, publishing, and educational institutions after the patterns spelled out in Ellen White's *Testimonies*. The move was to a strategic location where it was possible to keep in close touch with legislators tempted to sponsor Sunday laws. Easy contact with government and foreign embassy officials facilitated the presentation of Adventist viewpoints on matters of concern to the church and also the movement of its workers to far-flung parts of the world. The leaders did not doubt for a minute that they had been divinely led.

It is certain that those closely involved in the move, those who were deeply aware of its causes and costs, did not envision the development of another "Battle Creek" in Takoma Park. They thoroughly endorsed Ellen White's plain statement that "Believers are not to colonize in any place." What the men of 1903 could not foresee was the possibility that the second advent would not occur in their generation. They had not come to realize that Adventist colonies seemed inevitably to grow up in the shadow of Adventist institutions. This fact would be more obvious to their descendants. Yet familiar as we are with clusters of Adventists scattered from Massachusetts to California, from Michigan to Texas, we must remember that none of these even remotely bears the proportional relationship to the world field that Battle Creek bore in 1900. To do so would mean in 1975 an Adventist population of 100,000 in one city!²³

Suggested Reading:

The excitement, hardships, and drama involved in moving Battle Creek College to Berrien Springs come through clearly in E. K. Vande Vere's *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 80-118; and M. L. Neff's *For God and C.M.E.* (1964), pp. 75-105. This second volume, a biography of Percy T. Magan, emphasizes his role in the move. There is no comparable account of the relocation of the Review and Herald and General Conference headquarters. A. G. Daniells gives a major participant's view in *The*

Abiding Gift of Prophecy (1936), pp. 343-353, but A. Spalding places events in better perspective in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), III: 66-81. A colorful, but episodic, account is found in M. C. Hetzell's *The Undaunted* (1967), pp. 11-17. In pp. 268-275 of his *Windows* (1975), E. K. Vande Vere has skillfully collected the contemporary views of several of the principal actors in the drama. The entire December 8, 1977, issue of the *Review and Herald* is given to a description of and commentary on the 1902 Review and Herald fire.

1. E. G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (1915), p. 159; *Review*, February 13, 1894, pp. 97, 98; E. G. White, "Our Duty to Leave Battle Creek," *Review*, April 14, 1903, p. 17.
2. W. W. Prescott to O. A. Olsen, November 1, 1893, Prescott folder, Publishing Department historical files, General Conference archives; P. T. Magan to E. G. White, August 16, 1900; H. Haskell to E. G. White, October 29, 1900, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
3. Magan to E. G. White, August 16 and October 24, 1900, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; E. K. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 89, 91; M. L. Neff, *For God and C.M.E.* (1964), pp. 65-70.
4. Vande Vere, pp. 90, 91; Neff, pp. 70-72.
5. Vande Vere, pp. 80-88, 95, 96; Neff, pp. 71-76.
6. Vande Vere, pp. 95-98; Neff, pp. 76-79; A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), III: 47-49.
7. Vande Vere, pp. 98-106; Neff, pp. 78-82; Spalding, III: 49-51.
8. Vande Vere, pp. 106-110; Neff, pp. 82-86.
9. Vande Vere, pp. 110-112.
10. Vande Vere, pp. 114-118; Neff, pp. 100-104; Spalding, III: 169-173.
11. S. P. S. Edwards, "Story of a Meeting," Document File 2058-a, E. G. White Estate; Daniells to W. C. White, January 31, 1902, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
12. Spalding, III: 68, 69; R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 69, 70; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, December 31, 1902, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
13. *Review and Herald*, Supplement, April 28, 1903, pp. 5, 7.
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CHAPTER 20

New Institutions, New Challenges

The break with Kellogg cast a heavy shadow over future denominational health and medical endeavors. Would the loss of Battle Creek Sanitarium signal the end of Adventist medical institutions? Would the large number of physicians and nurses he had trained now choose to follow his independent example?

An emphatic No proved to be the answer to both questions. The Adventist medical workers who shared Kellogg's skepticism concerning clerical direction of medical work were also skeptical of the doctor's theological innovations and unwilling to ignore Ellen White's counsels. Still, Kellogg's loss would be felt. Never again would one person occupy such a dominant role in the "right arm" of the Adventist "body"; no one institution would gain the worldly renown of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Although a fear of independent doctors long troubled Seventh-day Adventist ministers, the medical work did not disintegrate. Instead, new sanitariums, developed sacrificially in widely scattered areas, diffused the gospel of health in ever-widening circles.

Paradise Valley

Even before disagreements with Kellogg reached the crisis level, Ellen White in 1902 began to urge the development of a strong Adventist medical work in southern California. God "is preparing the way for our people to obtain possession, at little cost, of properties on which there are buildings that can be utilized in our work," she stated. Not "one mammoth institution" but many sanitariums were to be established in several different places.

Mrs. White pressed her views on local and General Conference offi-

cial. She instructed Dr. T. S. Whitelock, the operator of treatment rooms in San Diego, and later Elder John A. Burden of Redlands, pioneer medical worker in Saint Helena (California) and Australia, to watch for property suitable for sanitariums.¹

It was Whitelock who first learned of a promising site in nearby National City. The fifty-room Potts Sanitarium, built fifteen years earlier in the midst of a beautifully landscaped twenty-acre estate, had been forced to close because of an insufficient water supply. The mortgage holder was anxious to dispose of it for less than half of the \$25,000 invested in the building alone.

Mrs. White's visit to National City convinced her that this property should, and would, be acquired by Seventh-day Adventists. Yet the small Southern California Conference, with no ready funds and nearly \$40,000 indebtedness, did nothing. Whitelock continued negotiations and by 1904 had succeeded in getting the price reduced to \$6000. Convinced that the time to move had come, he telegraphed Mrs. White. Sensing the Lord's leading, she borrowed \$2000 at the bank, secured a matching amount from Mrs. Josephine Gotzian, and instructed Whitelock to offer this \$4000 for the property. The offer was accepted. The move had been none too soon; a few days later a \$6000 bid was made by a party in New York.

For eight years this newly acquired Paradise Valley Sanitarium was operated as a private venture by a group of Seventh-day Adventist ministers and laymen. During this time a new well was dug to provide a plentiful water supply; an addition to the building doubled patient capacity. Throughout, the operators continued to call themselves simply "trustees." When, in 1912, the local conference proved willing to assume responsibility for Paradise Valley, it was willingly deeded over as a gift to the church.²

Glendale

Scarcely had the Paradise Valley Sanitarium property been secured before Ellen White began to counsel conference leaders that a similar institution should be established near Los Angeles. Although sympathetic with the no-debt plan that Daniells and the General Conference Committee were following, Mrs. White indicated that carrying such a policy to the extreme had "put the brake upon the wheels of progress." It was not always the wisest policy, she affirmed, "to make no move that calls for investment of means unless we have the money in hand," especially when, as in the current situation, a sanitarium near Los Angeles was "the expressed will of God."

Under Ellen White's prodding, Burden and several others began an intensive search of the Los Angeles suburbs. They located, in the tiny village of Glendale, a former hotel built for some \$60,000 during a land boom two decades earlier. Negotiations reduced the price to \$12,500.

While conference leaders hesitated, private individuals stepped in and advanced enough money to bind a sales agreement. Shortly thereafter the Southern California Conference session agreed to raise the remainder and outfit the building as a sanitarium.³

The leadership of the Southern California Conference were convinced that they had now done their duty by the medical branch of the work, but Ellen White remained dissatisfied. Several years earlier in a night vision she had been shown property suitable not only for a sanitarium but also as a great educational center. Neither the Paradise Valley nor the Glendale properties accorded with all the details she remembered.

Loma Linda

Again Mrs. White pressed John Burden to search for still another suitable sanitarium site, concentrating his attention on the Riverside-Redlands-San Bernardino area. Soon he discovered a Victorian tourist hotel perched on the top of a small hill in the San Bernardino Valley near the Southern Pacific Railroad. The owners, a group of Los Angeles doctors and businessmen who hoped to convert what they called Loma Linda ("hill beautiful," in Spanish) into a health resort, had invested \$150,000 in the property. It was to no avail; they could not operate it at a profit. By the spring of 1905 they were financially embarrassed and anxious to sell at the first opportunity.

Both Burden and Mrs. White sensed the potential of the Loma Linda estate. In addition to the main hotel building, its seventy-six acres included four small cottages, a large recreation hall, fruit orchards, alfalfa fields, livestock, machinery, and an excellent artesian well. Everything was in condition to begin operation immediately. The owners, who had asked \$110,000 for the property a year earlier, were now willing to sell for \$40,000.

Unfortunately, at the time Burden learned the new price both the local conference officials and Mrs. White had gone east to attend the General Conference session in Washington, D.C. Other parties were also interested in the property, so while Burden awaited a reply to his urgent request for further instructions, he lined up several church members who advanced enough money to hold the property temporarily. Ellen White telegraphed her approval, but the conference leaders were less enthusiastic, wanting Burden to delay any commitments until their return. When informed that this would be impossible, they wired that the conference could take no responsibility. Burden and his friends were left with only Ellen White's assurances that they had acted correctly.

Through a series of unusual circumstances, Burden was able to borrow enough money to make the first payment of \$5000. This allowed time for the constituency of the Southern California Conference to decide whether or not to back the project. A stirring address by Ellen White and encouragement from General Conference vice-president G. A. Irwin

gave delegates to a special constituency meeting the courage to vote to purchase the property in the name of the local conference.

There were further tests of faith. On the day the second \$5000 was due, there was no money available to meet the commitment. Some members of the Conference Committee were willing to lose the first \$5000 and forget the entire project, but others remained certain that God was leading. As discussion continued, the morning mail arrived; it brought a draft for \$5000 from a sister in New Jersey. Money for the next two payments came in just as unexpected ways. When the former owners offered to discount the sale price by \$1000 if payment of the balance due in three years could be made within a few days, Burden and conference officials agreed. Their faith was not disappointed. A former patient at the Glendale Sanitarium voluntarily loaned the money to complete the transaction.⁴

As stories of the providences connected with Loma Linda's acquisition circulated, workers proved anxious to have a part in developing the institution. Dr. George Abbott, a recent graduate of American Medical Missionary College and now a practitioner in Burbank, California, came to Loma Linda. Dr. Julia White arrived from the Battle Creek Sanitarium—and brought several highly skilled nurses with her. By the time Loma Linda was ready to receive patients in November 1905, a staff of thirty-five had been collected. Dr. White began a school of nursing with seven transfer students. The staff soon had a chance to prove their dedication. With working capital in short supply, they agreed to work for room and board only, until income from patients became sufficient to pay regular wages.

Ellen White, anxious that the Loma Linda Sanitarium be an active evangelistic agency, asked Stephen and Hetty Haskell to locate there and teach student nurses and helpers methods of personal evangelism. From Loma Linda they fanned out to sell *The Ministry of Healing* and conduct Bible studies in the surrounding cities. Mrs. White was vitally concerned to see that care for the body did not become so important at Loma Linda, as it had in Battle Creek, that there was no active ministry for the souls of men and women.⁵

Hinsdale

As Loma Linda grew in the West, another sanitarium far to the east was being born—the private venture of a Seventh-day Adventist physician of great faith. For a decade David Paulson had been one of Dr. Kellogg's closest friends and supporters, entrusted with the overall supervision of the Chicago Medical Mission, the Chicago Branch Sanitarium, and the Chicago division of American Medical Missionary College. As Dr. Kellogg's struggle with Adventist leaders moved rapidly toward a rupture, Paulson's friendship never faltered—but neither did his commitment to the church, its goals, and its inspired counselor, Ellen White.

By 1903 Dr. Paulson was anxious to establish a sanitarium somewhere

in the Chicago suburbs where patients could escape the crowded conditions of the city and have the advantages of plenty of fresh air, sunshine, and quiet surroundings. One day C. B. Kimbell, a wealthy Chicago businessman who stopped by the Chicago Branch Sanitarium for treatments, learned of Paulson's desires. Kimbell suggested that the doctor consider Hinsdale, seventeen miles to the west. Although Paulson was interested, he knew Hinsdale to be the home of many wealthy families and was sure he could never afford property there. Nevertheless he agreed to go out with his wife, Dr. Mary, and let Kimbell show them the unused estate of a former Chicago judge, now for sale.

The Paulsons were entranced with the ten-acre Beckwith estate. The \$16,000 purchase price was reasonable—but they had neither money nor any idea where they might obtain some. David Paulson was undaunted. That night he described the Hinsdale property to his associates at the Chicago Medical Mission. An earnest prayer meeting followed. Several days later Kimbell appeared again in Dr. Paulson's office with a proposition that could not be refused: He would buy the Beckwith property himself and sell it to Paulson for a sanitarium, payment to be in twenty annual installments with no interest or carrying charges. Could David Paulson doubt that his prayers had been answered?

The year 1904 was spent in renovating and equipping the old Beckwith estate and in organizing the Hinsdale Sanitarium and Benevolent Association. The association was a private organization, but Seventh-day Adventist leaders were always members of its board and the Paulsons operated it in the highest traditions of the church's medical missionary vision. In the summer of 1905 Hinsdale Sanitarium accepted its first patient, even before rooms were ready. By fall it was filled to capacity. The wealthy clientele who patronized Hinsdale made it possible for Paulson to continue for years a number of the social services of the old Chicago Mission: the Good Samaritan Inn for charity patients, a rescue home for unwed mothers, gospel work for prisoners in Chicago's jail, and an extensive program of health education.

Many financial crises faced David Paulson during his twelve years with Hinsdale Sanitarium, yet he met them all with prayer. Frequently only hours or days would pass after the doctor had, as he used to say, "rung up Central," before money from unexpected sources would turn up to meet the sanitarium's needs. But David Paulson did not pray simply for money. No surgery began at his sanitarium without prayer; frequently it was offered for patients whose conditions seemed hopeless, and frequently such patients recovered. Dr. Franklin H. Martin, a founder of the American College of Surgeons who performed hundreds of operations at the Hinsdale Sanitarium over a fifteen-year period, noted that the recovery rate was better at Hinsdale than at any of the other hospitals in which he operated. The reasons, he decided, were the prayers offered there and the hydrotherapy techniques employed.⁶

Expansion East and West

Adventist sanitariums blossomed elsewhere in the United States: in Orlando, Florida; Portland, Oregon; and Boulder, Colorado. Occasionally they faced community opposition. Such was the case in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, where wealthy residents objected to sick people crowding into their little village for treatment at the New England Sanitarium. When a fifty-two-acre woodland park, available for less than half its assessed valuation, was discovered at Melrose, a few miles northwest of Boston, Mrs. White discerned divine Providence at work. "Boston has been pointed out to me repeatedly," she wrote, "as a place that must be faithfully worked. . . . The Melrose Sanitarium is one of the greatest agencies that can be employed to reach Boston with the truth."⁷

College of Medical Evangelists

Where could the committed Adventist physicians needed to operate the expanding network of sanitariums be trained? The Kellogg controversy led fewer and fewer Adventist youth to enroll in American Medical Missionary College. By the fall of 1907 the college's freshman class was down to eleven, its total enrollment to thirty-seven. Kellogg attempted to stop the decline by getting support from other denominational mission boards. Briefly it seemed that he might succeed. The freshman class numbered thirty-eight in 1908, but only two were Seventh-day Adventists.

Problems of accreditation, finance, facilities, and faculty eventually convinced Kellogg that the days of the small medical school were numbered. He decided to merge the American Medical Missionary College with the medical school of the University of Illinois rather than face being closed down. The last class of A.M.M.C. graduated in 1910.⁸

That same fall the *Review* noted that "September 29 [1910] was a red-letter day in the history of our medical missionary work. A new milestone was passed in the opening of the College of Medical Evangelists, our denominational medical college at Loma Linda, California." Adventist leaders had been hesitant to begin a second medical school after having so recently lost their first one; yet gradually, with Ellen White's encouragement, they reluctantly assumed what they realized would be a heavy financial burden.

Mrs. White was enthusiastic over the purchase of Loma Linda. "This place," she declared, "will become an important education center." The work at Loma Linda, she went on, was not to be limited to the education of nurses; physicians, too, were to receive training there—and in more than purely scientific instruction. Medical missionary work was one of the most important agencies for sounding God's last warning message.

As early as April 1906 Pacific Union and Southern California Conference officials began plans for an educational program at Loma Linda.

W. E. Howell was called to direct the Loma Linda College of Evangelists. Howell and his faculty developed four different curricula: nursing, gospel work, collegiate, and evangelistic-medical. The last of these was designed especially for graduate nurses and others with sufficient training to profit from "advanced medical studies as a better preparation for evangelistic work."⁹

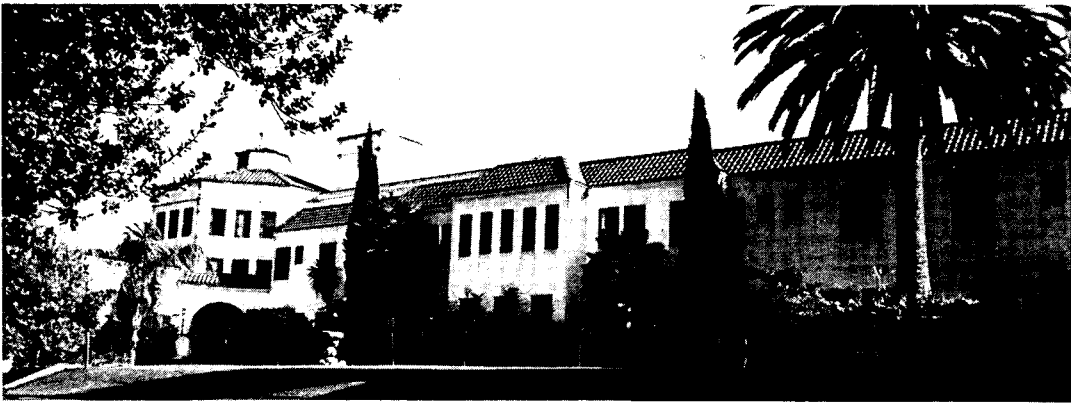
The new school did not begin auspiciously; on the opening day no students had arrived and only part of the faculty were on hand. Two weeks later, however, with all of the faculty present and thirty-five students enrolled, instruction began. The following year an important medical council was held at Loma Linda with a number of Adventist physicians in attendance. A. G. Daniells, G. A. Irwin, and Dr. W. A. Ruble, medical secretary, represented the General Conference. Ellen White, who also attended, told those present that students attending Loma Linda were to study under "carefully selected educators" and were to be encouraged to "plow deep into the Word of God."

On this occasion Elder Burden asked Mrs. White pointedly if Loma Linda was to train nurses only, or if it should also educate physicians. The answer was definite: "Physicians are to receive their education here." Council participants recognized that an educational program for physicians would require financial assistance beyond a local conference's resources. They recommended that both the Pacific Union and the General Conference give the new school financial assistance. As to the type of education to be offered physicians, there was no unanimity. A complete medical course seemed impossible to most. Should they limit instruction to particular methods as did schools for osteopaths and chiropractors? Or perhaps they should give two years of medical study that strongly emphasized the Adventist philosophy and then hope that students could transfer to established medical schools to finish their work and receive a degree.

A few months later when local conference officials asked Ellen White whether they should seek to provide the \$50,000 needed to equip laboratories and other facilities for Loma Linda, she sounded words of caution. The work at Loma Linda should be characterized by its simplicity and practicality. She did not believe that Adventists "should . . . at this time seek to compete with worldly medical schools."¹⁰

For several years the faculty of the Loma Linda College of Evangelists groped their way toward a solution to the problem of training physicians. In the meantime they encouraged students to hope that the work taken at Loma Linda would somehow count as part of the education required for a medical degree. Yet, constantly, problems of finances and faculty lay like a fog obstructing a clear view of the future.

At last, in the fall of 1909, Elder Burden decided to lay the matter once more squarely before Ellen White. Were they, or were they not, to offer the complete medical course at Loma Linda? "Yes," she answered. Ad-



BOB KREUZINGER

The College of Medical Evangelists (above)

Loma Linda University today

ventists should “have a school of our own” to educate physicians. Adventist medical students were not to feel that they needed to get the finishing touches of their education in “some worldly institution.” Nor were their teachers to feel a need to “copy after the world in order to make our work successful.”

Events now began to move more rapidly. A month after Burden’s interview with Mrs. White, the General Conference Committee approved the Loma Linda board’s seeking a state charter. Within weeks California granted a broad charter authorizing the renamed College of Medical Evangelists to grant degrees in medicine, dentistry, and the liberal arts and sciences.

The way now seemed clear to develop a full-fledged medical school. Still, several basic decisions concerning ownership and financing remained to be made. Ever since the 1901 reorganization, denominational policy was for union conferences to assume ownership and control of major institutions within their borders. Was the Pacific Union Conference ready to accept responsibility for developing a Seventh-day Adventist medical school? The answer was—not until they had once more inquired of Ellen White. The question was put directly. Were they “to establish a thoroughly equipped medical school, the graduates from which will be able to take state board examinations and become registered, qualified physicians?”

Mrs. White's reply was unequivocal. "The light given me is," she wrote, "We must provide that which is essential to qualify our youth who desire to be physicians, so that they may intelligently fit themselves to be able to stand the examinations required to prove their efficiency as physicians." She went on to state that "the medical school at Loma Linda is to be of the highest order."

With the encouragement of General Conference officials, the Pacific Union Conference Committee decided to move ahead. They did, however, request the General Conference and the other union conferences to share responsibility for financing and developing the medical school in exchange for representation on its managing board. This suggestion won a favorable response.¹¹

Yet problems and perplexities did not vanish; indeed they seemed to increase. Dormitories and laboratories must be constructed and furnished at once. This required much more money than that available from sanitarium profits and student tuition. As the enthusiasm of some church administrators cooled, their contributions to the medical school's capital and operating funds lagged. Should some of the original sanitarium grounds be sold to help finance needed buildings? "No!" Ellen White said. Instead, at her suggestion, additional land was purchased, making possible the later expansion of the school.

A full medical school program demanded a greatly expanded faculty. Dr. W. A. Ruble, who had been named president of the College of Medical Evangelists in 1910, recruited competent Adventist physicians from as far away as England and Australia. Unfortunately, he could offer them little in the way of salary; twenty dollars a week was the maximum. Many chose to decline his invitation. But many others came. Some, like George Thomason, had been intimately identified with, and trained by, Dr. Kellogg. They knew his feeling toward the growing institution, but they also believed strongly in a Seventh-day Adventist medical school and were willing to sacrifice to see it succeed.

There were instructional problems. The sanitarium managers feared that dissection of cadavers on the campus would disturb patients. It was necessary to establish an anatomy laboratory in Colton, five miles away. Students commuted by local train—or walked—to do their dissecting.

The founding of the College of Medical Evangelists coincided with a drive on the part of the medical profession to upgrade the instruction given in American medical schools. To a large extent this was the result of Dr. Abraham Flexner's 1910 report, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, revealing great deficiencies in most of the 150 medical schools he had visited. Any new medical school, struggling to be recognized by the profession, was at this time sure to be examined critically.¹²

It is not surprising, then, that as a result of the first inspection by a representative of the American Medical Association, the College of Medi-

cal Evangelists received only a "C" rating. This was the lowest rating possible and automatically closed the doors of medical practice to C.M.E. graduates in more than half of the states. More clinical facilities were needed for training students in diagnosis and treatment, the inspector reported. In an effort to meet this need the C.M.E. board built a hospital in Loma Linda, but there were insufficient patients to afford the variety of cases necessary; a larger and more diverse population seemed essential.

Los Angeles provided a possible answer, but first church leaders had to be certain that Ellen White's earlier disapproval of a sanitarium there did not apply to a clinical hospital. Once reassured on this point, they began a small clinic in the center of Los Angeles in the fall of 1913.

In 1914 a new president, Dr. Newton Evans, formerly professor of pathology at the University of Tennessee medical school, was installed. But in spite of his efforts, it proved impossible to get the American Medical Association to change C.M.E.'s "C" rating. Among other things, the medical inspectors insisted that C.M.E. must "run and control a 200-bed clinical hospital in Los Angeles."

This was the situation faced by the General Conference Committee when it met in Autumn Council at Loma Linda in 1915. C.M.E. was already \$400,000 in debt, and now more facilities were demanded. Many thought they had made a mistake in attempting to operate a full-fledged medical school. Perhaps they should cut back, offer only two years of training, and then send the students to other schools to finish. The fate of C.M.E. hung in the balances. There was no appealing to Ellen White—she had passed away the preceding July.

At this critical moment several things happened. Four women, led by Josephine Gotzian and Hetty Haskell, asked permission to speak to the assembled church leaders. Courteously they appealed against retrenchment and for a clinical hospital in Los Angeles. They requested that the women of the church be allowed to raise the funds for this project, which they suggested be dedicated to Ellen G. White. That evening Elder Daniells and a group of other leaders spent nearly the entire night in prayer and in studying what Ellen White had written concerning the medical work at Loma Linda. By the next morning, in spite of their fears, they were determined that they must go on. With the strong backing of pioneers like George I. Butler, Daniells secured the concurrence of the council.¹³

A few days later Dr. Percy T. Magan was named dean of C.M.E.'s Los Angeles division. Through the next few years he bore the chief burden of battling for an improved rating by medical officials. He also carried much responsibility for raising funds to build the White Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles and to provide necessary facilities and staff. For a time it seemed that American entry into World War I, when officials decided to draft all medical students except those in approved schools, would force C.M.E. to close for lack of students. But Magan's faith, persistence, and

prayers paid off; a "B" rating was secured at the very last minute.

There were many more problems to surmount: administrative reorganization, the development of a satisfactory medical library, an increase in the faculty, improved financial backing. But Evans and Magan persisted, and their efforts were rewarded. In the fall of 1922 the American Medical Association's Council on Medical Education and Hospitals finally voted to grant C.M.E. an "A" rating. This opened the doors for C.M.E. graduates to take a national examination which, if passed, allowed them to practice virtually anywhere in the United States and facilitated their taking medical examinations in many foreign countries. A decade and a half of struggle ended with a firm commitment to provide a quality education for physicians within the Seventh-day Adventist educational system.¹⁴

Secondary Schools

The problems of providing a medical education for Adventist youth did not diminish interest in other types of education. The first decade of the twentieth century saw the founding of many secondary schools. Soon each local conference felt a burden to provide this level of education for its constituents, even if it meant going into debt to do so. This trend concerned Elder Daniells. It was not the increase in denominational debt alone that worried him. He feared that parents were all too willing to entrust others with the responsibility for their children during their most difficult years.¹⁵

Building academies did frequently encumber conferences with a burden of debt. The launching of San Fernando Academy in 1902 was largely responsible for the debt that had made the Southern California Conference so reluctant to accede to Ellen White's urging to begin sanitarium work. Both San Fernando and Lodi Academy, in central California, aspired intermittently to become colleges. The critical need for church school teachers led to the offering of short normal courses for a number of years at both Lodi and San Fernando. But San Fernando did not become a college. Insufficient land, old buildings, urban encroachment, lack of industries, and the starting of a new academy on the old La Sierra Ranch near Riverside led to the closing of San Fernando in 1923.

La Sierra

Leaders of the Southeastern California Conference were determined to have an academy that met all the specifications Ellen White had laid down for Adventist schools. In late June 1922 they purchased the 330-acre La Sierra Ranch, secured J. I. Robison, an experienced educator just back from service in Africa, as principal, and launched an accelerated building program in order to have a boarding academy operating by fall. Two buildings that included dormitories, classrooms, dining room, and offices were nearly ready when school started in October. Almost, but not quite;

stairs to the second floor were still missing in the girls' dormitory, forcing the young women to climb ladders to gain entry to their rooms. Over 200 students enrolled at La Sierra the second year. By 1924 the Southern California Conference had joined in sponsoring the new school, which continued to grow rapidly, becoming a junior college in 1927.

Pacific Union College

Up in northern California, during the first decade of the twentieth century, Adventism's second college, at Healdsburg, became the victim of an increasing debt. In 1908 it closed its doors, and students were temporarily directed to Lodi while conference leaders searched for a new site for their advanced school, recently renamed Pacific Union College. Some church members wanted to give up the idea of a college altogether, proposing so thoroughly to indoctrinate Adventist youth in an expanded system of academies that those who wanted a college education could safely attend state schools. S. N. Haskell, once more serving as a California conference president, and Ellen White would not listen to such a suggestion.

Conference leaders were determined to avoid some of the mistakes made in locating at Healdsburg. A rural setting with enough land for agriculture and industries was essential. For a time they thought they had discovered the ideal spot in a 3000-acre ranch near Sonoma, but the cantankerous owner and a defective land title proved to be unconquerable obstacles. Although Ellen White had been much taken with the Sonoma estate, she refused to be dismayed. God, she was certain, had something better for His people.

The something better turned out to be a 1600-acre estate on Howell Mountain, six miles above the Saint Helena Sanitarium. It had been operated for some years by Edwin Angwin as a summer resort and included a thirty-two-room hotel, four cottages, enclosed swimming pool, and a combination dance hall and bowling alley. With Ellen White's encouragement, C. W. Irwin, recently president of Avondale College, was given the job of turning a mountain resort into a college. He had two weeks of grace time before school was scheduled to begin! But begin it did, with dedicatory services in the former dance hall on September 29, 1909.

President Irwin proved equal to the task. An "uncompromising Seventh-day Adventist," he chose a faculty that shared his convictions. They proved an unusually versatile and able group. A. O. Tait was given a temporary "furlough" from his position as editor of the *Signs of the Times* to head the Bible Department. The fact that he had had experience in operating a sawmill as a young man entered into Irwin's and the conference administrators' thinking, for they intended to utilize the plentiful stand of timber on Angwin's estate in their building program. Professor Myron W. Newton pioneered science instruction at Pacific Union Col-

lege, using Angwin's bar as his demonstration table. Newton was also the indispensable man on campus, capable of doing anything from wiring a new dormitory to providing the Saturday-night travel lecture. Other early campus "greats" included Harry Washburn (history), George Washington Rine (English), C. C. Lewis (English), and Hattie Andre (preceptress).

These men and women not only taught in the classroom; they worked intimately with students in carving the new campus from the side of the mountain. As late as 1919 teachers were expected to put in at least fifteen hours per week in manual labor; earlier it had been much more. Elder Tait described how so much was accomplished in the first years on Howell Mountain: "The teachers . . . wear collars and cuffs four hours a day, and then they wear overalls and jumpers for about 12, 16, 18 or twenty hours, and the teacher who works in that school does double work."

Until better facilities could be prepared, male students were housed in tents, barn lofts, and the damp cellar of the dance hall. The young women enjoyed the questionable luxury of rooms in the old resort hotel. Designed for summer use only, these rooms seemed never to be comfortable on wet, wintry days in spite of the sooty oil stoves that were provided. All students were required to work during the Irwin years, nor were they allowed the relaxation of "matched" games such as baseball and football. Yet in spite of, or perhaps because of, the Spartan life, the school family developed a firm loyalty and camaraderie. They were confident that they were building a college that would fulfill all of the specifications for a distinctive Seventh-day Adventist education outlined by Ellen White.¹⁷

Southern Missionary College

Prior to his presidency at Avondale and Pacific Union College, Professor Irwin had spent several years as principal of Graysville Academy in southeastern Tennessee. This school had been begun in 1892 as a private venture by Elder and Mrs. G. W. Colcord. Instruction was given in a room above the village general store. The General Conference assumed responsibility for Graysville Academy in 1895; gradually a central building and two dormitories were provided. In 1904 a small sanitarium was opened nearby, providing students with both additional work possibilities and the opportunity to learn methods of medical missionary work.

A fire which destroyed Graysville's girls' dormitory in 1915 forced immediate consideration of the school's future. For several years a better location had been thought necessary. With an expanding membership it was evident that before long the school should offer college work. More land would be needed to develop satisfactory agricultural and vocational training facilities.

In view of these considerations, a search was launched for a more suitable campus. After several weeks the locating committee discovered three farms in a peaceful valley about eighteen miles east of Chattanooga,

Tennessee, that could be purchased for \$5000. The valley was served by a railroad, water was plentiful, and the city was comfortably distant and screened by the protective foothills of the Great Smoky Mountains. Eventually approximately 1000 acres were purchased, and in the summer of 1916 relocation began. School officials also decided to elevate the school's status to that of a junior college, so it was renamed Southern Junior College.

During the first year in this new location over 80 percent of the student body continued to consist of secondary students. They needed to possess a pioneering spirit as the farms had nowhere near the suitable buildings Irwin found at Angwin. Most of the teachers lived in small shacks, the girls occupied the only substantial house on the Thatcher farm, and the boys, as at Angwin, existed in tents. Once a week all were granted the luxury of a hot-water bath in the laundry building. Gradually facilities improved, and a variety of small industries were added to the farm and dairy. Yet growth of the student body was slow—it was not until the mid-1930s that college-level enrollment passed one hundred.¹⁸

Southwestern Union College

About the same time that Graysville Academy was getting under way, Elder W. S. Greer, president of the Texas Conference, was traveling by horse cart from company to company of Adventist believers urging the establishment of a denominational school in Texas. He found a favorable response, and in 1893 over 800 acres of land were purchased near the little hamlet of Keene. At that summer's camp meeting, conference officials announced they would sell plots to church members desiring to settle near the school. This led to a mass exodus of Adventists to Keene; the new school was almost engulfed in an Adventist community even before it could be built.

Keene Industrial Academy owed much in its early days to Professor and Mrs. Cassius B. Hughes, who served as principal and preceptress. Hughes ran a strict school; students were not allowed to participate in even such a simple game as a potato race. Physical exercise came from manual labor. All students were expected to work at least twenty hours each week at an average rate of ten cents an hour for boys and five cents an hour for girls. The promoters of Keene were anxious that students receive vocational training. To provide this a wide variety of industries were tried, but many failed to make a financial success and were closed in favor of others. There were a variety of educational experiments as well—a correspondence school, individualized instruction during the summer, and special short courses for teachers and colporteurs.

Upgrading the Colleges

In 1918 Keene Academy was advanced to junior-college rank and renamed Southwestern Junior College. That same year South Lancaster

Academy also became a junior college; Oakwood Manual Training School had taken that step the year before. But South Lancaster did not tarry long in the junior college category; by 1922 it assumed senior status as Atlantic Union College. It would take Oakwood and Southern Junior College two more decades to make the same transition, while the school at Keene remained a junior college until the early 1960s.¹⁹

When one looks closely at American Adventist education during the first quarter of the twentieth century, certain common characteristics emerge. The success of an institution generally depended upon strong leadership. Men like C. W. Irwin and P. T. Magan were energetic administrators, firmly convinced of the importance of the work they were called to do. They had the deepest respect for the counsels and educational insights of Ellen White. Their skill in transferring this respect to colleagues and students did much to unify their campuses in a quest to meet divine specifications. If these seemed to call for relocating the school, they were equal to the challenge.

Adventist education was falling into the pattern of support which continues to the present: one college for each union, with "feeder" academies in the various local conferences. The exception was a professional school like that at Loma Linda and the school for blacks at Oakwood. These two schools were designed to meet the needs of special groups within the entire North American church. During this quarter century, academies also relinquished to the colleges their special "normal" courses for training teachers.²⁰

South America

Outside the United States the influence of the American pattern was heavily felt. As membership grew, it became just as important for believers in Argentina, England, or the Philippines to have separate schools to train workers and to preserve and strengthen the faith of their youth as it was in North America.

One case must suffice to demonstrate the similarities. Late in 1897 Wilhelm Stein, an early Adventist convert in Brazil, began a small school near Brusque, in the state of Santa Catarina. It lasted only until 1903, closing in large part because of the inability to secure sufficient land to expand its program. The year the Brusque school closed, an American missionary, John Lipke, opened another at Taquary in Rio Grande do Sul. Unfortunately the life of this school was no longer than the first. It closed its doors in 1910. For five years Brazilian Adventists had no school of their own. Then at a ministers' congress in 1915 Izadora Spies, wife of the union conference president, challenged those in attendance to step out in faith and reopen a denominational school.

The search for a good site was rewarded by the discovery of excellent property at Santo Amaro in São Paulo state. Here on July 5, 1915, with twelve students, Lipke opened the Brazilian Seminary. During the first

year, students spent at least half of their time working on the farm and constructing needed buildings. The school's housing needs were greatly alleviated in 1916 when the Sabbath School Department designated the Thirteenth Sabbath offering overflow for dormitories. Throughout the years the Brazilian school changed names several times, but its purpose remained constant—the preparation of young people to carry the news of Christ's soon return to all the world. Within four decades, the Brazilian Seminary graduated 1000 students, 65 percent of whom entered denominational service.²¹

Home Study Institute

Sometimes circumstances made it virtually impossible for persons desiring an Adventist education to attend a denominational school. Both Walla Walla College and Keene Academy made unsuccessful attempts to promote correspondence courses. It was a different story when, in 1909, Frederick Griggs, secretary of the General Conference Department of Education, persuaded church leaders to found a correspondence school under the auspices of his department. At a recent educational convention Griggs had been inspired by hearing the president of the University of Wisconsin tell of a student who had studied astronomy by mail, built his own telescope, and later discovered a comet.

The job of developing what was first called the Fireside Correspondence School (later renamed the Home Study Institute) was entrusted to W. E. Howell. Howell was an experienced teacher who had also served as president of Healdsburg College and the Loma Linda College of Evangelists. He began to write lessons in the basic subjects of instruction offered in secondary schools and colleges. Gradually a faculty was developed, and by 1911 eleven secondary and nine college subjects were available for study by mail. When Howell was called to the General Conference Education Department in 1913, he was succeeded by C. C. Lewis, who had served as the chief administrator at Keene, Walla Walla College, and Union College. Lewis expanded the school's offerings to include modern languages (phonograph records were utilized for teaching enunciation) and Bible courses for public school students from the fourth through twelfth grades. When Lewis retired, Mahlon E. Olsen, with a rich background in denominational service and a healthy respect for sound scholarship, took direction of the school. Over the next twenty years he built it into an institution that provided instruction from elementary through basic college subjects for the entire world field.²²

Pacific Press

Although Adventist publishing houses did not proliferate in the same manner as did schools and sanitariums, they, too, experienced some basic changes in the first decades of the twentieth century. The story of the fire at, and the relocation of, the Review has been told earlier. The Pacific

Press experienced somewhat parallel circumstances. Its managers had also received warnings from Ellen White at the 1901 General Conference. Perhaps as a result of these, intensified by the first great fire in Battle Creek, the management of the Pacific Press decided in April 1902 to cut back drastically on the commercial work done. They also resolved to leave Oakland for a more rural location.

It was more than two years before the actual move took place. In the meantime an extensive business in the printing and sale of bank checks was sold for \$50,000. This money made possible transfer to a new site donated by the village of Mountain View, a hamlet some forty miles south of San Francisco. An ideal climate, the rural setting, and excellent railroad service all contributed to the bright hopes with which the press managers viewed the future. Then suddenly disaster struck. On the morning of April 18, 1906, one of the most severe earthquakes ever recorded in North America struck the San Francisco area. The new press building was badly damaged, the linotype machines smashed by a falling brick wall.

Quickly rallying from their initial dismay and discouragement, press leaders sensed a unique opportunity in the disaster. A special "earthquake edition" of the *Signs* was prepared—complete with pictures of the devastation in San Francisco and stories of the prophetic significance of such tragedies. Within a month's time 600,000 copies had been sold. Profits from this issue combined with commercial work referred to them by San Francisco presses seemed the heaven-sent answer to the financial strains of rebuilding.

But the Pacific Press's difficulties were not yet over. Three months after the earthquake, near midnight on a Friday night, fire broke out in the engraving department. It was the one night of the week when no one, not even a watchman, was working. The plant was a total loss but, amazingly, a good part of the machinery could be rebuilt. In considering the lessons to be learned from the earthquake and fire, press managers decided to end commercial work completely. Some time later General Manager C. H. Jones reported that "the Lord has set the seal of His approval on the stand then taken by giving this institution greater prosperity than ever before in all its history."

That prosperity enabled Pacific Press to expand greatly its foreign-language work. In 1917 it opened a branch printing plant specializing in Spanish books and periodicals in Cristobal in the Panama Canal Zone. Several years earlier it had absorbed the International Publishing Association of Lincoln, Nebraska. This organization had been established following the Review fire to publish German and Scandinavian literature in association with the foreign-language schools at Union College. When the plant in Lincoln was destroyed by fire in 1916, foreign publishing was relocated in Brookfield, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago. Within a few months this International Branch of Pacific Press was publishing Adventist literature in more than twenty languages.²³

Southern Publishing Association

A third major Adventist publishing house in the United States developed as a side effect of J. Edson White's work among Afro-Americans in the South. Edson inherited from his father a love for printing. He carried a small press on the *Morning Star*, using it to publish the *Gospel Herald*. In 1900 White moved his printing business to Nashville and set up operations in the barn behind an old mansion where Adventists had recently begun treatment rooms and a vegetarian restaurant.

Edson was a better printer than he was a manager. Soon his press was in economic difficulties. With encouragement from conference officials, White decided to sell the business to the General Conference. It was incorporated as the Southern Publishing Association and given responsibility for producing literature for the Southern States. The first years were discouraging ones. Old worn-out machinery, combined with an undeveloped field, led to continuous deficits. After two years of operation at losses of \$1000 a month, conference officials decided the press should be closed and the property turned into a depository for storing books published by the Review and the Pacific Press.

Because Ellen White had been actively promoting an expanded work in the South for years, Elder Daniells was dispatched to California to gain her approval for shutting down printing operations in Nashville. After hearing Daniells's sorry account, she reluctantly agreed that perhaps it would be best to close the Southern Publishing Association. Yet barely had Daniells returned east before a letter arrived from Mrs. White. The night following their interview, she reported, "the Lord instructed that I had taken a wrong position. Light will shine upon the workers in Nashville. From this center light will shine forth in the ministry of the Word, in the publication of books large and small."

Reluctantly Daniells and his associates decided to keep the Nashville plant open. Almost immediately the financial tide began to turn. By 1919 the Southern Publishing Association was making a net gain of over \$100,000 a year, and books were being shipped to a new depository in Fort Worth, Texas, by the freight carload.

There were anxious moments at the Southern Publishing Association, especially during World War I when paper was in short supply. On one occasion only one skid of paper remained. That day a freight car was delivered to the press's siding; on its door was a seal reading "War Materials—under U.S. Government Bond." Inside was the needed paper, loaded at the mill only two days earlier and rushed, no one ever figured out how, through the snarl of wartime traffic.²⁴ In a sense the rolls of paper were "war materials," symbolic of the great struggle for the minds of men in all walks of life, the world around. This warfare would develop a new and great intensity in the events of the second decade of the twentieth century.

Suggested Reading:

Adventist medical work, including the founding of the College of Medical Evangelists, is described in D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, 3rd ed. (1965), pp. 329-402. Merlin Neff's excellent biography of P. T. Magan, *For God and C.M.E.* (1964), provides in pp. 158-224 the dramatic story of the medical school's struggle for accreditation. For an inspiring counterweight to the tragic loss of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, see the story of how David Paulson founded Hinsdale as told in Carolyn Clough, *His Name Was David* (1955), pp. 102-160, and in W. Johns and R. Utt, eds., *The Vision Bold* (1977), pp. 94-105. In Louis Hansen, *From So Small a Dream* (1968), pp. 28-100, we get a good picture of the impact of smaller S.D.A. medical institutions. E. M. Cadwallader's, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*, 3rd ed. (1958), is basic to understanding the changes in S.D.A. education in the early twentieth century. The dramatic story of Pacific Union College's move from Healdsburg to Angwin is engagingly told (with many fascinating pictures) in Walter Utt, *A Mountain, a Pickax, a College* (1968), pp. 38-79. For developments in the publishing work, see M. Carol Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), pp. 18-29, and Richard B. Lewis, *Streams of Light: The Story of the Pacific Press* (1958), pp. 24-61. Many of the events of this chapter are recorded in his inimitable way by Arthur Spalding in vol. III of *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (1962), pp. 54-65, 145-167, 227-229.

1. D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message* (1965), pp. 335-337, 345.
2. Robinson, pp. 337-339; F. O. Rittenhouse, "God Will Give the Thirsty Elephant a Drink" in W. Johns and R. Utt, eds., *The Vision Bold* (1977), pp. 146-156.
3. Robinson, pp. 339-341; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 519; A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 153-155.
4. Robinson, pp. 343-363; Spalding, III: 155-161.
5. Robinson, pp. 364-370; Spalding, III: 161-163.
6. C. L. Clough, *His Name Was David* (1955), pp. 102-160; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 586.
7. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 175, 176, 486, 960, 961, 1135, 1136.
8. Robinson, pp. 329-332; R. W. Schwarz, "John Harvey Kellogg: American Health Reformer," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1964), pp. 229, 230.
9. *Review*, October 27, 1910, pp. 17, 18; Robinson, pp. 362-370.
10. Robinson, pp. 371-379.
11. Robinson, pp. 380-389.
12. Robinson, pp. 390-394; M. L. Neff, *For God and C.M.E.* (1964), pp. 162-165.
13. Robinson, pp. 394-400; Neff, pp. 164-176.
14. Robinson, pp. 400-402; Neff, pp. 177-224.
15. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, February 15, 1905, incoming files, E. G. White Estate.
16. E. M. Cadwallader, *A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*, 3rd ed. (1958), pp. 129-151, 270-274.
17. W. C. Utt, *A Mountain, a Pickax, a College* (1968), pp. 38-79.
18. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1394-1396; Cadwallader, pp. 209-218.
19. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 91-93, 1017-1019, 1405, 1406; Cadwallader, pp. 219-227.
20. E. C. Walter, "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Higher Education in the United States," Ed.D. dissertation, University of California (Berkeley) (1966), pp. 120-124, 148-149b.
21. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 654, 655.
22. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 594-596.
23. M. C. Hetzell, *The Undaunted* (1967), pp. 20-25; R. B. Lewis, *Streams of Light: The Story of the Pacific Press* (1958), pp. 24-44.
24. Hetzell, pp. 25-27; L. A. Hansen, *From So Small a Dream* (1968), pp. 101-106.

CHAPTER 21

Giving the Trumpet "A Certain Sound"

Administrative reorganization, the Kellogg controversy, and the financial pressures attending the rapid expansion of Adventist institutions threatened during the early twentieth century to divert both preachers and laymen from the energetic promulgation of the "clear, clean-cut, distinctive and peculiar doctrines" of Adventism. President Daniells worried about "our people hear more about the fine points of educational reform, medical and philanthropic work, the gospel of health, etc., etc., than they do about the third angel's message."

The net result of this shift in emphasis was that the church in North America, including more than three quarters of the total membership, was in danger of stagnating. While the Adventist membership in North America during 1904 increased only 1.54 percent, throughout the rest of the world the rate of increase was 13.61 percent. Small wonder that Daniells remarked to delegates at the 1905 General Conference: "The message we have, the profession we make, the situation everywhere, call for a great awakening."¹

Thereafter Daniells frequently called for a rededication to the evangelistic mission of the church. He was also concerned that church members achieve a vibrant spiritual experience; it was so easy to become "formalists . . . even while working zealously for the Master." Dedicated church members led by a "stronger and more efficient ministry" must complete the task God had entrusted to Seventh-day Adventists.²

During the following decades the turbulent milieu surrounding the church provided many distractions. Not the least of these were the pressures of two gigantic world wars, and alternating periods of prosperity and deep financial depression. Yet Adventist leaders remained convinced of

their mission. They were also concerned lest the rank and file of American believers forget their responsibilities. In 1936 Home Missionary secretary J. A. Stevens reported that during the previous year 989 Seventh-day Adventist churches in North America had not added a single member. Certainly an earnest appeal for a mighty emphasis in evangelism seemed justified.

Outreach to the Cities

With war convulsing Europe, the Far East, and parts of Africa, General Conference delegates in 1941 approved a detailed plan for greater evangelism. They requested executive committees in each conference to “give first place to evangelism in planning . . . their work.” All pastors were urged to conduct at least one public effort “of not less than twelve weeks’ duration” each year. Ministerial interns were to be directed toward evangelistic endeavors rather than becoming absorbed in pastoral duties. If administrative and departmental workers were freed to engage in evangelism, this might spark the lay membership to more active participation. An intensified drive to herald “the kingdom of God . . . at hand,” it was hoped, might lead to an annual 10 percent membership increase in each local conference.³

During the first four decades of the twentieth century, concern for an evangelistic outreach such as the 1941 General Conference displayed was characteristic. There was, however, a variety of opinions as to the most effective methods to be used. At the start of the period it seemed that there might be a genuine revival of the evangelistic city missions of the 1880s. In large part this was due to repeated appeals from Ellen White for church leaders to pay more attention to the big urban areas. “We stand rebuked of God because the large cities right within our sight are unworked and unwarned,” she wrote. “A terrible charge of neglect is brought against those who have been long in the work in this very America, and yet have not entered the large cities.”⁴

Stephen Haskell was the foremost proponent of door-to-door evangelism through the sale of books and the holding of home “Bible readings” (Bible studies). Following the 1901 General Conference, Haskell and his wife, Hetty, located in New York City. Here they planned to develop a program to demonstrate the truthfulness of Ellen White’s statement that “if one half of the sermonizing were done, and double the amount of personal labor given to souls in their homes, . . . a result would be seen that would be surprising.”

Within a few weeks’ time the Haskells had recruited a corps of young people to work under their direction. Regular classes in personal work and the giving of Bible studies were held each morning; afternoons were spent in visitation. Haskell also saw great possibilities in using Adventist health beliefs to interest persons otherwise unsusceptible to open religious appeals. By 1902 he had added health-education classes to the

program of personal evangelism. A little later Haskell's group sponsored a six weeks' school of health featuring Dr. Carolyn Geisel from the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Haskell's skill in meeting business and professional people led to the offer of a funeral director's chapel for public services. Later he secured the Metropolitan Lyceum in mid-Manhattan for services at one tenth the usual rental fee. A Sunday-evening evangelistic series was launched, followed soon by special work for blacks, Jews, and the German community in Brooklyn.

One outgrowth of Haskell's work in New York was a new monthly evangelistic journal, the *Bible Training School*. Hetty Haskell conceived the idea for such a periodical after receiving frequent requests for copies of her Bible lessons. Why not print several of these in magazine form and add brief articles on Bible truths and healthful living, along with Bible quizzes and selected poetry to interest younger readers? Elder Haskell liked the idea. Soon tens of thousands of copies of the *Bible Training School* were sold on city streets from New York to Los Angeles.⁵

Unfortunately the initial success of Haskell's company was soon blighted by racial antagonism and strong differences over the best way to get Adventism before large numbers of New Yorkers. When substantial numbers of blacks began attending the lyceum meetings, prejudiced whites stopped coming. Regretfully Haskell decided to hold separate services for the two races; this in turn inspired criticism which discouraged Haskell. He was already distressed by the attitudes and methods of E. E. Franke, a successful evangelist who in Trenton, New Jersey, had raised up a congregation of nearly 200. Franke believed in hiring the most prestigious location available and in launching an extensive and flamboyant advertising campaign in advance of an evangelistic series.

About six months after the Haskells began work in New York, Franke began a Sunday-evening series in famous Carnegie Hall. His dynamic oratory and extensive advertising soon seriously depleted the Haskell company's audience. Deciding that Haskell was jealous of his success, Franke became caustic in his criticisms of the veteran worker's group, at one time publicly threatening to "run them out of New York City."

At the age of seventy, Haskell felt unable to continue his strenuous training program in the face of such fierce and persistent criticism. Toward the end of 1903 he and Hetty shifted their base of operation to Nashville, Tennessee, to cooperate with their old friend George I. Butler, president of the Southern Union. Later they moved to California, continuing to give instruction in personal evangelism and to publish the *Bible Training School*. Meanwhile Franke, who had become increasingly egotistical, turning his sharp tongue against other church workers, eventually had his ministerial credentials withdrawn and left the Adventist faith.⁶

During the winter of 1903-04 A. G. Daniells and W. W. Prescott con-

ducted evangelistic meetings in the nation's capital. This series was triggered by a renewed interest in Sunday legislation and was designed primarily to convince Washington's "better classes"—government and professional workers—of the soundness of Seventh-day Adventist views on church-state separation. Cheered by attentive audiences of up to 500, Daniells brought George B. Thompson from Canada for a series of tent meetings the following summer. Administrative duties made it impossible for Prescott and him to continue their public preaching.⁷

Evangelism in Washington led to no spectacular additions to the church. This may have cooled the enthusiasm of Daniells and his associates for big-city evangelism. But other factors undoubtedly reinforced an attitude of "benign neglect": the pressures of implementing the reorganization of 1901 and 1903, saving the denomination from Kellogg, a particular burden for the foreign-mission program, the unhappy experience with E. E. Franke, to name several. More difficult to measure, but probably present, was the problem caused by the "color" question in the larger cities. Daniells had experienced a considerable controversy in Washington engendered by Caucasians who objected to attending church with Afro-Americans. Haskell met the same thing in Nashville when he moved there from New York City. These were years of extreme, and frequently violent, racial prejudice, and church leaders were frankly puzzled as to how to handle the problem.⁸

Administrators in Public Evangelism

While many Protestant churches were showing renewed interest in revivalism, top Adventist leaders continued to be preoccupied with other matters. When Daniells failed to advance a program for reaching the cities during the 1909 General Conference, Ellen White decided to act. This was to be her last General Conference session; perhaps she sensed that there would be few more opportunities to present her convictions before such a large assemblage of church leaders. Requesting an interview with the General Conference Committee, Mrs. White forcefully pressed for a much larger work in the cities. She indicated that the church's top leaders, Daniells and especially Prescott, should find ways of laying aside their administrative duties and becoming personally involved in evangelistic campaigns. Many committee members questioned the wisdom of fifty-five-year-old Prescott's giving up his successful work as *Review* editor for public evangelism, a work in which he had little experience, but Ellen White was insistent.

To dramatize her own interest in the cities, Mrs. White, although already eighty-one, visited and spoke in New York, Philadelphia, and some twenty-five other places, including a short series in her old hometown, Portland, Maine. She gave seventy-two public addresses during this five-month tour of the East and Midwest. It was enough for Prescott. Winding up his work in Takoma Park, he departed to join an evangelistic

campaign in New York City. Tragically, four months later Mrs. Prescott died there. Prescott withdrew in grief for a rest in Maine. Although he later gave another quarter century in denominational service as an administrator, editor, and college teacher, Prescott never returned to public evangelism.⁹

It proved more difficult to jar Daniells into personal involvement in city evangelism. Although he had promised Mrs. White that he would promote this cause at the North American Union Conference sessions during the winter of 1910, Daniells allowed himself instead to be sidetracked by an insignificant theological squabble. Later, while on a visit to California, the General Conference president stopped to confer with Ellen White. To his chagrin, she flatly refused to see him. Since he was evidently not willing to heed her earlier counsel, she refused to expend her faltering energies only to be disregarded. Daniells was further jarred when he received a testimony indicating that when he was *converted* he would know what to do with the counsels she had been giving him. Ellen White clearly believed that unless Daniells demonstrated his commitment to urban evangelism by personal example, no great work would be done.

With the concurrence of the General Conference Committee, Daniells now rallied the entire denomination in North America for a concerted drive to reach the big cities. He canceled an extensive camp-meeting itinerary, along with plans for a trip to Australia, and proceeded to organize several special institutes to give ministers instruction in evangelistic techniques. He also introduced a special "Gospel Workers' Department" in the *Review* and pressed denominational educators to improve ministerial instruction in the colleges.

As an increasing number of successful city evangelists (men like O. O. Bernstein, J. K. Humphrey, E. L. Cardey, and K. C. Russell) began to appear, significant differences regarding methodology developed. Daniells called about fifty prominent city evangelists to Takoma Park in the spring of 1912 to discuss these questions. The type of advertising used was of particular concern to Daniells, since it frequently provided the reader with his first, and often lasting, impression of Adventists. Many of the participants in this evangelistic council strongly opposed a tendency on the part of some to call great attention to themselves through photographs and statements concerning their qualifications and experience. The message rather than the man should be made prominent, they maintained. Not all agreed completely. "The people expect to see the photograph of the man connected with the effort," A. V. Cotton observed.

Other aspects of successful campaigns came in for discussion. The illustrations and visual aids used, the majority felt, should be dignified so as ever to "exalt the message we are bearing." Most Adventist preachers wanted nothing to do with the theatrical methods of Billy Sunday.

At this important council Prescott and several others reminded the evangelists that their "real subject" should be "salvation through Jesus

Christ." Without this emphasis on personal salvation, intellectual conviction of Adventist truth was worthless. The very need to remind Adventist evangelists of this fact indicates that many had not completely abandoned the legalistic presentations of the 1870s and 80s.

The assembled evangelists agreed on the need to carry on strong programs of personal visitation along with their public presentations. They were anxious for the cooperation of church medical personnel. "The medical work," one observed, "is an entering wedge, helping us to get into the homes of people and break down their prejudice." Devoting one night each week to health and temperance matters seemed to many a profitable plan.¹⁰

With top church leaders actively pressing for increased city evangelism, things began to happen. In 1913 fifteen evangelistic companies were at work in the greater New York area alone—some directing their efforts primarily to a particular ethnic group. At this time most campaigns were still conducted in tents, although in a few areas where climatic conditions made this difficult, the evangelists rented auditoriums, churches, or theaters. Innovative evangelists pioneered new techniques, soon copied widely by their fellows. A. V. Cotton introduced stereopticon pictures; J. S. Washburn developed a series of twenty-eight printed studies which were mailed out periodically to those requesting them. Washburn also encouraged his audience to follow his presentation in their Bibles by calling for the reading of some Scripture passages in unison and urging his listeners to mark these texts for future reference.

Use of the Press

Carlyle B. Haynes (a Franke convert) and E. L. Cardey developed special skills in contacting the press and securing extensive reports of their lectures in the newspapers. This led in 1912 to the establishment of the General Conference Press Bureau, headed by Walter L. Burgan, a professional newsman converted during a Haynes campaign in Baltimore. The Press Bureau proved effective in getting news released through the national press associations as well as in preparing stories tailored for individual newspapers. Materials instructing local pastors in how to prepare appealing accounts of their sermons for local papers were widely circulated.

Most evangelists had a corps of young ministerial interns to assist them. Some of these, like H. M. S. Richards, went on to become more famous than the evangelists under whom they trained (in this case R. E. Harter). The campaign musical director was frequently a valuable asset. Harter was fortunate in having as his musical assistant Henry de Fluter, who as a boy had been inspired by the music of a Moody-Sankey campaign. De Fluter composed many hymns, some of which ("Over Yonder" and "Tell It to Every Kindred and Nation") became great favorites with Adventist congregations.

Methodology

As Adventist evangelists multiplied, their differences concerning methodology grew more noticeable. One of these had to do with the optimum length of an evangelistic campaign: some evangelists advocated a relatively short series of six to eight weeks, while others believed that the best results came from one that extended twelve to fourteen weeks. In spite of a suspicion of speakers who drew too much attention to themselves, there were men who accented a dramatic platform approach. Before long what would become a persistent characteristic of Adventist evangelism emerged: the tendency to alternate "between emphasis on preaching, with the attraction of a powerful personality, and emphasis on the simple presentation of the message, with close attention to the indoctrination of individuals."¹¹

The Adventist emphasis on evangelism occurred at a particularly opportune time. Many conservatives in other Protestant communions were becoming dissatisfied over their churches' swing toward the acceptance of evolution and higher criticism. This group listened with interest to the Bible-oriented presentations of Adventist evangelists. As early as 1900, S. N. Haskell had urged Adventist speakers to link their sermon topics to developments in the secular world which were exciting public interest. Suddenly in 1912-14 a succession of events in the Balkans and the Near East provided golden opportunities in this direction.

The prophetic interpretations advanced by Uriah Smith in *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* influenced an entire generation of Adventists to look for the dramatic decline of Turkish power as a prelude to the close of the world's probationary period, the onset of the seven last plagues, and the subsequent return of Jesus. In 1912 Italy's wresting of Libya from the Turks, followed quickly by the first and second Balkan wars, seemed to herald the time when the Ottoman Empire would "come to his end, and none shall help him." Daniel 11:45. Then in 1914 World War I erupted; quickly the struggle became so titanic that even the secular press began talking about "Armageddon."

Appropriately, it was A. G. Daniells who inaugurated a new breakthrough in Adventist evangelism with several Sunday-night lectures in Portland, Maine, early in 1916. Fresh from a world tour, Daniells drew an audience of nearly 2000 to hear his explanation of the world crisis as a dramatic fulfillment of Bible prophecy. At the close of his lecture Daniells was amazed when invited to repeat it the next evening before the members of Portland's Business Men's Club. It was a heady experience to have 250 of the city's most prominent figures listen in rapt attention. Later presentations packed the 3000-seat Civic Auditorium, with hundreds turned away for lack of space.

Daniells's success was repeated in Pittsburg a month later. Soon calls were coming from church leaders in all parts of the country—would he not

come for a meeting or two to give evangelistic series in their areas a dramatic boost? As much as possible, Daniells complied. His Portland experience had demonstrated the wisdom of assembling a large corps of Bible workers, colporteurs, and ministerial interns to contact persons whose interest in Adventism had been stirred by the evangelist. Now Daniells urged conference leaders to provide plenty of workers for intensive follow-up campaigns, even if this meant temporarily neglecting other areas of their territory.¹²

The substantial increase in evangelistic endeavor resulted in a gratifying expansion of Adventist membership in North America—an increase of 45 percent between 1910 and 1917. Yet by 1920 this dramatic growth had disappeared; in fact during that year deaths and apostasies almost equaled the number of new members. Why this sudden reversal? Several reasons seem probable: (1) the general interest in religion declined during the immediate postwar years; (2) the failure of specific Adventist expectations relative to Turkey undoubtedly disillusioned many recent converts and discredited Adventist evangelists in some circles; (3) the rapid growth of membership without a similar growth in the number of available ministers produced a shortage of pastors to nourish the new members.

Postwar Evangelism

Although the church's commitment to evangelism continued strong throughout the 1920s, there was a shift in emphasis. In place of Armageddon, evangelists spoke of a little time of peace in which to finish the gigantic task of warning the entire world of Jesus' soon return. After all, the *Review* noted in 1919 that there were in Africa alone twenty-six countries with a population of 74,000,000 where as yet no Adventist worker had penetrated. Similar conditions existed in Asia; South America and the islands of the Pacific were but little better off.

It was not as if there had been a flagging of Adventist foreign-mission efforts during the first decades of the twentieth century. In actual fact the number of workers sent overseas from 1910-20 increased 60 percent over the preceding decade, also a period of substantial mission endeavor. During the 1920s, although the rate of increase moderated, over 450 more workers were dispatched overseas from North America than during the previous ten-year period. Obviously the world needed the talents of an increasing stream of Adventist youth, well prepared in denominational schools.

Further complicating matters, the years 1920-22 brought a postwar recession, adversely affecting church revenues. Payrolls were slashed, with some city evangelists shifted to service as conference presidents. The general trend was toward greater efforts to turn laymen into "soul winners" and to utilize female Bible workers (less expensive). More funds were also diverted to provide both better places of worship and more pastors to bring stability to new congregations.¹³

Although the enthusiasm of the major Protestant churches for revivalism diminished greatly during the 1920s, this was not the case within Adventism. In general the numbers added by a public campaign during the war years was cut in half, yet Adventist conference officials continued and expanded their support of evangelism. Campaigns were also popular with local churches; for a few brief weeks at least they found themselves in the spotlight rather than unknown and ignored.

Stung by persistent criticism of their failure to indoctrinate their converts properly, some evangelists redoubled their efforts to make Christ the focus of all their doctrinal presentations. Once a genuine commitment to Him was secured, they were convinced the newly won Adventists would not become spiritual migrants. Charles T. Everson, Taylor G. Bunch, and H. M. S. Richards were particularly dedicated to Christ-centered messages.

Adventist evangelists were ever alert for new techniques to attract an audience. Everson used to good effect the large, temporary wooden tabernacles made popular by Billy Sunday. As implicit belief in the Bible became less common and scientific knowledge more respected, some speakers found it profitable to bill themselves as biblical or prophetic lecturers with a special scientific slant. Phillip Knox effectively utilized the wonders of astronomy to attract substantial audiences in the Pacific Coast states. Public fascination with the motion picture during the 1920s led evangelists to hunt for suitable films to attract listeners. Unfortunately films were not being prepared with the evangelist's needs in mind; he frequently found it necessary to "censor" those he used.

Radio

A new information medium blossomed during the 1920s—radio. Extensive Adventist use of radio lagged until the 1940s, but H. M. S. Richards, who became Adventism's most famous radio "voice," made his initial use of this medium in central California during 1926. About the same time, H. A. Vandeman inaugurated a regular Sunday-evening radio lecture series over WCBA in Allentown, Pennsylvania, with a listening audience estimated at 50,000. No auditorium, tent, or theater had succeeded in attracting a tithe of that number.¹⁴

Checking Apostasy

By the end of World War II certain relationships between the success of Adventist evangelists and the times in which they operated were clearly apparent. The largest audiences and the most baptisms were secured during periods of crisis and tension—the early years of World War I, the onset of the Great Depression, and the dramatic events leading up to World War II. In each case there seemed to be three or four years of sustained interest and membership increase, followed by periods of lagging interest and increased apostasies.

Each time their effectiveness flagged, conference leaders and evangelists would engage in a round of introspection to discover the causes. Some were ready to place most of the blame on the secular attractions of the world, especially during the periods of prosperity such as the 1920s and 40s. But others blamed the evangelists, who were charged with (1) depending too much on "gimmicks" to attract audiences, (2) exalting the medium above the message, (3) using misleading advertising, frequently bordering on the sensational, and (4) baptizing large numbers of converts without instructing them in the inconveniences attending some Adventist doctrines. Some even suggested that the problem lay in the "aging" process of the church; they noted that new religious movements customarily lost their early evangelistic fervor and drifted into institutionalism.

Church discussions concerning the weaknesses of Adventist evangelism arose from a desire to purify and improve it. "You are the men of the hour," Vice-President W. H. Branson wrote in 1935. "We depend upon the evangelists . . . for the building up of the church. Our departments are a help. . . . Our laymen are a help, but we must depend largely upon the ministry to go out and bring in new converts."

During the '30s and '40s, evangelistic endeavors by laymen did increase substantially. Astute pastors saw that with a little training and with aids such as filmstrips and study guides, ardent church members could conduct small evangelistic meetings and Bible studies in private homes.

Meanwhile a new group of evangelists were coming to the front, developing new methods that would be widely imitated by hundreds of young Adventist preachers during the 1940s and 50s. One of these was 29-year-old John Ford, who won over 100 converts during a campaign in San Diego, California, while his Phoenix, Arizona, campaign resulted in 360 additions to the local church. Ford soon demonstrated similar success in New England. In 1935 he became the first radio speaker to be sponsored by the General Conference. Tragically, personal difficulties abruptly ended his career in 1940.

More permanent contributions were made by men like H. M. S. Richards, John L. Shuler, Fordyce Detamore, and R. Allan Anderson. An early experience taught Shuler the advantage of getting his listeners to make a number of simple public decisions on progressive points of faith rather than wait until the end of his series to invite commitment to the entire body of Adventist doctrine. Shuler also held the first Evangelistic Field School and authored a text in evangelistic methods that became the basis for the courses which college religion departments established in the early '40s.

Bible Correspondence School

In Kansas City, Missouri, Detamore reinforced his public meetings with a radio "Bible Auditorium of the Air." In conjunction with the latter

he developed a successful correspondence Bible school. When the "Voice of Prophecy" broadcast, directed by H. M. S. Richards, went nationwide in 1942, Detamore joined the "Voice" team to direct its Bible correspondence courses.¹⁵

Immigrant Groups

Almost from their beginnings Seventh-day Adventists had made substantial efforts to evangelize the large Scandinavian and German-speaking population of the American Midwest. It was a different story with the new immigrants who began arriving in large numbers from southern and eastern Europe during the 1890s. These groups were generally ignored by Adventists until the World War I years largely because they settled mainly in the large cities of the Northeast which Adventists were slow to evangelize.

When they did become conscious of the millions of Italians, Poles, Russians, and Jews who had poured into the United States in the preceding two decades, two factors hampered Adventist efforts to reach them. First, the literacy rate of these new immigrants was pitifully low (only slightly more than one third could read and write). Thus the traditional Adventist use of journals or tracts was inhibited. In addition most of these people came from Roman Catholic or Orthodox religious backgrounds. Adventists had much less experience in appealing to Christians of these communions. Moreover, strong condemnation of the papacy as the "Man of Sin" who had flagrantly changed God's law did not readily attract pious Italian and Polish Catholics!

In spite of these difficulties, by 1918 special efforts were being made to reach the Italian populations of Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, and a start had been made among the Polish-speaking residents of Chicago. New Adventist journals were launched in Bohemian, French, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, and Yiddish.¹⁶

Work among the Italians and Poles developed slowly; by 1922 there were only thirty-nine members in the New York City Italian church, while the addition of fourteen to the Polish church in Chicago was deemed significant enough to report at a General Conference session. Meanwhile the North American publishing houses had increased their efforts to serve the immigrant groups by providing literature in thirty foreign languages.

As Adventists became more firmly established in the major metropolitan areas, their work among the foreign-language segments of the population expanded more rapidly. By 1941 the largest Adventist Italian-speaking church in the world was located in Chicago. Throughout the first half of the 1930s, more than 7000 members were added to non-English churches in North America. During this time substantial work was also begun among the Japanese and Spanish-speaking residents of the Western States. Belatedly, it was not until the last part of the 1930s that work was launched among the American Indian tribes in the Southwest.¹⁷

Youth Evangelism

As the overall rate of membership increase shrank during the 1920s, Adventist leaders suddenly became aware of a fertile field for evangelism in their very midst. Forty percent of the youth from Adventist homes between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five were not church members in 1926. Four years of sustained effort reduced this proportion to about 25 percent, but the many apostasies among Adventist youth continued to concern church leaders. Recognizing the superior effectiveness of youth working for youth, delegates to the 1930 General Conference session recommended that the MV Department develop a special program to involve Adventist youth in evangelistic projects.¹⁸

Lay Evangelism

The whole problem of a high apostasy rate continued to concern Adventist leaders. During the interwar years the rate of apostasies averaged between 55 and 60 percent of conversions. A variety of reasons were suggested for this disturbing situation: (1) too few ministers with sufficient time for pastoral care, (2) excessive time spent during church services on promotional programs and campaigns at the expense of gospel preaching, (3) poorly located and equipped church buildings, and (4) poorly prepared lay leaders. Real efforts were made to correct these problems by encouraging congregations to exhibit genuine interest in members who began to slip in their church attendance. Some congregations seemed all too anxious to purge erring members instead of seeking to win them back. Church leaders did not advocate lowering Adventist standards—they simply wanted them maintained in love. A regular review of the major distinctive points of doctrine by the minister during his sermons, many felt, should help stem the apostasy rate.¹⁹

Seventh-day Adventists had always believed it was the duty of *all* to be active Christian witnesses. Back in 1870 a *Review* writer stated this concept succinctly: “There is no less obligation resting on each member of the church than on the minister of the gospel, to promote by personal activity the interests of the Redeemer’s kingdom.” A few years later the *Review* editor called for “every congregation” to become “a hive of laborers”; only in this way would it be possible to “move the world.”

There were many ways in which to be active. Tract and Missionary Societies provided an abundance of literature to be sold or given away. The medical missionary emphasis of the 1890s demonstrated how temporal help opened the way for discussion of the basics of the Adventist faith. One of the last articles from Ellen White’s pen to appear in the *Review* urged members, young and old, to become workers “at home, in their own neighborhoods,” by inviting others to study the Bible with them.²⁰

Scores of Adventist laymen did engage in active witnessing projects.

Accounts of their successes frequently appeared in the official church paper to inspire others to emulate their example. One such story described an unnamed Wisconsin couple who felt constrained to leave their home and move to an area that had no Adventist church. Being poor, they were forced to borrow the money for moving expenses. In their new location the two loaned Adventist tracts and magazines, sold a few books, and soon discovered interested persons with whom they might hold Bible studies. In the process they met and revived the interest of an Adventist mother, who with her children had virtually given up the faith. Before long a church of twenty-seven members was established, with another twenty participating in the Sabbath School. During the entire time this couple supported themselves by day labor, which also paid for a club of 100 *Signs of the Times* and half as many foreign-language journals used in their missionary endeavors. How did they feel about their efforts? "The sister says there is nothing that so rests and refreshes her after a hard day's labor as to go to the house of some earnest inquirer after truth, and sit down and unfold to them the truth as it is in Jesus."²¹

Yet such efforts fell short of initiating the kind of mass witnessing church leaders deemed essential. After careful consideration, delegates to the 1913 General Conference decided home missionary secretaries were necessary at both the General Conference and North American Division levels. These persons would devote all of their time to developing practical plans and methods of instruction to make it possible for all church members to unite in "a general missionary movement." Home missionary secretaries soon appeared in union and local conferences and in individual churches as well. Through exhortation, example, and institutes they encouraged laymen to engage in four major types of endeavor: (1) distributing literature, (2) holding home Bible readings (Bible studies), (3) engaging in "Christian help work" such as giving treatments, sharing food and used clothing, or doing services for the elderly and incapacitated, and (4) writing "missionary letters."

Impressive statistics gathered during the first four years of this promotional program testify that many churches must have become the beehives of activity the *Review* had envisioned decades earlier. During these four years laymen conducted over 900,000 Bible studies; distributed nearly 25,000,000 tracts, books, and papers; and made nearly 1,000,000 gifts of meals, clothing, or treatments to the needy. It was reckoned that 10,168 members had been added to the Adventist Church through missionary contacts made by laymen.²²

The Home Missionary Department

The Home Missionary Department, begun as a subdivision of the Publishing Department, separated in 1918 and soon developed a number of ways to challenge all church members to lay evangelism. In 1924 the first Sabbath of each month was established as "Home Missionary Day." Six

years later a special additional weekly fifteen-minute service following Sabbath School was instituted.

It was easy for some of the promotional activities advocated during Home Missionary services to appear commercial, particularly when discussing the purchase of literature for free distribution or the Harvest Ingathering campaign. At times the spiritual objectives to be achieved seemed lost in organizational details and attempts to stimulate the congregation through the use of competitive techniques.

Church leaders recognized the dangers of Sabbath desecration through otherwise "good" promotional programs and attempted to guard against it. Yet so important did the rallying of the entire church for an evangelistic missionary program seem, that they did not seriously consider cutting back on the time allotted these activities. In fact they even voted a resolution at the 1930 General Conference session calling upon all of the denominational colleges to offer a class specifically designed to teach the various phases of home missionary endeavor.

New programs appeared constantly: a home nursing class, a textbook in methods of giving Bible studies (followed inevitably by classes in the subject), programs of systematic and sustained literature distribution, the King's Pocket League (a specially prepared series of small tracts designed to fit into a convenient protective leather "pocket"). The Home Missionary Department incorporated the Dorcas Societies into its program and greatly expanded their welfare activities.²³

From the start it was obvious that most of the witnessing programs developed in North America could be utilized just as effectively in other parts of the world. In fact, frequently Adventist members in other areas put their American counterparts to shame by their enthusiasm, persistence, and pure faith. In 1932 it was estimated that 86 percent of the Adventists in the Philippines were engaged in some kind of active lay evangelism. The *Review* regularly carried stories of lay missionary activities from areas as diverse as the Congo, South America, the Far East, and the Caribbean.²⁴

Ingathering

One program for effective church support, sponsored by the Home Missionary Department, developed almost by accident. This program, for years known as Harvest Ingathering, grew out of the experience of Jasper Wayne, an Iowa nurseryman interested both in missions and in placing Adventist literature in the hands of friends and customers. In 1903 Wayne ordered fifty copies of a special *Signs of the Times* issue devoted to the problems of capital and labor. When they arrived, he opened the parcel in the post office and began handing out copies to neighbors as they arrived for their mail. As he gave out his papers, Wayne mentioned that any money the recipients cared to give in exchange would be used for missions. Within less than an hour he had disposed of virtually his entire supply of *Signs* and had received better than four dollars for missions.

About ten days later Wayne received by mistake a second parcel of fifty *Signs*. Placing these in his buggy, he presented them to customers as he called on them, suggesting an offering for missions in exchange. His first contact gave him fifteen cents, but when a woman later gave twenty-five cents, he decided to suggest this as a minimum donation. In a couple of days Wayne had disposed of his second lot of papers at a profit of over twenty-six dollars. He was so encouraged by this experience that he immediately ordered 400 more copies of the *Signs*, which he distributed in like manner during the remainder of the year. Later he also sold Ellen White's *Great Controversy* and donated the profits to missions.

Jasper Wayne's enthusiasm over this new way for securing funds to meet mission needs was not shared by all church leaders. Some thought it a poor policy to "beg money from the Gentiles" to support Adventist work. But Wayne would not keep still. While attending the Nebraska camp meeting in 1904 he told his experience to many, including A. T. Robinson, the conference president. From personal experience in Africa and Australia, Robinson knew of the great needs of the mission fields. He persuaded Wayne to share his method with all the campers during a general meeting. W. C. White, in attendance, was captivated by the idea and arranged for Wayne to describe it to his mother, Ellen White. With her strong endorsement the program soon received official conference acceptance.²⁵

Gradually Jasper Wayne's plan spread from conference to conference, winning the official endorsement of the General Conference Committee in 1908. The last week in November was officially designated as the period for making this united effort; 400,000 copies of a special "missions issue" of the *Review* were printed for distribution. These were presented free to each person contacted, along with a brief description of the work Adventists were carrying out in other lands and an invitation to assist in financing their endeavors. The funds collected in this first "Thanksgiving Offering" exceeded expenses by \$30,000 and enabled the Mission Board to dispatch twenty-five new missionaries overseas. This success convinced church leaders to utilize Wayne's methods in an annual campaign, replacing a church-wide "Harvest Ingathering" offering established several years earlier. For this offering, patterned after the ancient Israelite Feast of Ingathering at the end of the harvest season, church members had been encouraged to sell products of their fields and gardens and donate the proceeds to missions. A new plan simply inherited an old name.²⁶

Through the years the Ingathering campaign (the Harvest prefix was dropped in 1942) expanded greatly. The special issue of the *Review* used for solicitation was successively replaced by issues of the *Signs of the Times* and the *Watchman* (the predecessor of *These Times*). In addition to articles describing Adventist evangelistic work around the world, these special issues carried accounts of the church's publishing, medical, and city welfare endeavors. Early issues also included a doctrinal article, such

as the significance of the great image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, recorded in Daniel 2.

Slowly the one week originally allotted the Harvest Ingathering campaign lengthened to several months, until by 1922 the General Conference found it necessary to establish a six-weeks' limit. Year by year the funds brought in increased; by 1927 over \$5,250,000 had been received to advance Adventist missions. Small wonder that some tended to forget that Jasper Wayne's original purpose had not been solely to secure money, but to call the distinctive Adventist message to the attention of those contacted. In an effort to recapture this evangelistic purpose, church leaders in 1930 recommended that a doctrinal tract in addition to the regular Ingathering paper be left with each person contacted.²⁷

Actually it was only during the first several years that the entire Ingathering offering was devoted to overseas missions. The first break in this pattern involved using some of the funds collected to reach recent immigrants to America. The brief recession following World War I led to assigning additional Ingathering funds to finance work in America, and this trend was greatly increased during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Appeals made by solicitors in the United States tended to vary according to the current level of American interest and concern for other parts of the world.

Like the rest of the Adventist program, Ingathering campaigns soon became standard in all countries in which Seventh-day Adventists developed an organized work. There were, of course, local adaptations; some areas stressed the educational, medical, and welfare work done locally, while others emphasized the needs of less fortunate peoples elsewhere. Efforts were made to involve virtually every church member. The timid could participate in "singing bands" while those who were braver made house-to-house calls; the elderly and infirm might solicit by mail. "Field days," declared near the start of each fall term, allowed students in Adventist schools to scatter throughout the neighboring countryside with their bundles of Ingathering papers and their offering cans.

In spite of occasional stories of former Adventists reclaimed and new members tracing their first contacts with the church to an Ingathering solicitor, the program's major contribution was in the large amount of funds made available for denominational work. More than \$136 million was collected during the first fifty-five years following the official adoption of Jasper Wayne's idea. The total received during 1975 exceeded eight million dollars in North America alone.²⁸

Literature Evangelism

Since the early 1880s one of the most effective ways of introducing Adventism into a new locality had been through the work of literature evangelists, or colporteurs as they were called during most of Adventist history. This was true not only in various parts of the United States, but

also throughout the world field. Yet one of the first things A. G. Daniells noticed upon his return to America in 1900 was the virtual extinction of the colporteur work in the homeland. In 1902, for example, the Pacific Union Conference (with a population roughly that of Australia, but with an Adventist membership five times as great) had book sales of only one eighth that of the island continent. This was a condition Daniells determined to correct. It was quite natural that he should look to Edwin R. Palmer, who had directed the canvassing work in Australia so successfully during Daniells's last years there, for help in revitalizing the colporteur work in America.

Several things account for the decline in canvassing during the 1890s. Foremost was the great financial depression; as sales dropped, local conferences, feeling the need to trim their budgets, frequently dispensed with state canvassing agents (the forerunners of the publishing department secretary). With no one to recruit, train, and encourage colporteurs, only the most dedicated continued this line of work. The depression also led the two major publishing houses to increase greatly their commercial printing in order to meet overhead expenses and service the debt incurred by expanding their plants and updating equipment. More attention to commercial work meant less time and effort expended in developing attractive religious literature. Coincidental with these developments, Dr. Kellogg began an intensified drive to attract canvassers for his health books. When these proved easier to sell and the commissions received were more generous, many colporteurs found it easy to convince themselves that it was time to shift to such publications.²⁹

Although Palmer quickly identified the problem areas, it proved easier to discover what was wrong than to bring about corrective measures. In part this was due to Palmer's personal ill health and the shattering effect of his wife's death in 1903. Another major obstacle was Pacific Press manager C. H. Jones's belief that state tract societies had outlived their usefulness and that the publishing houses should deal directly with the colporteur. W. C. White, who was anxious to cut book costs through eliminating the expense of middle men, agreed.

From the start Palmer was convinced that Jones's position was wrong because this would tend to remove from local conference officials a feeling of the need to promote the canvassing work. He also interpreted such a plan as going directly against Mrs. White's warnings against over-centralization. Several years' experience clearly demonstrated the correctness of Palmer's views, and under his energetic leadership state tract societies were revitalized. The number of colporteurs increased from a little over 1000 in 1903 to nearly 1700 five years later. Forty-five percent of this number were working outside North America. Of particular help in increasing literature sales was the policy begun in 1905 of holding periodic conventions of state canvassing leaders. Here practical instruction was shared, making possible improved sales techniques.³⁰

The scholarship plan for students in Adventist schools also played a major role in recruiting canvassers and increasing the sale of Seventh-day Adventist literature. In earlier years many students had spent summers selling Adventist books, but by the early twentieth century this practice had declined. In 1906 the publishing houses, tract societies, and denominational colleges worked out a plan to provide a bonus in addition to the 50 percent commission earned on the sale of each book. If a student sold at least \$250 worth of books, the sponsoring institutions would add a bonus sufficient to meet his charges for board, room, and tuition for one school year. This program was inaugurated at Union College. The second summer it was tried students delivered \$13,000 worth of books; that fall one out of every twenty enrolled at the college attended on a colporteur scholarship. A few years later one student alone sold \$2000 worth of books in a single summer.³¹

The expanding colporteur work was not limited to the United States; in fact some overseas fields took the lead in various endeavors. The two missionary journals published in England averaged a monthly circulation of 150,000 copies during 1912, while the Hamburg Publishing House's semimonthly *Herold der Wahrheit* averaged a circulation of 95,000 copies per issue that same year. The annual sales of the Australian Signs Publishing Company trebled between 1909 and 1912. During the same period the Pacific Press shipped 92,000 Spanish-language books overseas.³²

As the years passed, more and more literature became available for sale by an increasing number of literature evangelists—over 3000 by 1935. Five years earlier publishing leaders proudly announced that Adventist literature was available in 141 different languages. They estimated that 95 percent of the world's population could read distinctive Adventist truths in their own language.

Although the dollar value of books sold declined substantially during the Great Depression, increased efforts were made to circulate books containing the full complement of Adventist beliefs—books such as *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* and Ellen White's *The Great Controversy* and *Patriarchs and Prophets*. Conscious of the increased impact of exposure to Adventism in small, regular doses, many colporteurs during the 1930s promoted a year's subscription to one of Adventism's evangelical journals with each book sold.

Another plan, that of selling major books or sets on the installment plan, was begun with considerable trepidation by many colporteurs during the depression years. As it turned out, the frequent call-backs for collection purposes not only allowed the colporteur to answer doctrinal questions raised by the purchaser, but also frequently resulted in the sale of additional literature. This innovation, with its effect of lessening the dropout rate of colporteurs by allowing families to stay longer in one area, was first used successfully in Australia and then in the United States as well.

The destructiveness of World War II did not leave Adventist publishing

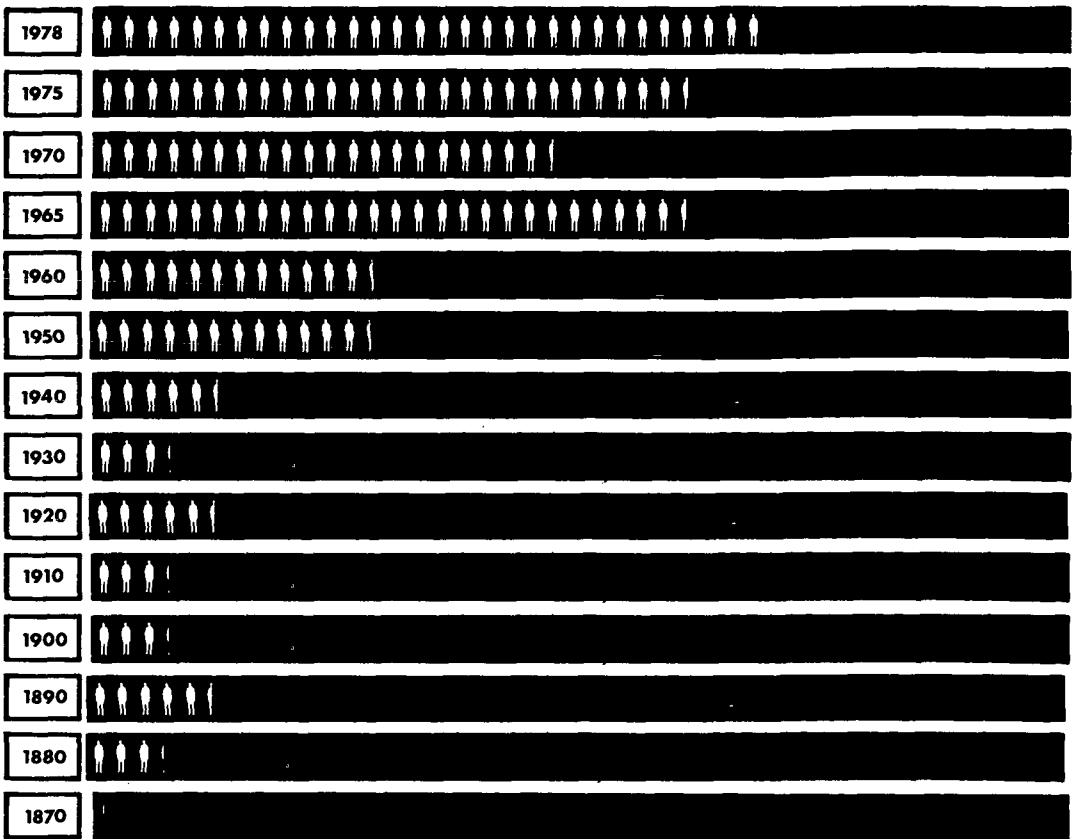
houses unscathed, especially in Germany and the Far East. In many areas young and physically fit colporteurs were needed in war industries or the armed services. Yet in the United States, Selective Service officials designated Adventist colporteurs as "ministers of the gospel," exempt from the draft. With a single exception, draft-age colporteurs were also allowed to continue their gospel sales in Great Britain, hard pressed though it was. In America colporteurs received further encouragement when the United States Supreme Court ruled that the door-to-door sale of religious literature was "as evangelical as the revival meeting" and thus under constitutional guarantees exempt from state or local government efforts to restrict it by taxation or licensing. By the end of World War II Adventist literature sales around the world were approaching \$10,000,000 annually. While sales figures are relatively easy to record, the numbers of converts to Adventism through initial contacts with colporteurs were less easy to tabulate, but surely reached the thousands each year.³³

Membership Growth

The four decades following reorganization, relocation, and the Kellogg crisis were decades of substantial evangelistic endeavor involving ministers, colporteurs, medical personnel, educators, and thousands of dedicated laymen. A world membership of 78,000 in 1901 had increased by 1945 to 576,000. By the time it passed the quarter million mark in 1926 more than half the membership was located outside North America.³⁴ To this rapid overseas growth we must next direct our attention.

Suggested Reading:

Those interested in Ellen White's major impact on all aspects of S.D.A. evangelistic endeavor may study her counsels available in *Evangelism* (1946). E. M. Robinson's *S. N. Haskell: Man of Action* (1967), pp. 177-234 provides excellent insight into the methods favored by this proponent of strong personal work with individuals. The changing fortunes, methods, triumphs, and problems that plague Adventist evangelists are thoughtfully portrayed in Howard Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969). An old account which conveys much of Daniells's concern for reviving the canvassing work and tells of colporteur triumphs overseas as well as in North America is N. Z. Town, *et al.*, *The Publishing Department Story* (1927). M. C. Hetzell gives a more dramatic picture with separate chapters devoted to various areas of the world in *The Undaunted* (1967), especially pp. 36-146. The key role of E. R. Palmer in revitalizing Adventist book sales comes through in D. R. McAdams, "Edwin R. Palmer: Publishing Secretary Extraordinary," *Adventist Heritage*, II (Summer 1975): 51-62. A. W. Spalding tells the story of the origins of Harvest Ingathering in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 187-195, and of the expansion of literature evangelism in III: 219-242.



CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

= 100,000 Members

Membership Growth of Seventh-day Adventists

1. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 17, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *Review*, May 11, 1905, p. 8; May 18, 1905, p. 32.
2. *General Conference Bulletin*, May 14, 1909, p. 10; May 16, 1913, pp. 7, 8.
3. *Review*, May 29, 1936, p. 36; June 2, 1936, pp. 93, 94; June 8, 1941, p. 196.
4. E. G. White, Letter 187, 1905, in *Evangelism* (1946), p. 401. Pages 384-406 in this work contain a wide variety of Ellen White statements urging work in the large American cities; pages 407-428 give similar counsel for cities in other parts of the world.
5. White, *Evangelism*, p. 430; E. M. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell: Man of Action* (1967), pp. 178-188; Haskell to E. G. White, July 11, 1901; Haskell to the General Conference assembled, March 17, 1903, Ellen G. White Estate, incoming files.
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CHAPTER 22

Into All the World

The great nineteenth-century Protestant drive to evangelize the world had reached its peak prior to World War I. In 1910 approximately 40 percent of the world could be considered “Christian”; in 1900 it had been only 30 percent. Almost immediately a reversal set in. By the 1970s less than one out of every five of the world’s inhabitants would have admitted to being Christian—about the same proportion as 150 years earlier.¹

Adventist interest in missions swelled with the Protestant high tide, but continued long after the latter began to recede. In some ways, the first third of the twentieth century was the most dramatic era of Adventism’s worldwide expansion. In 1900 it was still inevitably North Americans who were being dispatched to open new work in far-off lands. That situation soon changed as German Adventists began to assume responsibilities for East Africa, Australians and New Zealanders fanned out into the island archipelagos of the Southwest Pacific, and South Africans pushed northward toward the heart of the “Dark Continent.”

During these years no two men worked harder for missions than the two who stood at the head of the church from 1901-1930: A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer. Daniells’s experience in Australia and New Zealand had marked him for life. “If there was one passion above others that held Daniells in its grasp,” a biographer wrote years later, “it was his love for foreign missions.” It was, in fact, his opportunity to serve as the chief “recruiting officer” for mission service that led Daniells to accept the General Conference presidency in 1901.²

Spicer had gone to England as a young man of twenty-two to serve as S. N. Haskell’s secretary. Five years later he returned to America to become secretary of the General Conference Foreign Mission Board, a post he

held until 1898, when he left to help open the Adventist assault on the "Gibraltar of heathenism"—the Indian subcontinent. In 1901 Spicer was again asked to serve as mission board secretary. Two years later he became secretary of the General Conference, the official in most direct contact with Adventist representatives from Rhodesia to China, from the high Bolivian altiplano to the coral isles of the Pacific.

Spicer's great concern that the onward movement of Adventism overseas not be jeopardized was shown dramatically during the trying years following the move to Washington when church finances were especially tight. Frequently by November the General Conference's foreign-missions fund would be exhausted until money from the Christmas Mission Offering began to come in. On several occasions Spicer refused to draw his own salary for weeks, so that the small amount thus saved would be available for a pressing call from some far-off mission station. When he succeeded Daniells as Adventism's chief executive in 1922, Spicer's commitment to a worldwide work never faltered; if possible, it intensified.³

At the start of his presidential term Daniells's philosophy was that Adventism, after half a century, was well enough established in North America so that laymen, supplied with an abundance of literature, could finish the work in the homeland. Ministers, and tithe to support them, should be dispatched overseas where millions had not heard the name of Christ, let alone the message of the three angels. The year after Daniells's election, sixty new Adventist missionaries left the United States; each year thereafter, on the average, ninety followed them. Daniells believed strongly in first concentrating Adventist efforts on countries with strong economies—England, Germany, Australia. These lands would, he was certain, soon become self-sustaining and in turn serve as home bases for further expansion.⁴

The Islands of the Sea

Perhaps one example will provide proof of Daniells's contention. In 1893 Griffiths F. Jones, a Welsh master mariner, accepted Adventism in Britain. Seven years later, at the age of thirty-six, he came to the United States and enrolled in the Bible instructors' course at Keene Academy. Once this was completed, Jones and his wife set out for the South Pacific. Years of experience at sea and facility with languages had prepared Jones to herald the cause of Adventism over a wide area. After initial service in French Polynesia he was called to pioneer in Singapore, Java, Borneo, and the Malay States.

When the Australasian Union Conference decided in 1914 to open work in the still primitive Solomon Islands, the Joneses volunteered for the job. For some time their only home would be a small mission launch, the *Advent Herald*. Jones, piloted by a semisavage native crew, first explored the archipelago. Having decided to start his work on New Georgia, he

began at once to master the local language, work out an alphabet, and win the confidence of the local populace.

Thirty-three days after picking his mission site, Jones was ready to open school. Thirty-four pupils were on hand, some older than he was! Five days later he held Sabbath services for approximately fifty islanders, addressing them twice in their native tongue. "Surely," wrote one who followed him, "he was blessed with the gift of tongues." At the advice of a local trader Jones set out to cultivate Tatagu, a prominent local chieftain, who agreed to send his sons to Jones's school. One of these, Kata Rangoso, later directed all Seventh-day Adventist work in the Solomon Islands during the difficult days of World War II and served as president of the Western Solomon Islands Mission from 1953 to 1957.

From the Solomons the Joneses went on to pioneer in New Caledonia and New Guinea. In later life Jones returned to work for a time in London. But the sea was in his blood; soon he was off doing missionary work in Algiers, Spain, Gibraltar, and South America. When "Jonesey," as he was affectionately known, died in 1940 during his seventy-seventh year, he was planning a new venture back to New Caledonia. Having worked in thirty-eight different countries or islands, among people of thirty-four different languages, the Joneses are a dramatic example of the early twentieth-century Adventist enthusiasm for missions.⁵

A Shift of Personnel

Daniells's success in getting the bulk of Adventist workers out into the farthest mission fields shows clearly in one simple statistical comparison. In 1900, 68 percent of the evangelistic workers employed by the church were working *in* North America; thirty years later, 77 percent of this group were laboring *outside* North America. To bring about such a transfer required a major expenditure of funds and a constant effort.

Having disposed of problems of reorganization and relocation, Daniells mobilized the 1905 General Conference to confront the problems of missions expansion. Delegates voted to request all churches to devote the second Sabbath in each month to the world challenge facing the church. During the previous two years the General Conference Committee had taken responsibility for acting as a Foreign Mission Board. Gone were the days when a General Conference session would decide where to start new Adventist work and whom to send to do it. A special screening committee was established to match carefully an area's needs with available personnel and then make appropriate recommendations to the General Conference Committee.⁶

Expansion into new areas was not accomplished without difficulties. In Roman Catholic countries any Protestant evangelistic work was almost certain to result in efforts by the hierarchy to bring about government restrictions. If local officials failed to react vigorously enough, priests and bishops were not above exciting a mob to discourage the intruders

through violent measures. Similar circumstances applied in Orthodox prerevolutionary Russia and the Balkan countries.

The great continent of Asia provided different challenges. Initially Adventists had little concept of the difficulties involved in meeting sophisticated non-Christian religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam. In Asia, too, they were faced with a wide variety of languages and dialects; India alone was reported in 1926 to have 222 distinct dialects. The Cyrillic alphabet of Eastern Europe was difficult enough for Westerners to cope with, but the thousands of characters in Chinese and the complex Arabic script proved even more challenging. And then there were African tribes and South Sea Islanders with no written language at all! It soon became apparent that facility in languages was essential to successful mission service.⁷

Cultural Relationships

One of the first things American, and later European, Adventist missionaries did when opening a new field was to start the publishing houses, schools, and medical institutions they had learned to depend upon so heavily at home. In contracts with nonliterate societies, schools were usually the first institutions established. At home, Adventist schools were designed principally to provide a distinctive education for Adventist youth; in non-Christian lands they became a prime evangelistic tool. Medical services also attracted those otherwise inclined to shun Christian missionaries. Most mission appointees working outside major urban areas found a knowledge of simple treatments and medications valuable. The rapid development of Adventist institutions overseas led to constant calls for persons with administrative abilities and special technical skills in printing, accounting, teaching, and medicine.

Adventist missionaries also fostered the various lines of departmental work familiar to them in the homeland. This in turn created a need for personnel skilled at promoting Sabbath Schools, youth work, and colporteur training. Many of the new areas entered were culturally very different from the midwestern American farms or California ranches that had been home to workers responding to calls for service in the Amazon jungle or the hinterlands of China. Adaptability, ingenuity, tact, and diplomacy were called for, but not always found. Following World War I a growing prejudice against "foreigners" was noticeable throughout much of Asia. Frequently Americans and Europeans were resented as "pushy" and domineering—and often there was good reason for this resentment.

Misunderstandings developed. Americans found it difficult to comprehend the tenacity with which other nationalities clung to what the missionary considered "outmoded" traditions. They were irritated by the failure of government officials in some areas to provide the protection for travelers they took for granted "back home." For their part, nationals in the areas where the new missionary was working sometimes failed to

understand the anguish of being completely separated from family and friends for years at a time, the sacrifice of doing without accustomed medical treatment, and the stress of not being able to understand the language or actions of shopkeepers—of getting accustomed to strange foods, unfamiliar insects, and widely different climatic conditions.⁸

Russia and Eastern Europe

By 1900 Adventism had become virtually self-sustaining in most of Europe. This was true by necessity in areas like Russia, where foreign proselytizers were excluded by the government. Yet by 1907, when the Russian believers organized their own union conference, the more than 2500 members represented greater than a 100 percent increase from 1900. By avoiding political activities, the Russian church was able to double its membership again before the outbreak of World War I—without the advantage of publishing house, medical work, or even a school to train ministers. Prior to 1914 a few Russian students did secure training at Friedensau Missionary Seminary in Germany, but with the outbreak of war that avenue closed.

Following the Revolutions of 1917, Russian Adventists were finally free from harassment by the Orthodox Church. For the next few years the new communist regime was too busy maintaining itself to be concerned over a small sect of approximately 20,000, especially since the church studiously avoided political activity. During the 1920s Adventists even won a measure of official approval for their industry. The government allotted them 10,000 of the 50,000 Bibles published for evangelical Christians, granted permission for printing 5000 hymnals, and for several years allowed the publication of two Adventist journals. With official approval two German Adventist doctors briefly operated a clinic in Marxstadt.

For a few years the Russian Union was even able to operate a small Bible institute for the training of ministers, but never was there an opportunity to establish any kind of permanent Adventist educational system (the commissars were determined to educate all youth as atheists) or to conduct public evangelism. With the onset of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan in 1928, the brief period of communist toleration faded quickly. Harassment, relocation, and concentration camps for church leaders effectively hampered, but did not stamp out, the church. After the death of Stalin a measure of toleration again became official government policy.⁹

Late nineteenth-century persecution of Russian Adventists had the effect of strengthening the church in the Balkans, when a group of German-Russians migrated to Romania. Adventism had nearly died out in this land, but a visiting Russian evangelist in 1904 won several talented Romanian youth who proved a tower of strength to the church during the difficult days that soon followed when all foreign workers were excluded from the kingdom. After World War I a more liberal government attitude prevailed, and in 1920 with help from the German publishing house in

Hamburg a small press was established. Three years later an American couple arrived to open an Adventist school, which expanded gradually, until it became a casualty of World War II. Attempts on the part of several nurses from Skodsborg to open a Romanian sanitarium proved unsuccessful; the government insisted that the institution be supervised by a Romanian doctor and none was available. In spite of severe wartime persecution, the 2500 Adventists in Romania in 1920 had expanded to 24,000 in 1944.¹⁰

In the other Balkan countries the most progress was made in Yugoslavia, where, although hampered by language difficulties and ethnic antagonisms, a growing number of Adventists were "gathered out," largely as the result of energetic colporteur work. It was not until 1931 that the Yugoslavian believers were able to start a small training school for evangelists. Adventist entry into Bulgaria was by way of German-Russian and Romanian converts; church membership growth, while steady, was very slow.

It was even slower in Greece. Several times the General Conference sent workers from America, but they had little success until after 1921. In that year political unrest in Turkey led some two million Greeks and Armenians to migrate to Greece. Among these refugees were perhaps a dozen Adventist families, who now formed the first substantial core of the Greek church. Even with this expanded base progress was pitifully slow.¹¹

Germany

Elsewhere in Europe dramatic expansion of Adventism occurred only in Germany; there by 1930 the nearly 40,000 church members constituted by far the strongest segment of European Adventism. This strength would be sorely tested and tried during the awful years of Nazi domination and World War II.

It is interesting to speculate as to why Adventism flourished in Germany, while growing much more slowly in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Switzerland. One factor was undoubtedly the dynamic leadership of L. R. Conradi, who promoted both literature and public evangelism in a strong way. In 1903 G. W. Schubert launched in Cologne the first evangelistic effort in a major German city. That same year church members organized a vigorous campaign to sell *Christ's Object Lessons*, with all profits going to strengthen the Friedensau School. In 1912 half a million copies of a special issue of *Herold der Wahrheit* were circulated.

Another reason for German growth may well be its early and sustained "foreign" missionary endeavors. German colporteurs and ministers were in large part responsible for penetration of the Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and, along with Russian workers, of Poland. The German church soon became financially self-supporting and moved rapidly into financing overseas missionaries, the first of whom went to Brazil in 1895. As the German Empire developed colonies in East Africa, German Ad-

ventists dispatched missionaries there and to Ethiopia; in 1908 they sent workers to open work in Beirut and Jerusalem. When Germany lost her African colonies following World War I, German Adventists accepted responsibility for mission work in the Dutch East Indies and parts of China instead.

German Adventists also paid more attention to welfare and medical work than did most Europeans, although graduates of Skodsborg developed many small treatment rooms throughout Scandinavia. Perhaps the cultural climate in Germany was also more conducive to a strong departmental program, with the particular youth emphasis which developed during the 1920s. In 1928 the first Youth Congress to be held by Seventh-day Adventists convened in Chemnitz, Germany, with 3000 in attendance.¹²

Western Europe

In contrast to that of Germany, Adventism in France, Western Europe's other major power, made slow progress. Not until 1900 was any evangelistic effort made in Paris, and the two colporteurs sent there at that time had little success. By the outbreak of World War I there were still only about 350 Adventists in France; their numbers would not pass 2500 until well after World War II. Spain in 1903 and Portugal in 1904 were among the last parts of the European continent to be entered by Adventists. The initial workers in these areas were from the United States, but it was with Ernesto Schwantes's arrival from Brazil in 1906 that real progress began in Portugal. In both countries opposition from the established Roman Catholic Church inhibited efforts at evangelism.¹³

The Near East

The Moslem Near East proved a major challenge to Seventh-day Adventists. Missionaries from Germany, Britain, and the United States combined to herald the three angels' messages in Egypt, Persia, and the countries that developed during 1918-20 out of the defeated Turkish Empire. Their successes were meager; the few converts baptized came largely from expatriates living in the area for commercial reasons or from Christian groups like the Armenians or Egyptian Copts. It proved virtually impossible to reach Moslems, except through the medium of schools, which had some success in old Persia. Treatment rooms in Jerusalem provided a witness, but gained few Adventist adherents.¹⁴

Africa

It was a similar story throughout the countries along the northern rim of Africa. The huge continent of Africa, almost as large as Europe, the United States, China, and India combined, provided a wide variety of challenges: long distances, primitive transportation, illiterate tribesmen, great climatic diversity, and a variety of fatal diseases.

Although a few Italian residents of Egypt had been won to Adventism during the 1870s, it was from the southern tip of Africa that the first major advance into the Dark Continent began a decade later. Missionaries from the United States worked first among the English and Afrikaner populations of South Africa, but the opening of Solusi Mission in Rhodesia in 1894 launched an effort to bring Adventist Christianity to the native Africans. In 1901 Solusi became the "mother" of the first of a series of other missions when the F. G. Armitages developed Somabula (later Lower Gwelo) Mission, 150 miles to the northeast. Scarcely had they located in temporary quarters before a young African arrived, saying: "I have been told in a dream that in this house you have the words of the great God. I have come to hear these words. Teach me the word."

Several years later W. H. Anderson pushed on beyond Somabula into Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Anderson had been an active member of the first student foreign mission band at Battle Creek College; he was to give fifty years of service in Africa. Covering much of the territory earlier traversed by Livingstone, Anderson tramped 1000 miles on foot in four months, looking the territory over for possible mission stations. Deep in the veld, accompanied only by his native carriers, he became dangerously ill with dysentery. Convinced that he was about to die, he gave instructions for his burial and left word for his wife and fellow missionaries back at Solusi to continue pushing into central Africa. But Anderson did not die; his carriers discovered an old white hunter a few miles away, and this man nursed him back to health.

For a dozen years Anderson led out at Rusangu Mission. Even before he had constructed quarters for his wife and before he had learned the language of the area, students began pouring in to go to school. By day the missionary constructed buildings and put in crops; at night around the campfire, he began elementary instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and, of course, Bible. Soon there were so many students that there was not enough floor space on which to spread sleeping mats at night. For months some slept on tables used for eating and study. Adventist education, with its emphasis on practical vocational skills, won the approval of government authorities as well as the natives.

Other stations were added. In Nyasaland a mission formerly operated by the Seventh Day Baptists was acquired and renamed Malamulo, meaning "commandments." Here Thomas Branch, a black American, with his daughter Mabel began a school that had manual labor an integral part of the program.

Probably no other man did as much to arouse interest among Adventists in African missions as did W. H. Anderson, partly because of his visits to the United States to "talk missions." In 1919 the Andersons pioneered work among the Bechuanas; three years later he began a series of mission stations in Portuguese Angola. But there were many others who fought blackwater fever, sleeping sickness, and malaria to carry the gospel from

Liberia and Nigeria on the west to Kenya and Uganda on the east. There were Germans, Scandinavians, Englishmen, and South Africans as well as Americans. They established medical clinics, leprosariums, and small presses as well as schools. Always they sought to herald the glad news of a soon-returning Saviour and to prepare men and women for that event.¹⁵

The South Pacific

The first decades of the twentieth century justified Arthur Daniells's faith that Europe could become a base from which Adventist missionaries would fan out in growing numbers. He had held similar hopes for Australia, and again he was not disappointed. Even before the Europeans began sending workers into Africa, the first Australian couple, the A. H. Pipers, had left home in 1900 for the Cook Islands, more than 2000 miles to the east. The next year the Australasian Union Conference, with a membership of approximately 2500, accepted responsibility for carrying the gospel to the hundreds of islands of the South Pacific.

Adventist efforts in the South Pacific soon took on an international hue. In 1896 Canadian-born John Fulton arrived in Fiji after a year of evangelism in New Zealand. By 1900 he had translated an abridged *The Great Controversy* and a book of Bible readings and begun a small paper, *Rarama* ("Light"), in the native dialect. In 1906 the first Fijian national was ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister. Another two years and Peni Tavodi was headed toward New Guinea as the first Fijian Adventist missionary. Six years later he would die there of snakebite.¹⁶

Snakes were but one of the hazards faced by the missionaries. Many of the tribes in the New Hebrides, the Solomons, and New Guinea were headhunters and cannibals. Their attitudes toward conversions had been soured by experiences with Europeans engaged in "blackbirding"—the capture and sale of natives as slaves. Many native customs, such as their almost constant warfare, their spirit worship, polygamy, and practice of infanticide, proved formidable barriers to the Christian gospel. Perplexing to Adventists was the central role played in some areas by pigs, which were so highly valued that they were used for money.

Nor were these islands the paradises of soft breezes, white sand beaches, swaying palm trees, and year-round summer pictured by early eighteenth-century European visitors. All of these things were there, it is true, but there was another side as well. Many of the islands were small, separated by miles of reef-strewn and wind-tossed water from their nearest neighbors. Communication was not easy even on the larger islands with their precipitous mountains and dense tropical jungles.

And then there were the deadly diseases, like the dread blackwater fever that struck down Australian Norman Wiles while he was in the midst of mediating a tribal war. Twenty-eight-year-old Norman and his wife, Alma, had worked among the Big Nambus of the New Hebrides for less than six years at the time of his death. With only the help of friendly

natives from another island who chanced to be passing, Alma sewed her husband in a simple shroud and buried him in a shallow grave. The natives agreed to row her to nearby Atchin, where the A. G. Stewarts manned a companion Adventist mission station; but adverse winds kept them from their goal, and Alma was landed at midnight on a hostile shore. From village to village she went, through the territories of at least three warring tribes. Three days after her husband's death she finally arrived at the Stewarts' station. As she left for her parents' home in Australia, Alma's parting words were a request that someone be sent to carry on the work she and Norman had pioneered.¹⁷

Adventist mission work in the New Hebrides had been opened in 1912 by American C. H. Parker. His activity as a missionary provides a good example of the links that developed between Australia and the Pacific islands. Parker had begun his mission service in Fiji in 1898; several years later he spent some time in evangelism in Australia. Then it was back to labor in Samoa and Tonga, followed by a term as president of the Victoria-Tasmania conference. It was from this post that he went to begin the planting of Adventism in the New Hebrides. Before returning to America after thirty-five years of service in the South Pacific, Parker would occupy additional administrative posts in Fiji and New South Wales.

Repeated bouts with malaria made the Parkers' return to a temperate climate essential; they were replaced in the New Hebrides by Andrew and Jean Stewart. Andrew had been a farm boy studying at Avondale when first inspired by John Fulton to dedicate himself to service in the Pacific islands. After nine years in the relative civilization of Fiji, the Stewarts were shocked by conditions in their new post. But they never thought of quitting, even after the death of their friend and associate, Norman Wiles. In later years the Stewarts joined Captain and Mrs. G. F. Jones in opening areas of New Guinea. Andrew Stewart's fifty years in the South Seas were a fitting match to W. H. Anderson's similar period of service in Africa.¹⁸

Southern Asia

Far to the west of Australasia, Adventism found the Indian subcontinent a discouraging place in which to labor. This teeming center of Hinduism had been entered by a handful of colporteurs during the 1890s. Although these men and women enjoyed good sales, few converts resulted; after twenty years' work there were still fewer than 500 Seventh-day Adventists in all of India.

Women played an unusually prominent role in opening India to Adventist work; Georgia Burrus was the first official missionary sent there by the church. In India she later married L. J. Burgess, the mission secretary-treasurer. Mr. Burgess's failing health required a temporary return to America, but the couple were deeply committed to India. Alas when they



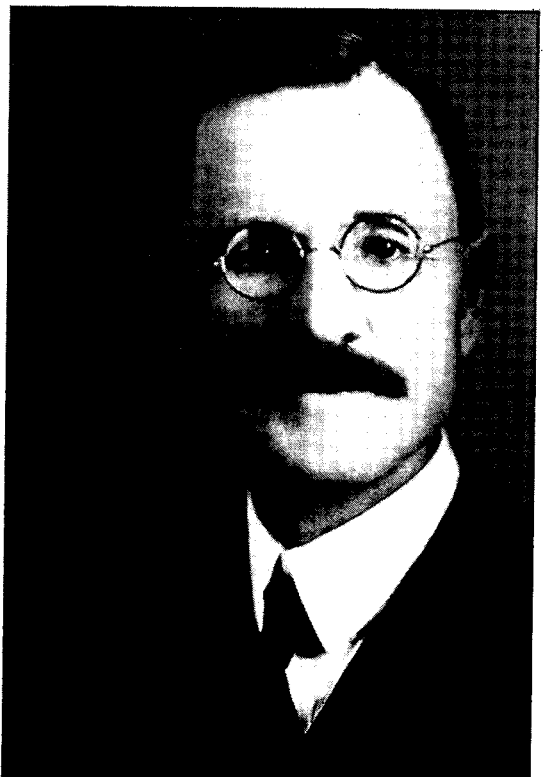
D. E. and Mrs. Rebok



Dr. Harry Miller



A. G. and Mrs. Stewart



J. E. Fulton

were ready to return, the Mission Board had no funds to send them. Undaunted, the Burgesses approached the S. N. Haskells, and a plan was quickly devised to sell 20,000 copies of a special issue of the *Bible Training School*. The profits paid the Burgesses' fare back to India, where they labored for an additional thirty years. Another effective early missionary to India was Anna Knight, a black American nurse trained at the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Miss Knight often did triple duty, serving as teacher and colporteur in addition to her medical work.

In spite of the development of a fairly extensive school system, medical facilities, and a good printing establishment, Indian additions to the Adventist Church were dishearteningly few until contact was made with Sabbath keepers among the old community of Christians in the southern state of Kerala. Here a whole village accepted the third angel's message, whereupon they changed the town's name to Adventpuram, "the place of the Adventists." One of the first Adventist converts in Calcutta was L. G. Mookerjee, a descendant of Christians won by William Carey, pioneer Protestant missionary to India. Mookerjee's fifty years of denominational service included evangelism, educational and administrative work, and a term as editor of the Bengali *Signs of the Times*. He did much to establish Adventism in the northeast region, now the nation of Bangladesh.¹⁹

As slowly as converts were made in India, they seemed almost an avalanche when compared to Adventist successes in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). It was over a decade after English evangelist Harry Armstrong held the first Adventist meetings in Colombo in 1904 before the first Ceylonese were won through Bible studies given by an Indian evangelist.

The situation in Burma, where colporteurs began selling Adventist literature in 1902, was not much better. In 1916, with the arrival of the Eric B. Hares from Australia, Adventist work in Burma began to make a substantial impact on the Karen tribes in the hill country. Both of the Hares were nurses, and their medical skills stood them in good stead, as did Eric's popular gift of storytelling. Soon they found that it was easier to win adults to Christ through the teaching of their children in Adventist schools than by any other method. Quickly they proceeded to expand the mission school system.²⁰

China

To the north and east of Burma lay the ancient Chinese Empire which so intrigued Abram La Rue. La Rue's enthusiasm was not shared by most Adventist leaders; perhaps they were overwhelmed by the size and complexity of the task awaiting them there. It was not until the 1901 General Conference that the J. N. Andersons were commissioned as the first official Seventh-day Adventist missionaries to China; they arrived in Hong Kong early the next year, accompanied by Ida Thompson, who soon opened an English school for Chinese youngsters.

Christians have always believed in God's power to bring something

good out of a bad situation. The Kellogg controversy is a case in point; it helped convince two talented young doctors that the Lord had work for them elsewhere. Accompanied by their wives and two nurses, Drs. Harry Miller and A. C. Selmon arrived in China in 1903; Miller was to give most of his life in service throughout East Asia and would become known in Adventist circles as the “China Doctor.”

Mindful of the role printing had played in advancing the Adventist message, Dr. Miller took a small handpress with him. A Chinese artisan who helped the doctor with his initial printing ventures became his first convert. For his publishing work Miller eventually rented a building in Shanghai from Charlie Soong, an Americanized Chinese businessman. This provided his first contact with Soong’s three daughters—who after the Chinese Revolution of 1911 were to be the most influential women in China. The eldest of the Soong daughters married financier H. H. Kung; the second became the wife of Sun Yat-sen, head of the revolution and president of China; the third was to be Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Only six years after he had come to China, Dr. Miller estimated that Seventh-day Adventist publications had the largest circulation of any Christian literature in the country.

Although Adventists were late in entering China, that ancient land soon captured the imagination of church leaders. As increasing numbers of evangelists, doctors, nurses, and teachers were sent from America, it became possible to expand into the more remote provinces. By 1919 Dr. J. N. Andrews, grandson of Adventism’s first official foreign missionary, had opened a clinic on the very borders of Tibet, the “forbidden land” of the Buddhist lamas.²¹

Establishing a school according to Adventist concepts proved a major challenge. Traditional Chinese education emphasized the memorization of revered classical texts; scholars were *not* to engage in manual labor, and they grew long fingernails to demonstrate this! How could Adventist concepts of the value of vocational subjects, work programs, and practical evangelistic methods fit into a cultural heritage so radically different? This was the challenge faced by D. E. Rebok, commissioned to start a training school for Chinese workers. Rebok first lured his Chinese faculty and students into playing games. The next step was to find a suitable school industry. Rebok began the construction of iron bed frames.

A rural location for the school was essential, Rebok felt, because he was determined to teach the best methods of agriculture. Agricultural machinery was secured at fractional cost from American manufacturers. Rebok also begged an automobile chassis from a New York auto show in order to begin a class in auto mechanics. In a successful effort to avoid government prohibitions on the teaching of religion in colleges, Rebok named his school the China Training Institute and registered it with the friendly Department of Industry and Agriculture rather than the troublesome Education Department.

The 1920s saw China rent by factional fighting following the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925. An attempted communist revolution was averted, but the country was plagued for years by competing warlords; wide areas were periodically pillaged by bandit bands. In these circumstances more than one Adventist missionary lost his life; scores of others had miraculous escapes. In spite of such difficulties, the work spread. By 1930, when a separate China Division was organized, there were nearly 9500 church members, one tenth of whom were employed as ministers, colporteurs, teachers, or as administrative and medical personnel.²²

Japan and Korea

Interestingly enough, although the complexity of written Chinese was most troublesome to Western missionaries, it was through familiar Chinese characters that a Korean emigrant, headed for Hawaii, was introduced to Adventism in Japan! In the spring of 1904 You Un Hyun was strolling down a street in Kobe, Japan, when he was attracted by a sign. Since the Japanese used many of the Chinese characters, he could make out its meaning. You's curiosity was aroused. What could "the Seventh-day Sabbath Jesus Second Coming Church" be anyway?

When You contacted the Japanese evangelist at the church, their conversation was limited to writing back and forth in Chinese characters. The young Korean brought a fellow countryman to join the study. Before You went on to Hawaii, the two Koreans were baptized; the second, Son Heung Cho, went back to Korea. While aboard ship he interested another Korean in the Bible truths he had just learned. By fall the two had convinced over a hundred Korean Christians to keep the seventh-day Sabbath. Urgent calls brought F. W. Field from Japan to follow up this interest. On his first visit he was able to baptize seventy-one persons and organize four churches.

In 1905 the first of a procession of American missionaries arrived to give leadership to the infant Korean field. For the next several years, until the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, Adventist doctrines were spread through evangelism, schools, and tracts printed on an old handpress similar to the one James White had used more than half a century earlier. Dr. Riley Russell, with the bride he had married only ten days before leaving the United States, arrived in 1909 to establish medical work. Russell battled typhus, bubonic plague, and cholera while trying to teach good health habits and proper sanitation. He also took charge of the boys' school that had been opened earlier.

After Japanese annexation of Korea, it proved more difficult to teach Christian doctrines since the Japanese frowned on this Western "importation." Yet the work continued to grow, thanks particularly to the work of Korean colporteurs and two remarkable American sisters, Mimi Scharffenberg and Theodora Wangerin, who gave themselves unstintingly in teaching and editorial work. Mimi was felled by disease at thirty-

five, but Theodora gave more than forty years to Korea, remaining long after her husband died at age thirty-three.²³

Meanwhile, in Japan Adventist converts were few in number, in spite of the establishment of a small sanitarium in Kobe and the opening of a training school in Tokyo in 1908. In 1917, after twenty years' work, there were only slightly more than 300 baptized Seventh-day Adventists in Japan. Things improved a bit during the 1920s, when several Ellen White books and Uriah Smith's *Daniel and the Revelation* were published in Japanese. An energetic canvassing program was just getting under way when the Japanese attack on China inhibited the spread of Christian beliefs.

The Philippines

Far to the south of Japan another major island chain lies off the East Asian coast: the Philippines. A self-supporting Australian colporteur, Robert Caldwell, started selling English and Spanish books on the island of Luzon in 1905. The next year the Australasian Union sent the J. L. McElhany to Manila, where they confined their work largely to recently arrived American teachers and government officials. Major work for the native Filipinos awaited the arrival of L. V. Finster in 1908. Finster was soon busy preparing tracts in the various tribal dialects.

Once literature became plentiful, the canvassing work prospered; by 1919 there were sixty colporteurs scattered throughout the islands, with national evangelists following hard on their heels. In contrast to Japan, where the first two decades of work had netted only around 300 Adventists, a similar period in the Philippines brought in more than 10,000.

During the first two decades of work in the Philippines, Seventh-day Adventists encountered little organized opposition. By 1930 this began to change. Evangelists had their tents slashed, their meeting halls stoned or burned. "Converts were beaten, attacked with bolos, driven from the land they had occupied as tenant farmers, rejected by their families, or robbed of their carabaos and sewing machines."²⁴

Latin America

Similar treatment was frequently accorded Adventist colporteurs and evangelists working in the Catholic countries of Latin America. The first colporteur in Mexico had fifty copies of the books he was selling seized and burned in a public park in a suburb of Mexico City. Once condemned to be shot, he was saved only after his sudden inspiration to speak to the commanding officer in English completely unnerved the officer.

Such experiences early convinced A. G. Daniells that Mexico was a "very hard field" for Adventist laborers. The loss of the Guadalajara Sanitarium to the Kellogg forces and their subsequent selling of it to another Protestant denomination further discouraged Adventist leaders. Yet the seeds of Adventism were planted, sometimes by American student

colporteurs who memorized canvasses in Spanish, sometimes in stranger ways. In 1905 Aurelio Jimenez received some medicine he had ordered, wrapped in a two-year-old copy of the *Messenger of Truth*, the Spanish Adventist evangelistic paper. He subscribed to the journal, accepted its teachings, was baptized, and became an active propagator of Adventism in his home region in the far south of Mexico.

The unsettled conditions of the revolutionary period, 1910-17, further retarded the spread of Adventism in Mexico. After a quarter century of work Adventist members numbered only 505. But brighter days were ahead. In the next four years the membership more than doubled. Progress has been steady since that time as the influence of the Catholic Church on government officials has dramatically weakened.²⁵

Inter-America

Along the northern borders of the South American continent, Adventist efforts to penetrate Colombia and Venezuela met opposition similar to that experienced during the early years in Mexico. Not until after World War II was substantial progress made in these areas. On several of the big Caribbean islands it was a different story. Jamaica, with an English heritage of religious freedom, proved fertile soil for colporteurs. In several instances literature sold to pastors of other Protestant churches resulted in the accession of entire congregations to Adventist ranks. By 1903 Jamaica counted 1200 church members; the next year the Jamaican believers sent out their first missionary to work on the island of Puerto Rico.

In 1907 the first major training school for Caribbean Adventists was established on Jamaica. A variety of difficulties led to its temporary closure in 1913, but six years later it reopened as West Indian Training College. Since that time hundreds of Adventist workers have used the training received in this growing school for service not only in Jamaica, but throughout the Caribbean—and in other parts of the world as well.²⁶

Over in French-speaking Haiti, on the island of Santo Domingo, a feeble Adventist light had burned since the 1880s, when Henry Williams and his wife had become Sabbath keepers as a result of reading tracts sent from England. Around 1904 a Haitian Methodist preacher and teacher, Michel Isaac, began to experience a deep longing for more spiritual truth. One day as he was pleading with the Lord for more light, a knock came at his door. One of his pupils had found an old book at home—J. N. Andrews's *History of the Sabbath*. Would his teacher like to read it? Considering this a direct answer to prayer, Isaac quickly accepted the seventh-day Sabbath and wrote a tract in its defense before he had any direct contacts with Seventh-day Adventists. By the time the first Adventist worker arrived in Haiti late in 1905, there were several small congregations ready for baptism.

Colporteurs, followed by evangelists, planted Adventist seed throughout the rest of the Caribbean, and in the small republics of Central

America as well. In Guatemala, Adventist work got underway through the purchase and operation of an English-language school. Primary schools proved effective, not only in indoctrinating Adventist children, but in evangelizing non-Adventist youth. Strangely, one major aspect of the Adventist program—medical missionary endeavor—was late in getting started. It was not until after World War II that Montemorelos Sanitarium in Mexico and Andrews Memorial Hospital in Jamaica were established.²⁷

South America

Adventism's initial converts in South America in the late nineteenth century had been drawn mainly from among the more recent European emigrants to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. During the first decades of the twentieth century, as the church's work progressed in an orderly, if not spectacular, way in these countries, dramatic events on the shores of Lake Titicaca captured the attention of Adventists around the world. Titicaca is the highest freshwater lake in the world, located more than two miles above sea level on the borders of Peru and Bolivia. Along its shores live the descendants of the old Inca Empire, heirs of the most advanced Indian civilization in South America prior to the Spanish conquest.

No one dramatized the interest in these exploited Indians more than a couple of Battle Creek Sanitarium-trained nurses who arrived in La Paz, Bolivia, in 1909. Ferdinand and Ana Stahl paid their own way to Bolivia; the Mission Committee had decided against their appointment because they had a thirteen-year-old daughter. At first, to make a living, the Stahls gave hydrotherapy treatments to the wealthier residents of La Paz. Two years later they were asked to locate "temporarily" on the Peru side of Lake Titicaca to follow up an interest created in the area by an Aymara Indian chief, Manual Camacho. During service in the Peruvian army Camacho had learned Spanish. When some early Adventist tracts came into his possession, his interest in the doctrines they taught was aroused.

The Stahls' "temporary" assignment lasted more than ten years. From the start they determined to train promising young Indians to become Adventist workers. Many were taken into their home, where they learned lessons of hygiene and proper sanitation as well as vocational skills and a love for Bible truth. Stahl answered calls impartially for his medical services from humble Indians, tough ranch owners, and hostile priests. His work among the Indians aroused fierce opposition, especially from the Catholic clergy and the large landowners who profited from keeping their Indian laborers in ignorance and virtual slavery.

Numerous plots were laid to kill Stahl and the assistants who soon joined him, but his life was just as often miraculously preserved. Stories of his adventures while traveling with his faithful mule, Samson, became legendary among Adventists. When impaired health, the result of long service at high altitudes and years of inconveniences, forced the Stahls in

1920 to shift their labors to the Peruvian jungles along the headwaters of the Amazon, they left behind a series of mission stations, some thirty schools, and over 2000 Seventh-day Adventists.

Stahl's adventures in the Peruvian jungles were almost as dramatic as they had been on the high altiplano. Here the perils were from savage Indian tribes, poisonous snakes, wild animals, and pestiferous insects. In 1926 the General Conference sent the Stahls on a tour through the United States and Europe to promote the cause of missions. But soon they were back in the jungles, where they remained until 1938. Converts had not come as rapidly here, but when the Stahls left the Upper Amazon, a permanent and growing Adventist work had been established.²⁸

During the vigorous expansion of Adventism in the first third of the twentieth century there were many mission "heroes" whose contributions, were hardly less spectacular than those of Stahl, Andrew Stewart, G. F. Jones, and W. H. Anderson, whose stories are spotlighted in this chapter. Yet behind all of these men and women there was developing at the same time an extensive administrative and financial organization, capable of supporting a burgeoning church. Less spectacular, in many ways, this structure soon became to most church leaders vitally essential. They could scarcely conceive of the work of the church without it.

Suggested Reading:

Adventist interest in mission work is clearly demonstrated in the wide variety of mission stories that have rolled from Adventist presses. The conviction that God was definitely leading in Seventh-day Adventist worldwide mission advance comes through well in W. A. Spicer's *Miracles of Modern Missions* (1926). Most of the familiar heroes and stories are included in A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 93-115, 333-399, and IV: 7-220. Perhaps the best "feel" for the activities of the missionaries is found in their autobiographical accounts. Especially good are W. H. Anderson, *On the Trail of Livingstone* (1919) for Africa; A. G. Stewart's *Trophies From Cannibal Isles* (1956), and *In Letters of Gold* (1973) for the South Sea Islands; F. A. Stahl's *In the Land of the Incas* (1920) and W. Westphal's, *Ana Stahl of the Andes and Amazon* (1960) for South America; Ezra Longway's *Dangerous Opportunity* (1974) and H. Ford's, *For Love of China* (1971) for China; and T. Wangerin's *God Sent Me to Korea* (1968) for Korea. A good example of the pioneering work of colporteurs is found in the story of John Brown, told by B. Westphal in *John the Intrepid* (1968). Providences of Adventist work in Europe are told in L. H. Christian's *Pioneers and Builders of the Advent Cause in Europe* (1937), while D. Kubrock has provided an interesting view of Adventism during the early years of Russian Communism in *Light Through the Shadows* (1953).

1. G. Oosterwal, *Mission: Possible* (1972), p. 38.
2. J. R. Robertson, "Arthur Grosvenor Daniells . . .," M.Th. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (1966), pp. 45, 83, 85.
3. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1410, 1411; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, January 20 and March 16, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
4. Robertson, pp. 42-45; Oosterwal, p. 30.
5. Unfortunately we have no good biography of Captain Jones. See *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 708, 1182; J. E. Cormack, *Isles of Solomon* (1944), pp. 147-159, 169-178; C. H. Watson, *Cannibals and Head-Hunters* (1926), pp. 210-219; E. Were, *No Devil Strings* (1970), pp. 27-45; A. Stewart, *Trophies from Cannibal Isles* (1956), pp. 103-141.
6. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 910, 911, 916, 917; *Review*, June 1, 1905, p. 23; Robertson, p. 88.
7. *Review*, June 9, 1926, pp. 20-23; June 14, 1926, p. 4.
8. *General Conference Bulletin*, May 19, 1913, pp. 34, 35; April 4, 1918, pp. 53-55; May 15, 1922, pp. 44-47; June 6, 1926, pp. 4-8; June 19, 1930, pp. 234, 235.
9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1525-1530; D. Kubrock, ed., *Light Through the Shadows* (1953), pp. 88-97.
10. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1227-1229.
11. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 201-203, 536, 537, 1663, 1664.
12. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 510.
13. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 477, 1138, 1407, 1408.
14. See *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* under name of the various Middle Eastern countries.
15. A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), IV: 7-40; W. W. Branson, *Missionary Adventures in Africa* (1925), *passim*; W. H. Anderson, *On the Trail of Livingstone* (1919), *passim*; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 42.
16. A. S. Maxwell, *Under the Southern Cross* (1966), pp. 106, 108; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 350, 351, 458, 459, 487, 1072-1077; *General Conference Bulletin IV* (First Quarter 1902), p. 597; E. B. Hare, *Fulton's Footprints in Fiji* (1969), *passim*.
17. Cormack, pp. 99-108; Spalding, III: 377-383.
18. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1082; A. G. Stewart, *In Letters of Gold* (1973), *passim*.
19. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 204, 205, 624-633, 927, 1067, 1068.
20. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 205, 206, 1417, 1418; J. O. Wilson, *Advent Angels in Burma* (1966), *passim*.
21. John Oss, *Mission Advance in China* (1949), pp. 94-126; C. C. Crisler, *China's Borderlands and Beyond* (1937), pp. 17-31; R. S. Moore, *China Doctor* (1961), *passim*; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 267-274.
22. Ford, *For the Love of China* (1971), *passim*; Oss, pp. 143-249; Crisler, pp. 82-84.
23. S. Peterson, *It Came in Handy* (1969), pp. 52-54, 69, 103-110, 136; T. Wangerin, *God Sent Me to Korea* (1968), *passim*; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1292, 1569.
24. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 847, 848, 1114-1117; L. D. Warren, *Isles of Opportunity* (1928), pp. 190-206.
25. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 872-878; C. Wood, *In the Land of the Aztecs* (1939), pp. 50-52; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, February 24, 1903, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
26. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 696-698, 1580, 1581.
27. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 544, 551, 552. See the names of individual countries for the opening of Adventist work in other areas of the Caribbean.
28. F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas* (1920), *passim*; R. G. Wearer, "An Adventist people Movement in Peru: F. A. Stahl's Contribution," M.Th. thesis, Andrews University (1972); Spalding, IV: 60-69; J. M. Howell, *Surely God Led* (1973), pp. 30-43.

CHAPTER 23

Organizational Refinements

From the start Adventist leaders were certain that their organizational structure was not of merely human devising. Ten years after the General Conference was formed in 1863, James White wrote, "We unhesitatingly express our firm convictions that organization with us was by the direct providence of God."

W. A. Spicer, over a quarter of a century later, confidently maintained that God had been "the leader in this Advent movement" from the beginning. Through "the counsels of His word and through the Spirit of prophecy the divine principles of order and organization have been developed and applied to present-day needs and conditions." To J. N. Loughborough the harmonious spread of Adventism into all parts of the world in less than fifty years provided clear evidence of the divine origins of the church's administrative structure.¹

Such statements should not be misconstrued as indicating that their authors failed to recognize the need for occasional modifications in the constitutional framework of Adventism. The 1901 General Conference had, in fact, made several substantial structural changes in an effort to ensure two major reforms: (1) the decentralization of decision-making, responsibility, and direction of church work through the establishment of union conferences and (2) the integration of a growing variety of church activities through the establishment of departments represented on the conference executive committees at all levels. Subsequent administrative changes were, in essence, simply adaptations of these two reforms made necessary by a constantly expanding program in a changing world.

In an effort to provide better direction for European church activities, the 1903 General Conference elected L. R. Conradi as a second vice-

president with responsibility for this field. By 1909 it seemed advisable to have a third vice-president to supervise church activities in Asia; so I. H. Evans was named to this post. Conradi and Evans were given authority to convene the union conference presidents in their respective areas for counsel and advice.

Divisional Organization

In another effort to cope with the diverse needs arising in Europe the General Conference Committee held special sessions in Gland, Switzerland, in 1907, and in Friedensau, Germany, in 1911. Helpful as these were, by 1912 leaders of the European branch of the church were convinced that they were a poor substitute for a more formal and continuing administrative unit including all of the European unions. They urged that the 1913 General Conference establish a "divisional organization" to meet Europe's needs. This could set a pattern for further regional organization in South America, Asia, and other parts of the world field.²

Although President Daniells initially opposed the idea of a European division as potentially leading to a fragmentation of the church, by the time the 1913 General Conference convened he had become convinced that the Europeans' request was reasonable. This new administrative unit would, he felt, make it possible for leaders in different countries "to aid one another in meeting crises and in carrying forward the work committed to them." After a minimum of debate conference delegates voted to approve the grouping of union conferences and missions in a given geographic area into a division of the General Conference.

As the European representatives proceeded to organize, some of the North American delegates suggested the creation of a North American division as well. Both Daniells and Spicer believed this unnecessary; with General Conference headquarters in the United States the officers could provide needed coordination of common programs. But the North American union conference presidents were insistent, and they had the support of General Conference treasurer W. T. Knox. As a result conference delegates voted to organize a North American division at once and authorized a South American division "at such time and place as they [the General Conference Committee] may deem advisable."³

Before the next General Conference session in 1918 (in 1905, delegates had decided to meet quadrennially rather than biennially), the General Conference Committee approved the formation of South American and Asiatic divisions. Yet there remained some uncertainty whether this was really the best way to organize a world church. These uncertainties were reinforced by the tragedy of World War I, which dramatically disrupted the European Division and delayed the General Conference session from 1917 until 1918.

Upon the recommendation of a special study committee delegates to the 1918 General Conference voted to discontinue divisional confer-

ences, but not the concept of divisional *organization*. The union conferences and union mission fields were once more made the constituent bodies of the General Conference.

Church leaders recognized the value of regional consultation, planning, and activities. That these might be continued, delegates voted to elect General Conference vice-presidents "to take general supervision of the work in such divisions of the world field as may be thought advisable." They also agreed to elect subtreasurers and assistant departmental secretaries for each division, with these persons holding membership on the General Conference Committee. Between sessions of the full General Conference Committee its members in the various divisions were empowered to direct the work in their division, as long as their actions were in harmony with "the general policies and plans of the full Committee."

President Daniells acknowledged that the disbanding of the divisions would appear "as retracing our steps a bit," yet he professed joy at being "back on safe ground." Church leaders had been fearful that a popular and independent division president, elected directly by divisional delegates, might lead his division to "break away from the general body." They wanted to preserve the worldwide unity of the church and avoid the possibility of a split which would produce a European or an African Seventh-day Adventist Church. They were also afraid that an independent division might no longer feel responsible for supporting Adventism financially in any other sections of the world. The new plan would curb any possible move toward independence by keeping selection of the leadership of all the various divisions in the hands of the entire General Conference.

Vice-Presidents

Although the 1918 General Conference abolished independent divisions, it continued the divisional organization by providing vice-presidents for North America, South America, East Asia, and Southern Asia (which temporarily included Australia). Departmental assistant secretaries were provided for all of these divisions, with the exception of North America. Nothing was done about the European field, still convulsed in World War I at the time of the 1918 session. Once peace was restored, the General Conference Committee appointed L. R. Conradi as vice-president for Europe. The recent turmoil on that continent seemed to make another leader, not so closely identified with Adventism in Germany, necessary; so L. H. Christian was named an associate vice-president for Europe. In 1919 an African divisional section also was created.⁴

The divisional structure as formulated in 1918 was incorporated in a new constitution and bylaws adopted by delegates to the 1922 General Conference. At this time Australasia was detached from Southern Asia and became a separate division. In another action Mexico, the Central Ameri-

can nations, the countries along the northern rim of South America, and the islands of the Caribbean were formed into the Inter-American Division.

Subsequently, political conditions in Europe made it seem advisable in 1928 to divide the European field into three separate divisions: Northern, Central, and Southern. Each was assigned particular mission fields in less-developed areas as their responsibility. Since World War I, Seventh-day Adventists in Russia have been cut off from close contacts with the rest of the world church and unable to function as a normal division. A similar situation followed the establishment of the communist regime in China in 1950. In recent years political conditions in Europe, Africa, and the Mid-East have led to the redrawing of divisional boundaries in these areas; the goal has been to link complementary regions together in such a way as to provide increased strength for the work of the church throughout the world.⁵

W. A. Spicer, World Leader

Constitutional change was not the only matter claiming the delegates' attention at the 1922 General Conference. For the first time in two decades a change in the General Conference presidency took place. The nominating committee suggested that W. A. Spicer replace A. G. Daniells. Ever since the historic 1901 conference, Daniells had served as the church's chief executive. A clear-thinking administrator, Daniells gave firm and consistent leadership through the Kellogg crisis, the great period of mission expansion, and the trying years of World War I. Corrected on several occasions by Ellen White, he took these rebukes manfully. And Mrs. White also expressed confidence in him on many occasions, affirming that he was "the right man" for the job. Daniells won the affection and confidence of thousands of Adventist believers around the world.

But Arthur Daniells was human. At times he could be impatient and a bit sharp with subordinates he considered inept, or with colleagues who did not agree with his viewpoint. He had a tendency to encompass too much—and so sometimes got bogged down in details. His circle of intimate advisers was rather limited, a fact sometimes resented by talented men outside that circle. As a result, a movement to replace him at the 1922 conference had been stirring for months before delegates convened in San Francisco. The nominating committee decided a change was advisable, but only one person commanded sufficient respect and affection throughout the denomination to step into the presidency: W. A. Spicer.

Reluctantly Spicer agreed to this new call to duty. Hurt, but concerned more with the future of the church than with his own feelings, Daniells gave many more years of service, briefly as General Conference secretary, and later as head of the newly formed Ministerial Association.

For eight years Spicer stood at the helm of the church. His modest manner, calm and optimistic spirit, and complete dedication to his Master

and the church endeared him to all who met him. Ever careful with the Lord's money, Spicer would sit up "night after night on the train rather than pay for a berth in a Pullman sleeper." While traveling he did his own laundry in cheap hotel rooms. His food expenses were kept to a minimum; frequently a bag of peanuts lasted him all day. Spicer had the human touch. He made a point of taking hard-to-get necessities to isolated missionaries, of bringing small gifts to their children. When he retired at sixty-five in 1930, it was because he felt a younger man could better carry the heavy responsibilities of the office.⁶

Departments

The union conferences and divisions, which became basic administrative units during the Daniells-Spicer years, provided opportunity for decentralized decision making and implementation of church policies and programs. These same years also saw the departmental structure firmly embedded in Adventism. By 1902 the old independent associations had been replaced by four separate departments: Education, Publishing, Religious Liberty, and Sabbath School.

It took a bit longer to establish the Medical Department, since this had to await the demise of the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Then it was necessary to find a knowledgeable physician, untainted with Kellogg's independence or heresies, to head the department. With Dr. W. A. George to fill this role, the Medical Department got under way in 1905. As the effectiveness of the departments became apparent, new ones were added to the original four: the North American Foreign Department (1905), the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department (1907), the North American Negro Department (1909), the Bureau of Public Relations (1912), the Home Missionary Department (1913), and the Home Commission (1922).

At first the departments were directed by committees, whose members were scattered around the United States and even the world. Often these men and women were engaged in other administrative or pastoral work. The first chairman of the Publishing Department committee, for example, was W. C. White, who was primarily engaged in helping his mother with her correspondence, travels, and writing. Under these circumstances continuity and direction within the department depended mainly upon the committee secretary.⁷

An organizational change in 1909 made the secretary the head of each department. Secretaries were assisted by one or more associate or assistant secretaries and appropriate clerical help. It was the secretary's job to present departmental plans to the General Conference Committee.

The Sabbath School

Probably none of the original departments touched a greater cross section of Adventists than the Sabbath School. From the start departmen-



Mrs. L. Flora Plummer



W. A. Spicer

tal personnel were concerned with improving both the quality of the weekly Sabbath Schools and the number of persons who attended regularly. In contrast to many Protestant bodies, Adventists saw the Sabbath School as designed to serve all age groups, from toddlers to octogenarians. The department early adopted the goal of "every church member a Sabbath School member"; "the Church at study" became its motto.

Many ways were devised to improve the quality of local Sabbath Schools. In an effort to prepare better teachers the department began a special training course for them in 1910. Study guides to several books selected as texts were published throughout the year in the *Sabbath School Worker*. These could be studied individually or used as an integral part of a weekly teachers' meeting. Methods of gaining and holding attention, organizing and presenting material effectively, and making theoretical points practical were stressed. The department also assumed responsibility for improving the quality of the weekly lessons. By 1922 two basic series were available, one for adults, with an adapted version for youth, and a second for younger children. In turn the children's lessons were divided into three age levels appropriate to the stages of a child's development. Through the years the department developed a wide variety of teaching devices, from the sandboxes, cutouts, and color books to memory-verse cards and finger-play manuals.

Both improved attendance and a better quality of participation were the goals of the "perfect record" plan. Members who were on time each week for a three-month period and who had studied their Sabbath School lesson daily were entitled to a "Card of Honor." Four Cards of Honor could be exchanged for a silk bookmark. In turn there were additional bookmarks for longer "perfect record" periods.

Better attendance and improved teaching were not intended to be goals

in themselves. Mrs. L. Flora Plummer, the dominant figure in the General Conference Sabbath School Department from the time of its organization until her retirement in 1936, carried a particular burden that the Sabbath School "be a recruiting station, where volunteers are enlisted in the army of the Lord." It was both the privilege and the responsibility of the Sabbath School teacher, according to Mrs. Plummer, to help develop the members of their classes into "strong, fruit-bearing Christians." There were three chief avenues to accomplish this: (1) careful Bible instruction, (2) prayer, and (3) personal appeals to the pupil. Apparently Mrs. Plummer's own appeals to teachers bore fruit. In 1913 she reported that over 3500 persons had been baptized as a result of the Sabbath School's soul-winning approach.⁸

At the time the department was organized, Sabbath Schools were already a major source of financial support for Adventist missions. By 1911 they had raised a million dollars for missions; the second million was raised in three and a quarter years. By 1920 Sabbath Schools were raising over a million dollars a year; in the first half of 1921 they supplied three quarters of all mission offerings given by Seventh-day Adventists.⁹

Weekly offerings were not the only source of Sabbath School funds. In 1912 the General Conference Committee agreed that the Sabbath School offering for one week in each quarter might be set apart for a specially designated project; thus the Thirteenth Sabbath Offering was born. The first Thirteenth Sabbath Offering, of nearly \$7700, went to promote Adventism in India. Money for the offering came not only from North America, but from Africa, China, and South America as well. As the various areas of the world became aware of one another's needs, a common bond developed—an unexpected bonus of the plan. Throughout North America, Thirteenth Sabbath was effectively promoted as "Dollar Day." By the end of 1920, when Brazil was the recipient, the total received climbed to over \$110,000. Mrs. Plummer felt optimistic enough to recommend that in the future North American believers think of the Thirteenth Sabbath as "Double Dollar Day."

During the late nineteenth century Ellen White several times suggested the wisdom of teaching children and youth to bring a thank offering to the Lord on birthdays or special holidays, such as Christmas. Gradually the idea grew that a penny for each year of age was an appropriate gift. By 1908 J. N. Loughborough had begun to promote the idea that adults as well as children should bring birthday and special thank offerings. Yet it was another decade before the birthday thank offerings became well established as a part of the Sabbath School. In 1919 these offerings, amounting that year to a little over \$4000, were set aside for the opening of Adventist work in new areas of the world field. Although this particular feature was later discontinued, the birthday thank offerings remained. In the forty-five years following 1919, over \$4,250,000 came into the mission fund from this source.¹⁰

Still another Sabbath School offering had late-nineteenth-century roots. In 1893 Dr. Kellogg learned of an Oregon farmer who had dedicated the profits from ten acres of onions to missions. Sensing the possibilities in such a project, Kellogg launched an energetic campaign to persuade all Adventists with any available land to plant a designated part of it, whether it be an acre or a garden row, and to give the proceeds of this dedicated part to the charitable work promoted by the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association. Kellogg even offered to provide seed for those who could not afford to purchase their own. Proceeds from this "Missionary Acre Fund" were officially designated for the Benevolent Association by the 1897 General Conference.

Sabbath School Investment

During the next several years enthusiasm for the new project grew steadily, and increasing funds rolled into local conference treasuries. But suspicion of Kellogg and his projects was growing, and some conference leaders apparently diverted this money to other uses. As promotion lapsed, the Missionary Acre Fund became a casualty of the Kellogg controversy.¹¹

The idea of investing personal effort in a particular project with the funds received dedicated to missions did not completely die, however. In 1905 a Sabbath School teacher in Hamilton, Missouri, gave each of the five children in her class a nickel to invest in some project, with the proceeds to go for Adventist mission work. Several purchased seeds and sold the produce from their gardens; another purchased eggs, which were hatched under one of the family hens. The chicks were raised and sold at a profit. By fall the twenty-five cents originally invested had grown to \$11.52 for missions.

Throughout the next few years a number of articles appeared in the *Sabbath School Worker* describing projects similar to those of the children in Hamilton. Yet the first organized promotion of the "Investment" plan did not come until 1922, when thirty-four Sabbath Schools in the East Michigan Conference raised \$1,354.57 through a variety of projects. Three years later the General Conference Committee assigned promotion of the "Investment Funds" to the Sabbath School Department. That year \$21,800 was raised for missions. By 1940 Investment was earning \$100,000 annually; in 1956 it passed the \$500,000 mark, and six years later the first million-dollar Investment offering was received.¹²

In the course of these years the variety of Investment projects multiplied in almost as extraordinary a way as the funds received. Businessmen dedicated "bad debts" to the Lord; farm children gave a lamb or calf. Unproductive fruit trees suddenly began to bear when their fruit was committed to be sold for missions. The Investment idea quickly spread around the world, although frequently under another name. In Burma it was called the "Different Offering"; Solomon Islanders termed it the

“Business Belong God.” A Danish farmer found it profitable to pledge a small sum for each sunny day during the harvest season. In Japan a rice grower dedicated 10 percent of all the rice his fields bore that was beyond the average yield per acre throughout Japan—and found his crop 50 percent above average in 1960! By this year nearly 10 percent of all funds contributed to missions through the Sabbath Schools was coming from Investment projects.¹³

The increasing number of offerings promoted through the Sabbath School dramatically illustrates the perpetual problem Adventist leaders faced in finding sufficient funds to support the great mission thrust of the early twentieth century. As the century opened, the stronger state conferences were, from their own tithe, supporting more than fifty missionaries in other areas. Not all of these were overseas, as the Southern States were still considered a mission field.

Funding a World Work

To meet the remaining mission expenses the General Conference was dependent upon five major sources of income: (1) two annual offerings (one in midsummer, one at Christmas), (2) the Sabbath Schools, (3) first-day offerings, (4) any surplus in the tithe received from unions for administrative salaries and expenses, and (5) special gifts designated for particular mission projects. These were not enough. By November 1904 it was necessary to borrow \$8,000 against the expected Christmas offering in order to meet overseas obligations. President Daniells sent a personal appeal to every Seventh-day Adventist family in the United States in an effort to secure increased funds for missions.

Daniells was convinced that several things were responsible for the shortage of funds. As he examined tithe figures for the United States, he became convinced that many Adventists were not paying an honest tithe. In 1905 he wrote one correspondent that if American Adventists, whose income was generally larger than that of their British counterparts, paid tithe equivalent to that paid by Britons, there would be at least \$220,000 more each year for church work. Daniells believed that American Adventists paid more than \$500,000 less than an honest tithe annually. If the General Conference could only receive this amount, there would be sufficient to meet all mission needs without constant offering appeals.¹⁴

The General Conference of 1905 devoted a substantial portion of its time to discussing the problem of financing missions. Among the major resolutions the delegates passed was one urging the stronger conferences to share as large a portion as possible of their tithe income with the mission fields. In another action the General Conference was authorized to print and distribute tithe envelopes with appropriate Scripture verses indicating the duty of tithe paying.¹⁵

In their constant efforts to secure regular and continuous funds for mission expansion General Conference leaders decided in 1907 to pro-

mote a plan calling on each member to give ten cents weekly to the mission fund. This weekly goal was increased periodically: to fifteen cents in 1912, twenty cents in 1913, twenty-five cents in 1918. By 1920 the Sabbath Schools had assumed complete responsibility for promoting these regular weekly mission offerings. One more increase in the weekly goal, to thirty cents, was made prior to the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Throughout the depression and World War II years the weekly goal remained constant, but during the 1950s it was again raised, first to forty and then to fifty cents.¹⁶

Some Adventist workers saw direct missions appeals to members in the homelands as the answer to more effective financing. They argued that if Brother Jones knew that his money was going to support a nurse in China or a student at the Solusi Mission School, he would feel more responsibility to give generously and regularly. In actual practice there were several difficulties in such a plan. Some mission workers proved more effective in formulating appeals than others, leading to an imbalance in the support given the various fields. It also frequently happened that persons who gave substantial amounts to support a particular work or worker wanted to receive progress reports directly from the person being supported. Many times this person lacked facility in English, thus causing embarrassment and diverting him or others from their work in order to keep the mission patron informed. In view of these problems the 1918 General Conference decided that all mission giving should be channeled through established conference sources. This would allow available funds to be distributed according to the needs of all.

Although financial support of the expanding mission program was a continuing and major concern of General Conference leaders, they also faced financial problems in the United States, their principal financial base. By 1918 a need to expand and upgrade the educational facilities provided for Afro-Americans at Oakwood College was obvious. Financing all Adventist education proved troublesome. Tuition simply was not adequate for the expenses of running colleges and secondary schools. Parents of elementary-age students often lacked funds for tuition adequate to pay the local church-school teacher.¹⁷

Constant financial pressures were not the result of exorbitant salaries paid denominational workers. During a 1913 General Conference Committee discussion, the point was made that a worker was "given an allowance necessary for the support of himself and family. It is not strictly wages, it is an allowance to provide a living." A later discussion clearly demonstrated that Adventist leaders believed wages assigned church employees should not be related to what these men and women might be able to secure "from the world."

Differences between employees might justifiably be made, however, in harmony with their length of service, their efficiency, and the level of the responsibilities they carried. Such differences were minimal. In 1916, for

instance, the wage schedule for ordained ministers provided for a range of between fourteen and twenty dollars per week. Local conference presidents were entitled to one dollar per week more; union conference presidents to an additional three to four dollars per week. The president of the General Conference was at this time paid from three to six dollars a week more than the maximum paid a regular minister. Denominationally employed physicians alone had the potential for receiving a larger salary than the General Conference president—and that by only \$1.50 per week.¹⁸

In an effort to systematize finances the General Conference Committee decided at the start of World War I to keep enough cash on hand to meet three months of normal administrative expenses. It also established a special reserve fund of \$75,000 in easily convertible securities. This fund was to be available for emergencies or for times of crisis when church income might temporarily be reduced. In 1911 the General Conference had begun to set aside a small percentage of the tithe along with regular contributions from Adventist institutions (the amounts were based on their payrolls) for use as a modest pension fund for aged or physically incapacitated church employees. This was made necessary by the policy of paying only a "living wage," thus precluding church workers' making substantial savings or investments for their old age.¹⁹

Extension Fund

Increasing calls for medical facilities overseas led to some of the heaviest demands on General Conference finances. In an effort to meet these needs the 1922 General Conference established a special medical extension fund. All Adventist sanitariums were requested to pay, as a minimum, a tithe of their net gain each year into this fund. In addition medical workers were invited to contribute at least one day's pay annually. Thus those most closely identified with Adventist medical work would assume the most responsibility for its expansion.

Several years earlier the General Conference had specifically endorsed a plan for raising money for missions begun in North Dakota around 1913. This plan, eventually known as "Big Week," bears a certain resemblance to the Ingathering program in both purpose and method. During a designated week in the spring denominational workers and laymen were encouraged to devote as much time as possible to selling Seventh-day Adventist literature. They were asked to donate at least half, and preferably all, of their profits to the Missions Extension Fund. Colporteurs who earned their living by selling Adventist literature were encouraged to contribute the profits from their biggest day's sale during Big Week. The Missions Extension Fund also received a designated percentage of the yearly profits earned by the three major American Seventh-day Adventist publishing houses.

Much of the money turned in through the Missions Extension Fund went to build up Adventist publishing houses in newly entered areas. In 1927 publishing secretary N. Z. Town reported that funds secured from past Big Weeks had made possible the building or expansion of nineteen publishing houses, supplied printing machinery for thirteen mission plants, and provided working capital for thirty-two publishing houses and book depositories. Nor were church medical and educational institutions neglected; twenty-two dispensaries and ten mission schools had received funds from this source.

The Big Week program was not restricted to the United States but was soon promoted vigorously in all parts of the world. By the 1930s specific projects were designated as the recipients of each annual Big Week campaign. These varied greatly. In 1932, for example, Big Week funds were pledged to initiate a printing plant in Persia, provide equipment for a new hospital in Ethiopia, acquire two mission boats for use in Newfoundland, build a mission hospital at Africa's Lower Gwelo Mission, build a boys' dormitory in Bolivia, and establish three treatment centers in Eastern Europe.

Promotion of Big Week, begun by publishing secretaries, later became a joint project, cosponsored with the Home Missionary Department. This was quite appropriate since the Home Missionary Department had, in fact, begun in 1913 as a branch of the Publishing Department.²⁰

Adventists were operating schools from elementary through college level at the time the General Conference Education Department was established. Although both Dr. Kellogg and Elder Prescott chaired the department briefly in its initial development, three men were mainly responsible for making out its major areas of interest and promotion: Frederick Griggs, H. R. Salisbury, and W. E. Howell. By 1909 the department was (1) providing counsel on the establishment of new schools, (2) giving general direction and advice on curricular developments, (3) supervising the newly established correspondence school, (4) arranging for the production of distinctive Adventist textbooks where necessary, and (5) launching a promotional journal, *Christian Education*.

This new journal carried material relating to all levels of formal education and had a section devoted to the preschool instruction of children as well. Many articles stressed the value and methods of promoting those aspects of education of special concern to Adventists, such as integrating Bible instruction into secular subjects, the place of physical labor in an educational program, and teaching proper health and nutrition. Special effort was made to provide practical suggestions for better teaching methods, especially at the elementary and preschool levels. In 1911 a teachers' reading course was recommended, and study guides and questions included in the journal. Several years later a similar department, aimed at providing professional advancement for Adventist ministers, was added. By the 1920s, when the journal's name was changed to *Home*

and School, the emphasis had shifted to a major concern with parental responsibilities in training children.²¹

This change of name and emphasis in the Department of Education's journal coincided with the establishment in 1922 of the Home Commission. The new agency had been in the developmental stage for several years. Personnel from the Education, Sabbath School, Home Missionary, Medical, and Young People's departments had all been involved in developing the Home Commission, but the driving force was A. W. Spalding. While a young father, Spalding had served for several years as a literary assistant to Ellen White. He never forgot a conversation he had with the aging leader several years before her death. In the course of their discussion Mrs. White remarked to Spalding, "Your work as a father is the most important educational work you have ever done or ever can do. The work of parents underlies every other." She went on to lament that in the work of training parents to train their children, "the very most important work before us as a people," Adventists had done so little. "We have not begun to touch it with the tips of our fingers," she affirmed.

As secretary of the Home Commission, Spalding determined to remedy this situation. He set about busily organizing mothers' societies and parent councils in local churches and preparing lessons for their study at semimonthly meetings. Spalding saw a particular need for parents to learn four things: (1) to be better storytellers, (2) to learn how to draw lessons for their children from nature, (3) to understand proper health principles and be able to impart them, and (4) to foster a warm, secure, considerate home atmosphere. Later, in collaboration with a mother-physician, Dr. Belle Wood-Comstock, Spalding prepared the five-volume "Christian Home Series" for study by parent councils. These books, which discussed parent-child relationships from the first days of a couple's marriage through their children's adolescence, made a deep impression on an entire generation of Adventist fathers and mothers.²²

By relinquishing some of its promotional interests to the Home Commission the Department of Education was better able to care for other responsibilities. These included certifying first elementary, and later secondary, teachers in Adventist schools and inspecting school facilities and programs. In an effort to secure more uniform instruction and a distinctive Adventist philosophy of education, the department organized a series of institutes and conventions. School administrators were nudged toward better budgeting procedures, and conference administrators toward making more dependable provisions for paying teachers. The department also became adviser and advocate for Adventist schools that were caught in the increasing maze of government regulations.²³

Missionary Volunteers

Adventists' concern for the development and indoctrination of their children provided the rationale for the work of the Education Depart-

ment, the Home Commission, and many of the activities of the Sabbath School. It also led in 1907 to the formation of a special department dedicated entirely to sponsoring youth activities—the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department. There had been sporadic and uncoordinated attempts at sponsoring special youth organizations ever since Luther Warren and Harry Fenner began their young people's missionary band in Hazelton, Michigan, in 1879. Meade MacGuire had formed a similar group in Antigo, Wisconsin, in 1891.

Several years later Ellen White appealed to Adventist youth through the columns of the *Signs of the Times*. "Young men and young women," she wrote, "cannot you form companies, and as soldiers of Christ, enlist in the work, putting all your tact and skill and talent into the Master's service, that you may save souls from ruin?" Mrs. White advocated the formation of Adventist youth groups, patterned somewhat after the Christian Endeavor Societies then popular among Evangelical Protestants. Even before Ellen White's appeals were published, A. G. Daniells had learned of her concern and in 1892 organized a young people's society in Adelaide, Australia. The next year a similar group was begun at Union College by history professor M. E. Kern. Up in the Dakotas Luther Warren, now a vigorous young evangelist, organized sunshine bands in several churches. The bands adopted "Not I" as their password, First Corinthians 10:31 as their motto, and expressed their purpose simply: "Do something for somebody every day." Active missionary endeavor, grounded on personal and group Bible study, became their hallmark.²⁴

The first conference-wide youth organization was created at the Ohio camp meeting in 1899. The Ohio youth called themselves "Christian Volunteers." The next year young German Adventists established a similar organization. It seemed time to coordinate this work on a worldwide scale. Consequently the General Conference Committee in 1901 asked the infant Sabbath School Department to foster the development of young people's societies and coordinate their activities. At the General Conference session two years later Mrs. Plummer reported 186 active youth societies with a membership of 3478.

By 1907 the General Conference leaders recognized that the youth work had grown to the place where a special department could properly be established. Meeting in Gland, Switzerland, that spring, they created a General Conference "Young People's Department" and invited M. E. Kern to direct it. Kern carried this responsibility for the next twenty-three years, developing a wide variety of programs to prepare Adventist youth to be active and efficient Christian witnesses.

What had been begun at Gland was organized and solidified later that year at a special Sabbath School and Young People's convention held in Mt. Vernon, Ohio. One of the actions at this convention expanded the youth organization's official title to "Seventh-day Adventist Young People's Society of Missionary Volunteers." Delegates to the Mt. Vernon

convention spelled out three major aims for the new department: the development in youth of a solid devotional life, missionary endeavor, and educational activities. In other actions they adopted an aim, motto, and pledge for the new society, recognized *The Youth's Instructor* as its official magazine, called for the establishment of departments with full-time leaders in the local conferences, and provided for an annual Week of Prayer specifically for youth.²⁵

The next several years were busy ones as Kern sought to implement the plans outlined at Mt. Vernon. One of his first projects was to prepare copy for a *Morning Watch Calendar* for 1908. This consisted of a special text to be the subject of a brief daily meditation and prayer period. To further the society's educational goals, Kern chose a small group of books which all members were encouraged to read during the year. The Missionary Volunteer Reading Course had been born. Another educational activity consisted in the preparation of two special series of lessons—one in basic Bible doctrines, the other in Seventh-day Adventist history. When a member completed these and passed an examination in each area, he was awarded a special "standard of attainment" certificate. Kern also launched a special column in *The Youth's Instructor* that contained suggestions for weekly Missionary Volunteer programs for local societies. In 1914 this feature was transferred to the *Church Officers' Gazette*, where it continued until the *MV Program Kit* was begun in 1951.

The Missionary Volunteer program proved so successful that in 1909 General Conference delegates called for the development of a similar program adapted to the needs of the younger children in the church. In the next few years Junior Missionary Volunteer Societies began to appear, with their own programs, reading course, and junior level of the standard of attainment.

As the years passed, new programs were added to further the basic spiritual and educational development of the church's youth. In 1915 the Bible Year was inaugurated. This called for reading the entire Bible through in one year's time with approximately equal daily reading assignments to facilitate this objective. Nor was the encouragement of missionary activities forgotten. Some society meetings were devoted to methods of personal evangelism; members were encouraged to give away or sell Adventist literature, to aid the needy by performing useful services, and to hold Bible studies with interested contacts. In Australia Missionary Volunteers raised \$10,000 to purchase a mission schooner, the *Melanesia*; Scandinavian Missionary Volunteers sponsored a missionary to work among the Lapps of the Far North. During World War I the Missionary Volunteer Department gave special help to hundreds of Adventist young men called into military service, providing camp pastors to visit them and literature, including a special edition of *Steps to Christ*, for their devotional use.²⁶

The 1920s were eventful years in a rapidly expanding program for the

Junior Missionary Volunteers. In widely scattered parts of the United States interested youth leaders organized a variety of social and recreational activities loosely patterned after those of the Boy and Girl Scouts. These included handicrafts, nature lore, camping, and hiking, and culminated in 1922 in the development of the Junior Missionary Volunteer progressive classes. By demonstrating increasing levels of proficiency in a variety of physical, mental, spiritual, and social skills boys and girls might become progressively a Friend, Companion, and Comrade (changed after World War II to Guide). Five years later the Missionary Volunteer honors program, recognizing special proficiency in a wide variety of arts, crafts, nature study, and recreational skills, was begun.

A year earlier, in the summer of 1926, sixteen junior boys and five senior counselors participated in the first Missionary summer camp, at Town Line Lake in Michigan. The next year a camp was also conducted for the girls. For ten dollars junior boys and girls could enjoy ten days of recreational and craft activities, intermixed with a variety of spiritual features. In fact, Arthur Spalding, an enthusiastic supporter of the camping plan, referred to the summer camps as "the denomination's camp meeting expressed in terms of Junior psychology." By the end of the decade the Missionary Volunteer Department had developed a youth leadership course that culminated in the successful participants' being recognized as "Master Comrades" (later changed to Master Guides).

In spite of the increased emphasis on recreational and social activities, the basic goal of missionary endeavor was not forgotten. As M. E. Kern completed his long period of youth leadership in 1930, he proudly told delegates to that year's General Conference session that approximately 24 percent of the church's membership were Missionary Volunteers, and that this group was responsible for nearly 30 percent of the reported missionary activities of the church.²⁷

The Foreign Department

Two other departmental organizations were established to further the church's ministry among particular groups. The first of these was the North American Foreign Department, established by the General Conference of 1905. The decision to begin this new department was motivated by two major factors. Shortly after her return to America in 1900, Ellen White began to urge her fellow Adventists to "enter the fields of America that have never been worked." At this time approximately one million immigrants, most speaking languages other than English, were entering the United States each year. Certainly they constituted a veritable "mission field at home."

The second factor leading to the development of the North American Foreign Department was the dissatisfaction of German- and Scandinavian-American Adventists over the administration of the new union conferences. The Germans, especially, objected to placing so much

authority for sponsoring local work in the hands of English-speaking Americans, whom they felt did not understand or have an interest in the work among ethnic minorities. Some German-speaking American Adventists advocated the formation of a German union conference with its own officers and separate financing. Adventist leaders, conscious of the way in which the Lutheran Church in America had fragmented along linguistic lines, were determined to avoid a similar situation. A separate department to promote work among non-English-speaking Americans was their answer.

It was an answer that worked reasonably well for a decade, especially after former General Conference president O. A. Olsen became the department's secretary in 1909. But Olsen's death in 1915, followed by the suspicion of "foreigners" which intensified in America during World War I, had a depressing effect on the department's active evangelistic endeavors. Renamed the Bureau of Home Missions, in 1918, its activities became progressively more restricted as new American immigration laws drastically reduced the number of immigrants during the 1920s. In 1951 the bureau was dissolved, and responsibility for work among non-English-speaking Americans was delegated to the union conferences.²⁸

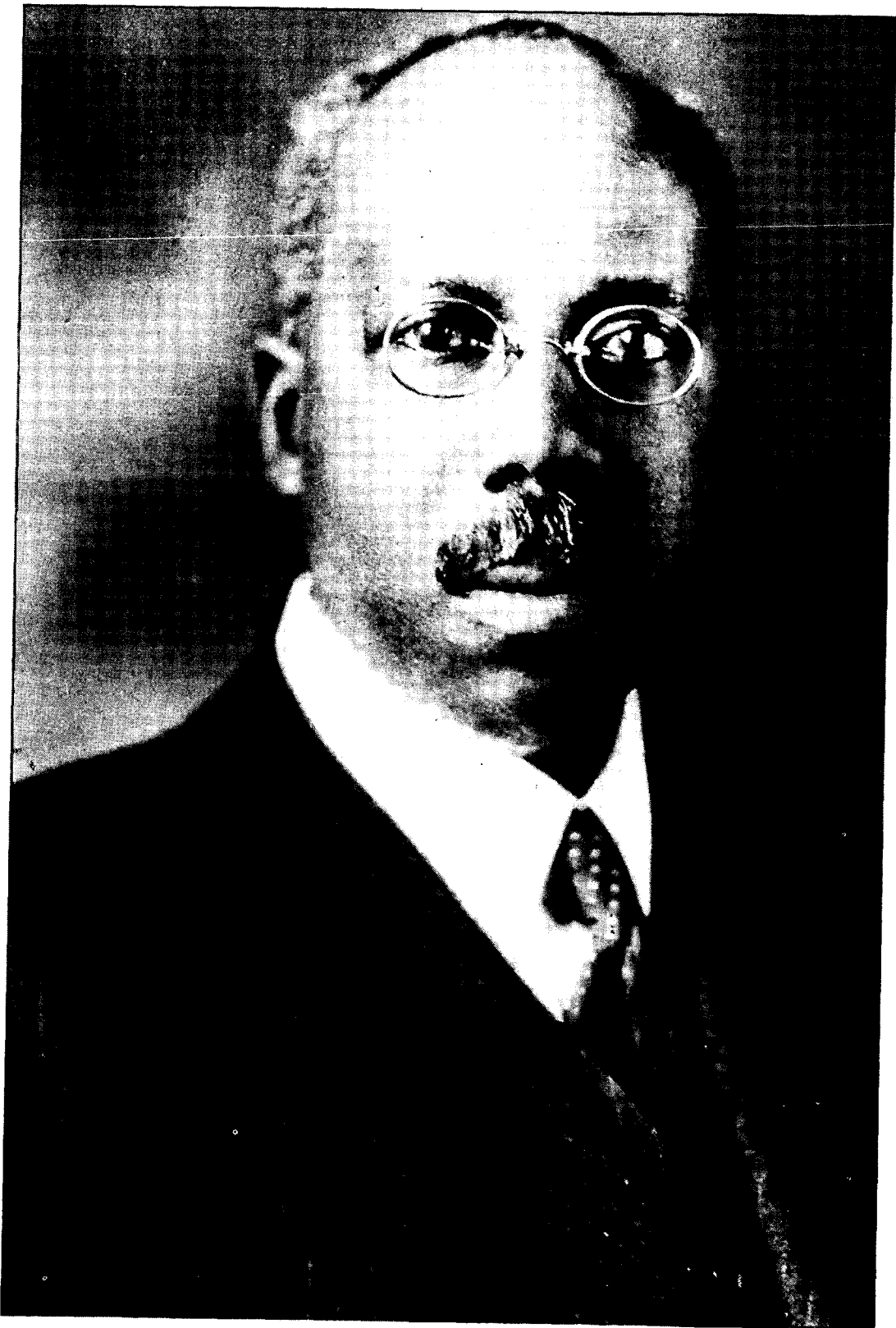
Black Americans

The second department formed to work for a particular group was the North American Negro Department, established in 1909. For some time talented black ministers like Louis Shaefe, J. K. Humphrey, and John Manns had pressed General Conference leaders for such a department. It may well have been Shaefe's success in 1907 in temporarily taking his large Washington, D.C., congregation outside the conference organization that propelled the 1909 General Conference into establishing the North American Negro Department.

Union and local conferences throughout the United States soon followed the pattern of the General Conference in establishing a Negro department or committee to evangelize Afro-Americans. By 1918 the 900 Afro-American Adventists of 1909 had expanded in numbers to 3500—concrete evidence of the success of departmentalizing.

During these early years a succession of white ministers headed the Negro Department. But by 1918 black Adventist leaders were able to persuade their white associates that the department would be even more effective under a black secretary. William H. Green, chosen for this post, had been a successful lawyer in North Carolina and Washington, D.C., before becoming an Adventist pastor. As a lawyer Green had argued before the U.S. Supreme Court; as a pastor he had led congregations in Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and Detroit.

Over the next decade Green traveled extensively, not only in the South, but also among the numerous black churches being "gathered out" in the large urban centers of the Northeast and Midwest. His administrative and



William H. Green

diplomatic skills contributed greatly to the continued growth of Adventist membership among Afro-Americans. This growth took place in spite of the survival and spread of discriminatory practices in Adventist schools and sanitariums and in some churches. Tragically, all too many American Adventists of Caucasian background found it difficult to shake off their culturally acquired prejudice against blacks. This persistent discrimination played a major role in the secession of New York City's six-hundred member First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist church in 1929 (treated in a later chapter).

Even with this defection, G. E. Peters, who became secretary of the Negro Department following Elder Green's untimely death, reported that in 1930 there were more than 8,000 Afro-American Adventists. During the discussions as to who should succeed Green, some black ministers had pressed for the formation of separate conferences for black churches, with complete control over their own finances and institutions. Their white counterparts saw no light in this proposal. It would be another decade and a half before the quiet, tactful persuasion of Peters and Frank L. Peterson, combined with vigorous pressure from an exceptional group of black Adventist laymen, resulted in the General Conference Committee's decision to authorize black conferences.²⁹

Just as Adventist leaders were concerned to maintain organizational unity, so they also sought doctrinal unity. Varying interpretations of certain biblical passages and prophecies disturbed them. How were they to deal with *this* problem?

Suggested Reading:

The development of Adventist divisional and departmental organization has so far attracted little substantive historical writing. Perhaps the best place to begin the study of a particular department is with the *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, supplemented by the reports given by departmental secretaries at the General Conference sessions. The Sabbath School and Missionary Volunteer departments have been those best served in books. For the Sabbath School Department see L. F. Plummer, *From Acorn to Oak* (n.d.) and G. C. Sabbath School Department, *The Sabbath School: Its History, Organization and Objectives* (1938). M. Andross, *Missionary Volunteers and Their Work* (n.d.), is updated in a more readable style by N. Krum in *The MV Story* (1963). A good "feel" for the personalities of A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, who played the dominant roles in Adventism from 1901-1930, may be secured in D. and G. Ochs, *The Past and the Presidents* (1974), pp. 105-156. For the views of one intimately involved in organizing Adventist work for parents and youth see A. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 116-129, 196-218. Spalding's account of the Adventist work among minorities in III: 311-332 should be supplemented by J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975).

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25. Krum, pp. 20-39.
26. Krum, pp. 39-51; *General Conference Bulletin*, April 7, 1918, pp. 86-88.
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28. "In Behalf of the German Work in America," undated and unsigned manuscript, reports, narrative folder, presidential file, 1901-1950, General Conference archives; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, April 6, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 983-985.
29. J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony* (1975), pp. 31-50; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 538, 1195, 1196, 1537; *General Conference Bulletin*, June 9, 1930, pp. 154, 155; J. Mesar and T. Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, I (January 1974): 34-41, 53.

CHAPTER 24

Debates Over Nonessentials

Seventh-day Adventists have long been ambivalent toward new theological and prophetic interpretations. A major part of the traditional Adventist fear of a creed is linked to the desire not to become “locked in” to a fixed, immovable position which would lead to rejection of new “truth” discovered through Bible study, discussion, and the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit.

Yet inevitably new ideas are likely to cause disagreement, discussion, and debate. In the view of W. W. Prescott, such a situation was to be welcomed rather than feared. “If there are no differences arising among us,” he told the delegates to a special Bible conference in 1919, “if there are no discussions of these things [different views], it is because we are not advancing.”

But Prescott also recognized that many did not share his view. “One of our dangers,” he observed, “has been that we were so sure that we had the truth that we did not want any more. If anyone came with any more truth, we were afraid he was departing from the faith.” M. C. Wilcox, for many years editor of the *Signs of the Times*, was a bit more pointed when he stated that “it would seem . . . the earlier stalwarts in the message were not so afraid of free investigation as some of our later men in responsibility.”¹

Wilcox was probably referring to President Daniells, who frankly admitted that he had hesitated to call a conference of church leaders and theologians to study disputed points for fear that “we might get into a controversy that would not be helpful to any of us nor [sic] to our people.” Although professing willingness to accept new views “as far as we have light and evidence,” Daniells was aware that some Adventists, perhaps many, would find the existence of conflicting viewpoints confusing and

disheartening. Toward the close of the 1919 Bible conference, whose participants included only members of the General Conference Committee, the editors of the principal Adventist journals, and college Bible and history teachers from North America, Daniells noted that his fears had been in part justified. Opposing presentations had "brought some into the fog bank that others have been sailing through and getting out of on the other side where the sun shines."²

Church leaders were justifiably anxious to avoid a repetition of the strong words and harsh feelings that had erupted at Minneapolis in 1888. They knew how tenaciously many had clung to old views, fearing that to change them in any particular would be to undermine some key Adventist doctrine.

"The Law" in Galatians

No one was a better example of this than Uriah Smith. Although Smith had confessed his wrong attitude and become reconciled to Ellen White in 1891, he did not abandon all his old views. For four years, from 1897-1901, Smith graciously served as an associate to his old antagonist, A. T. Jones, while Jones edited the *Review*. But when Smith was restored to the editorship in 1901, he soon opened the columns of the *Review* to a series of articles that restated his old position on the law in Galatians.

When Smith's action was challenged, he reacted strongly. The position that the "added law" and "schoolmaster" of Galatians 3 referred to the ceremonial law, Smith maintained, "used to be the *old established* view of our people." He could not see that this interpretation in any way militated against justification by faith, in which Adventists had "*always believed.*" Moreover, Smith maintained that "if any *dissatisfaction* was aroused, or any *injury* done, it should have been when this view was ruthlessly broken into by the articles in the *Signs of the Times*, and the lectures in Healdsburg College."

Demonstrating his unwillingness to concede this point, Smith stated categorically:

"We cannot maintain the perpetuity of the moral law with the view that has been lately introduced; and it seems to me like making a move *backward* to give ourselves away to the claims of our opponents. I do not know, and never have known, of a position that fully meets the no law position, except the position that Paul in the Galatians refers largely to a ceremonial law; and this does not interfere at all with the question of justification by faith."³

Smith's views did not die with him in 1903; they were shared by others. As late as 1919 R. A. Underwood, president of the Central Union Conference, was still certain that E. J. Waggoner had been wrong in identifying the "schoolmaster" of Galatians 3 as the moral law of the Ten Commandments. He was positive that Ellen White had taken the position that this was the ceremonial law. Underwood was most unhappy to hear some

Adventist college Bible teachers express uncertainty as to just which law was referred to in Galatians 3.

The position of Smith and Underwood regarding the law in Galatians provides a concrete example of how many stalwart Adventists were made nervous by shifts in biblical interpretation. Such individuals frequently became so preoccupied with a need to justify old positions that they neglected essentials of salvation doctrine. Thus it was that at the beginning of the 1919 Bible conference both Daniells and Prescott felt it necessary to appeal to conference participants to work for the inclusion of righteousness by faith concepts in all Adventist sermons. In a series of studies at the conference, Prescott repeatedly emphasized the need for first converting individuals to Christ and then later presenting all Adventist doctrines as growing out of the relationship between sinners and their Saviour. This was the glorious truth that had been reemphasized in 1888. Unfortunately, thirty years later it was obscured in too many Adventist sermons by speculation concerning the "king of the north," Armageddon, and final apocalyptic events.⁴

The Deity of Christ

It was not only over the "law in Galatians" that some Adventist leaders found it difficult to change their thinking. Semi-Arian views concerning the nature of Christ persisted in some minds. At an early meeting of the 1919 Bible conference, Calvin P. Bollman, an associate editor of *Liberty*, soon to begin eighteen years in a similar post at the *Review*, discussed the relationship of God the Father and God the Son. He suggested that at some time in the past God the Father had separated a part of Himself to form God the Son. This would make Jesus eternal in substance but not eternal in separate existence. W. T. Knox, General Conference treasurer, held a similar view.

L. L. Caviness, at that time an associate editor of the *Review*, expressed reservations about some aspects of the trinitarian doctrine. He called attention to scriptures indicating that the Father had *given* the Son to have life in Himself, and had *given* the Son glory. Such statements, he held, implicitly denied the ideas of coeternality and coequality.

Prescott took sharp exception to such positions. Deity, he maintained, could not be deity without eternity. While admitting that Christ's seemingly contradictory statements "The Father is greater than I" and "The Father and I are one" were troublesome, he reasoned that "the only difficulty is in the ability of the finite mind to comprehend all of God." H. Camden Lacey, Bible teacher at Washington Missionary College, suggested that the terms "Father" and "Son" were simply human terms adopted to help mankind relate in a more meaningful way to the two members of the Deity and should in no way be interpreted to indicate a more recent existence for the Son. Editor A. O. Tait of the *Signs of the Times* believed it was better not even to discuss such matters!⁵

Differing concepts of the Deity were also reflected in conflicting viewpoints on whether prayer should be addressed only to God the Father, or if it was also proper to pray to Jesus and the Holy Spirit. What names for God should be used in prayer and preaching? Was it ever proper to address God with the familiar “You” instead of the formal “Thou”? Elder Daniells thought not. When W. W. Prescott suggested in a devotional study that Christ was Mediator between man and God in the act of creation and in *all* subsequent acts, that His mediation was not confined solely to the period after His crucifixion and ascension, there were puzzled brows and shaking heads. This sounded unfamiliar and therefore suspicious. It did not help when Prescott sought to draw lessons from the natural world. This led to the revival of old charges that he was flirting with pantheism.⁶

Discussion of variant views of the Trinity among Adventist ministers, editors, and teachers was, however, slight when compared to the controversy that raged during the first two decades of the twentieth century over the identity of the “daily.” The term in dispute is found nearly one hundred times in the Old Testament, but Adventist interest centered in its use in Daniel 8:11-13 and 11:31. The first of these passages is closely connected with the 2300-day prophecy so central to much of Adventist theology. In an effort to clarify these passages in Daniel the translators of the King James Version added the word *sacrifice* after daily, although this word does not appear in the Hebrew text. In Daniel 8 the “daily” is to be “taken away” by the little horn power, in Daniel 11 by the king of the north.

The Judgment

Prior to the rise of the Millerite movement biblical scholars had generally assigned one of two major interpretations to the “daily” in Daniel 8 and 11. Those who believed that it was to be understood literally applied it to the discontinuance of the daily sacrifices in the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, either at the time the Hellenistic king Antiochus Epiphanes prohibited them during the second century B.C., or at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. Many Protestant interpreters, especially during Reformation times, assigned a symbolic meaning to the “daily.” They saw it as the corruption of true Christian worship by either the papacy or the Moslems.

As he studied the 2300-day prophecy, William Miller was perplexed over the correct identification of the “daily.” At last, by a rather strained connection of Daniel 8:11-13 with Second Thessalonians 2:7, 8, he became convinced that the “daily” referred to Roman paganism. This would be “taken away” and its place taken by “the abomination that maketh desolate” of Daniel 11:31, which Miller took to be the papacy. He went on to reason that the power through which pagan and papal Rome had “trodden under foot” and “polluted” God’s true sanctuary—the earth and His church—would be ended at the end of the 2300 days/years. This

“cleansing of the sanctuary” would be Christ’s second advent.

Miller’s opponents were quick to attack his views on both historical and exegetical grounds. Most of them believed that the 2300 days referred to literal days and the daily sacrifices were literal sacrifices offered in the temple in Jerusalem. They saw the prophecy’s fulfillment in the actions of Antiochus Epiphanes and so were certain it could have no possible connection with the second advent. Although there were some differences of opinion among the leading Millerite lecturers over Miller’s elaborate attempt at integrating the 1290 years of Daniel 12:11 and 666 years of pagan supremacy (his view of the mystic number of Revelation 13:18) within the 2300-day prophecy, all Millerites closed ranks behind the view that the prophecy was symbolic and ended in 1844.⁷

In the confusion that characterized Adventist ranks during the days following the Great Disappointment, Miller’s views were subjected to continual reexamination. Many Adventists reinterpreted the time portions of the prophecies to come up with new dates for Christ’s return a few years in the future. Both James White and Joseph Bates flirted with this temptation, but both soon accepted the word of Ellen White that God had shown her that the third angel’s message was not to be “hung on time.” In 1850 James White could declare that the 2300 years were “the main pillar of the Advent faith”; their beginning and ending dates in 457 B.C. and A.D. 1844 were “immovable.”⁸

The “Daily”

As O. R. L. Crosier developed his extensive explanation of the heavenly sanctuary, he intimated that it was the service there that had been polluted and cast down by the papacy. He broke with Miller by interpreting the “daily” as pointing to Christ’s substitutionary sacrifice, which he felt the papacy had taken away and replaced by the doctrine of salvation through works and the intercession of saints.

Although the founding fathers of Seventh-day Adventism were quick to see in Crosier’s heavenly sanctuary explanation the key to the Great Disappointment, they continued to follow Miller’s identification of the “daily” as pagan Rome, whose sanctuary (the city of Rome) was inherited by the papacy. Joseph Bates, James White, and J. N. Andrews all echoed Miller’s views of the “daily” in their writings, but it was Uriah Smith who gave the most detailed justification of this position in his *Thoughts on Daniel*. As we have seen, Smith’s *Daniel and the Revelation* elevated him to the role of Adventism’s chief prophetic expositor; to most Adventists, Smith’s interpretations of prophetic details had virtually the authority of divine revelation. There was a widespread, though unsubstantiated, belief that Ellen White had written that an angel had especially guided Smith as he wrote *Daniel and the Revelation*.⁹

Then around 1900, as L. R. Conradi was studying the prophetic portions of Daniel anew preparatory to writing a book on them for circulation in

Germany, he discerned an interpretation of the “daily” much closer to that of Crosier than that of Miller. After checking with Mrs. White to see if she had contrary light (she did not), Conradi published his new views. He saw the “daily” as referring to the true sanctuary service carried on under the Christian dispensation by Jesus in heaven, where He served as High Priest. Conradi believed that the papacy had taken this service away by substituting the mass and a system of human priesthood in which the pope had assumed the position of Jesus.

While formulating his new views Conradi discussed them with denominational leaders such as Daniells, Prescott, and Spicer and found them receptive. In fact Daniells and Prescott soon became among the most active proponents in America of this “new view” of the “daily.” Further study by Conradi led to the discovery that this new view was not so new after all, but had been held in principle by many of the leading Protestant reformers.

As might have been expected, many Adventist ministers were unhappy at seeing a different interpretation given to one element in a key prophecy, which they had long explained so authoritatively. If they began to shift positions, where would it end? And if their enemies noted this change, might they not effectively charge that Adventists were as mistaken in other details as they now admitted themselves to have been over the “daily”? Uriah Smith’s son Leon issued a tract defending his father’s position and specifically attacking Daniells for espousing the “new view.” In developing a spirited defense during 1910 Daniells allowed himself to be diverted from sounding the call to increased city evangelism that he had promised Ellen White he would give.¹⁰

Several important leaders from Adventism’s earlier days rallied to the defense of the William Miller-Uriah Smith interpretation of the “daily”—among them S. N. Haskell, G. I. Butler, and George Irwin. They sought to interpret an Ellen White statement in *Early Writings*, originally written in 1850, as giving blanket endorsement to this “old view.” The selection read:

“Then I saw in relation to the ‘daily’ (Daniel 8:12) that the word sacrifice was supplied by man’s wisdom, and does not belong to the text, and that the Lord gave the correct view of it to those who gave the judgment hour cry. When union existed, before 1844, nearly all were united on the correct view of the ‘daily’; but in the confusion since 1844, other views have been embraced, and darkness and confusion have followed.”

A little earlier in the same article, Mrs. White had written:

“I have seen that the 1843 chart was directed by the hand of the Lord, and that it should not be altered; that the figures were as He wanted them; that His hand was over and hid a mistake in some of the figures, so that none could see it, until His hand was removed.”

In an effort to bolster the “old view” Haskell had a number of copies of

an old 1843 prophetic chart reproduced. These showed Miller's interpretation of the "daily," including 666 years of pagan Rome supremacy. This, Miller taught, expired in A.D. 508, at which time the "daily" was taken away. On the bottom of this reproduction Haskell printed the Ellen White statements from *Early Writings*. But Haskell was due for a shock. He soon received a letter from Mrs. White pointedly requesting him not to make use of her statement in this way. Shortly thereafter she wrote in a similar vein to other defenders of the "old view." "I have had no instruction on the point under discussion," she stated.

Yet Ellen White's 1850 statement remained a puzzle to many. In an effort to clear up the confusion Daniells, W. C. White, and C. C. Crisler interviewed Mrs. White on the matter. She recalled that the major point at issue in 1850 had been the validity of the dates involved in the 2300-day prophecy; various of the Adventist groups were shifting these in such a way as to end in 1854 or later. These Adventists still expected Christ to return at the close of the 2300-year period. Her vision had been given to bring assurance that there had been no mistake in the dating of the 2300 days.

"I do not know what the daily is, whether it is paganism or Christ's ministry," Mrs. White told Daniells. "That was not the thing that was shown me." This was something church leaders would have to study out for themselves. She was certain, however, that it was "a subject of minor importance" upon which differences of opinion should not be made prominent. Above all, Ellen White did not want her writings quoted in support of either side in the controversy.

By 1919 most of the prominent church leaders had apparently accepted the "new view" of the "daily," although there was still enough discussion to warrant Prescott's making a detailed defense of the new position. Among other things, Prescott pointed out that there were really *no* differing viewpoints among Adventists as to what the "daily" referred to during the late 1840s and 1850s. All agreed that the word "sacrifice" had been supplied by the translators erroneously. The point of Ellen White's vision must have been to discourage future time setting, he reasoned.¹¹

Even before discussion concerning the identification of the "daily" subsided, Adventists were caught up in another debate, this time over the proper interpretation of Daniel 11. Almost all students of Daniel's prophecies agreed that the material presented in Chapter 11 was an expansion of the events introduced symbolically in Chapters 2, 7, and 8. But what form did this expansion take? Did it merely describe in greater detail the work of the world powers introduced earlier, or were new powers, destined to play a major role in the "time of the end," introduced in the later verses? Complex grammatical constructions and ambiguous pronouns added to the confusion. As H. C. Lacey pointed out in 1919, proponents could make a good case for applying the same verse to Antiochus Epiphanes, the papacy, or Napoleon.

The Eastern Question

Once again it was Uriah Smith who had developed the interpretation predominating in Adventist circles during the first third of the twentieth century. Arguing that the phrase “the time of the end” in Daniel 11:35 pointed to the “deadly wound” given by French armies to the papacy in 1798, Smith believed the next verse introduced revolutionary France. In verses 40-43 Smith saw the ambitious but unsuccessful campaign of Napoleon against Egypt described. He equated the king of the south mentioned here with Egypt and the king of the north with Turkey. Moving on, Smith intimated that verse 44 probably pictured the Crimean War. Only verse 45 remained to be fulfilled.

This final verse of Daniel 11 was vitally important because the opening verses of chapter 12 were generally agreed to picture the second advent. Thus Daniel 11:45 held the key to those developments in the secular world that would just precede, and thus dramatically herald, that climactic event. Smith was certain verse 45 indicated the expulsion of Turkey from Europe and the relocation of the Turkish capital in Palestine, probably in Jerusalem. This coincided, he believed, with the drying up of the Euphrates (a type of Turkey) mentioned in Revelation 16:12 as coming under the sixth plague and directly preceding the battle of Armageddon.¹²

The continual decline of Turkish influence in Europe during the nineteenth century seemed to most Adventist evangelists a clear validation of Uriah Smith’s expectation that the “sick man of the East” would soon be driven from Europe. Then the end would come. Scores of sermons on this “Eastern Question” were used to attract popular attention to the imminence of Christ’s return.

But not all Adventist students of prophecy were satisfied that Smith had understood Daniel 11 correctly. In 1919 A. O. Tait indicated that he had not “heard one of these speeches [on the Eastern Question] for twenty years that has not put a pain in my soul.”

It seemed terribly inconsistent to Tait for Adventists to make much of Turkey’s losing its independence on August 11, 1840, as they did by holding to the interpretation of the sixth trumpet of Revelation 9 inherited from Josiah Litch, while at the same time making Turkey so important in Daniel 11:45 that its end would usher in the advent. Tait believed there was “something bigger” in this prophecy that Adventists had not yet seen.

Another leading Adventist to part company with Smith’s interpretation was M. C. Wilcox, who arrived at a different understanding of Daniel 11 reluctantly, for he had worked under Smith as a young man and admired him greatly. When he first heard James White, who applied Daniel 11:45 to the papacy, cast doubts on Smith’s position, Wilcox had been sure that White was wrong. Subsequent study, however, reversed this view.

During 1911-12, Wilcox suggested a variant interpretation of several parts of Daniel 11 in a series of articles in the *Signs of the Times*. To him,

the introduction of France and Turkey into the final verses of Daniel 11 broke the vision's parallelism with Daniel 7 and 8. Wilcox held that much of the first two thirds of Daniel 11 described the campaigns of the Seleucids and Ptolemies and the Antiochus Epiphanes attacks on the Jews. This latter he saw as a type of the future career of the papacy (introduced, he felt, in verse 31) and its persecution of God's true saints. The remaining verses of chapter 11, according to Wilcox, described the papacy—not France and Turkey. This meant that verses 41 through 45 remained to be fulfilled, rather than verse 45 alone.

Wilcox fixed the "time of the end" as beginning in 1844 with the discovery of the truth about the heavenly sanctuary rather than with the pope's capture in 1798. He believed Satan would use the papacy in a special attempt to crush this truth. The idea that Turkey was the king of the north of Daniel 11:45 was to Wilcox "not only contrary to history and Scripture, but deplorably inconsistent and inharmonious with itself." He believed instead that verse 45 referred to the papacy, supported by a Christian European confederacy. This combination would be drawn at the end of time into a gigantic struggle with the Moslem world.¹³

When Wilcox's new views first appeared, he remembered later, there had been "very little criticism" of them, but "much favorable comment." However, the rush of world events, notably the Italo-Turkish War, followed by the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, seemed to point to the imminent destruction of Turkey. This in turn led to a vigorous proclamation and defense of Uriah Smith's position. Adventist expectations heightened when Turkey entered World War I and began to suffer defeat at the hands of the Allies. With secular commentators referring to the war as "Armageddon," Adventist preachers could not resist proclaiming what seemed the rapid movement toward the end envisioned in the Smith interpretation.

The "Eastern Question" became the prime subject for Adventist evangelists and writers. Both of the church's top leaders, Daniells and Spicer, published books incorporating Smith's views of Daniel 11 and citing current events as a part of the fast-fulfilling prophetic picture. Then in the second half of 1917 Turkish forces began to withdraw from the wrong spots. Palestine, rather than Constantinople, was evacuated. On December 9, instead of the Turks relocating their capital in Jerusalem, General Allenby's British forces entered that ancient, sacred city. Suddenly it no longer seemed quite so obvious that Uriah Smith's view of Daniel 11:45 was in process of fulfillment.¹⁴

At the time the Seventh-day Adventist Bible conference met in Takoma Park in the summer of 1919, the peace treaties ending World War I were still being negotiated. The future role of Turkey was uncertain. There was renewed interest in Wilcox's interpretation of Daniel 11, especially when it was noted that James White had also understood the king of the north of the final verses to apply to the papacy rather than Turkey. Since Ellen

White's writings were silent on this question, proponents both of the "old view" and those attracted by Wilcox's exposition felt free to press their views.

Arthur Daniells held firmly to the "old" interpretation. He noted that this was *not* simply because it was the one proposed in *Daniel and Revelation*, since he disagreed with Smith's view of the "daily." Wilcox had suggested that God was the true King of the North, with Satan attempting to usurp His power and position. In turn, Wilcox believed, Satan had worked through Babylon and succeeding states, culminating in the papacy. These satanic agents, then, were spoken of successively in the prophecy as the king of the north. Daniells found this interpretation farfetched.

Still others who were uncomfortable with the "old" interpretation were loath to adopt another. Prescott announced that he "would prefer that the old position should prevail" because "when we have fully committed ourselves to a position, I would rather we would not have to change it." He had found so many difficulties in trying to uphold Uriah Smith's interpretation of Daniel 11, however, that he had stopped preaching on this prophecy altogether. The more Prescott studied, the more he saw a contrast throughout all of Scripture between Babylon (as a symbol of opposition to God and His people) and Jerusalem (representing God's people and government). Thus he was drawn more and more toward Wilcox's views. H. C. Lacey had a similar experience.¹⁵

Daniells was not alone in 1919 in his vigorous defense of Turkey as the king of the north. He was joined by C. M. Sorenson, dean of theology at Washington Missionary College, C. S. Longacre, General Conference religious liberty secretary, and others. Probably more time was devoted to this subject during this first major Seventh-day Adventist Bible conference than to any other—although there were disagreements on other points of prophetic interpretation as well. Both A. O. Tait, a proponent of the "new view," and Daniells agreed that "we can all get through to heaven if we never understand all these questions"; still, discussion was spirited, and there was little evidence that members of one camp or the other made many converts. At last in desperation, and with an unusual touch of humor, Daniells suggested, "Let's send the king of the north and the two-horned beast together up in a balloon."¹⁶

Armageddon

Disagreement over the king of the north persisted in Adventist circles until well after World War II, and complete unanimity has never really been achieved on this point or the related issue of the nature of the battle of Armageddon. Throughout the nineteenth century Adventists had quite generally considered Armageddon, which according to Revelation 16:16 occurs during the sixth plague, to be a supernatural conflict. At the very time when Satan would succeed in getting the governments of the world

to condemn to death those who refused to honor Sunday, they believed, God would intervene to save His people.

During the first decade of the twentieth century a new view of Armageddon as a political-military conflict between the Orient and the Occident crept into Adventist circles and was soon widely accepted and preached as a sign of the second coming. This interpretation appears to have been more the product of world events and newspaper headlines than of biblical exegesis. These were the years of the rapid and extensive armament build-up prior to World War I. Secular writers talked freely of the armament race leading to "Armageddon," meaning a devastating conflict destructive of modern civilization.

These were also years in which a vigorous nationalism blossomed in Asia. The Boxer Rebellion, with its anti-European thrust, was one of the earliest manifestations of this phenomenon. When several years later the Japanese successfully challenged and defeated the huge Russian Empire, many Europeans began to tremble at the thought of the "Yellow Peril." In 1913 R. C. Porter, just selected to lead the Seventh-day Adventist Asiatic Union, told *Review* readers that East-West racial tensions were likely to result in Armageddon. Six years later Daniells was certain that Armageddon would grow out of a struggle to control the territory between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf.

The racist writings of Lothrop Stoddard during the 1920s contributed greatly to the fears of an Asiatic drive to dominate the world. These fears were intensified by the Japanese endeavor to build a navy equal to those of Britain and the United States. Then, in 1931, Japan defied the League of Nations by absorbing Manchuria. During the next few years increased Japanese aggressiveness confirmed Adventist evangelists in their view of Armageddon as a literal gigantic East-West military engagement in Palestine.

Increasingly, however, during the 1930s and 40s Adventist college Bible teachers became suspicious of the soundness of viewing Armageddon in these terms. Although they had been brought up in this tradition, they decided to investigate its biblical basis. Substantive study of the Scriptures and the writings of Ellen White brought them by 1960 back to the nineteenth-century Adventist interpretation of Armageddon as primarily a spiritual struggle—the final act in the conflict between good and evil. Yet the idea of a literal military conflict in Palestine has persisted—an idea that has been fed by Arab-Israeli tensions, threats of oil embargo, and big-power involvement in the Middle East.¹⁷

Divergent Views

Since from their earliest days Adventists had been so vitally concerned with the prophetic portions of Scripture, it was probably inevitable that divergent interpretations of prophetic details would continually plague their united proclamation of the three angels' messages. Convinced that

they were called to herald the good news of Christ's soon return and to prepare a "special people" for that event, church members were anxious that their message be presented with convincing power. Thus it was vitally important that every detail of prophecy be portrayed as correctly and creditably as possible. Yet in its very nature certain aspects of the prophetic picture were less clear than others. It was on such points that conflicting views developed and were defended with alacrity.

Let us, without going into details, mention a few of the areas of disagreement. As has already been noted, there were at least two different dates assigned by Adventists for beginning the "time of the end"—1798 and 1844. The 1798 date, traditionally cited by Adventists as the end of the 1260 days/years of papal persecution was in itself challenged by some. This group found better reasons to start this prophetic period in 533, which would make it end in 1793. Even those who favored 1798 could not agree as to just *what* it was about that year that made it the logical terminus of the 1260-year prophecy. Was it the fact that the pope was taken prisoner by the French, that papal civil government ceased, or that the Catholic Church's power to deny religious liberty in Italy was ended?

The proper identification of the ten kingdoms that succeeded Rome had been a major point of controversy in 1888. Thirty years later there was still disagreement over which were the "proper" kingdoms to count. C. P. Bollman argued in 1919 that the Heruli, long considered one of the ten kingdoms, could not possibly be counted since they had disappeared before 533, the earliest possible time that the little horn (representing the papacy) could be said to arise. Bollman felt certain that all ten kingdoms had to be in existence at the time the papacy began to assume temporal power. He also argued that Uriah Smith had been wrong in identifying the Heruli as one of the three kingdoms uprooted to make way for the papacy. Bollman felt the Lombards better met this specification.

Bollman's 533 date for the papacy's assumption of power led Prescott to question how Adventists could then blame the papacy for changing the Sabbath, since it was generally conceded that this had been attempted in the fourth century by the Council of Laodicea. Prescott's point demonstrated the interconnection of the various facets of prophetic interpretation in Adventist theology. It was for this reason that many Adventist ministers feared the introduction of any new views. Might this not cause their entire prophetic framework to tumble down like a pack of cards? C. M. Sorenson seemed to think so. "The interpretation of prophecy is essential to salvation in these last days," he declared. "But there is a crusade of opposition against it, and an under-current among Seventh-day Adventists exists to put it away."¹⁸

The many complex symbols introduced in the book of Revelation provided fertile areas for conflicting interpretations. How, for instance, should the seven heads of the beast of Revelation 17 be identified? Almost all Adventist interpreters favored counting Babylon, Medo-Persia,

Greece, Rome, and the papacy as five of the seven, but what were the other two? Some favored the addition of Egypt and Assyria, persecuting powers whose ascendancy antedated that of Babylon. Others wanted to count the sixth head as "apostate Protestantism," with the seventh designating a restored papacy.

What about the mystic number of the beast given in Revelation 13:18—666? All were agreed that it must refer to the papacy (although William Miller had applied it to the period of pagan Rome's supremacy). Yet just *how* was this number to be linked to the papacy? Uriah Smith, following earlier commentators, had done so by adding the Roman numerals appearing in the papal title *Vicarius Filii Dei* and getting 666. Most Adventists followed him, yet Adventist scholars knew that Smith's bold statement that this "blasphemous title" appeared "in jewelled letters" upon the papal miter or crown could not be documented.¹⁹

There were other troublesome passages in the Revelation upon which unanimity of belief and teaching were missing. One of these was in interpreting the seven trumpets of Revelation 8-11. "Every time any one comes along with an exposition of the trumpets," W. W. Prescott complained, "he makes assertions that some of the rest of us cannot agree with at all. I wish we could come to a place where we would not assert what is not so."

But who was to say what was and was not so? Prescott, for one, had strong reservations about the exact dating of the sixth trumpet. It was one thing to follow Josiah Litch in proclaiming that the period mentioned in Revelation 9:15 stood for 391 years and 15 days and ended on August 11, 1840, but another to find *really* significant events to link with the beginning and ending of this period. Prescott did not think this had been done. He felt a much safer interpretation was to consider that the prophetic "hour, and a day, and a month, and a year" stood for an indefinite period of time rather than the exact amount Litch had deduced.²⁰

"This Generation"

Their consistent concern over the nearness of the second coming tempted Adventists in the direction of date-setting. Almost to a man they followed Ellen White's counsel and avoided looking for their hopes to be fulfilled on a particular day or during a specific year. Instead they fell into the trap of trying to decide what was the latest possible time that Christ could come and still be consistent with His statement in Matthew 24:34 that "this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled." Clearly in the preceding verses, and in parallel passages in Mark 13 and Luke 21, Christ had been discussing the signs of His second coming. Surely if they could simply discover when "this generation" began—and how long a generation was—they would at least know the farthest possible time they would have to wait for the fulfillment of their hopes.

And so the prognostications began. In 1919 *Review* editor F. M. Wilcox

remembered that when he had first become an Adventist some forty years earlier "it was preached strongly that those who saw the darkening of the sun would see the coming of the Lord." Sadly Wilcox added, "We have been driven from that position." He then went on to describe how some Adventists had next decided that "this generation" began in 1798, only to be forced to retreat once more and begin it with the falling of the stars in 1833. For himself, Wilcox stated, "I don't believe it is profitable in our preaching to bring things down to such a fine point as would create a stir among the people, and then perhaps in a few years we have got to recede from that position." Wilcox doubted that anyone knew precisely when "this generation" began or how long it would last.

Not all felt as did Wilcox. R. D. Quinn, president of the Atlantic Union Conference, believed that "there ought to be something to mark the limits of the last generation." Quinn was certain that Ellen White had begun "this generation" with the group who had seen the falling of the stars. Missionary J. M. Comer, on furlough from India, claimed to have seen a statement to that effect in one of Mrs. White's *Review* articles during the late 1890s. Comer was possibly remembering that in the course of an exposition of Matthew 24:34, Ellen White had injected the phrase "the generation that saw the signs" after "this generation." Farther than that she did not go.²¹

Yet Comer and Quinn were not alone in seeking to identify "this generation." M. C. Wilcox believed that it was the generation that followed the end of the 2300 days in 1844. Daniells largely concurred. B. L. House, Bible teacher at Southwestern Junior College, was even more emphatic. "It seems to me," he stated, "that the message of God is impeached if God allows that generation [the one beginning in 1844] to pass away before the Lord Jesus comes in the clouds of heaven."

Like F. M. Wilcox, Elder Prescott was dubious as to the wisdom of trying to limit "this generation" to the "lifetime of certain individuals." "You know there are interpretations upon interpretations as to where this generation begins and where it ends," Prescott remarked. For himself, "I do not attempt to place the beginning of it." He explained why:

"I don't want to fix my mind on physical things and make no effort to fulfill what I think is the greatest sign. The thing that is put directly as the sign of the end is the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom to all the world for a witness to all nations."

In taking this position, Prescott was in harmony with a definite statement from Ellen White's pen. "The gospel must be carried to every kingdom under heaven," she had written in 1898, "and then shall the end come." But Prescott did not cite Ellen White, preferring to base his conclusions on the Bible text alone whenever possible. Others were not so restrained. Just as Comer had attempted to settle the controversy over "this generation" by a supposed quotation from Mrs. White, so H. S. Prenier, Bible teacher at Lancaster Junior College, had earlier attempted

to fix the exact dates for the 1260 days by quotations from *Great Controversy*.²² Just what *would* the church's attitude toward Ellen White and her writings be now that she was no longer among them?

Suggested Reading:

There are virtually no secondary accounts of the conflicting interpretations of prophecy that preoccupied so many Adventists during the first third of the twentieth century. A notable exception is G. Land, "The Perils of Prophesying: Seventh-day Adventists Interpret World War I," *Adventist Heritage I* (January 1974): 28-33, 55, 56. Good articles on "the daily" and "Armageddon" appear in the *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*. Students might also profit from the encyclopedia's articles on "Daniel," "Revelation," "Babylon," and the "Number of the Beast." R. F. Cottrell's excellent unpublished paper, prepared for the Bible Research Fellowship, entitled "Pioneer Views on Daniel Eleven and Armageddon" (Rev. ed. 1951), should be consulted wherever available. Students will profit also from surveying issues of the *Signs of the Times* and *Watchman Magazine* for the years 1900-1940.

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1. Transcript of the 1919 Bible Conference, July 8 and 9, 1919, E. G. White Estate.
 2. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 1, 8, and 16, 1919.
 3. William Brickley, "Notes on Galatians," *Review*, January 21, 1902, p. 36; January 28, 1902, p. 52; February 4, 1902, p. 67; U. Smith to L. F. Truby, February 11, 1902, S.D.A. Publishing Association Folder, presidential file, 1890-1910, General Conference archives.
 4. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 3 and 10, 1919.
 5. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 2 and 18, 1919.
 6. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 10 and 14, 1919.
 7. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 366-370.
 8. E. G. White, *A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen White* (1851), p. 48; J. White, *Review*, December 1850, p. 13.
 9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 368, 369.
 10. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 370; H. B. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), pp. 34, 35; W. W. Prescott presentations on the daily, 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 16, 1919.
 11. E. White, *Early Writings* (1945 ed.), pp. 74, 75; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 16 and 30, 1919; A. L. White to E. S. Butz, December 17, 1944; A. L. White to V. Kelsey, January 28, 1943; W. C. White to C. B. Starr, September 22, 1930, E. G. White Estate, outgoing files.
 12. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 16, 1919; U. Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation* (1912), pp. 290-338, 691-696.
 13. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 8 and 9, 1919; M. C. Wilcox, *The King of the North* (1910), *passim*; *Signs of the Times*, April 16, 1913, pp. 6-9; April 23, 1912, pp. 6-8; April 30, 1912, pp. 6-9.
 14. G. Land, "The Perils of Prophesying: Seventh-day Adventists Interpret World War I," *Adventist Heritage I* (January 1974): 28-33, 55, 56.
 15. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 3, 8, 9, 1919.
 16. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 8, 16, 17, 18, 1919.
 17. *Review*, August 7, 1913, pp. 4, 5; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 8, 1919; R. F. Cottrell, "Pioneer Views on Daniel Eleven and Armageddon," unpublished paper prepared for the Bible Research Fellowship, rev. ed. (1951), Andrews University Heritage Room.
 18. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 2, 3, 10, 13, 1919.
 19. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 13, 14, 15, 1919; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1009.
 20. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 17, 1919.
 21. E. G. White, *Review*, December 27, 1898, p. 635; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 18, 1919.
 22. E. G. White, *Review*, December 27, 1898, p. 635; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 10 and 18, 1919.

CHAPTER 25

The Final Years of Ellen White

Conflicting emotions must have surged through Ellen White's breast that day in 1900 when her angelic messenger informed her it was time to say farewell to Australia and return to the United States. She had many friends and loved ones in her native land, including her eldest surviving son, Edson, and his wife, whom she had not seen in nine years. Joy, however, must have been mixed with apprehension. She was now seventy-two; the long ocean voyage would not be easy, and she knew that difficult days lay ahead as the church organization was restructured for more effective witnessing. Her roomy house, "Sunnyside," adjacent to the Avondale campus, was pleasant and familiar, while she no longer owned a home in Battle Creek or Healdsburg to which she might return.

For more than half a century Ellen White had attempted to fulfill faithfully her guide's instruction; she did not falter now. Yet, how comforting to learn in mid-Pacific that He had prepared a "refuge" in America for her in her declining years. Just where, the messenger did not say.

Upon arrival in San Francisco Mrs. White and her son, Willie, spent four days looking over various properties in Oakland where she and James had once owned a home. It was no use—everything was either too expensive or inconveniently arranged. Tired and worn, Mrs. White and her companions proceeded about seventy miles north to spend a few days resting at the St. Helena Sanitarium.

Elmshaven

During her stay at St. Helena Mrs. White learned from friends of an available nearby property they felt would suit her needs. "Elmshaven," a comfortable two-story house, had been built fifteen years earlier by

Robert Pratt. It sat on a little knoll surrounded by some seventy-odd acres of orchards, vineyards, and pastureland. Ellen White was much taken with Elmshaven. The variety of fruit trees—apple, pear, peach, cherry, plum, nectarine, and fig—delighted her. In addition there were a few walnut and olive trees, a 1400-tree prune orchard, plenty of good garden space, and ten acres of hay that would supply the needs of several cows and horses.¹

The entire Elmshaven property was purchased for \$8000. A few months later Mrs. White sold thirteen and one half acres to the sanitarium for use in constructing a food factory, workers' cottages, and a sewage disposal plant. A year later she gave Willie six and a half acres on which to build a home for his family. Several other small parcels of land were given to some of her grandchildren and literary assistants. Needing a knowledgeable fruit farmer to care for her orchards, Mrs. White sent to Australia for Iram James, who had served her well at Cooranbong. When he arrived with his wife and eleven children, he, too, was given several acres of land as a homestead.

In Elmshaven itself a pleasant writing and study room was built above the kitchen for Mrs. White. With a large bay window set to catch the morning sun and a cozy fireplace, it became her favorite room. It was here that on so many mornings during the next fourteen years she would come early, stir up the coals, place a log on the fire, and sit and write quietly for hours until the rest of the household was astir.

Yet Ellen White scarcely had time to get settled at Elmshaven before church leaders were pressing her to attend the 1901 General Conference session. Recognizing that her influence would be needed in order to bring about necessary changes, she agreed to go. On the way she stopped to see the work Edson had begun in Vicksburg and to visit Nashville, fast becoming the center for Adventist work in the Southern States. Then it was on to Battle Creek, reunion with dozens of old friends and numerous interviews and talks with conference delegates.²

Later Publications

Returning to Elmshaven, Mrs. White busied herself with preparing several important books for publication. In 1902 volume seven of *Testimonies for the Church* came from the presses; volume eight followed two years later. Sandwiched between these two volumes was *Education*, a revision and expansion of her *Christian Education* issued a decade earlier. Then in 1905 *The Ministry of Healing*, an integrated presentation of the principles of healthful living suitable for non-Adventists and Adventists alike, appeared. During these same years Mrs. White carried on an extensive correspondence and found time to urge the development of sanitarium work in southern California.

Ellen White did all of her writing in longhand. Generally she retired each evening about eight and arose around two or three in the morning. A

corps of copyists and literary assistants would find several dozen pages of material ready when their work day began. These assistants edited Mrs. White's copy, correcting spelling, punctuation, and grammar. In some cases the elimination of repetitious material or the addition of words needed to make a sentence flow more smoothly might be suggested. This was help such as James White had given during the first thirty-five years of Mrs. White's ministry. Always the corrected copy was submitted to Ellen for her approval before being typed for the final time. Mrs. White's staff worked in a two-story, eight-room office building constructed just behind the main house. Over the years several small cottages were built as living quarters for these assistants.

Up through 1909 Mrs. White continued to travel widely. She made several visits to southern California and two main cross-country trips. During much of 1904 and 1905 Mrs. White lived at Takoma Park, closer to General Conference leaders busily engaged in reestablishing denominational headquarters there. She was an active participant in the 1905 and 1909 General Conferences, both held in Takoma Park. During the first Sabbath of the 1909 conference, Ellen White spoke for fifty minutes to a huge crowd gathered in a camp-meeting tent pitched on the sanitarium and college grounds. She also gave the Sabbath morning sermon on the remaining two Sabbaths of the conference. Although she was eighty-one at the time, her voice rang out clearly; even those standing outside the tent had no trouble understanding her. All this without benefit of a public address system!³

Following the 1909 conference, an extensive speaking tour took Mrs. White first to New England and then back home across the Southern States. This was her last trip across the continent. Sensing that her labors were drawing to a close, she worked earnestly to prepare more books. These would be her legacy to her church. Volume nine, the final volume of *Testimonies for the Church*, appeared in 1909. Two years later *The Acts of the Apostles* joined the three volumes of the "Conflict of the Ages Series" previously published: *The Great Controversy* (1888), *Patriarchs and Prophets* (1890), and *The Desire of Ages* (1898). The fifth volume, *Prophets and Kings*, was nearly finished at the time of her death. Material for the two last incomplete chapters was added from Mrs. White's manuscript file and the volume published in 1917. Two other major books appeared during these years: *Counsels to Teachers, Parents, and Students*, and a revised and enlarged edition of *Gospel Workers*.

A steady stream of church officials stopped by Elmshaven to consult with Mrs. White about everything, from their personal religious experience to the proper choice of workers to lead schools and conferences, or to open the work in some far-flung mission land. If she felt the Lord had given her light on the matters upon which her advice was requested, she gave it freely. Frequently, however, she had no instruction from the Lord. On such occasions she would say, "I dare not . . . take the responsibility of

advising you in this matter. But . . . you have a counselor in the Lord Jesus. Counsel also with your brethren; they can advise you. If the Lord gives me definite instruction concerning you, I will give it to you; but I cannot take upon myself responsibilities that the Lord does not give to me to bear.”⁴

The counsels that did come from this aged leader had the ring of certainty and assurance of her early years. “As a matter of fact,” W. A. Spicer remembered years later, “we saw that gift in old age doing some of the strongest and most effective work of all Mrs. White’s lifetime. . . . Again and again we had to say to ourselves, ‘Mrs. White never, never could have sent that counsel of her own knowledge.’”⁵

Some, who knew Ellen White only as a name—a person uniquely used of God to bring counsel, comfort, rebuke, and inspiration to His people—may have looked upon this elderly woman as an enigmatic and forbidding figure. She was not so regarded by those who knew her well. “She was uniformly pleasant, cheerful, and courageous,” A. G. Daniells remembered. “She was never careless, flippant, or in any way cheap in conversation or manner of life. She was the personification of serious earnestness regarding the things of the kingdom. I never once heard her boast of the gracious gift God had bestowed upon her, or the marvelous results of her endeavors. She did rejoice in the fruitage, but gave all the glory to Him who wrought through her.”⁶

Although Daniells could testify that Mrs. White was “uniformly pleasant, cheerful, and courageous,” there were moments of discouragement as well. She shared such a moment one morning with a breakfast guest. Will Sadler had spent years directing the evangelistic medical mission activities that Dr. Kellogg had begun in Chicago. Now he was studying medicine in San Francisco and had come to Elmshaven for a brief visit. As breakfast was ending, Mrs. White, who had been rather quiet and reserved during the meal, turned to the still-youthful Sadler and remarked, “Brother Sadler, what can one do for a ‘blue’ day?”

Excusing himself from the table, Sadler walked into an adjoining room. Soon he returned with a copy of *Steps to Christ* in his hand. Opening the book to the chapter “What to Do With Doubt,” he handed it to the author. “If I were you,” he said, “I’d read this chapter.”

Giving Sadler’s wrist a friendly tap, Ellen said simply, “Oh, you!” But a smile returned to her lips, a twinkle to her eye. A few minutes later she was back writing busily.⁷

And Ellen White did draw strength and inspiration from her own books. During these later years in particular, she was often found with one of them in her lap, carefully studying its pages. She especially profited from rereading *The Desire of Ages* and *The Great Controversy*, which she once indicated she appreciated “above silver or gold.”

Interestingly enough, Mrs. White at times apparently failed fully to comprehend the significance of what she was writing. In a letter penned in 1898 she commented: “In the night I am aroused from my sleep, and I

write in my diary many things that appear as new to me when read as to any who hear them. If I did not see the matter in my own handwriting, I should not think my pen had traced it.”⁸

Experiences like this strengthened her conviction that, of herself, she “could not have brought out the truths in these books.” How then were they to be explained? “The Lord has given me the help of His Holy Spirit.” On another occasion she stated emphatically: “Sister White is not the originator of these books. They contain the instruction that during her lifework God has been giving her. They contain the precious comforting light that God has graciously given His servant to be given to the world. From their pages this light is to shine into the hearts of men and women, leading them to the Saviour.” Thus when persons raised the question “What if Mrs. White should die?” as they frequently did, Ellen White could say with quiet assurance, “The books that she has written will not die.” Small wonder that she crowded as much writing as possible into her last years.⁹

General Conferences, 1909, 1913

Ellen White was in her eighty-second year when she traveled back to Takoma Park in 1909 to participate in her last General Conference session. By now her strength was failing, but early in the session it was announced that she wanted to meet with all the ministers present. Many, especially among the younger workers, anxiously awaited this occasion since all sensed that it might well be her valedictory.

After reading John 3:1-5 Mrs. White quietly and simply began to expound on the universal need to heed Christ’s words: “Ye must be born again.” Some present were surprised—and a bit disappointed. Was this really the most important thing to talk to the church’s leading ministers about? Yet before her short talk of less than thirty minutes was completed, many among her hearers had been deeply stirred. Nearly forty years later one remembered that “never before, nor have I since, heard such a heart-searching and yet kind and beautiful presentation of the work of the Holy Spirit in transforming human lives into the glorious likeness of Christ as she presented to us.” In these few minutes Adventist leaders were given “a glimpse of the heights of spiritual excellence to which we might attain and to which we ought to attain if we were really servants of Christ to lead people on to a living faith in the Lord Jesus.”

A few days later Mrs. White mounted the platform for her final words to the assembled delegates, many of whom she had worked with for many years. Her words were simple and few. At the end she took from the pulpit the Bible lying there. Opening it, she extended it toward the congregation saying simply: “Brethren and sisters, I commend unto you this Book.” Replacing the Bible, she quietly left the pavilion.¹⁰

Although unable to meet with the delegates who assembled for the 1913 conference session, Ellen White did send them a message of confidence

and a call to increased consecration. There was no cause to fear since “the God of Israel is still guarding His people, and . . . will continue to be with them, even to the end.” “Jesus,” she reminded the assembled church leaders, “will be your helper in every emergency.”¹¹

Final Years

Truly, Ellen White had found Jesus to be *her* helper. In these last years at Elmshaven she rested in the assurance that, like Paul, she had “fought a good fight.” Not that she believed she was secure from the devil’s attacks. And she recognized that, because of the unique position she occupied, people expected more of her than of most. Mrs. White was determined not to be a stumbling block to any. In one of her first conversations with a young woman who had come to be her housekeeper Mrs. White said, “You may see some things in me that you do not approve of. You may see things in my son Willie you do not approve of. I may make mistakes, and my son Willie may make mistakes. I may be lost at last, and my son Willie may be lost. But the dear Lord has a remnant people that will be saved and go through to the Kingdom, and it remains with each of us as individuals whether or not we will be one of that number.”¹²

During her last year or two Ellen White’s writing slackened; more time was spent in riding over the beautiful California hills that surrounded the Napa Valley. Accompanied by Sara McEnterfer, her faithful nurse and companion, and perhaps a grandchild or two, Mrs. White frequently stopped her buggy to converse with neighboring farm wives. Usually there were fresh vegetables or fruit from her garden to share. Most of the persons contacted in this way drew their livelihood from the sale of wine pressed from their vineyards. Seventh-day Adventists, with their commitment to temperance, were generally not very popular in the Napa Valley. Yet for years after her death many of these Italian-American immigrants fondly remembered “the little old woman with white hair, who always spoke so lovingly of Jesus.”¹³

Mrs. White maintained a warm interest in the products of her orchards, although no longer able to stand in the wagon and pick cherries as she had done when she first returned from Australia. She arranged for much of the fruit from her trees to be dried and sent out in packets to Adventist workers at home and overseas. Many bottles of fresh, sweet grape juice were made from her vineyards. This beverage was freely used in entertaining guests, and several bottles were often given to them on their departure.

In the spring of 1914 Edson White came to spend a few weeks with his mother at Elmshaven. Shortly after his departure, Mrs. White’s health began to fail noticeably. Reading was now too tiring; someone else had to read the *Review and Herald* and other church papers to her. In this manner she kept up with the activities of the church she loved so dearly.

Frequent short visits from one or another of her grandchildren were treasured. As they nestled on her lap and counted the buttons on her dress,

she would tell them a story of her childhood and youth “back in old New England.” Then they would be sent off to the barn to check on a new calf or to pick some fruit from a favorite tree. More and more frequently her associates heard Mrs. White singing the words of a favorite hymn composed in 1845 by William Hyde after he had listened to young Ellen Harmon describe her first vision.

“We have heard from the bright, the holy land,
 We have heard, and our hearts are glad;
 For we were a lonely pilgrim band,
 And weary, and worn, and sad.
 They tell us the pilgrims have a dwelling there—
 No longer are homeless ones;
 And we know that the goodly land is fair,
 Where life’s pure river runs.

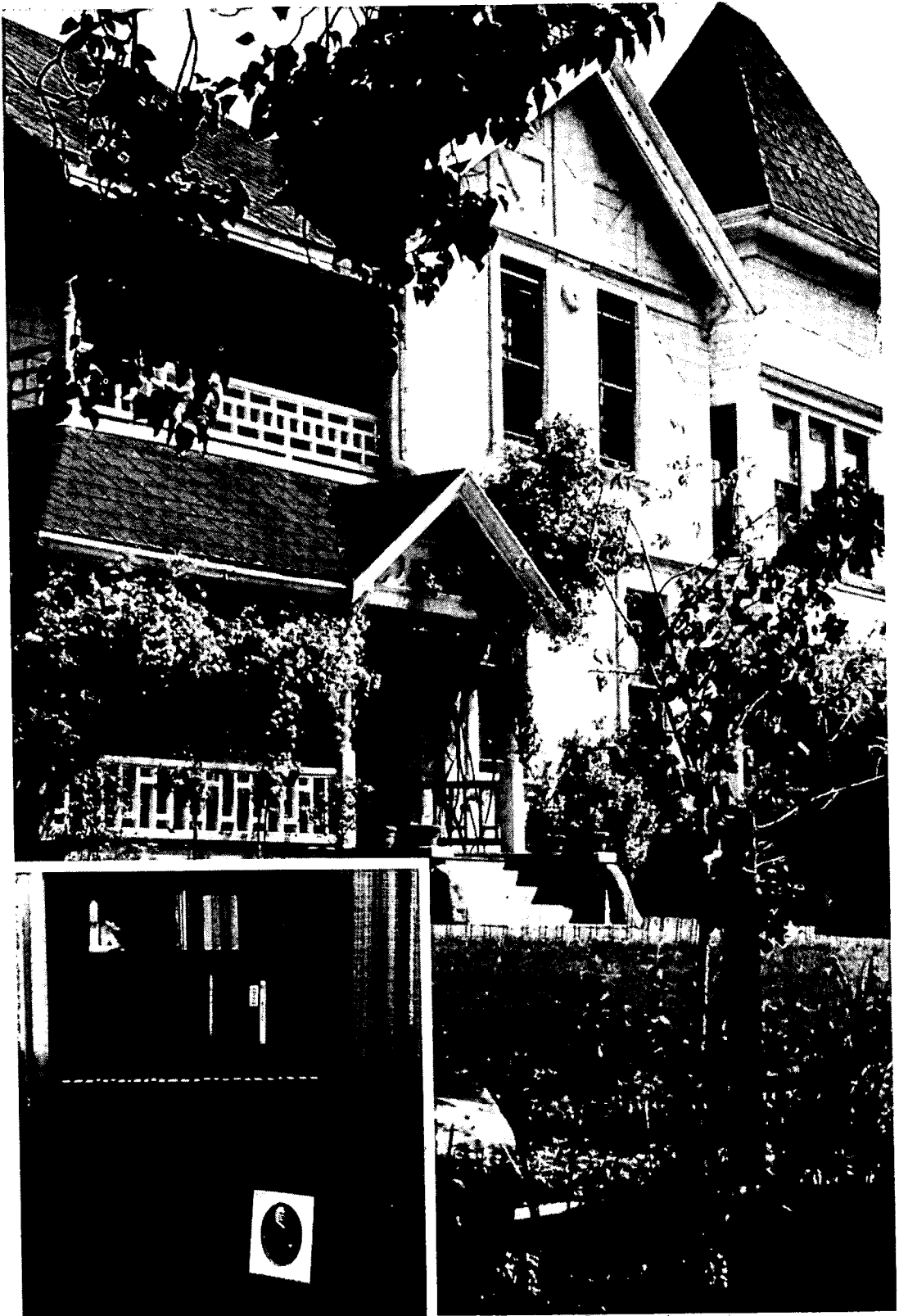
“We’ll be there, we’ll be there, in a little while,
 We’ll join the pure and the blest;
 We’ll have the palm, the robe, the crown,
 And forever be at rest.”¹⁴

Illness and Death

On February 12, 1915, Mrs. White felt well enough to walk a bit in the yard and garden with Willie, who had recently returned from a four-month trip to the Eastern and Southern States. She was eighty-seven at this time. The next morning, a Sabbath, as she was entering her study she apparently tripped and fell. May Walling, her niece, who was nearby, came quickly to assist her, but found Mrs. White unable to stand. With some difficulty Miss Walling raised her into a chair, pulled it to her bedside, and lifted her into bed. A physician was immediately summoned from the St. Helena Sanitarium. X rays revealed that Mrs. White had suffered a fracture of the left hip.

During the final five months of her life Ellen White was confined to her bed or to a wheelchair. Mercifully, she did not suffer much pain. Her courage remained strong. Recognizing that her work was almost over, she reported feeling not “the least mite of despondency or discouragement.” She remained concerned mainly for others. Several weeks after her fall she penned her last message. Fittingly it was addressed to Adventist youth and concerned the importance of their choosing to read only good literature.¹⁵

A few weeks before her death, on July 16, 1915, Mrs. White indicated that she was sure this was her last illness and she was “not worried at the thought of dying.” Jesus was a precious friend to her; she felt His presence near. “I do not worry about the work I have done,” she told Willie. “I have done the best I could.” Surrounded by family, friends, and helpers, Ellen



The Product of Ellen White's Pen

Elmshaven, Home of Ellen White

White "fell asleep in Jesus as quietly and peacefully as a weary child goes to rest." Her last audible words were "I know in whom I have believed."

Two days later approximately 500 friends and neighbors assembled on the front lawn of Elmshaven for the first of a series of three funerals. Old associates were the main participants: J. N. Loughborough, G. B. Starr, Eugene Farnsworth. The next morning the funeral party headed for Battle Creek, to lay the revered "Mother in Israel" by the side of her husband and the two sons who had died in childhood. A brief stop was made at the California camp meeting, then in session. Here a second service was held, with E. E. Andross, president of the Pacific Union Conference, as the principal speaker.

The final funeral service was held Sabbath, July 24, in the Battle Creek Tabernacle, where Mrs. White had spoken so often. More than 3500 persons jammed the Tabernacle, and another 1000 were turned away for lack of room. The service was directed by General Conference president A. G. Daniells; both he and Stephen Haskell paid tribute to the fallen leader. Editor F. M. Wilcox of the *Review and Herald* read from Revelation 21 and 22, and M. C. Wilcox of the Pacific Press and General Conference treasurer W. T. Knox prayed. Graveside services were conducted by I. H. Evans, president of the North American Division.¹⁶

The Written Legacy

And so Ellen White was laid to rest. No longer could church members or conference presidents appeal to her to learn "the mind of the Lord" in a particular situation. Her voice and pen were still. The products of her pen, however, would continue to be a major influence in the way Adventists thought and acted.

Ellen White had been a prolific writer during the seventy years of her ministry. Once typewriters came into use, a copy of each letter and manuscript was kept for her personal files. Through the years these amounted to some 60,000 typewritten pages. From these manuscript files she selected, with the help of literary assistants, material of general interest for the nine volumes of *Testimonies for the Church*. These files were also the source of the more than thirty major subject compilations issued posthumously by the trustees of her estate.

At the time of her death there were twenty-four of Mrs. White's books in circulation; these represented well over 100,000 printed pages. In addition, Ellen White had been a regular and frequent contributor to the *Review and Herald*, the *Signs of the Times*, *The Youth's Instructor*, and other denominational journals. Through the years she had contributed more than 4500 articles to their pages.¹⁷

In the very mass of this material it was inevitable that many subjects would be treated more than once, and frequently in slightly different ways. Variant wordings and approaches provided ample opportunity for conflicting interpretations. Proponents of a particular point of view were

quick to seize upon Ellen White statements bolstering their ideas; opponents were sent scrambling to discover quotations favorable to their position.

Just what weight should an Ellen White quotation have in deciding a matter of belief or practice? Much depends upon the individual's view of Ellen White's role and the way her writings were produced. Although Adventists since their earliest days have looked upon Mrs. White as occupying a prophetic role, they have consistently denied that her writings were meant to be a new "Bible" or were an addition to the sacred Scriptures. She, herself, proclaimed that what she wrote was not to be regarded as "an addition to the Word of God" or as "new light."

Yet Mrs. White was not in doubt as to the value of her writings. They consisted, she believed, of truths given her by God for the benefit of His people in the last days of earth's history. Their benefits were many. Among the most important were these: (1) to bring comfort and encouragement, (2) to correct and reprove the erring, (3) to direct readers to the Bible and help them to understand properly its principles of faith and action, (4) to awaken men to their duty to God and their fellowmen, (5) to specify correct doctrine, and (6) to bring unity to the church.¹⁸

While recognizing that her work was similar to that of the biblical prophets, Ellen White consistently refused to claim the title of prophetess. Why? "Because in these days many who boldly claim that they are prophets are a reproach to the cause of Christ; and because my work includes much more than the word 'prophet' signifies." She preferred to think and speak of herself as "the Lord's messenger," recalling that in her youth "My Saviour declared me to be His messenger."¹⁹

Since she was the Lord's "messenger," was her every word, written or spoken, "as inspired as the ten commandments"? Many Adventists came to believe so, but this Ellen White consistently denied. To one who held these views she wrote in 1909: "My brother, you have studied my writings diligently, and you have never found that I have made any such claims." Mrs. White recognized that "the Spirit of the Lord" aided her in writing, "yet the words I employ in describing what I have seen are my own, unless they be those spoken to me by an angel, which I always enclose in marks of quotation."²⁰

The relationship of Ellen White's visions to her detailed writings was explained to the 1911 Autumn Council by W. C. White in a statement that had his mother's approval. Mrs. White received "flashlight pictures and other representations," Willie explained, "regarding the actions of men, and the influence of these actions upon the work of God for the salvation of men, with views of past, present, and future history in its relation to this work." When Mrs. White came to write out what had been shown her, she read standard historical works which "helped her to locate and describe many of the events and the movements presented to her in vision."

In her introduction to the 1888 edition of *The Great Controversy*, Ellen

White had explained that as she read she discovered “cases where a historian has so grouped together events as to afford, in brief, a comprehensive view of the subject, or has summarized details in a convenient manner.” In such instances she felt free to quote these passages although specific credit was not always given for these quotations since they were “not given for the purpose of citing that writer as authority, but because his statement affords a ready and forcible presentation of the subject.”

Since the *words* in her books were hers, Ellen White felt free to change some of them from time to time if she became persuaded that they were being misunderstood and a variant wording would make them more understandable. When contemplating revisions, she freely sought the counsel of colleagues and assistants in whom she had confidence. The important thing to Mrs. White was that the *ideas* which the Lord had given her be expressed in the best possible way to grasp the attention and win the hearts of her readers.

Yet in spite of her efforts, the view persisted among many Adventists that the exact words of Ellen White were inspired. Persons holding such a view were naturally perplexed and disturbed at changes that appeared in new editions of books like *The Great Controversy*. When new plates were made for *The Great Controversy* in 1911, a number of new historical quotations were inserted, and in some cases old ones were deleted. W. C. White explained that this was done because the new quotations were “more forceful” and because the editors had been unable to locate some of the older quotations. Other changes involved the updating of certain expressions used to indicate lapsed time and the substituting of more acceptable words for terms like “Romish” which had offended some readers. W. W. Prescott later remarked that these changes simply brought details of the narrative into harmony with “newly discovered facts.”²¹

In the years following Ellen White’s death veneration for her work and her writings increased among many Seventh-day Adventists. Perhaps it was because her ministry was so recent or her words in language they could better understand or that she was uniquely and exclusively “one of them.” Whatever the reasons, the situation was such by 1919 that A. G. Daniells could frankly admit: “I am sure there has been advocated an idea of infallibility in Sister White and verbal inspiration in the testimonies that has led people to expect too much and to make too great claims, and so we have gotten into difficulty.” A. O. Tait agreed; he remembered that there seemed to be a higher-than-normal percentage of apostasies among people who promoted such extreme views.

“If a man does not believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, he is still in good standing; but if he says he does not believe in the verbal inspiration of the testimonies, he is discounted right away,” Prescott complained. “I think it an unhealthful situation. It puts the Spirit of Prophecy above the Bible.”

Daniells traced some of the problems concerning “verbal inspiration”

to the tendency on the part of some preachers to emphasize miraculous stories of Ellen White's life, such as the occasion during which she held a large family Bible aloft for an extended time while turning to texts and quoting them without looking at them. To Daniells, "the strongest proof is found in the fruits of this gift to the church, not in physical and outward demonstrations." More than any other person, Daniells credited Ellen White with influencing Seventh-day Adventists to (1) accept the authority of the Scriptures in all aspects of life, (2) discern "true" Bible doctrines, (3) launch a program of worldwide evangelism, (4) develop a program of balanced and correct "Christian help work," (5) integrate a program of healthful living into their teachings, and (6) work out the principles of Christian education.

Every blessing, Daniells reasoned, could be utilized for wrong ends. This was the case, for example, of those Adventists who were "in danger of trying to establish this righteousness by works in the matter of the dietary." Such persons used Ellen White statements in extreme ways. It was always necessary to consider place, time, and circumstances when reading Mrs. White's writings. Although she had counseled against the free use of butter and eggs, he remembered that he had "eaten pounds of butter at her table myself, and dozens of eggs."²²

The Human and the Divine

While maintaining that he had never believed in the "verbal inspiration" of the testimonies, F. M. Wilcox sounded a note of caution. Great care must be taken, he felt, in discussing Ellen White's work and writings, lest faith in her counsels be eroded. Wilcox had a point. There had long been a tendency on the part of some Adventists to attempt to separate the "human" part of the testimonies from the "divine." As early as 1889 Ellen White had noted: "Many times in my experience I have been called upon to meet the attitude of a certain class, who acknowledged that the testimonies were from God, but took the position that this matter and that matter were Sister White's opinion and judgment. This suits those who do not love reproof and correction, and who, if their ideas are crossed, have occasion to explain the difference between the human and the divine."²³

While Mrs. White made no claim that all the details in the things she wrote were received "as a revelation from the Lord," she did maintain that her writings should not simply be considered her own opinion—or worse yet the opinion of some associate or church leader who had influenced her to write as she did. "I do not write one article in the paper expressing merely my own ideas," she affirmed. "They are what God has opened before me in vision—the precious rays of light shining from the throne."²⁴

Throughout the history of the advent movement persons other than Ellen White had claimed to receive visions and special messages from God (e.g., Anna Garmire, Anna Phillips). None attracted a large following or succeeded in establishing a permanent following among major church

leaders. During the last several years of Mrs. White's life she "received six or eight letters from individuals who feel . . . that God has placed upon them the Spirit of prophecy." They were certain God would tell Ellen White to confirm their "call." To all she replied that God had "given her no instruction regarding their call to any special work."

Mrs. White was frequently asked if the Lord would send another special "messenger" in case of her death before Christ's second coming. She always replied that she did not know. God had not revealed anything of this nature to her. Of one thing she *was* certain. "The Lord is perfectly able to take care of His cause." In an interview shortly before her fall she told one church leader that in her books were "outlined the information needed by our people for the rest of the journey." This corresponds with her statement in 1907: "My writings are kept on file in the office, and even though I should not live, these words that have been given to me by the Lord will still have life and will speak to the people."²⁵

The Estate Trustees

Some three years preceding her death Ellen White in her last will and testament made provision for the custody of her manuscript writings, copyrights, and book plates. The will created a self-perpetuating board of five trustees, who were instructed to dispose of her real property, preserve her manuscript collection, arrange for the printing of future compilations from this collection, and supervise the translation and publication of her books in other languages. The five original trustees were General Conference president A. G. Daniells, *Review* editor F. M. Wilcox, Pacific Press manager C. H. Jones, her son Willie, and a secretary, Charles C. Crisler.

As early as 1904 reports were circulating that Mrs. White was "worth millions of dollars." Although at that time she pointed out that she did "not own in this world any place that is free from debt," it still came as a surprise to many that at the time of her death she actually had liabilities totaling nearly \$88,000. To offset this amount court appraisers valued her real estate, furniture, book manuscripts, and copyrights as worth nearly \$67,000. This left a deficit of approximately \$21,000.

Immediately some critics charged that Mrs. White had not even followed her own counsel, given as light from God, to make "every effort . . . to stand free from debt." How could such a situation develop? In actuality Mrs. White had two sources of income: (1) a regular salary, begun *after* James White's death, equal to that paid a General Conference Executive Committee member, and (2) the royalties received from her publications.

Yet Mrs. White's income never kept up with (1) the expenses incurred in the preparation of her books for publication and (2) her generous charities. In the preparation of her books Mrs. White paid thousands of dollars to her secretarial and editorial assistants, bore heavy expenses to secure good illustrations for her books, frequently bore the expense of having book plates made, and paid for the translation of her books into

languages other than English. She also made numerous gifts to help a wide variety of church activities. When, for instance, following the General Conference of 1901, S. N. Haskell began evangelistic work in New York City, she sent him \$1000 to get started. She contributed to dozens of church buildings, sanitariums, and schools. Throughout her lifetime Mrs. White assisted many young people in securing a Christian education. She gave liberally to advance Edson White's southern work, and, before the development of the sustentation system, to help support aged and infirm Adventist preachers.

Mrs. White's will provided for the discharge of her debts. That this might be done expeditiously, her trustees arranged for the General Conference to pay all the notes Mrs. White had given for money borrowed. In turn the trustees transferred the Elmshaven properties to the General Conference and gave their note for the balance due. This was paid, with interest, from the royalties which accrued from the Ellen White books. Elmshaven was eventually sold for \$12,000 to Iram James, who had managed the orchards for Mrs. White. Later it passed into the hands of Charles T. Everson, long a leading Adventist evangelist. Following Everson's death in 1956, Mrs. Everson sold the house to the Pacific Union Conference, which has maintained it as a site of historic interest, visited annually by thousands of Adventists.²⁶

During the nineteen years the original Ellen G. White trustees worked together, they published ten posthumous compilations from Mrs. White's manuscript files, prepared and published the first *Comprehensive Index* to her published books, sponsored a thorough indexing of the manuscripts, and, in counsel with the General Conference officers, arranged for the perpetuation of the trusteeship and close collaboration with top church leadership. Until the death of W. C. White in 1937 the E. G. White manuscripts were kept in a vault in the office building that had been built at Elmshaven. As secretary to the trustees, Willie White carried the major responsibilities for the projects they approved.

Following W. C. White's death, his son Arthur was named secretary of the Ellen G. White Estate, incorporated formally in 1933. Arthur White supervised the transfer of the E. G. White manuscripts, letter files, and other documents to offices prepared on the ground floor of the General Conference headquarters building in Takoma Park. Since 1938 many trustees have come and gone, but Arthur White has provided an essential link with the past and has developed the most complete knowledge of the Ellen White writings possessed by any living person.

Each year Arthur White and his associates in the Estate office answer scores of inquiries regarding the life and teachings of Ellen White. These may come from the General Conference president, a layman in Brazil, or a non-Adventist scholar. The White Estate trustees also provide speakers annually for dozens of camp meetings, ministerial institutes, and other meetings, since interest in Ellen White continues strong worldwide.

Research Centers

Recognizing the great value of the Ellen White manuscripts for study purposes, the trustees established a branch office and vault at Andrews University at the time the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary was relocated there in 1960. In 1972 the Annual Council authorized the development of a number of Ellen G. White Research Centers in various parts of the world field. The first of these was opened on April 20, 1974, at Newbold College in England. Two more followed in 1976—at Loma Linda University in California and Avondale College in Australia. In addition to holding copies of a major part of the Ellen White manuscripts, these centers are depositories of much material for the study of Seventh-day Adventist history, theology, and polity.²⁷

One cannot help but think Ellen White would be pleased at this continued worldwide interest in her writings. Her great goal had always been to be a humble instrument, used of Jesus to help prepare a people for His coming. She was certain there would be many difficulties before that day. Writing in 1905, she stated:

“There will be those who will claim to have visions. When God gives you clear evidence that the vision is from Him, you may accept it, but do not accept it on any other evidence; for people are going to be led more and more astray in foreign countries and in America. The Lord wants His people to act like men and women of sense.”²⁸

What better way to become “men and women of sense” than to have a knowledge of the development of Adventism and of the work and teachings of the one who, for over seventy years, served as God’s special “messenger” to a developing church?

Suggested Reading:

There is as yet no definitive biography of Ellen White, although one is being prepared by A. L. White. Until this appears, one may use with profit his *Ellen G. White—The Human-Interest Story* (1972) and *The Ellen G. White Writings* (1973). The period following Ellen White’s return from Australia is covered in *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (1915), pp. 379-480. Much helpful information on a variety of topics of perennial interest has been collected in *Notes and Papers Concerning Ellen G. White and the Spirit of Prophecy* (1962). Criticism of Ellen White both within and without the church has led to the production of many appreciative, although sometimes defensive monographs. The best (in order of publication) are probably F. M. Wilcox, *The Testimony of Jesus* (1934), A. G. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936), L. H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts* (1947), and F. D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (1951) and *Why I Believe in Mrs. E. G. White* (1964). The excellent compilation *What Ellen White Has Meant to Me*, edited by H.

Douglass (1973), provides one of the best pictures of the impact of Mrs. White and her writings on more than two dozen thoughtful individuals. Yet in the final analysis, Ellen White's own writings present the best picture of this remarkable woman's values and her hopes for her fellow Christians. Especially recommended are: *Steps to Christ* (1892), *The Desire of Ages* (1898), *Christ's Object Lessons* (1900), and *Messages to Young People* (1930).

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1. "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven," Document File 744, E. G. White Estate.
 2. "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven"; A. L. White to C. H. Watson, May 22, 1933, DF 744, E. G. White Estate; *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (1915), pp. 379-387.
 3. "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven"; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1590-1592.
 4. E. G. White, Letter 96, 1909, quoted in A. L. White, *Ellen G. White—The Human-Interest Story* (1972), p. 59; "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven"; General Conference Committee minutes, June 7, 1909.
 5. Quoted in H. Douglass, ed., *What Ellen White Has Meant to Me* (1973), p. 181.
 6. A. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936), p. 368.
 7. Interview with W. S. Sadler, M.D., November 13, 1960.
 8. Quoted by P. Gordon in Douglass, p. 102.
 9. Quoted in L. H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts* (1947), p. 129, and A. L. White, p. 45.
 10. Christian, p. 47; W. A. Spicer, *Certainties of the Advent Movement* (1929), p. 202.
 11. *Life Sketches*, pp. 437-439.
 12. Quoted in A. L. White, p. 92.
 13. A. L. White, p. 36.
 14. "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven"; A. L. White, pp. 4, 5; *Life Sketches*, pp. 440, 446.
 15. *Life Sketches*, pp. 442-444; "Mrs. White's Last Years at Elmshaven." Mrs. White's last vision-inspired message is recorded in *Messages to Young People* (1930), pp. 287-289.
 16. *Life Sketches*, pp. 444-480.
 17. S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1590-1597.
 18. See significant quotations in *Notes and Papers Concerning Ellen G. White and the Spirit of Prophecy* (1962), p. 99.
 19. E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 1 (1958), pp. 31, 32.
 20. Quoted in F. M. Wilcox, *The Testimony of Jesus* (1944), pp. 87, 88.
 21. See "Ellen G. White as a Historian," in A. L. White, *The Ellen G. White Writings* (1973), pp. 107-136; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 10, 1919.
 22. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 10 and 30, August 1, 1919.
 23. E. G. White, MS 16, 1889, quoted in *Notes and Papers . . .*, p. 89; 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, August 1, 1919.
 24. E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, bk. I, pp. 38, 39; *Testimonies*, V: 67. For a discussion of charges that others influenced Mrs. White's writings see "The Integrity of the Prophetic Message, or 'Who Told Sr. White'" in A. L. White, *The Ellen G. White Writings*, pp. 79-105.
 25. *Notes and Papers . . .*, pp. 100-102.
 26. Wilcox, pp. 97-100; F. D. Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (1951), pp. 516-530; General Conference Committee minutes, November 17, 1915, January 21, 1920; "Elmshaven," DF 744, E. G. White Estate. Mrs. White's will is printed in Nichol, pp. 674-678.
 27. S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 422-424; *Review*, July 11, 1974, pp. 1, 16, 17; Document Files 825-C, 825-C-1, and 825-C-2, E. G. White Estate.
 28. *Review*, May 25, 1905, quoted in E. White, *Evangelism* (1946), p. 610.

CHAPTER 26

Two World Wars Affect a World Church

The deteriorating international situation preceding the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 provided a new impetus to both Adventist evangelism and journalism. Church leaders and the general membership alike interpreted the ominous war clouds as fresh signs of the second advent. Preoccupied with a new urgency to prepare relatives and friends for that climactic event, they spent little time or effort in considering the effects of global conflict on the Adventist organization or on individual church members.

War Clouds in Europe

The European Division, with headquarters and major membership in Germany, was first to feel the effects of the war. Adventists in Russia found themselves completely isolated. Contact between headquarters and the division's mission fields in Africa and the Near East was broken. President L. R. Conradi was able to maintain only tenuous communication with church leaders in America, Britain, and France through neutral Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark. It became virtually impossible to transfer funds from division headquarters to meet payrolls in other countries. German patronage of the Skodsborg and the Gland, Switzerland, sanitariums dropped precipitously—placing both institutions in financial difficulties. Cossack troops in East Prussia destroyed several Adventist meetinghouses.¹

While all of these difficulties impeded the active evangelistic program of the church, it was the policy of conscription that caused the most hardship to individual members. European church leaders had made no concerted effort to acquaint their respective governments with Adventist

objections to bearing arms or to performing routine labor on the Sabbath. The rapid course of events immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities prevented their giving even members counsel on what were certain to be points of conflict with army officers. Autocratic governments like those of Germany and Russia expected implicit obedience from their subjects; their conscription laws made no provisions for noncombatant service for conscientious objectors.

Failure to prepare for the problems posed by the draft became acute in Germany. There on August 4, 1914, the president of the East German Union Conference, after counseling with several associates, "informed the German War Ministry in writing . . . that conscripted Seventh-day Adventists would bear arms as combatants and would render service on the Sabbath in defense of their country." Although this was directly contrary to the position taken by Adventism's founding fathers fifty years earlier, many German church members complied with their leader's announced policy.

Many, but not all. A number of German draftees were able to arrange for assignment to noncombatant service in the medical corps. Others took a more extreme stand, refusing to support the war effort in any way. Statements by some of this latter group led to the closing of all Seventh-day Adventist churches in one area of Germany. Only when church leaders reaffirmed their recommendation on combatancy were these churches allowed to reopen.

Several years after the close of the war, Adventist leaders from all over Europe met in council in Gland, Switzerland. Here on January 2, 1923, they officially went on record as opposing all combatant service and Sabbath work other than of a humanitarian nature. This statement had the concurrence of the German leaders, who acknowledged that they had made a mistake in judgment in 1914. Although the Gland statement specified the reasons for the Seventh-day Adventist position, it also recognized that each church member possessed "absolute liberty to serve his country, at all times and in all places, in accord with the dictates of his personal conscientious conviction."²

As for the other principal European combatants, Adventists were so few in number in France and Italy that no major confrontations with government officials arose. We know too little about the fate of Russian Adventists after 1914 to generalize as to their experiences. In England the government's reluctance to resort to conscription kept military problems from becoming a major issue until 1916. In that year, voluntary enlistments having failed to meet the needs of the battlefield, Parliament enacted compulsory military service. The British law provided that citizens conscientiously opposed to engaging in warfare might be assigned noncombatant work. But to receive classification as a conscientious objector, draftees were required to state their case before a local civilian tribunal. If these officials were not satisfied that the objector was truly

acting on his conscientious convictions, he had the right of appeal.

In general, British Adventists experienced little difficulty in being assigned to the Noncombatant Corps. Once there, however, they frequently faced ridicule and sometimes outright persecution. In the minds of many citizens the "conchie" were cowards or traitors. The situation was complicated by the fact that some political dissidents who had felt free to use violence in trying to change the political, economic, and social system, now took refuge as conscientious objectors in order to escape defending a government they desired to see replaced.

Adventist noncombatants generally found that their biggest problems arose over refusal to do unnecessary or routine work on the Sabbath. Military officials expected orders to be obeyed. They found it difficult to believe that men would risk a six-month prison sentence rather than carry out an order to work on Saturday.

British noncombatants sentenced to prison were supposed to serve their sentence in a civilian institution. This rule was not carried out. One Adventist group on duty in France was placed in a local military prison, where they were beaten repeatedly, forced to run for an hour with heavy weights on their backs and chests, and given two weeks of solitary confinement on a bread-and-water diet. At the end of this period, each was individually informed that all the others had decided to work on Saturdays in the future and had been released. Despite discouragement, each young Adventist decided to remain steadfast. One got the inspiration to whistle a few bars of a familiar hymn. Soon the next bars were continued by the inhabitant of a nearby cell. And so on until the prison walls rang with the tune. After appeals by conference officials these young men were eventually released and the officers involved with their illegal treatment severely reprimanded.³

In Australia Adventists had won recognition of their noncombatant principles as early as 1911, when the Commonwealth's Defense Act was being amended. At the same time exemption from military training on Sabbath was secured. This provided a useful precedent for nearby New Zealand, where similar privileges were secured during the war. In South Africa the early refusal in 1914 by a Seventh-day Adventist draftee to drill on Sabbath resulted in a prison sentence. His consistent course, however, paved the way for a change in policy as military authorities learned to appreciate the worth of a man willing to go to prison for his faith. In Canada, too, it was generally possible for Adventist soldiers to arrange for both noncombatant service and exemption from Sabbath drill and work.⁴

America at War

Prior to 1916 American Adventists seemed loath to face up to the possibility that their youth might soon be confronted with the problems of military service. It was almost as if, during the half century of virtual peace that followed the Civil War, they had forgotten the anguish their pre-

decessors had experienced trying to decide how to relate to questions of combatancy and Sabbath duties. Yet by the fall of 1916 the national "preparedness campaign" had alerted Adventists to the possibility that the United States might become involved in the war.

And so the first hesitant steps were taken in the direction of Adventist "preparedness." During the Fall Council, North American Division leaders appointed a committee to study the possibility of providing Adventist young men with training that would qualify them for noncombatant medical duties should they be inducted into army service. At this committee's suggestion, arrangements were made for each American Seventh-day Adventist college to begin first-aid and basic-nursing instruction for young men at once. Adventist young men were also encouraged to consider enrolling in the regular nurses' courses at Adventist sanitariums.

Some church leaders favored preparing an official statement defining Adventist attitudes toward war and military service for presentation to the federal government. Others thought such a step would be premature. As a result of this divided opinion nothing more was done until the Spring Council of 1917. By this time the United States was already officially at war. Six weeks earlier the students of Washington Missionary College had pressed church leaders to consider an official resolution "stating the attitude of the denomination in regard to bearing arms." In their memorial, these college students also raised the question of a more pacifistic stand—total exemption from military service of *any* kind.

Conscription

By April 12, 1917, when Adventist leaders met in Spring Council, a wartime conscription law was already under discussion. The problem of military service could no longer be avoided, and consequently it was made the first order of business. Several days of debate demonstrated the existence of differing opinions over whether to reaffirm the noncombatant position of 1864 or move toward a more pacifistic stance. Eventually a small committee of top leaders was appointed to draft a statement clarifying Seventh-day Adventist attitudes toward war and military service.

The brief statement produced by this committee was discussed, amended, and unanimously passed on April 18. It represented the official attitude of the church in the United States *only*. After expressing loyalty to the United States, its government, and Constitution, the statement went on to deplore the fact that the nation had been "drawn into the horrors of war," and pledged that Adventists would "continually pray that the God of heaven may speedily bring peace to our country." Passing on to the crucial issue, the statement noted that Adventists had "been noncombatants throughout our history" and asked that government authorities recognize their rights to serve "only in such capacity as will not violate our conscientious obedience to the law of God as contained in the decalogue [thus laying a basis for requesting Sabbath privileges], interpreted in the

teachings of Christ, and exemplified in his [sic] life." Eight days later this statement of principles was officially filed with the U.S. War Department.⁵

Church officials were less prompt in communicating their action, and the historic background for it, directly to the Adventist membership at large. Only in the Pacific Union did the president, E. E. Andross, immediately publish the entire text of the Spring Council's statement in the union paper. Andross also described how the historic roots of Adventist noncombatant principles went back to the time of the denomination's organization.

In spite of sharp controversies within Congress, the nation's lawmakers passed the national Selective Service Act on May 18, 1917. Almost immediately President Wilson set June 5 as the day when all American males aged 21-30 were to register for possible military service. Unlike the Civil War Act, the 1917 draft law did not allow exemption from service through providing a substitute or making a cash payment. It did exempt clergymen and students preparing for the ministry in recognized theological schools. It also allowed persons with religious convictions against participating in war to perform noncombatant service only, such service to be defined by the President. Exemptions allowing this type of service were to be claimed at the time of registration.

The speed with which the draft machinery was inaugurated kept Adventist leaders from giving adequate advice to their young men regarding proper procedures for securing noncombatant status. It was only a day or two before registration day that the *Review and Herald* carried an article by North American Division president I. H. Evans, counseling all Seventh-day Adventist young men affected to be certain to register as required by law and to claim exemption from combatant service at that time. Just how they were to do this, Evans did not specify. Perhaps he did not know. Approximately a week earlier the Provost Marshal General had announced that noncombatant status would not be awarded by his office as in Civil War days, but rather by local draft boards appointed by the President.

One feature of the 1917 Selective Service Act was that persons drafted were to be assigned service in areas for which their training best qualified them. It was on the basis of this provision that Adventist leaders hoped their efforts to provide first-aid and nursing instruction to Seventh-day Adventist young men would prove helpful. By mid-June church leaders were doing their best to interpret draft regulations through the columns of the *Review*. They were also trying to demonstrate their loyalty to the government by scheduling a special offering on June 23 to support Red Cross activities and by calling upon church members to remember President Wilson in their prayers.⁶

There were many problems connected with turning 2,750,000 civilians into fighting men. To many draft boards and army officers conscientious

objectors were a frustrating annoyance. At the start some draft boards did not properly understand their role in assuring conscientious objectors the rights granted them by law. These boards often led inductees to believe that they could secure noncombatant status after induction. Actually the army had no legal obligation to arrange this—it was supposed to be cared for by the local board after the registrant had filed a petition stating why he desired noncombatant status. In the early months many registrants did not understand the necessity of filing this exemption petition. They believed they had done everything necessary by indicating a desire for an exemption at the time of registration.

Large segments of the American public had little understanding of, and no sympathy for, anyone with conscientious scruples against bearing arms. Many agreed with ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who said, “I would not shoot conscientious objectors, but I would lead them to a place where they would be shot at!” As the war dragged on, antagonism toward conscientious objectors surfaced in the denial by some boards of an objector’s legitimate claims. It was repeatedly necessary for C. S. Longacre, General Conference religious liberty secretary, to remind registrants that “local and district boards cannot ignore the immunities granted by the statute, they are not the Masters of the statute, but its servant.”

In spite of Longacre’s appeals that draftees insist on being recognized as noncombatants before accepting induction, many allowed themselves to be intimidated by local boards and found themselves in the army without proper classification. When Longacre learned of their predicament, he was usually able, through contacts with high officials in the War Department, to remedy the situation. In the meantime, however, these unlucky recruits frequently suffered harassment and persecution from intolerant officers and fellow soldiers.

President Wilson’s delay in specifically designating the areas of service to be considered “noncombatant” further complicated matters. It was not until March 1918 that Wilson declared that noncombatants were to be assigned to the Medical, Quartermaster, or Engineering Corps. He specifically directed that persons seeking noncombatant service for religious reasons be assigned “as far as may be found feasible” to the Medical Corps unless they specifically requested otherwise.⁷

Service in the Medical Corps generally alleviated the principal problem facing the Adventist noncombatant—Sabbath duty. Church officials had long emphasized that necessary humanitarian labor could be done on Sabbath. They were willing to interpret “necessary” quite broadly, including in that category not only the direct care of the sick and wounded, but also the changing of linen and the cleaning of wards and latrines. Some six months after American entry into the war, Elder I. H. Evans, acting for the North American Division, requested the Army to release Adventist soldiers “from Friday night sundown to Saturday night sundown, allowing them to make up their full work by overtime or by doing

necessary Sunday work.” Evans was told that it was not “practicable . . . to rearrange duties so as to release men from work on one of the generally accepted six working days of each week.”

War Service Commission

Yet less than a year later the War Department sent instructions to all U.S. Army camp commanders “to release Adventists from unnecessary Sabbath duties.” What had caused the change? Several things, including (1) the favorable impression made by many Adventist soldiers, especially those who had sought to qualify themselves for medical service by special training prior to their induction, and (2) persistent pressure on high War Department officials by Longacre and Carlyle B. Haynes, secretary of the Adventists’ War Service Commission. The War Service Commission had been created by the General Conference in the summer of 1918, specifically to provide aid for Adventist draftees. Haynes, an effective evangelist, proved a vigorous and dynamic defender of the rights of Adventist noncombatants.

General Conference leaders instituted several other measures to benefit Adventist servicemen. Each union conference was asked to appoint a camp pastor to keep in contact with Adventist soldiers in army training camps; the General Conference sent an American minister to Europe to be available to Seventh-day Adventist soldiers there. Plans were laid to develop a special retreat center in France where Adventist boys might rest and recuperate from active duty, but the war ended before this materialized. As they had during Civil War days, church leaders also established a special Soldiers’ Literature Fund to provide books, periodicals, and tracts for the serviceman’s personal and evangelistic use.

In a special effort to ease the way for future draftees, the General Conference appropriated \$30,000 to begin two “Institutes of Wartime Nursing”—one each at the Washington Sanitarium in Takoma Park and the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda. Because of delays in constructing housing facilities for students, the war ended before these institutes were operational.

General Conference officials were willing to put considerable money and effort into aiding Adventist youth who attempted to follow the historic church teaching on noncombatancy. They were anxious that nothing be done that might in any way compromise this principle. Thus when the administration and students at the College of Medical Evangelists desired in the fall of 1918 to start a Student Army Training Corps, the General Conference refused permission. Student Army Training Corps were in operation at almost all medical colleges, and the Army threatened to close any medical school where one did not exist. Students who enlisted in the S.A.T.C. were considered regular soldiers. They were required to drill six hours per week but would not be called into active service until their medical course was completed, when they would begin service as medi-

cal officers. College of Medical Evangelists officials were certain that the General Conference's failure to allow a Student Army Training Corps at Loma Linda would result in that the medical college would be closed, never to reopen. Fortunately the Armistice was signed before such an eventuality occurred.⁸

In the course of the war nearly 200 Adventist soldiers were court-martialed for failing to obey orders. From the start, some Adventist inductees had refused to perform any type of military service. At least a few of these were recent German immigrants. Although church officials did not condemn any young Adventists who were sincere pacifists, they were anxious that no one attempt to hide behind the church because of pro-German sympathies. They found it difficult to defend a young man who had joined the church the day after war was declared, having tried unsuccessfully to get the German consul the previous day to arrange for him to return to Germany to serve in its army.

It was not pro-German sentiments, however, but disagreement over proper Sabbath duties that led to most court-martials among Adventist soldiers. Sentences for failure to obey orders during wartime were sometimes quite severe; one was for ninety-nine (later reduced to thirty-five) years at hard labor. A few weeks after the Armistice, however, all Adventists, except those convicted to total pacifism or pro-German sympathies, were released from prison and discharged through presidential amnesty. The remainder were not freed until May of 1919, and they were not given honorable discharges from the service.

The type of discharge Adventists received became an issue when some army officers took it upon themselves to give "bad character" discharges to all conscientious objectors, even if they had willingly performed non-combatant service. When Haynes complained to the War Department of the unfairness of this action, the Secretary of War personally ordered it stopped. Arrangements were made for any Adventist so stigmatized to apply for redress and receive an honorable discharge.

A Working Arrangement

The American experience during World War I did much to mold and solidify the church's attitude toward wartime service by her members. In spite of individual problems, the government had shown itself willing to honor noncombatant principles if those who held them would perform alternate service. In this connection the value of pre-induction medical training had been clearly demonstrated. The church had learned also the value of having a talented and energetic advocate representing distressed members at the highest levels of government. Elder Haynes's contacts with Dr. F. P. Keppel, Third Assistant Secretary of War, had been invaluable. Camp pastors who could serve as on-the-spot observers and counselors had also proved their worth. The lessons learned in 1917-18 would do much to simplify similar problems which arose in later wars.⁹

During World War I there was increased suspicion on the part of both the general public and government officials of any publications that might subvert American loyalties and hamper the war effort. To some, Adventist teachings relative to the prophetic picture of the United States in Revelation 13 fell into this category. There were enough complaints about the section in *Bible Readings* dealing with the United States in prophecy to lead the publishers to revise this section. Since *Bible Readings* was widely sold by colporteurs, it seemed best to attempt to avoid misunderstanding and trouble.¹⁰

Working Under Difficulty

In Europe, where the bulk of the World War I fighting took place, it was German Adventism that suffered the most. Out of a membership of roughly 35,000 at the start of the war, some 2,000 German Adventists were called into military service, and 257 lost their lives. Adventist ministers and colporteurs were not exempt; many conferences found their supply of workers substantially depleted. Those who remained in denominational employment were forced to take a substantial salary cut in the midst of inflationary times. Despite these difficulties, Adventist membership in Germany increased by more than 40 percent between 1914 and 1920. Nearly 300 were won by the witness of Adventists serving in the military.

At the start of the war the Adventist sanitarium in Berlin was offered to the Red Cross. It was soon turned into a military hospital although it continued to be staffed and operated by the church, with the government paying the expenses of the military patients. A lack of both students and teachers led to the temporary closing of Friedensau Missionary Seminary in 1917. After initial difficulties in securing materials to sell, the colporteur work expanded, though mostly done by women and old men.

Even countries not directly involved in the war were affected by it. Swiss Adventists, many of whom were involved in watchmaking, suffered economic hardship when the market for their product collapsed. Severe inflation in Spain virtually ruined the colporteur work there. On the other hand, the economies of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries were helped by the wartime demand for their goods. This led to increased literature sales in these areas.¹¹

Among the European nations at war with Germany, Italy and France had a very small Adventist membership. Wartime conditions prevented any major increase in evangelistic endeavors; both personnel and finances were in too short supply. At the start of 1916, for instance, a report to the *Review* from Italy noted that there were only three Adventist workers to carry the three angels' messages to 37 million people in that country. In Great Britain stronger Adventist membership and less direct involvement in the destruction of war meant less dislocation of people.

It was another story in Russia. The dramatic collapse of the Russian front in 1915 brought great disruption to the advent cause. Yet it also

brought blessings. Although Adventist ministers and colporteurs were forced to relocate many times, it was possible to keep printing books and tracts for sale. The very movement of the Russian peoples in the wake of shifting battle lines brought more individuals in contact with the few Adventist workers scattered about. With the revolution in 1917 came more religious freedom, but also economic hardship and runaway inflation. By mid-1918 a pair of shoes cost \$100 at a time when the average laborer received perhaps eight dollars a day in wages.¹²

Adventist mission activity in central and eastern Africa was disrupted by the raiding, looting, and destruction unleashed to drive Germany from her colonial possessions. German Adventist missionaries were interned and sent to prisoner-of-war camps in India. With their expulsion, British Seventh-day Adventists valiantly tried to move in and fill the vacuum; but their financial resources were too small. It was necessary to make an earnest appeal for the Scandinavian Union Conference to share \$5000 to help carry on the work formerly supported from Germany.

Rise of the Nazis

At war's end church leaders invited believers in the United States and Canada to contribute to a special fund for their European brethren who had lost homes and personal possessions. Money was needed also to help in the purchase of food, made expensive by its scarcity. By early 1920 some \$10,000 had been apportioned for these purposes.¹³

As destructive and disruptive of the work of the church as World War I seemed at the time, it proved only a mild foretaste of what was to take place during World War II. Difficulties began for German Adventists shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933. Although many German Adventists welcomed the idea of a strong "Führer" and were careful to salute the swastika and give the Hitler greeting, the secret police suddenly, at the end of 1933, dissolved the church in the states of Prussia and Hesse and confiscated church property. Although this order was later reversed, it showed the likely course of events in a totalitarian state.

German church leaders counseled members to avoid political matters completely—but soon everything became political. The leaders themselves decided to call the Sabbath simply the "Rest Day" and Sabbath School became "Bible School"—all in an effort to avoid the stigma attached by the Nazis to anything Jewish. Nor could Adventist young men avoid the draft when it was introduced in 1935. Adventist girls were required to spend six months in the Labor Corps. Exemption from Sabbath work proved very difficult both for these youth and for adults who soon found their employment dictated by the Nazi Labor Front.

Whenever possible, German Adventists attempted to cooperate with the government in order to stave off complete suppression. Since church welfare and temperance programs reinforced certain Nazi goals, an emphasis in these areas won the state's approval. Nevertheless, restrictions

continued to increase. Colporteurs were prevented from selling on a commission basis and had to be placed on salary. It became nearly impossible to send out missionaries or funds to support those already abroad. All this, even though Adventist publications made a point of the way in which German missionaries defended the "peaceful" foreign policies of the Fuhrer. These same church papers welcomed the successive German takeover of Austria, the Sudetenland, and finally all of Czechoslovakia.

With the actual start of hostilities, conditions rapidly became worse. Adventist publishing work was shut down in 1940 because the government refused to allocate paper for nonessential religious publishing. Conscription laws were more closely enforced; and although many Adventist men were able to secure some type of noncombatant military assignment, those who would not cooperate found themselves imprisoned. The school at Friedensau had to discontinue its ministerial course in 1941; two years later it was closed altogether and converted by the government into a hospital. Beginning in 1939, churches were no longer allowed to collect offerings, but through the subterfuge of relabeling tithe as "membership dues I" and other offerings as "membership dues II," the church was able to keep a minimum financial base operative.

The longer the war went on, especially after the tide turned against Germany, the more chaotic things became. Church services had to be conducted in secret in believers' homes. Many families were relocated. Churches and homes were destroyed by the intensive Allied bombing; civilian casualties mounted. In 1950 Adventist officials in Germany estimated that more than 3000 church members, including fifty ministers, had been killed during the war; another 1285 were missing. More than 16,000 had lost their homes through relocation—forced or voluntary. For several years after 1945 the German church continued to be hamstrung by divided occupation zones, currency reform, and military regulations. Yet as the 1950s opened, generous relief activities, financed principally by Adventists from North America, and generous appropriations from the General Conference for the rebuilding of churches and institutions allowed German Adventists once more to carry on a fairly normal existence.¹⁴

Military operations during World War II were much more widespread and destructive of civilian activities than in the 1914-1918 conflict. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 interrupted nearly thirty years of Seventh-day Adventist work there. The invaders determined to eliminate Protestant missions; by 1939 all Seventh-day Adventist properties had been confiscated and most Adventist missionaries forced to leave the country. Fortunately, with the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941, Adventist medical, evangelistic, and educational activities were allowed to resume.

War in China

Tensions in Asia, building for years, finally exploded in 1937, when the Japanese began their undeclared war of conquest in China. It was in

China that the disrupting effect of air raids far from the actual battle lines first became apparent to Adventist missionaries. Transportation facilities were special targets for attack, making travel dangerous and uncertain. The constant air raids placed an extra strain on the nerves of missionary wives, separated as they frequently were from their husbands. Refugees seeking to escape the invading Japanese often lost all their belongings, beyond what they could carry in a small suitcase. To add to the problems, banditry and looting increased. It became almost impossible to get necessary medical supplies. Although the major educational work was moved to Hong Kong, where there was safety for several more years, patronage declined as students from the mainland found it difficult to reach the school. Colporteurs came under suspicion from both sides because of their traveling. Frequently they were arrested and detained for weeks before regaining their freedom.

By mid-1939 the denomination had lost institutional properties and churches in China worth an estimated \$400,000. Church revenues from tithes and offerings and from publishing and medical services dropped sharply, necessitating the return of a number of overseas missionaries. Thousands of dollars of church funds were confiscated by the occupying forces. When the war in the Pacific broadened in 1941, American and British missionaries in Hong Kong and occupied China were interned. Some spent several years in prison camps before repatriation, existing on meager rations and under primitive living conditions.

After 1941 all Adventist work in occupied China was carried out by national workers. Several overseas missionaries continued to direct work in the unoccupied areas from the Nationalist capital in Chungking. Even here they were not free from constant bombing, which several times nearly destroyed the Adventist hospital. Inflation was rampant. By the spring of 1942 rice, which before the war sold for ten to fifteen Chinese dollars per sack, was bringing 500 Chinese dollars.

Inflationary pressures did not disappear at war's end. Writing in the *Review* in the closing days of 1944, General Conference treasurer W. E. Nelson predicted that it would take from three to eight times the \$2,700,000 originally invested to rebuild the denominational properties destroyed in China and the Far East. Listed as complete losses were divisional headquarters in Singapore, the college in Nanking, the Shanghai publishing house, and several academies.¹⁵

Of Japan itself, an Adventist missionary noted at the start of 1938 that it had "never before . . . been open to the spread of Christian teaching as it is today." Adventist churches were "on fire with the message." All that soon changed. As the war in China expanded, police surveillance and harassment of Christian churches increased. Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the General Conference had withdrawn all overseas workers. In 1943 the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Japan was dissolved and its properties ordered sold, largely because of government antagonism toward the con-

tinued preaching of Christ's soon coming—an event that did not figure into the plans of Japan's military elite. That same year thirty-six national Seventh-day Adventist leaders and a number of laymen were imprisoned.

It was the same in other areas where the Japanese were in control. Korean Adventists suffered special persecution; their leader, Choi Tai Heun, died under torture during imprisonment. The Japanese military government took over the Adventist publishing house and sold seven wagon loads of books in the warehouse as scrap paper. Church members were required to give up their Bibles and were told that they could no longer consider themselves Seventh-day Adventists, but were to be members of whatever religious faith they had held previous to becoming Adventists. Yet these difficulties were not without a silver lining. When the church reclaimed the publishing house after the war, it was able to keep the new machines that had been installed during the period of Japanese army control.¹⁶

War in the Pacific

As the Japanese expanded throughout Southeast Asia, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and the islands of the South Pacific, their treatment of Adventists varied. Burmese Adventists suffered in much the same way as did the Koreans. Perhaps because there were so many Christians in the Philippines, the Japanese followed a more tolerant attitude there. American missionaries were actually allowed a certain amount of liberty until the final year of the war. Sometimes Filipino Adventists found their noncombatant principles misunderstood by the Filipino guerillas, but in general Adventism prospered in spite of wartime restrictions. Under national leadership more than 5000 persons were baptized in the Philippines from 1943 to 1945.

As the war spread into New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, first the missionaries and later the government officials fled before the Japanese. In these tense days harried officials sometimes made demands local Adventists felt they could not conscientiously fulfill. Kata Rangoso was one of those ordered shot for insubordination. Yet when the firing squad was in place, the officer proved unable to utter the final command to fire! Three times he attempted to do so, but each time he failed. Placed in prison, Rangoso and a companion were later delivered mysteriously in a manner reminiscent of Peter's deliverance from Herod. Rangoso went back to his village and organized a network which saved scores of downed Allied aviators from the Japanese.

Among the more interesting war experiences to come out of the South Pacific was that of the mission launch *Portal*, ordered burned by a retreating Allied official. The local Adventists, praying for a miracle, were thrilled to notice the flames suddenly go out just after the officer had left. Quickly they hauled the boat into a small creek, where it was camouflaged well. As a precaution, the engine was completely dismantled and the



Kata Rangoso



Desmond Doss, Adventist War Hero

U.S. ARMY PHOTO

various pieces scattered among individual believers for safekeeping. Several years later when Pastor Norman Ferris was able to get back into the area, he was amazed to find the *Portal* sound and seaworthy. Alas, there was no motor! But quickly the word went out, "Marsta, 'im 'e want engine belong *Portal* one time quick." It took three weeks to collect and reassemble all the engine parts and get the *Portal* once more ready for service but reconstituted she was, and sailed thousands of miles among the Solomon Islands.¹⁷

Nazi Conquests

Just as the war spread from China throughout East Asia and the Pacific, so in Europe the German takeover of Czechoslovakia was followed in 1939 by the conquest of Poland, and in 1940 by the fall of Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. The Balkans came under direct or indirect German control before Hitler's attack on Russia in 1941. As early as 1939 Nazi pressures led to the closing of 90 percent of the Adventist churches in Romania. Before war's end over 3000 Romanian Adventists were jailed, some with twenty-five-year sentences.

Dozens of Adventist families, eager to avoid trouble with the German occupying forces, sought to escape ahead of them. This was particularly true in Belgium and France, where memories of 1914-18 were still vivid. In these areas Adventist colporteurs had been the major avenue for

spreading the three angels' messages. Yet soon these men were without anything to sell, even if they could have moved around with anything like prewar freedom. So rapid was the German conquest that Adventist churches and institutions generally suffered only minor destruction in the occupied countries. Poland, which became a major battlefield during the last year of the war, was an exception to this rule.

In all of the occupied countries many hardships were suffered by Adventists, both as individuals and as a church. Food and many basic necessities were in short supply and therefore rationed. Dutch Adventists found that frequently the meager food supplies that did become available appeared on the Sabbath. This put their principles to the test. Other areas suffered when their leaders were removed for forced labor or to concentration camps.

Yet despite such hardships, the church prospered. With all the difficulties, "the years 1943 and 1944 were the best in soul winning and finances of our work in the Netherlands." What had been an Adventist membership of 400 in Poland in 1940 had grown five years later to 1000. In the midst of the war 400 persons were baptized in Norway in one year's time. Just as the Allies were invading Normandy, H. W. Lowe reported from England that 1944 looked like "the best year of the war" for winning souls. Sizable meetings were being held by English soldiers in several military camps.¹⁸

Rehabilitation

At war's end a shattered Europe limped along for several years after hostilities ceased, in May 1945. A year and a half later Adventist workers were still frequently fainting from hunger as they tried once more to prepare and produce church literature. Small wonder, for the average European in many places was still expected to subsist on one egg every two months, four pounds of potatoes or cabbage or turnips a week, and twelve ounces of bread, and one and one half pints of skim milk per *week*. An individual was fortunate if he could get a pound of butter every three months.

To help meet these and earlier wartime needs, Adventists in North America gave liberally of both money and serviceable used clothing. Special depots were established in New York and San Francisco. During the 1940s nearly 2,800,000 pounds of clothing were shipped from these depots to forty-one countries and island groups. In addition, more than \$2 million was given for relief purposes—much of this used to purchase over 1900 tons of food. In 1946 a special Rehabilitation Offering of more than \$1 million was received to begin the work of replacing lost mission launches, churches, publishing houses, schools, etc. The General Conference added to this over \$4 million that had been saved during the war for the purpose of rebuilding. It was not nearly enough. It would be years before the physical damage of the war could be repaired.¹⁹

The American ability to help so substantially at war's end points to a major difference between the effect of the war on American Adventists and their counterparts in Britain, Germany, the Philippines, and China. The war spurred economic prosperity in America, with many Adventists becoming relatively affluent as compared to earlier years. Spared the destructive air raids and gigantic battles that leveled so many European cities, American Adventists experienced their major wartime suffering in the thousands of their young men sent off to join the gigantic Army and Navy created to bring an end to the Axis powers.

Noncombatancy

Following the fall of France in 1940, a preparedness drive in the United States similar to that of 1916 led Congress to pass the nation's first peacetime conscription law. This time Seventh-day Adventists were ahead of their countrymen in trying to prepare church members for non-combatant service. The denomination's course of action had not been quickly or easily arrived at. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s some within the church, no doubt affected by the swing toward pacifism on the part of major Protestant groups, argued that church members should take *no* part in supporting war; they should not even purchase government war bonds. But others desired continued training in first-aid and nursing procedures at all Seventh-day Adventist colleges. Some urged the initiation of elementary drill procedures for Adventist youth so that their proficiency in basic maneuvers might win favor with officers in case of their conscription. When a drill program was initiated in 1927 as part of the physical education program at Emmanuel Missionary College, however, it was soon discontinued because of criticism that it was "too militaristic."

Desultory conversations among General Conference officials during the 1920s resulted in no concrete program or in any basic change in the church's "historic" noncombatant position. Those who would be most directly involved in any army draft continued to be concerned. In 1930 the Associated Students of Walla Walla College posed a number of questions concerning military service to the General Conference Committee. Among other things they desired (1) counsel as to whether in time of national emergency it was wise to enlist or to wait for the draft, (2) clarification as to proper Sabbath duties when in military service, (3) an opinion as to whether it was ever right to bear arms, and (4) whether or not the church made distinctions, depending upon the moral nature of the conflict, as to the amount of military service that might be given. The students felt that a time of peace was the time to work out a "unified denominational position" on all these questions.

The General Conference officers took no action on the Walla Walla students' questions, other than to refer the matter to the General Conference session later that year. Here, at one of the last meetings, a seven-

member committee was established to study all aspects of noncombatancy. During the next several years this committee met a number of times. C. S. Longacre, a committee member, reported in 1933 that at each meeting "we find that there is a very decided disagreement by the members themselves on this question of noncombatancy. . . . So far we have not been able to come to any united agreement on any proposition."

Finally at the time of the 1934 Spring Council, the General Conference Committee approved a somewhat revised pamphlet, *Our Youth in Time of War*, prepared by one of the Columbia Union Conference officers. This pamphlet took a very strong stand supporting noncombatant service; it was critical of extreme pacifists, conscientious objectors, and anti-militarists accused of favoring "peace at any price." Some church members resented the tone and contents of the pamphlet, feeling it compromised the church's earlier stand that members had the right "at all times and in all places" to act "in accord with the dictates of their personal conscientious conviction."

Medical Cadet Corps

But the numbers of pacifists and complete conscientious objectors among Adventists was neither large nor influential. Instead the tide began to turn toward more definite preparation of Adventist youth for possible service. A major step in this direction occurred in 1934 at Union College, where Dr. Everett Dick had persuaded the college faculty, administration, and board to approve formation of a special College Medical Corps. Dick, with the assistance of Major Emil H. Burger, a regular army officer and physician stationed at Lincoln, Nebraska, worked out a basic training program in army medical military procedures. By January 1934 every young man seventeen years old or older enrolled at Union was drilling one and one half hours per week in lieu of physical education.

Two years after the Union College program began, Reserve Army Major Cyril B. Courville introduced a somewhat similar program in southern California. Courville was on the staff of the Adventist White Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles. He was also in charge of training procedures for the 47th General Hospital, an Army Reserve unit sponsored by the College of Medical Evangelists. Courville's "Medical Cadet Corps" had the blessing of the U.S. Surgeon General, and rather reluctantly and tardily, of the General Conference. Medical Cadet Corps members got a somewhat longer and more detailed training than Dick's Union College group; Courville also laid more emphasis on the training of potential officers.

By the summer of 1937, when Adventist educators from all over North America met in council at Asheville, North Carolina, the European situation was already appearing ominous to perceptive observers. Dr. Dick had no trouble in interesting many other college educators in his Medical Corps program. During the next several years his concepts were implemented at other Seventh-day Adventist colleges. Then, with the Euro-



Carlyle B. Haynes



Medical Cadets on Field Service

pean War underway, the Fall Council of 1939 gave its official blessing to the Union College program—although Courville's name, Medical Cadet Corps, was adopted. By the end of 1939 Adventist leaders "had set in motion the organizational machinery for giving its youth the highest degree of medical-military training that could be found outside the United States Army Medical Corps." This action led Adventists to be "better prepared for military service than any other private group in the United States."

The U.S. Selective Service Act of 1940 provided that conscientious objectors who were drafted be assigned noncombatant service. As in 1917, it was up to the local draft board to decide on the validity of each draftee's claims. In contrast to the experience of 1917-18, few Adventists experienced serious difficulty in getting their conscientious scruples recognized. This did not mean that they did not suffer harassment during their basic training—frequently they did. Generally, however, this disappeared once the soldier was assigned to medical training and especially when he served in combat.

The value of the Medical Cadet Corps was demonstrated early in the war. Adventist graduates of the corps program reported that their newly acquired skills frequently brought them early advancement and won them Sabbath privileges. By 1943 there were some 12,000 Seventh-day Adventists in Medical Cadet Corps training programs in colleges, academies, or at special summer encampments.

In the fall of 1940 the General Conference reactivated the War Service Commission and brought C. B. Haynes back from the presidency of the Michigan Conference to head it. Haynes did a thorough job of informing Adventist draftees of their rights, counseling them on problems encountered (chiefly over Sabbath observance), and pressuring the Army to assign all Seventh-day Adventists to the Medical Corps, where they would experience less difficulty in performing their duties according to conscience. Haynes did not like the term "conscientious objector." He did his best to promote the idea that Adventists were "Conscientious Cooperators." Before the war was over, army officers had accepted this view. In no small measure this was due to the fact that "hundreds of Adventists distinguished themselves in battle and were awarded numerous citations."

Adventist "Heroes"

Space does not permit telling the stories of these Adventist "heroes" in detail, but the brief mention of several is illustrative of why the Army and many other Americans developed a new concept of at least some "conscientious objectors." There was Corpsman Duane Kinman of Walla Walla College, who was nicknamed "the foxhole surgeon" after saving a soldier's life by performing a tracheotomy on the battlefield. Kinman used a pocketknife and a punctured fountain pen with remarkable success,

considering the fact that he had never seen this type of operation performed, but had only heard it described in a lecture. And then there was Keith Argraves, determined to be a medical paratrooper. Argraves distinguished himself in North Africa, was captured by the Germans, and spent long months as a prisoner of war.

But undoubtedly the U.S. Adventist serviceman who most captured the nation's imagination was Desmond T. Doss, an early Army inductee who was given considerable difficulty over his desire to honor the Sabbath. Doss was with the American infantry in landings on Guam and the Philippines, but it was during one of the last Pacific battles, on the island of Okinawa, that he became famous. There, on a Sabbath in May 1945, Doss went to give aid to his company. When the men were forced back down a cliff, Doss stayed behind until he had lowered seventy-five wounded men to safety. Thrice injured before the battle's end, Doss became the first conscientious objector to be awarded the nation's highest military decoration, the Congressional Medal of Honor, received from President Harry S. Truman in a special ceremony on the White House lawn.

There were also acts of heroism of a different kind performed by hundreds of Adventist soldiers overseas. At war's end they pitched in during their spare time to help rebuild shattered chapels in the Philippines or Germany, to operate clinics for the civilian populace, or to distribute food and clothing to war victims. They were the first Seventh-day Adventists many believers in the war-torn areas had seen since the departure of Adventist missionaries.²²

The experiences of World War I and II did much to acquaint thousands of people with Adventist beliefs, some of whom might otherwise not have known of Seventh-day Adventists. The American experience in noncombatancy also did much to shape the church's approach to the problem of wartime service in later years. Medical Cadet Corps blossomed in Korea, Japan, Brazil, and Lebanon in the postwar years. The experiences of 1937-45 likewise helped prepare Adventists for the conflicts that continued to plague the world in the years after 1945—conflicts in Korea, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Near East. Under wartime pressures Adventists had shown themselves not only good citizens of their own country, but members of a worldwide "family." Outside pressures seemed to enhance the feeling of unity—and challenges to unity had been something Adventists had faced from their earliest existence.

Suggested Reading:

The first major account of Adventists during World War I, and one that contains details of many individual experiences, is F. M. Wilcox's *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War* (1936). There is nothing comparable for World War II, although many books have told the experiences of individual Adventist servicemen. Some of the main stories are conve-

niently summarized in A. W. Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), IV: 275-302. For other aspects of S.D.A.'s in the two wars, see the same volume, pp. 221-275, 303-325. Accounts of wartime experiences of S.D.A.'s in battle areas are also numerous. One of the best is R. Hare, *Fuzzy-Wuzzy Tales* (1950). A good picture of the problems wartime refugees experienced is found in L. Wagner, *To Linger Is to Die* (1975). An excellent account of the development and testing of the S.D.A. position on noncombatancy is given in R. G. Davis's doctoral dissertation "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860-1945" (George Washington University, 1970). See especially pp. 101-218. For a capsule account of the development of the Medical Cadet Corps see E. N. Dick's "The Adventist Medical Cadet Corps as Seen by Its Founder," *Adventist Heritage*, I (July 1974): 18-27.

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1. H. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), pp. 77-85; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 510; *Review and Herald*, August 20, 1914, pp. 20, 24; September 24, 1914, p. 24.
 2. F. M. Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War* (1936), pp. 345-349; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 510, 511, 1332, 1333.
 3. Wilcox, pp. 257-263, 289-293.
 4. Wilcox, pp. 299-342.
 5. R. G. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: the Seventh-day Adventists and Military Service, 1860-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, The George Washington University, 1970), pp. 106-118.
 6. Davis, pp. 119-128.
 7. Davis, pp. 128-130, 134-136, 139, 145-147.
 8. Davis, pp. 131, 132, 136-139, 141-144, 151, 152, 156-158; M. L. Neff, *For God and C.M.E.* (1964), pp. 205-208.
 9. Davis, pp. 135, 136, 147-154, 158-161.
 10. 1919 Bible Conference Transcript, July 17, 1919, E. G. White Estate.
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CHAPTER 27

Dissident Movements

Religious groups seem prone to fragmentation. Several things in particular seem to encourage the rise of variant parties within a church: (1) a dissatisfaction with leadership, (2) the purported discovery of “new light,” and (3) personal problems of egocentricity, mental balance, and position seeking. Scarcely had October 22, 1844, passed before the unity of the Millerite movement was shattered as a variety of explanations for the Great Disappointment were advanced. Even before the incipient band of Seventh-day Adventists had organized or chosen a name, it was plagued by dissidents.

Splinter Groups

Sabbatarian Adventists suffered their first defection in 1853, when H. S. Case and C. P. Russell became resentful of counsel received from Ellen White. Soon these men charged that the Whites were trying to exalt Ellen’s testimonies above the Bible. They professed to find both inconsistencies and inaccuracies in her witness and also “discovered” that James was a charlatan who profited from the sale of Bibles! Yet soon Case and Russell’s Messenger Party found itself torn by dissension over conflicting policies and beliefs. Not all of their adherents, for instance, felt able to accept one man’s viewpoint that the two horns of the lamblike beast of Revelation 13 represented France and England!

Concurrent with the “Messengers’ ” criticisms, two of the four sabbatarian Adventist preachers in Wisconsin, J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall, began to promote a temporal millennium during which the Jews would act a major part in the conversion of the world to Christianity. Angered when James White refused to publish their ideas in the *Review and*

Herald, they made a temporary alliance with the Messenger Party. Before long, however, an unsavory divorce scandal destroyed Stephenson's influence, while Hall turned to real-estate speculation.¹

Both criticism of the Whites and doctrinal divergences played a role in the attempt by B. F. Snook and W. H. Brinkerhoff to detach Iowa Seventh-day Adventists from the general body, following the General Conference of 1865. For a time these men caused considerable confusion by denying the applicability of the three angels' messages to modern times and casting doubt on other parts of Adventist prophetic interpretation. Soon, however, they gave up the Sabbath and accepted universalism. By these last acts most of their influence was lost, although some of their followers formed the Marion Party. This group continued to deny the divine source of Ellen White's visions and press for complete congregational autonomy. Eventually they established the Church of God (Adventist) from which in turn the Church of God (Seventh-day) later seceded.²

For nearly three decades following the Snook-Brinkerhoff defection, in spite of internal bickerings, there was no major attempt to lead a secession from Adventism. Then in the early 1890s, A. W. Stanton, a Montana layman, became disenchanted with church leaders. In a little pamphlet entitled *The Loud Cry*, Stanton announced that Seventh-day Adventists had departed so far from the true faith that the church had become Babylon. It was time, he proclaimed, for all who were true to God to stop financial support of Adventism and "come out of her."

Like many who would profess new light in later years, Stanton selected a variety of passages from Ellen White's writings and arranged them in such a way as to make it appear that she was in harmony with his position. He also dispatched an associate to Australia to solicit Mrs. White's support. He might have saved himself the trouble and expense. Mrs. White had already written a letter condemning Stanton's views. He was, she intimated, acting under a satanic delusion, for God was leading "not stray off-shoots, not one here and one there, but a people."

While frankly admitting that "there are existing evils in the church, and will be until the end of the world," Mrs. White was convinced that Seventh-day Adventists were still designed to be "the light of the world." "The church," she wrote, "enfeebled and defective, needing to be re-proved, warned, and counseled, is the only object upon earth upon which Christ bestows his [sic] supreme regard." A series of four *Review* articles by Mrs. White entitled "The Remnant Church Not Babylon" effectively squelched the Stanton movement.³

The "Holy Flesh" Movement

In part Stanton's failure to attract a large following may have been due to lack of a large local Adventist population to draw on, and failure to win the support of any major church leader. It was quite a different thing with the "cleansing" or "holy flesh" movement that grew up in 1899-1900 almost

in the shadow of Adventist headquarters at Battle Creek.

During the 1890s many Adventists were deeply convinced that the church was on the verge of experiencing the great outpouring of the Holy Spirit promised in the "latter rain." These convictions were closely tied to the renewed emphasis on righteousness by faith that followed the 1888 General Conference in Minneapolis. A. F. Ballenger, a popular speaker on the camp meeting circuit, did much to increase this expectation through his powerful sermon "Receive Ye the Holy Ghost."

One Indiana worker, S. S. Davis, was particularly moved by Ballenger's statement that "It is too late to sin in thought, word or action; for it is time to receive the Holy Ghost in all of his [sic] fullness." In his work with the "Helping Hand" welfare mission in Evansville, Davis had contacted a number of Pentecostal Christians. He was deeply impressed by their enthusiasm, remarking to a fellow Adventist worker "they have the 'spirit'; we have the truth, and if we had the 'spirit' as they have, with the truth we could do things."

Davis had an opportunity to "do things" when in November 1898 he was appointed Indiana Conference revivalist. With the support of conference president R. S. Donnell, Davis built a team that was soon crisscrossing the state carrying the "cleansing message." The revivalists made much use of musical instruments—the organ, violins, tambourines, flutes, horns, and even a bass drum—to heighten the emotional effect of their appeals. Listeners were encouraged to raise their hands to heaven, to shout and clap in their quest for the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

In the midst of these emotional experiences individuals frequently fell prostrate and were then carried to the rostrum, where they were surrounded by singing, praying, shouting members. Once a stricken member revived, he was declared to have passed "through the garden experience" which Christ had in Gethsemane. This experience demonstrated that a person was a "born" son of God, fully cleansed from sin and sinful tendencies and released from the power of death; he was now ready for translation. Those who did not have the "garden experience" might still be saved, but as "adopted" sons of God they would have to go "to heaven on the underground railroad"—that is, they must die first.

By camp meeting time in 1900 the entire Indiana Conference Committee and all but two or three workers had accepted the "cleansing message." Intense anxiety gripped many who attended the camp meeting. They desired not to miss out on a good experience, yet seemed unable to receive assurance that they were "born" sons. S. N. Haskell and A. J. Breed, who attended this camp meeting as General Conference representatives, were horrified with what they found. To Haskell, it was the "greatest mixture of fanaticism" he had ever seen. When he attempted to compare what he saw to some of the fanaticism in the early Advent movement, conference officials denied any similarity.

By the opening of the 1901 General Conference, "holy flesh" ideas

were threatening to spread into adjoining conferences, and the churches in Indiana were deeply divided by the developments of the past two years. Many wondered how Ellen White would relate to the message emanating from Indiana. She did not leave delegates long in doubt. During a public session Mrs. White declared that through accepting Christ's sacrifice and surrendering to His will and leading, individuals might have "holy hearts," but "holy flesh" was an "impossibility" on this earth, where sin's results would never be entirely removed. Those who felt they had received "holy flesh" would be tempted to feel they could not sin. This overconfidence would play right into the devil's hands.

Mrs. White also condemned the extreme emotionalism present in the Indiana movement. "Excitement is not favorable to growth in grace, to true purity and sanctification of the spirit," she observed. Rather than being conducive to the receiving of the Holy Spirit, the bedlam encouraged in "cleansing movement" meetings caused "the senses of rational beings . . . [to] become so confused that they cannot be trusted to make right decisions."

This straight reproof was accepted by Elders Donnell, Davis, and the other Indiana delegates involved in the new teaching. At the suggestion of church leaders the entire Indiana executive committee resigned and was replaced by men who had not been involved in the fanaticism. Donnell was transferred to another conference, but Davis was allowed to retire. He was never again fully trusted and was eventually dropped from membership in his local church. Several years before his death he moved to Nebraska, where he accepted ordination as a Baptist minister.⁴

The Ballenger Group

Albion Fox Ballenger, whose sermons provided some of the inspiration for the Holy Flesh movement, held numerous responsible positions within the church. The son of a Seventh-day Adventist minister, he had been raised an Adventist from birth. When not yet thirty Ballenger became secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association; later he served for a time as an assistant editor of *The American Sentinel*, the association's official organ. In the late 1890s Ballenger resigned these responsibilities in order to devote himself fully to preaching. In 1900 he was sent to the British Isles, where he worked first in several of the big English cities, then in Wales, and finally as president of the Irish Mission.

While in Ireland Ballenger began to promote a different explanation of the heavenly sanctuary than that taught by Seventh-day Adventists. In brief, he held that the two apartments of the sanctuary represented the two phases of Christ's work before and after His crucifixion. Whereas the Seventh-day Adventist teaching was that Christ entered the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary (the holy of holies) only in 1844, Ballenger believed He had done so immediately after His ascension. At this time, according to Ballenger, the antitypical day of atonement began,

not in 1844 as Seventh-day Adventists held. In fact the year 1844 and the 2300-day prophecy had no distinctive meaning as far as Ballenger was concerned.

Called before the British Union Conference Committee to explain his views, Ballenger made a three-hour defense but did not succeed in convincing the committee that he had discovered valuable new light. Instead they relieved him of his post as president of the Irish Mission. However, in order to give him a hearing before a wider forum of church leaders, Ballenger was sent by the British Union as one of its delegates to the 1905 General Conference.

While attending this session in Takoma Park, Ballenger was allowed to present his position before twenty-five major church leaders. After three days of discussion Ballenger had failed to convince these men that his views were correct. But neither did the committee appointed to answer Ballenger persuade him that he was in error, although the Seventh-day Adventist position was based on both biblical exegesis and events which Ellen White had clearly seen in vision. This last fact forced Ballenger to reexamine his position toward Mrs. White. Soon he began to accuse her of plagiarizing and promoting errors. When he refused to stop teaching his divergent views, church leaders felt they had no choice but to drop him from the ministry and eventually from church fellowship.

Ballenger published several pamphlets outlining his views. He also traveled extensively throughout the United States, seeking speaking appointments before Adventist groups. During his travels he picked up scattered support, generally from among persons already disgruntled with church leaders. His most important converts were his aged father and his brother, E. S. Ballenger, also an Adventist minister. Both subsequently were deprived of their ministerial credentials.

In 1914 Ballenger took over a small periodical, *The Gathering Call*, started by one of his supporters. By this time he had joined the Seventh Day Baptists and had become minister of their Riverside, California, congregation. Until his death, in 1921, he continued to try to convince any Seventh-day Adventists who would listen of the correctness of his position and the errors of Adventism. Ballenger made several trips to Europe and Australia seeking supporters. He found a few in both places but did not succeed in creating an opposing denominational organization.

Following A. F. Ballenger's death, his brother Edward continued to publish *The Gathering Call*, but its emphasis shifted from doctrinal discussions to strident personal attacks on church leaders, past and present: Ellen White, Uriah Smith, A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, F. M. Wilcox. An example of the scurrilous nature of the material he published was an unverified rumor that W. A. Spicer drank beer while in Germany! The Ballengers' activities were a nuisance to church leaders for over half a century. They helped to keep alive some of the earliest criticisms of Ellen White, such as those dealing with the "shut door," but neither the esoteric

nature of Albion Ballenger's theological arguments nor the shrill cacophony of Edward's personal attacks was calculated to win many converts.⁵

Mrs. Rowen

During the World War I years two small groups, one in the United States, the other in Germany, broke away from the main body of Seventh-day Adventists, claiming a mission to "reform" the denomination. The American group was led by Mrs. Margaret W. Rowen of Los Angeles. About a year after Ellen White's death Mrs. Rowen announced that God had selected her to carry on the type of work earlier done by Mrs. White. She had a burden to start prayer groups in each church and promote "reform," although she was somewhat vague as to the exact things needing reformation.

At the time Mrs. Rowen began sending out her "testimonies" she was about forty years of age and had been an Adventist for some four years. Her husband did not share her religious faith. Church leaders adopted a cautious attitude toward the new, self-proclaimed "messenger." At the Southern California camp meeting in 1917 A. G. Daniells suggested that judgment be suspended while Mrs. Rowen's work and messages were closely observed over a period of time. A small group of experienced ministers, including I. H. Evans, W. C. White, and E. E. Andross, interviewed Mrs. Rowen at some length. Although they had observed that her early testimonies bore a superficial resemblance to Ellen White's writings, they found no convincing evidence that she had received a divine call.

Some Adventists, including a few ministers, did conclude that God had sent another special messenger to the church. The physical manifestations accompanying Mrs. Rowen's visions played a significant role in her acceptance by this group. When in vision she generally reclined with hands folded across her breast. Her body was rigid, and her eyes unblinking, seemingly fixed on something far away. She could not be seen to breathe. Exclamations of "Glory, Glory, Glory," generally signaled both the onset and conclusion of a vision. Both her followers, including several medical doctors, and skeptics agreed that these visions were supernaturally inspired. The question in dispute was: with which supernatural power did they originate?

At the Southern California camp meeting in 1918 Elder Daniells announced that church leaders were convinced that Mrs. Rowen was mistaken in thinking she was receiving visions from the Lord with instructions for the church and for individuals. To church leaders Mrs. Rowen's prediction that the nation was on the verge of a severe famine and her counsel to begin storing nonperishable foods were clear contradictions of basic New Testament and Ellen G. White principles. The leaders were also disenchanted with her willingness to accept tithe money from be-

lievers in order to publish her views in tract form and in a journal entitled *The Advocate*.

Mrs. Rowen now went to elaborate lengths to convince Seventh-day Adventists of her divine call. She announced that she had seen in vision that a document existed in the Ellen G. White vault at Elmshaven identifying her as the one who would lead out in a great reformatory work at the end of time. Previously she had convinced one of her followers, Dr. B. E. Fullmer, that she had accidentally discovered this document while briefly alone in the White vault some time earlier. She had taken the manuscript home with her, but since this would be misunderstood, it must somehow be returned to the files without anyone's knowing it was being replaced there. Dr. Fullmer agreed to attempt the return of the document.

On a visit to Elmshaven with his wife and a friend Fullmer succeeded in slipping open a drawer of manuscripts and dropping in the document Mrs. Rowen had given him. The guide was temporarily absent, having gone to get a lamp, since the electricity was off in the vault. Sometime later another Rowenite, a former Seventh-day Adventist minister, came to the White office and insisted that W. C. White examine with him the post-1910 manuscript files to demonstrate that there was no such document as Mrs. Rowen claimed. As they searched, there in the 1911 drawer was a simple one-page manuscript answering almost perfectly to Mrs. Rowen's description!

Elder White was immediately certain that this document was a forgery. It was on the wrong size of paper, typed in the wrong color of ink, with a heading different from that of any other document in the drawer. It was not fastened among the other documents on a metal holder, but was loose. The signature was quite unlike that of Ellen White in many particulars. Yet he was at a loss to explain how the document came to be in the drawer or where it had come from.

When the manuscript's questionable characteristics were pointed out to Mrs. Rowen, she agreed that it had been tampered with. She suggested that W. C. White had prepared a forgery in order to discredit her. Sometime later another copy of the disputed manuscript, this one a much more skillful forgery, was mailed to Elder White along with a fantastic story of how it had come into the possession of another of Mrs. Rowen's associates. Details of these devious acts did not come to light until years afterward when Dr. Fullmer finally became disillusioned with Mrs. Rowen.

Meanwhile the would-be prophetess had invented an extraordinary vision in which she claimed to have been shown that she was really the illegitimate daughter of a different mother than she had always believed to be hers. She allegedly made contact with this woman, a wealthy Philadelphia matron, who reportedly gave her a substantial allowance and promised to make her the heir to a number of Maryland farms. It seems Mrs. Rowen put this tale together to explain the funds she was using to purchase a succession of automobiles. It was discovered later that

actually she had been misappropriating title money sent to her Reformed Seventh-day Adventist organization. Elder C. S. Longacre investigated Mrs. Rowen's supposed newfound mother and her properties and proved them a complete fabrication. Still many of the prophetess's followers refused to believe his proofs.

A number of statements in Mrs. Rowen's pamphlets confirmed the Adventist leaders in their opinion that her claim to divine guidance was fraudulent. Some of her questionable theological teachings were (1) that Pilate and those who crucified Christ would roam the earth in agony throughout the millennium, (2) that Jesus was the first created angel, adopted by God as His Son only after He had chosen a life of righteousness, (3) that God lacked complete foreknowledge as to whether specific individuals would or would not accept the salvation He offered, (4) that the 144,000 would come from the United States alone, and (5) that the serpent had been a special pet of Eve's! She also claimed to have been shown that the investigative judgment of the living began on July 23, 1919.

It was her time predictions that eventually brought disillusionment among most of those who had accepted Mrs. Rowen's claims. She announced that probation would close on February 6, 1924, and Christ would return exactly a year later: February 6, 1925. There were perhaps 1000 Reformed Seventh-day Adventists scattered from California to New York who confidently expected Jesus to appear shortly after midnight on February 6, 1925. When nothing happened, Mrs. Rowen temporarily disappeared, but soon she was back claiming that she had misunderstood how long it would take Christ to reach earth from heaven.

Some Rowenites accepted the "corrected" vision, but Dr. Fullmer was disillusioned, especially after he discovered that the prophetess had been intercepting the postman before he delivered mail to Reform headquarters and taking letters she thought "important." It turned out that Mrs. Rowen had deposited in private bank accounts thousands of dollars sent for church work in these letters. When Fullmer revealed her perfidy, she and several associates lured him to a motel under the pretext of calling him to care for a sick child. There they unsuccessfully tried to murder him—a crime for which Mrs. Rowen was sentenced to San Quentin Penitentiary. After her parole she attempted to shift her operations to Florida, but additional immoral conduct soon completely discredited her claims, and she rapidly faded from the Adventist picture.⁶

The German Reform Movement

Nothing so unsavory happened in connection with the German Reform movement which began in 1915. The German reformers had no one prophet such as Mrs. Rowen. Rather, there were half a dozen lay members who suddenly had visions, principally dealing with the imminent close of probation and the return of Jesus. The first of these was Johann Wick,

recently drafted for service in the Imperial Army. Wick and a fellow Adventist refused to be vaccinated when inducted, and consequently were sentenced to seven days in a military prison in Berlin. While there, on the night of January 11, 1915, Wick claimed to have received a vision in which he was told that probation would close "at the time the stone-fruit [cherries, plums, peaches, etc.] trees blossomed in the spring." He was to reveal this to church leaders. If they did not accept his message, it was a clear indication that they were in a "fallen" state.

Wick wrote out his vision and sent it to the church's Hamburg Publishing House with the request that it be published in the denominational periodicals. The managers refused, but Wick was not to be stopped. Upon release from prison, he and his companion deserted the army and fled to Bremen, where they convinced the local Adventist church elder to hide them. Somehow they raised money to publish Wick's vision in a private pamphlet which was then sent to Adventist pastors and lay leaders throughout Germany. Meanwhile several other lay members experienced similar visions. There is no evidence that these persons had any contacts or were in collusion in any way. Yet all were given the same peculiar timing for probation's close—when the "stone-fruit trees blossom in the spring." It seemed obvious that some supernatural power was at work; but because of the time-setting aspects Adventist leaders were convinced that it was not the Spirit of God.

Wartime strains helped the German reformers' message gain acceptance among a number of the Adventist laity, even after nothing particularly remarkable, in an eschatological sense, took place in the spring of 1915. As the time passed, new dates were set; but these, too, came and went uneventfully. The reformers needed a more definite cause to rally around. Proclaiming that Adventism had become Babylon, they cited the German church leaders' attitudes toward military service (approval of combatant service, even on Sabbath, for draftees) as an example of the church's fallen position. Sensitive because their action had already drawn criticism from some of their colleagues in neutral Scandinavia, German leaders, especially L. R. Conradi, sought to convey the impression that their course of action had been given at least tacit approval by the General Conference Committee. This confirmed the reformers' suspicions of the entire Adventist leadership.

With the end of the war General Conference leaders attempted to heal the breach with the reformers at a conference held at Friedensau in 1920. President Daniells indicated that he believed those leaders who had informed the German government of Adventists' willingness to take an active combatant role in the military had been in error, although he credited them with acting in good faith. He rebuked the reformers for setting up a divisive organization and for dishonest practices such as putting the regular church name on literature critical of the government, thus causing the church hardship.

Some of the German leaders who had taken the initiative in assuring their government of complete wartime cooperation willingly confessed to having made a mistake and asked forgiveness. Conradi appeared less convinced that the expedient course followed had not been the right one. In self-justification he pointed out that:

“... during the last 28 years we have, as a people, encouraged our young men for the sake of our work in different countries, to remain in their own land and not to emigrate, and have told them that in their stand towards the government they should do their duty and even carry arms, and still at the same time, as far as possible, they should seek to become free on the Sabbath. We have taken exactly the same stand with reference to the question as to whether or not our children should go to school on the Sabbath. No one has ever told us that our position was wrong but have rather encouraged us to adapt ourselves to conditions such as they were, and do our best.”

For a quarter of a century or more Conradi had been allowed much latitude in directing the European Division. American leaders, unfamiliar with problems like peacetime compulsory military service and elementary schooling on Sabbath, had been inclined to let him proceed as he thought best. Undoubtedly his success in making the German segment of Adventism the strongest in Europe contributed to their confidence in Conradi. Yet their confidence was waning; in 1922 L. H. Christian would succeed Conradi as president of the European Division.

The reform leaders, augmented for the first time by a few Adventist ministers, took a self-righteous position. They demanded that those German leaders who had compromised on combatancy and Sabbath keeping be removed from their positions. To some it seemed that the reform spokesmen were anxious to succeed men like Conradi and his associates. Daniells pled for forgiveness and reconciliation, but this the reform leaders were unwilling to grant. Fortunately, many of their followers took a different view and were soon reintegrated into the regular Adventist fellowship.

As the reform movement lost its following, it also began to fragment. At the same time its basic criticism of the “fallen” status of Adventist leadership was exported to the United States, Canada, Australia, and South America—wherever there was a substantial German immigrant community. The reformers’ appeal was not confined to those of German descent; it found acceptance principally among those who became offended by the actions of some church leader—pastor, local conference president, or General Conference official. In the United States the reformers were particularly prone to charge that church workers were suppressing some of Ellen White’s writings. Remnants of the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement were still present a half century after it arose. From one of these remnants would come a later challenge to Adventist unity in the form of the teachings of Robert Brinsmead.⁷

The "Shepherd's Rod"

Before turning to Brinsmead, however, we must look at another Adventist offshoot: the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists, popularly called the "Shepherd's Rod." This group was the product of the teachings of V. T. Houteff, a Bulgarian immigrant to the United States. After some years in Illinois, where he became a Seventh-day Adventist, Houteff moved in the 1920s to southern California. Dissatisfied with treatment received as a patient at the Glendale Sanitarium, Houteff soon became dissatisfied with church leaders in general. He began referring to them as modern scribes and pharisees.

In 1928-29 Houteff was a Sabbath School teacher and officer in the Los Angeles Tabernacle Seventh-day Adventist church. In this capacity he first began to promote his view of the "fallen condition" of the church. Later he began a study class in the church sanctuary on Sabbath afternoons. When asked by the pastor to discontinue the class because of its divisive effect, he simply moved it elsewhere.

By this time Houteff had begun to consider himself a divinely appointed messenger sent to correct the Adventist Church and its leadership. Although his ideas were later expanded and elaborated upon, his basic teachings had emerged as follows: (1) the Seventh-day Adventist Church is pictured in Christ's parable of the wheat and tares in Matthew 13:24-30, (2) the harvest mentioned here will occur before the "latter rain" and "loud cry" can begin, (3) at this harvest the apostate leaders and members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church will be destroyed, (4) this event is also referred to as the "slaughter" in Ezekiel 9, and (5) those who remain are those who accept Houteff's warning through his publication *The Shepherd's Rod*; they will constitute the 144,000.

Because at the time Houteff was forming his views there were approximately 300,000 Seventh-day Adventists, he concluded that about one half of them would be "slaughtered"—and used the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins to support this teaching. Houteff later developed an elaborate and fanciful interpretation of prophecy which identified the seven heads of the leopardlike beast of Revelation 13 with Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, the Christian Church, "first-day" Adventists, and Seventh-day Adventists. He held that the "papal" head had been wounded by Luther in 1500 rather than by the French in 1798 as Adventists taught. Claiming that Israel's experience in Egypt was typical of the experience of the "true" Christian church, he added 430 years to 1500, arriving at 1930, the time he proclaimed Adventism to have fallen. He, of course, was the Moses to lead the true Israel out of Egypt into Canaan. Sometime later Houteff decided that a restored Davidian kingdom made up of his followers would again flourish in Palestine at the time of the "loud cry" and just before the second advent.

At the request of Houteff and some of his sympathizers, he was accorded

several opportunities to present his views before representative groups of Adventist leaders. He promised that if they would show him his error from the Bible and Ellen White's writings, he would stop disseminating his literature. The committees who heard him unanimously agreed that his interpretations were false and attempted to demonstrate this to him, but without success.

When Houteff refused either to stop his divisive attacks or to apologize to specific Adventist leaders whom he had slandered, he was eventually dropped from church membership, as were a few of his supporters. Prior to World War II, when difficulties with the draft forced him to organize the Davidian Seventh-day Adventist Church in order to get noncombatant status for his followers, Houteff preferred to have his supporters stay within local Seventh-day Adventist churches. This made it easier for him to get his literature before Adventists. He was, however, happy to have his followers turn their tithes and offerings directly over to him.

In 1935 Houteff moved to a farm near Waco, Texas. Here he established a colony at what he called "Mount Carmel Center." This was to be an assembly point where "sealed" members of the 144,000 could gather preparatory to transferring to Palestine when the Davidic kingdom would be reestablished there. Twenty years after the move to Waco, Houteff died, having "appointed his wife to lead his flock until the Lord should choose another prophet to take charge of it."

The Davidian Seventh-day Adventists had been held together largely by the force of Houteff's personality. Almost immediately after his death they began to fragment. Their plight worsened when Mrs. Houteff, acting for the sect's leaders, announced that on April 22, 1959, God would miraculously intervene in Palestine, clearing out both Arabs and Jews in preparation for the restored kingdom of David. Perhaps several hundred faithful gathered in anticipation at Mount Carmel Center. When April 22 passed uneventfully, there was sad disillusionment and a further splintering. Some returned to the Seventh-day Adventist Church; and a few, calling themselves "the Branch," actually made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Israel. In the spring of 1962 Mrs. Houteff and her associates officially dissolved the Davidian Association. A few minute offshoots of the Shepherd's Rod party continued a tenuous existence, at odds with each other as much as with the Seventh-day Adventist Church.⁸

Robert Brinsmead

Although there had been dissident groups in the church from its start, none was more troublesome to Adventist leaders than that begun by an Australian college student in the late 1950s. During Robert Brinsmead's childhood his parents had been closely identified with the German Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement. Although they rejoined the regular Adventist Church when Robert was a boy of ten, a spirit of mistrust and suspicion of church leaders continued in the home.

With an older brother, John, young Brinsmead enrolled at Avondale College in 1955. Here the brothers discovered some of the materials produced in the late nineteenth century by A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner. To Robert it seemed that the church had been lethargic toward righteousness by faith and this soon became a new point to attack. It was during this initial year in college that Robert began an extensive writing career by producing a short paper entitled "The Seal of the Holy Spirit." In this work he argued that the "blotting out of sins" in the heavenly sanctuary must precede the latter rain experience for the church.

After a year at home caring for their pineapple and banana plantations, the Brinsmeads returned to Avondale. For some time Robert had believed that at the incarnation Christ had taken sinful human flesh identical to all mankind's. Now a recently issued Adventist book, *Questions on Doctrine*, took a different view. To Brinsmead this was a clear indication of growing apostasy. In a new commentary on Daniel 10 and 11, *The Vision by the Hiddekel*, Brinsmead advanced the thesis that the "papal king of the north" was entering the "glorious holy mountain" (the Seventh-day Adventist Church) by insidiously introducing error and the Roman church's authoritarian spirit.

As president of the College Ministerial League, Brinsmead began to circulate some of his views throughout Australia. He developed a substantial following among the student body and in some churches; eventually, he attracted a few young Adventist ministers into his camp. When Robert refused to pledge not to disseminate his criticisms and divisive views, he was denied re-matriculation at Avondale. Together with John he now began crisscrossing Australia and New Zealand, presenting his ideas before Adventist groups wherever he could get a hearing. The brothers even held several private camp meetings, in spite of official conference disapproval.

In a number of contacts with Robert Brinsmead, Australasian Division president F. G. Clifford attempted to persuade the young man to stop his divisive tactics and withdraw his privately printed books and pamphlets. Clifford offered to have the local publishing house book committee review any manuscript Brinsmead wished to publish. If his materials proved doctrinally sound, they could be published through regular church channels. Robert refused this offer, countering with a request that his views be presented before a large committee of 100 to be nominated equally by conference officials and himself.

Instead, Clifford decided to present a thorough critique of Brinsmead's activities and teachings in the Cooranbong church. In the process he demonstrated that the young man had frequently misquoted Ellen White or quoted her completely out of context. He ended with an appeal to Brinsmead, who was present, to withdraw his writings from circulation. Robert countered with a challenge to debate, which was declined. Brinsmead was at his best in debate. He had an unusual ability to quote

long E. G. White passages, giving the exact reference, in a way that disarmed opponents. An earnest and effective public speaker, Brinsmead became the natural leader for those within the church who felt in any respect disenchanted with the leadership. Some of his followers did not fully understand all of his theological views, which were straying farther from traditional Adventism.

A new interpretation of the distinctive Adventist view of the “cleansing of the sanctuary” eventually became the key point in Brinsmead’s emphasis. Basically he introduced a new type of “perfectionism.” By linking Leviticus 16:30 with Daniel 8:14, Brinsmead argued that during the investigative judgment “because of imparted and imputed righteousness God performs a miracle and erases all sinful thoughts and emotions within us. A person will have had to give up every sin for this to be effective and for it to occur.”⁹

Brinsmead drew an analogy between the soul temple and the ancient tabernacle, with its two apartments. The holy place he likened to the conscious mind, to be purged of known sin through sanctification. The most holy place was equated with the subconscious mind, to be cleansed of original sin, and all memory of sin, at the time an individual’s case was decided favorably in the investigative judgment. It was upon individuals so perfected that the latter rain would fall. They would then go out to give the loud cry and bring the three angels’ messages to many for whom probation had not yet closed. In reality Brinsmead’s beliefs were an intellectual counterpart to the Holy Flesh movement of sixty years earlier. Some of his followers even suggested that those who had been cleansed of sin would be perfected physically as well as spiritually—they would have no more illness, not even a common cold, but were ready for translation.

Had the Brinsmead brothers kept their views to themselves, there would probably have been no difficulty. Instead they felt compelled to make them normative for the entire church. Criticism of church leaders, including the top General Conference administrators, increased. In 1967 Robert Brinsmead wrote, “Be assured that all this talk about revival and reformation is just talk. . . . Evidence upon evidence indicates that the power of the Spirit being sought for in this call for revival is the same power of the spirit that is being sought for, and received, by many Protestant groups. It does not come from the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary. It comes from Satan.”¹⁰

His critical attitude toward church leaders and his doctrinal divergencies led to Robert Brinsmead’s being dropped from membership in his local church during the summer of 1961. Similar action was taken against some of his most outspoken followers. But a vigorous and intelligent campaign by the leadership of the Australasian Division helped to limit the split that was occurring in many of the churches in Australia and New Zealand. Like earlier groups, Brinsmead’s followers soon began to dis-



F. G. Clifford



Neal C. Wilson

agree among themselves. This tended to neutralize his influence with thoughtful Adventists.

Meanwhile the youthful Australian had become a hero among some Adventists in America and Europe. His teachings were also widely disseminated throughout the Far Eastern Division and in parts of Africa. During the 1960s the Brinsmeads transferred their principal base of operations to the United States. With the financial backing of a few disgruntled Adventist physicians and businessmen, they launched the Sanctuary Awakening Fellowship to promote their views.

An interview with a committee of experienced ministers was arranged by the General Conference officers. Although this group was unable to see light in the Brinsmead views on the nature of Christ, instantaneous

sinless perfection, and the ordering of last-day events, they were not unfavorably disposed to the brothers personally until they caught them in deceptive statements. When questioned about accepting tithe from Adventists, Robert at first flatly denied that they had done this. Later, when pressed, he admitted that they had done so—not for themselves, but to support several former Adventist ministers who had joined them.

Throughout the 1960s “the Brinsmead agitation” unsettled substantial numbers of Adventists. It seemed to appeal primarily to (1) new Adventists, (2) sincere persons anxious for instantaneous perfection, (3) disgruntled church members, and (4) those with some special “new light” of their own. Instead of bringing the great revival its promoters talked about, the Sanctuary Awakening Fellowship brought confusion and actual loss of all religious faith to some who became discouraged over failure to receive the sealing experience. On the other side, it did lead many Seventh-day Adventists to increased study of both the Scriptures and the writings of Ellen White.

Robert Brinsmead was an avid student. Challenged especially by contacts with Dr. Desmond Ford of Australia and Dr. Hans LaRondelle of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Brinsmead went to the Bible and the writings of the major Protestant reformers to investigate thoroughly the topics of righteousness by faith, justification, and sanctification. By late 1971 he had reversed his thinking on the sinful nature of Christ and had dropped his instantaneous perfection as part of the investigative judgment.

New contacts with General Conference leaders, especially Neal Wilson, then General Conference vice-president for North America, led Brinsmead to shift his efforts from criticizing Adventist leaders to renewing interest in righteousness by faith in traditional Protestant circles. In cooperation with an Australian Anglican priest, Geoffrey Paxton, he organized a number of forums across the United States where Reformation theology was discussed. By 1976 Brinsmead claimed that his periodical, *Present Truth*, was going to 100,000 readers, many of them Protestant clergy and youth leaders. *Present Truth* promoted Adventist views on God’s law, an interest in prophecy, and a critical assessment of the neo-Pentecostal “tongues” movement in its columns. Although substantially reconciled to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in doctrine, Robert Brinsmead continued to hold a personal following on its fringe.¹¹

Suggested Reading:

The *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* articles on the various dissident groups are the best place to get a concise picture of their individual concerns and impact. The Holy Flesh movement is treated in E. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell—Man of Action* (1967), pp. 168-176, and *Notes and Papers Concerning Ellen G. White and the Spirit of Prophecy* (1962), pp.

259-264. There is no good summary of E. S. Ballenger's views, but E. E. Andross presents a rejoinder in *A More Excellent Ministry* (1912). On Margaret Rowen see C. G. Bellah, *Trying the Spirit: Rowenism Weighed and Wanting* (1923). L. H. Christian gives an evaluation of the German Reform movement in *The Aftermath of Fanaticism or a Counterfeit Reformation* (n.d.). The S.D.A. Defense Literature Committee has produced a useful pamphlet, *History and Teaching of "The Shepherd's Rod"* (1955). On Brinsmead see this committee's *The History and Teaching of Robert Brinsmead* (1961), and the later Biblical Research Committee's *The Brinsmead Agitation* (1969). After forsaking his earlier heretical views Robert Brinsmead presented his own assessment of his movement in *A Review of the Awakening Message*, Part I (May 1972) and Part II (April 1973).

1. D. E. Robinson, "Prophetic Guidance in the Advent Movement," manuscript in Document File 371a, E. G. White Estate.

2. *Review and Herald*, February 20, 1886, p. 94; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 853.

3. W. A. Spicer to W. C. White, April 20, 1893; O. A. Olsen to E. G. White, July 23, 1893, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *Review*, August 22, 1893, pp. 530, 531; August 29, 1893, pp. 546, 547; September 5, 1893, pp. 562, 563; September 12, 1893, pp. 578, 579.

4. E. Robinson, *S. N. Haskell—Man of Action* (1967), pp. 168-176; W. H. Grotheer, "The Holy Flesh Movement," term paper, Andrews University (1965), Andrews University Heritage Room; E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 2 (1958), pp. 31-40; *Notes and Papers Concerning Ellen G. White and the Spirit of Prophecy* (1962), pp. 259-264.

5. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 121; H. M. Smith, "The Ballenger Reform Movement," seminar paper, Andrews University (1973), Andrews University History Department; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, March 16, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files. For the principal statement of A. F. Ballenger's views see his *Cast Out for the Cross of Christ* (n.d.). Denominational answers to Ballenger are E. E. Andross, *A More Excellent Ministry* (1912) and W. H. Brown, *Brown Exposes Ballenger* (1936).

6. General Conference Committee, *Claims Disproved* (1920) and *Further Statements About Claims Disproved* (1922); C. G. Bellah, *Trying the Spirit: Rowenism Weighed and Wanting* (1923); Southern California Conference of S.D.A., *Darkness or Light, Which?* (1924); A. L. White, "Worship Talks on Margaret Rowen," Document File 364, E. G. White Estate; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1190.

7. R. R. Ruhling, "The So-Called German Reform Movement" and "Report of a Meeting With the Opposition Movement, July 21-23, 1920, in Friedensau," both in Document File 350-b, E. G. White Estate; J. Barbour, "World War I Military Crisis in Germany—Did God Reject or Unite His People?" Document File 320, White Estate; L. N. Christian, *The Aftermath of Fanaticism or a Counterfeit Reformation* (n.d.); *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1332, 1333.

8. Pacific Union Conference of S.D.A., *A Reply to the Shepherd's Rod* (1934); S.D.A. Defense Literature Committee, *History and Teaching of "The Shepherd's Rod"* (1955); *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 376.

9. Quoted in W. G. Johnsson, "Observations Concerning the Sanctuary Awakening Fellowship," paper presented to the Poona, India, pastors' association, October 30, 1969.

10. Quoted in Biblical Research Committee, *The Brinsmead Agitation* (1969), p. 25.

11. In addition to the items in the preceding two footnotes, material on the Brinsmead movement has been drawn from Research and Defense Literature Committee, *The History and Teaching of Robert Brinsmead* (1961); J. Slade, "Lessons From a Detour" (1964); H. K. LaRondelle, "Fitness for Heaven; A Dialogue With Robert D. Brinsmead on Bible Perfection" (n.d.), loaned by the author, and two interviews: H. K. LaRondelle, June 1, 1976, and a group of Australian Adventist contemporaries of Brinsmead, June 3, 1976.

CHAPTER 28

Bright Lights Flicker and Fade

“We shall in the future as we have in the past see all kinds of character developed,” Ellen White wrote in 1898. “We shall witness the apostasy of men in whom we have had confidence, in whom we [have] trusted, who, we supposed, were as true as steel to principle.”¹ Some of those who parted company with Seventh-day Adventists became bitter opponents of their former brethren; others faded into obscurity. Perhaps a brief look at the experiences of some of these “bright stars” that went out will prove instructive.

Moses Hull

In the years when sabbatarian Adventists were groping their way toward formal organization they had few more promising young evangelists than Moses Hull. Only twenty-one when he accepted the Sabbath, Hull had already been preaching sporadically for five years for other adventist congregations. He was soon linked with J. H. Waggoner in evangelistic campaigns in Iowa. Hull’s good voice and sharp wit helped secure audiences as large as 1000 in many small Iowa farming communities. A year after accepting the three angels’ messages, Hull was ordained.

The debating spirit was strong in nineteenth-century adventism, and few Adventist ministers were more anxious to rush into a debate than Hull. After presenting a distinctive doctrine such as the Sabbath, he would request all who believed that there were biblical grounds for Sunday keeping to stand. This would be followed by a similar request concerning the obligation to keep the seventh-day Sabbath. Hull generally had no trouble getting a large majority to agree that Saturday was the

biblical Sabbath, even though few were ready to keep it.

In 1862 Hull debated with a Battle Creek champion of spiritualism. Encouraged by his success, he soon accepted other invitations to debate the immortality of the soul with spiritualist lecturers and mediums. That fall, without bothering to counsel with other Adventist leaders, Hull agreed to meet spiritualist lecturer W. F. Jamieson in debate at Paw Paw, Michigan. This community was a stronghold of spiritualism, and Hull soon found himself engaged in controversy with a spirit named Downing who professed to be speaking through Jamieson. Before he realized it, Hull fell "in a measure . . . under the power of the devil, and the seducing charms of spiritualism."

Reporting to the readers of the *Review and Herald* several months later, Hull remembered that "There was not only an unseen intelligence speaking through Mr. Jamieson, but there was an influence over the audience, and, I am now satisfied, over myself, such as I had never before witnessed; the power of which was so strong that for several days I was not only bewildered, but was really not myself. I imagined that I was outgrowing my Advent clothes; that I was getting upon higher ground than that occupied by my brethren. In this state of mind I made some concessions to certain friendly spiritualists, which I now very much regret."²

The effects of his debate at Paw Paw were more lasting than Hull at first imagined. The day after the debate he had been ready to renounce Adventism, but conferences with his colleagues, coupled with special efforts by James and Ellen White, temporarily dissuaded him. Mrs. White counseled Hull that she had been shown that his spiritual life was in danger because he was inclined to neglect personal devotions, and to rely on his own skills in debate rather than seeking divine aid. She warned him against rushing into debate ahead of God's leading, and despising supervision and counsel from those longer in the movement than he.

In an effort to get Hull away from the spiritualistic contacts that had so unsettled him, church leaders dispatched him to New England to work with J. N. Loughborough. For a few months it seemed that his doubts had been resolved as he once more effectively proclaimed the distinctive doctrines of Adventism. Yet Hull was irked at serving under a man only four years his senior, and by the fall of 1863 he decided to stop preaching and return to Indiana. When interviewed by several members of the General Conference Committee, Hull revealed such changed religious beliefs that the committee felt it had no choice but to withdraw his ministerial credentials. The scattered Adventist congregations were warned against opening their churches to him.

By the end of 1863 Hull had rejected the Bible as the "rule of life," denied the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the atonement, questioned the existence of a personal devil, and denied the mortality of man or the future punishment of the wicked, arguing instead that the dead simply passed into another state of existence. He already claimed to write

under the influence of spirits. Adventist leaders had earlier found it necessary to counsel Hull concerning “his imprudence, especially in regard to those females who wish to distinguish themselves by being very intimate with a young preacher.” Within a few years he was freely advocating finding sexual satisfaction without regard to marriage ties.³

For a short time after leaving the Adventist ministry Moses Hull went into business. Then he turned to actively promoting spiritualism. Hull had an extensive knowledge of the Bible. Although he professed to believe that it was not divinely inspired, he taught that the biblical writers had been influenced by the spirits in their writing. Marshaling his old skill at debate, Hull became one of the first spiritualist lecturers to appeal to the Bible as validating spiritualism.

Moses Hull hoped to take a large number of Seventh-day Adventists with him into spiritualism. In this he was disappointed. Nevertheless, for nearly forty-five years, until his death in 1907, he lectured widely on spiritualism, wrote a dozen books in its defense, and edited a variety of newspapers, some dedicated to social reforms as well as to spiritualism. His last years were spent in developing the Morris Pratt Institute in Whitewater, Wisconsin, into a training school for spiritualist lecturers and ministers.⁴

Dudley M. Canright

During his brief period as an Adventist minister Hull had written *The Bible From Heaven*, a book designed to demonstrate the divine origin of the Scriptures and the basis for considering them authoritative in matters of religious faith and practice. Fifteen years later Dudley M. Canright published a revised edition of this book. At that time Canright was also a leading Adventist minister, but within two decades he would turn into the most widely quoted and controversial critic of Adventism in the entire period of the church’s existence.

Canright accepted Seventh-day Adventism in 1859 as a young man of nineteen. Two years later James White presented him with a Bible and a set of prophetic charts and this advice, “Do not content yourself with being a small preacher, but be somebody, or die, trying.” Elder White could scarcely have imagined just how much the youthful Canright would take these words to heart.

Ordained by James White and J. N. Loughborough at the age of twenty-four, Canright was dispatched to New England to work under J. N. Andrews. It was here that he adopted the common Adventist practice of debating with ministers of other Protestant churches. Canright demonstrated considerable debating skill and was commended by Andrews for his “zealous, devoted, and faithful labors.” Yet there was a darker side in the development of this young minister as well. He experienced periods of acute depression and doubt. His diary reveals that he recognized ugly characteristics in his life—“pride, self exaltation, and a spirit of harshness

toward others”—that led him to fear for his eternal salvation.⁵

Marriage and the strong support of James and Ellen White seemed to strengthen Canright's Christian experience. In 1869 he was transferred to Iowa to work under George I. Butler. This began a close association that would last nearly twenty years. Yet one evening Butler was surprised to find Canright despondent and toying with the idea of giving up all religious faith—and this just after he had completed a successful debate. For hours the older minister prayed and reasoned with the discouraged man and the crisis passed. On several occasions in subsequent years Butler would again labor to keep Canright from going into infidelity.

The next real jar to Canright's religious experience occurred during a family vacation with the Whites in the Colorado mountains during the summer of 1873. Both couples were worn and much in need of rest. At first the vacation went nicely, and the period of relaxed association gave promise of real benefits to all. Then a combination of circumstances soured the relationships. James White became quite ill, and Ellen was burdened with caring for him. Inclement weather confined all the vacationers in too-close common quarters. The Canrights' fifteen-month-old daughter turned cranky. Nerves in need of healing were frayed instead. When the Whites attempted to counsel the younger couple concerning what they deemed some character weaknesses, an explosion developed. Canright later remembered that he had proceeded to tell "the elder my mind freely. That brought us into an open rupture." The Canrights moved out.

Taking his wife and child to California, Canright seemed determined to abandon a ministerial career. For several months he worked on a farm. But the need for preachers in California was great. Soon Canright was back holding evangelistic meetings. A reconciliation, begun through correspondence, was completed when the Whites arrived in California. Soon Elder Canright was effectively meeting the attacks on Ellen White's prophetic gift that were being disseminated through the state by Miles Grant, a Sunday-keeping Adventist. Yet later events seem to indicate that a continuing resentment against Mrs. White smoldered in Canright's breast.

During 1876 Canright spent much of the summer on the camp-meeting circuit throughout the East and Midwest. That year, along with James White and S. N. Haskell, he was elected to the three-member General Conference Executive Committee. The following year he published a strong defense of the Whites in the *Review* in a series of articles entitled, "A Plain Talk to Murmurers." Of Mrs. White's work in particular Canright wrote: "If I have any judgment, any special discernment, I pronounce the testimonies to be of the same Spirit and of the same tenor as the Scriptures."⁶

Increasing responsibilities came Canright's way. He was elected president of the Sabbath School Association and of the Ohio Conference. He

was active in developing the tithing plan. Some suspected that he hoped to succeed James White as General Conference president in 1878. If this was so, he was disappointed; fellow Adventist leaders did not consider him a steady enough man to lead the entire church. Then in 1879 Lucretia Canright died after a heartbreaking struggle against tuberculosis. It was a hard blow, for although Canright had not always appeared as considerate of his wife as he might have been, he loved her dearly. Now he had two small children to care for alone.

For years Canright had experienced problems with his voice and throat, problems which he believed were precipitated by incorrect speaking habits. In the summer of 1880 he decided to spend some weeks in Chicago attending the Hamill School of Oratory. He hoped "that through a thorough study in, and mastery of, expression he could accomplish his consuming desire to be a popular public speaker."

An incident that occurred during the course of the summer provides a revealing picture of Canright's thinking. As part of his practical work in Hamill's school, he had just completed speaking to more than 3000 people in one of Chicago's most popular Protestant churches. For more than half an hour members of the congregation had pressed around him, complimenting him on a "masterly discourse." Now he was quietly discussing the evening with a fellow Adventist, Hamill's student, who had attended the service to act as his professional critic. Suddenly Canright sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "I believe I could become a great man were it not for our unpopular message." D. W. Reavis, to whom this statement was made, was shocked. "D. M.," he said solemnly, "the message made you all you are, and the day you leave it, you will retrace your steps back to where it found you."⁷

That fall brought another lapse of Canright's ministerial endeavors. For four months he traveled throughout Michigan and Wisconsin holding classes in elocution. During part of this time, he later told Butler, he ceased observing the Sabbath and seriously considered seeking a preaching assignment from the Methodists. But early in 1881, following extended talks with Butler and the Whites, Canright once more began ministerial labor, only to turn again in the fall of 1882 to farming. This time he announced that his decision to stop preaching for the Adventists was due to the fact that he had become "thoroughly satisfied that the visions are not from God, but are wholly the fruit of her [Mrs. White's] own imagination."

By this time Elder White was dead; George Butler was General Conference president. Canright professed no hard feelings toward Butler or other Adventist leaders, "excepting Mrs. White. I dislike her very much indeed." These feelings persisted throughout the two years Canright farmed near Otsego, Michigan. Then, in response to an appeal from Butler, he attended an Adventist camp meeting at Jackson. Again there were long hours of prayer and counsel, climaxed by a public confession of

his struggle with doubt and his bitter feelings toward Ellen White. Upon his knees Canright begged Mrs. White's forgiveness. When this was freely given, the repentant preacher could report that "for the first time in years" he "could truly say that I believed the testimonies. All my hard feelings toward Sister White vanished in a moment, and I had a tender love toward her."

Back once more in the Adventist ministry, Canright publicly professed his determination to stay there this time, come what may. "I will never do this backing up any more," he told a general Adventist convocation in his home church, "and I believe that if I ever go back from this I am lost." Soon he was traveling widely attending Adventist meetings in the East and in Iowa and Minnesota.

Shortly thereafter a new tribulation assailed Elder Canright. In the spring of 1881 he had remarried; James White officiated at the ceremony. Now in February 1885, while Canright was on assignment in New England, he received word that his fourteen-month-old son was seriously ill. Canright tarried for several days, hoping the child would improve. When he finally arrived home, the boy was dead. "It seems as though it could not be so, that we can not have it so," the distraught father wrote Ellen White, "and yet it is so. Poor Lucy, it almost kills her and my own heart feels as though it would break. I can not see why this should come upon us. . . . Does the Lord really overrule all such things, or do they only happen so? We fasted and prayed earnestly hoping that God would hear us and spare our child. But he died. Was it really the will of God that it should be?"⁸

In spite of this cruel blow Canright continued active in the Adventist ministry. Almost every issue of the *Review* carried an article from his pen, many devoted to the strong defense of specific Adventist doctrines. His most famous, entitled "To Those in Doubting Castle," contained a strong line of argument in support of the particular role Ellen White occupied in the church. In closing he identified what he considered the root cause of doubt and dissatisfaction in the church. "The real trouble lies close at home," Canright wrote, "in a proud, unconverted heart, a lack of real humility, an unwillingness to submit to God's way of finding the truth."

Throughout 1885 and 1886 Canright's services to his church were many and varied. For eight weeks he taught Uriah Smith's Bible classes at Battle Creek College in order that Smith might devote his time to other tasks. He served as a member of the editorial board of a short-lived missionary journal, *The Gospel Sickle*. He prepared a series of Sabbath School lessons for *The Youth's Instructor*. In an effort to strengthen churches without regular pastors, Canright was asked to visit and hold meetings with eighteen Michigan congregations.

Unfortunately, all of this activity did not indicate a satisfied and stable religious experience. In January 1887 Canright informed Butler that he could no longer be a Seventh-day Adventist. Butler then journeyed to Otségo to preside over a business session of Canright's home church. At



Dudley M. Canright

this meeting Canright made it clear that “he no longer believed the Ten Commandments were binding upon Christians and had given up the Law, the Sabbath, the [Three Angels’] Messages, the Sanctuary, our position upon [the] U.S. in prophecy, the Testimonies, health reform, the ordinance of humility. He also said that he did not believe the Papacy had changed the Sabbath, and though he did not directly state it, his language intimated that he would probably keep Sunday.”

In view of his expressed doctrinal differences, the Otsego Seventh-day Adventist church felt they had little choice other than to withdraw fellowship from Canright and his wife, who agreed with him. Butler reported that Canright had assured the church “that he thought there was a larger percentage of true Christians among our people than among any other denomination.” He professed no hard feelings toward church leaders, nor any dissatisfaction over the way he had been treated. To Ellen White Canright wrote, “For my part I earnestly wish that there might continue to be a friendly feeling between me and our people [S.D.A.’s]. On my part it shall be so.”

Just what precipitated Canright’s final break with the church he had served for over twenty years has been a matter of debate down to the present. One of the elder’s relatives felt it was due to his failure to be elected president of the Michigan Conference in the fall of 1886. Butler, who had worked to dispel Canright’s doubts probably as much as any other man, put his finger on what he considered Canright’s basic character weaknesses. “When everything went pleasantly,” Butler wrote to his fellow Adventists, “he could usually see things with clearness. When he was *abused*,’ as he always thought he was when things did not go to suit him, the evidences of our faith began immediately to grow dim. Dark

clouds of unbelief floated over his mental sky, and he felt that everything was going by the board. Here was the Elder's special weakness. He is a strong man in certain directions when all goes smoothly, but very weak in adversity. . . . When things apparently were against him, he seemed to have no staying, recuperative qualities. . . . He never could bear reproof with patience, or feel composed when his way was crossed."

Canright, of course, had a different version as to why he separated from Seventh-day Adventists. In a letter to the local newspaper he reported that he had doubted some points of Adventist doctrine "for years." He had become "fully satisfied that keeping the seventh day is an error productive of evil rather than good." He was certain that Mrs. White's visions were "only the imaginings of her own mind." Adventists, he also maintained, were "too narrow and exclusive in their feelings toward other churches." Sometime later Canright avowed, "Had I desired office, or better position, all I had to do was to go right along without wavering, and positions would [have] come to me faster than I could fill them." Generally Christians opposed to Seventh-day Adventist doctrines have accepted Canright's explanation that he could no longer intellectually accept Adventist beliefs.⁹

The "friendly feeling" Canright had promised to maintain toward his former brethren soon evaporated. He became disturbed over a reference in the *Review* which referred to his "apostasy" and made a thinly veiled comparison between him and Judas Iscariot. Although Canright was not mentioned by name in later articles commenting on the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and the cupidity of Balaam, he was certain he was being compared to these men. Whatever his earlier intentions, Canright now began a thirty-year campaign to discredit Seventh-day Adventism by voice and pen.

Several weeks after being dropped from Adventist membership the Canrights joined the local Otsego Baptist church. The following month he was ordained a Baptist minister. Except for three or four years, however, Canright held no regular Baptist pastorate during the remaining thirty-two years of his life. Most of his time was devoted to lecturing against Adventists in widely scattered areas of the country, wherever local Protestant pastors were concerned that members of their flocks were becoming "ensnared" in what they considered Adventist heresies. Canright's long association with Adventists, and his friendship with so many early Adventist leaders, made him seem an especially valuable ally to Adventist opponents.

In 1889 Canright published a 413-page book, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*. This quickly became the chief weapon in evangelical Protestantism's anti-Adventist arsenal. By Canright's death in 1919 it had gone through fourteen printings and was widely circulated in many parts of the world outside the United States. During his last years Canright composed a *Life of Mrs. E. G. White*, which was published posthumously. Far from

being a biography as the title would imply, it was a bitter and sometimes sarcastic attack designed to discredit Mrs. White's claims to be a special messenger from God. Among other things, Canright charged Mrs. White with (1) being "a great plagiarist," (2) suppressing some of her earlier "embarrassing" writings, (3) using "her gift" to profit financially, (4) yielding to human influences, (5) making false prophecies, and (6) teaching incorrect doctrines, from the "shut-door" to the "reform dress."¹⁰

Considerable evidence indicates that in Canright's post-Adventist years he exhibited an almost Dr.-Jekyll-and-Mr.-Hyde attitude toward Seventh-day Adventists. Publicly, and to his immediate family, he maintained that he was happy to have been delivered from Adventist bondage and never once regretted the course of action begun in 1887. Yet he maintained cordial relations with some old Adventist friends, attended Adventist meetings frequently, especially in the last decade of his life, and reportedly told many Adventist acquaintances that they had "the truth" and should "never let it go."

One of the most moving experiences is recorded by D. W. Reavis, to whom Canright years earlier had confided that he believed he could be a great man "were it not for our unpopular message." At the end of a long, frank talk one day in 1903, Reavis appealed to Canright to confess his errors to his Adventist brethren and once more join them in heralding Christ's final message to the world. "I never heard any one weep and moan in such deep contrition as that once leading light in our message did," Reavis remembered. "He said he wished he could come back to the fold as I suggested, but after long, heartbreaking moans and weeping, he said: 'I would be glad to come back, but I can't! It's too late! I am forever gone! Gone!'" Canright's parting words to Reavis were "Whatever you do, don't ever fight the message."¹¹

Canright's attitude toward Ellen White also appears to have been ambivalent. His *Life of Mrs. E. G. White* was certainly derogatory, yet several years before this was issued he told L. H. Christian that he had "never met a woman so godly and kind and at the same time so unselfish, helpful, and practical as Mrs. White. She was certainly a spiritual woman, a woman of prayer and deep faith in the Lord Jesus." "Anyone who follows her writings," he continued, "in prayer and faith will certainly get to heaven. She always exalted Jesus, and she taught true conversion and genuine sanctification as few others have."

With his Adventist brother, Jasper, Canright attended Ellen White's funeral in the Battle Creek Tabernacle. Twice the brothers joined the line of mourners to pass by the casket. Brokenly he said, "There is a noble Christian woman gone."¹²

Jones and Waggoner

Although A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner did not, like Canright, renounce all the major distinctive Adventist doctrines, still the departure

from Adventism during the first decade of the twentieth century of these two "messengers of 1888" greatly disturbed many church members. Both men had held important church editorial positions beginning with service at the *Signs of the Times* in the 1880s. Later both were associated with *The American Sentinel*, the Adventist journal dedicated to promoting religious liberty. From 1897 to 1901 Jones edited the *Review and Herald*; in 1892 Waggoner went to England to begin a decade and a half as editor of *Present Truth*.

During the 1890s both men were active participants in almost all of the General Conference sessions. Both were early critics of centralized administrative control within the church. Elected a member of the General Conference Committee in 1897, Jones became so caustically critical of what he felt were the feeble efforts at administrative reform that President G. A. Irwin felt it necessary to issue a mild rebuke and counsel an apology. Instead Jones resigned from the committee. He was reelected to membership on this top church executive body in 1901, however, and continued to be a member until 1905.

More than once during the 1890s Ellen White had found it necessary to counsel Elder Jones against taking extreme positions concerning such things as the relationship between faith and works and details of church organization. Mrs. White regarded both Jones's and Waggoner's organizational views as leading toward anarchy rather than promoting the "order, system, and unity of action [that] is most essential."

It appears that it was largely through Jones's influence that the new General Conference constitution, adopted in 1901, provided that general direction and oversight of the church should rest in the hands of a twenty-five member executive committee rather than a president. In fact, the 1901 constitution made no provision for any such office as "president." Jones later maintained that "the presidency of the General Conference was eliminated to escape centralized power, a one-man power, a kingship, a monarchy."

Feeling as strongly as he did in this matter, Jones was incensed when executive committee chairman A. G. Daniells, for practical purposes, began referring to himself as "president" of the General Conference. Jones's antipathy toward Daniells was not abated when in 1902 a move within the executive committee to make Jones chairman in Daniells's stead failed miserably. The successful effort of Daniells and his associates in amending the constitution in 1903 by reinstating the office of president further enraged Jones, who considered that the 1903 changes had been "jammed through" in order to establish a "czardom." After 1903, Jones maintained, Adventism was controlled by a "thoroughly bureaucratic government . . . which . . . reaches and meddles with, and manipulates the affairs of all."¹³

In spite of his expressed antipathy toward "a visible head" of the church Jones accepted the presidency of the California Conference in 1901. By

nature too harsh and domineering to be a good administrator, Jones soon lost the sympathy of both the California Seventh-day Adventist clergy and laity. Against Ellen White's advice Jones decided in the summer of 1903 to accept Dr. Kellogg's invitation to teach Bible at the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Ellen White saw that, with both Jones and Kellogg critical of the top leadership of the church, they would not be good for each other. So it turned out. In an effort to get Jones away from the Battle Creek influence Mrs. White appealed to him: "God calls upon you to go out into the cities, and give the last message of warning." In saving souls through evangelism he might save himself. She also appealed to Elder Daniells to invite Jones to Washington, D.C., to work in concert with him. Several religious-liberty issues then current in the District seemed to offer a logical field of interest and activity for Elder Jones.

Reluctantly Daniells extended an invitation. He was reluctant because he feared Jones would come "with the idea that he is called here to correct us, to set us straight, and to put things in proper shape, as he has very proudly explained he was called to do on the Pacific Coast and in Battle Creek." Jones went briefly to Washington, but after a few weeks his daughter's illness provided a convenient excuse to return to Battle Creek.

In mid-1906 Ellen White wrote, "Dr. Kellogg controls the voice of A. T. Jones, and will use him as his mouthpiece." Several weeks later she addressed Jones with particular frankness: "Self-exaltation is your great danger. It causes you to swell to large proportions. You trust in your own wisdom, and that is often foolishness." As far as Jones's relationship to Dr. Kellogg was concerned, "You can not be a help to him; for you entirely misjudge his case. You consider the light given me of God regarding his position as of less value than your own judgment."¹⁴

In a two-hour speech in the Battle Creek Tabernacle, later printed in tract form and given wide distribution at sanitarium expense, Jones attacked the organizational structure of the church, Daniells and others he believed responsible for establishing a "papal" dictatorship, what he believed to be "persecution" of Dr. Kellogg, and the "misuse" of Mrs. White's testimonies by church leaders. He asserted that not everything sent out over Mrs. White's signature could be considered "from the Lord." Some things, he maintained, were "manipulated" by W. C. White. Jones concluded that "it is high time that at least somebody *in* this denomination should be Protestant enough to expose the arbitrary authority of the church." There was no doubt in Jones's mind as to who that "somebody" should be.

As might be expected, Jones's tract called forth a reply from the General Conference. This, in turn, led to Jones's issuing his *Final Word and a Confession*. In it he argued that "there never was a prophet whose every word was inspiration" and "there is hardly an instance of a prophet that does not make mistakes." At the end of his tract Jones professed the same

doctrinal views he had always held. Acknowledging that "Sister Ellen G. White is a Messenger of God, with a message to the people," he also believed "that the Testimonies are not in addition to the Bible; that they are not to take the place of the Bible, but that they are to bring us to the Bible." The Testimonies, Jones maintained, "lie between God and the individuals concerned; . . . no man nor any set of men has the right to use them to call anybody to account."¹⁵

His continued attack on church leaders led to the withdrawal of Jones's ministerial credentials in 1907. Two years later he was granted a hearing before delegates attending the 1909 General Conference session. Three afternoons were spent discussing Jones's charges and the differing views of these matters held by General Conference leaders. At the close of the last of these sessions, Elder Daniells made what one observer remembered as "a very tender and touching appeal for him [Jones] to forget the past and to come back to stand shoulder to shoulder with his brethren in the service of the Lord." Several times Jones started to reach out to clasp Daniells's hand, but never quite did so. At last with a firm "No! No!" he sat down. Shortly thereafter he was dropped from membership in the Battle Creek Tabernacle.

In later years, when he was publishing a monthly journal, *The American Sentinel of Religious Liberty*, in Washington, D.C., Jones joined The People's Church, a congregation of black Seventh-day Adventists in Washington who had been led out of the conference organization by Elder Louis Sheafe. Jones did not renounce basic Adventist doctrines such as the Sabbath and the imminent return of Jesus. He did not, as did Canright, provide fuel for other Christian denominations to use in attacking Seventh-day Adventists. But until his death in 1923 he apparently remained convinced that the church's organization and leadership were operating contrary to the divine pattern. Alonzo T. Jones was a self-assured individualist to the end.¹⁶

Although E. J. Waggoner had worked closely with Jones in the years before and after the great Minneapolis conference, they were very different in personality and temperament. Both opposed centralized and highly structured organization within the church—probably as a result of the top Adventist leadership's resistance to their righteousness by faith messages in the 1880s. Waggoner was a deeper and more systematic Bible student than was Jones; he also possessed a more speculative mind.

During the late 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, Waggoner began to promote a variety of concepts that were strange to main-line Adventism. In a sermon at the 1899 General Conference he suggested that in the "last days" all who kept God's commandments should also have the spirit of prophecy. Earlier he had become entangled in the pantheistic theories that were invading Adventist circles. While in England he taught that the earthly sanctuary was a type of the human body; the cleansing of the sanctuary referred to in Daniel 8:14, a prophecy

of the development of the health message among Seventh-day Adventists.¹⁷

By far the most damaging of Waggoner's new theories to himself personally was the doctrine of "spiritual affinities." Whether this "new light" was the cause or the result of his attraction to a young woman who was not his wife is not clear. Waggoner's spiritual affinity theory, briefly put, was "that one not rightfully a marriage partner here might be one in the life to come, and this allows a present spiritual union."

Ellen White quite plainly told Waggoner that it was Satan who was showing him "charming pictures of one whom he represents as a more suitable companion for you than the wife of your youth, the mother of your children." Yet Ellen White seemed to recognize that Waggoner's personality differed widely from that of Jones and that he must be handled differently. While still in Australia she urged Waggoner to leave England and come to work in association with her on the island continent. For nearly a year he toyed with the idea of doing so but eventually decided against it.

As in her counsel to Jones, Mrs. White wanted to break up any close association between Waggoner and Dr. Kellogg. At her behest Waggoner was invited to teach at Emmanuel Missionary College. Mrs. White hoped that, in the reform climate being fostered by Sutherland and Magan, Waggoner would again find his way. Instead, after one short term of teaching at Berrien Springs, Waggoner settled in Battle Creek and began working in the sanitarium laboratory and in its spiritual ministry program. Before long the English nurse with whom Waggoner had become infatuated appeared at the sanitarium, first as a patient, later as an employee.

Toward the end of 1905 Mrs. Waggoner filed a divorce suit, alleging improper relations between her husband and Miss Edith Adams. The divorce was granted, and the sensational publicity attending the case effectively ended the possibility of active church service for Dr. Waggoner, who subsequently married Miss Adams. The next few years were spent largely in Denmark, where Waggoner gave private lessons in English to university students. In 1910 he returned to Battle Creek and was again employed at the sanitarium until his death in 1916.

Although Waggoner always continued to believe in the seventh-day Sabbath, the soon return of Jesus, and the mortality of the soul, he abandoned the distinctive doctrines of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary and the investigative judgment of the righteous. These doctrines, he came to believe, resulted in a virtual denial of the basic Christian doctrine of the atonement. He eventually saw the cleansing of the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 as referring to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Waggoner made no effort to criticize actively the Adventist views of the sanctuary as did Ballenger. He explained why in a final "Confession of Faith" found on his desk after his death. "I have always believed," Waggoner wrote, "that the best way to uproot error is to sow very thickly

the seeds of truth. For that reason I have never undertaken, and never shall undertake, any propaganda against the denomination.”¹⁸

Louis R. Conradi

Quite a different attitude was taken by L. R. Conradi when, after more than fifty years of denominational service, he decided to part company with Seventh-day Adventists. Probably no other man had made as deep an impact on European Adventism as Conradi. From the time he was first dispatched to Europe as a young man not quite thirty, he had been a whirlwind of activity. The strong Adventist churches that developed in Germany and Russia were largely the result of his labors. It was Conradi who directed the Adventist advance into the Balkans, the old Turkish Empire, Egypt, and East Africa.

At the 1901 General Conference Ellen White testified that Conradi had “been doing the work of several men.” God’s blessing had attended it. Daniells echoed this praise the following year. “He [Conradi] is level-headed and stands to the line loyally,” Daniells wrote. “I do not know what the cause in Europe would do if it were not for him; but he is working far beyond all reason and unless we associate stronger men with him he will break down, and the cause will be left in a sad condition.”¹⁹

Perhaps it was the lack of strong counselors in the early years of his European labors that accounted for Conradi’s gradually adopting divergent views concerning the heavenly sanctuary, Christ’s work there, and the inspiration of Mrs. White. For years he did not promote his views openly, especially when associating with American church leaders. Within the European field, however, he tended to minimize the work and writings of Ellen White. Seeds of disbelief were subtly planted in many minds.

Briefly in the United States at the time of the 1888 General Conference, Conradi had been one of the “organization men” to oppose the Waggoner and Jones presentations in Minneapolis. This opposition extended to Ellen White, since she backed their righteousness by faith emphasis. Three years later, however, Conradi wrote Mrs. White, confessing his hard feelings and asking forgiveness for the “words I have dropped especially during the Minneapolis meeting.”

While translating and revising J. N. Andrews’s *History of the Sabbath*, Conradi delved deeply into the writings of the Protestant reformers. He became more and more attracted to the idea that it was actually Luther who had first heralded the three angels’ messages. This led him to downgrade the entire Millerite movement in America. It seems possible that his views were taking on some of the German nationalistic coloration so prevalent in his area of labor during the pre-World War I period. Some believed that his disenchantment with Ellen White was due to the fact that she did not fit the role of the good German “hausfrau,” content to play a subordinate role in church affairs.

The unfortunate World War I experience, in which Conradi openly promoted a position on wartime service at variance with the historic Adventist stand, placed an added strain on his position in the church. American leaders apparently began to entertain doubts as to his judgment and reliability. On his part, Conradi probably resented the need to re-adjust his position on combatancy. When in 1922 church leaders decided to replace the sixty-six-year-old head of the European Division with American L. H. Christian, it was for Conradi "just too much to take."²⁰

During the remainder of the twenties Conradi served as a general field secretary, with major responsibility in Europe and the Far East. His doctrinal deviations were making his brethren increasingly nervous. When, following the 1930 General Conference, the Central European Division rather than the General Conference was made responsible for issuing his ministerial credentials, it was decided "to challenge him face to face and call into question his erroneous views." After an unsatisfactory confrontation at Friedensau Conradi appealed to the General Conference Committee for the opportunity of presenting his views before a representative body of church leaders.

For four days in October 1931 Conradi argued before thirty-five top church leaders that the Adventist position relative to the cleansing of the sanctuary was erroneous, that the close of the 2300 days in 1844 had no reference to the heavenly sanctuary, but rather referred to the ending of Mohammedan power to persecute Christians, and that Ellen White was not a prophet in the biblical sense. He failed to convince this committee; it seemed to them that "Elder Conradi's expositions . . . confuse Bible truth, and if accepted would destroy the very foundations of this special Advent movement." If he were to persist in teaching them, they believed he should surrender his ministerial credentials.²¹

On his way back to Europe Conradi stopped by Seventh Day Baptist headquarters and received a ministerial license from this organization. Back in Germany, he proceeded to contact Seventh-day Adventists who were more loyal to him personally than to the Adventist Church. By the time of his death in 1939 he had organized more than 500 such persons into twenty-seven Seventh Day Baptist churches.

Conradi also turned his hand to writing. The year of his death a small paperback, *The Founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*, was published. In it he claimed that Ellen White "asserts herself as an infallible authority" and that "the Miller Movement in the United States of America was in itself un-Biblical" because at the end it set a definite date for Jesus to return. Ellen White's visions were characterized as a form of severe epilepsy, or else "pretended." Both James and Ellen White were accused of trickery and deceit, Bates of being duped, and Andrews of poor scholarship. Toward the end of his bitter attack Conradi stated of Seventh-day Adventists: "Fallacy after fallacy has been an outstanding mark in their history."²²

James K. Humphrey

Not doctrinal disputes, but the church's racial policies led in 1929 to the departure of one of Adventism's most talented black pastors—James K. Humphrey. More than twenty years earlier similar grievances had led Louis Sheafe to persuade his Washington, D.C., congregation to separate from the regular conference organization. By 1920 J. W. Manns, a talented young black evangelist in Savannah, Georgia, had followed a similar course. Neither Sheafe nor Manns, however, had the stature within the church that Humphrey enjoyed. Nor were their separations accompanied by as much publicity as that engendered by Humphrey's departure.

A native of Jamaica, James Humphrey was serving as a Baptist pastor in New York City when first contacted by J. H. Carroll, a black Adventist layman. Humphrey possessed a charismatic personality and considerable administrative ability. Upon accepting Adventism he threw himself vigorously into evangelistic endeavors for New York's growing black population. By 1920 the First Harlem Seventh-day Adventist church, which he had founded, had a membership of approximately 600—one sixth of the entire black Seventh-day Adventist membership in the United States.

At the time the North American Negro Department was organized in 1909 Humphrey was named one of the black members of its executive committee. The department itself was headed by a succession of white ministers until 1918. Even after W. H. Green became the first black head of the department, whites continued at the local and union levels to show a patriarchal and sometimes patronizing attitude toward plans submitted by black pastors. Understandably, this was resented. In an address before the 1922 General Conference Elder Humphrey remembered that years earlier he had been urged to lead a black schismatic movement. This he had "flatly refused to do" and "I refuse now to do it," he affirmed.

After nearly twenty years of labor in New York City Humphrey felt the need to transfer to another field, but conference leaders, pleased with his work in the nation's leading metropolis, saw no light in a change. Humphrey was made a member of the executive committee of both the Greater New York and the Atlantic Union Conferences. It is not inconceivable that, following the sudden death of W. H. Green in 1928, Humphrey might have expected to be asked to head the Negro Department. Yet when this was discussed at the Spring Council of 1929, Humphrey joined most of the other black ministers in attendance in recommending the formation of black churches into separate black conferences. These conferences would then be able to develop appropriate educational and medical facilities for their members.

Black Adventists were becoming increasingly aware of some unpleasant facts. It was almost impossible for black youth to gain admission to Adventist schools other than Oakwood Junior College. Adventist sanitariums, yielding to local white prejudices, generally refused to accept black

Adventist patients. While a few men like Humphrey served on local and union conference executive committees, none filled any administrative role. Members of Humphrey's First Harlem church, which probably contributed more tithe than any other church in the Greater New York Conference, were beginning to feel exploited.

During the 1920s New York's black community was greatly stirred by the "black nationalism" of Marcus Garvey. Black intellectuals congregated in New York were beginning to articulate in song, poetry, and drama the frustrations of an oppressed minority. The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s was one of the most vigorous cultural movements of the period. Black Adventists could hardly escape the influence of this milieu.

When church leaders first postponed and then turned down the proposal for black conferences, Humphrey decided to move on his own to provide health, educational, and recreational facilities for his fellow blacks. With members of his congregation, he began to lay plans for developing a black colony to be known as the Utopia Benevolent Association. Property was to be secured on the New Jersey coast, where extensive recreational facilities open only to blacks could be developed. To finance "Utopia Park," lots would be sold to any black "of good moral standing."

Rumors of what Humphrey was doing reached the ears of Greater New York Conference president L. K. Dickson. These rumors were given added substance when an application for Ingathering solicitation permits at the city public welfare office elicited an inquiry as to what kind of scheme Humphrey was promoting. Embarrassed conference officials had to admit ignorance. Dickson set out to correct this ignorance by asking Humphrey to explain his activities and why he had embarked on them without conference knowledge or consent.

While expressing thanks for Dickson's "kindly interest" and "desire to cooperate in this good work," Humphrey noted that Utopia Park was "not a denominational effort" and was "absolutely a problem for the colored people." Beyond that he refused to explain or justify his actions. To Dickson this was both insubordination and independence that threatened to undercut conference administrative policies. Humphrey was called upon to defend his course of action first before the local, and eventually the union, conference committee. When he failed to do this, the union committee noted its disapproval of his action and counseled the Greater New York Conference "to revoke his credentials until such time as he shall straighten out this situation in a way that will remove the reproach that his course has brought upon the cause."

Four days later, after Humphrey had declined to alter his course of action, he was relieved of his pastorate and of his position on the local and union conference committees. It proved easier to remove Humphrey in name than in fact, as his congregation sided with him almost unanimously. When Dickson, accompanied by General Conference president W. A. Spicer and several other major church leaders, tried to explain his commit-

tee's action to the First Harlem church at a stormy five-hour business session, a riot nearly developed. The situation worsened when the congregation requested the conference to surrender the title to the church property. When this request was declined, one of the local elders stated that "they would fight for their deed through the courts, and if they failed there, he would burn the building down."

Early in 1930 the Greater New York Conference voted to drop the First Harlem church from its sisterhood of churches. Humphrey then proceeded to form his congregation into a separate United Sabbath Day Adventist organization. Although plagued by minor divisions, deserted by some members who had second thoughts about continuing in opposition to the main Seventh-day Adventist body, and deprived by the courts of their church building, Humphrey's group continued its separate existence even after his death in 1952. With the formation of regional conferences, an unsuccessful attempt was made to get the First Harlem congregation to rejoin the regular Adventist organizational structure. By this time the members had generally discarded faith in Ellen G. White, largely as the result of misunderstanding some of her later statements on race relations, which were interpreted as implying the racial inferiority of blacks.²³

Hull, Canright, Jones, Waggoner, Conradi, Humphrey—all were men of talent, men whose loss was deeply felt. The writings of Canright and Conradi were seized upon by opponents of Adventism in their efforts to discredit Adventist doctrines. Jones's and Waggoner's defections tended to place their teachings on righteousness by faith under a cloud in the eyes of some church leaders and members. The Humphrey experience seems particularly tragic: a valuable leader holding tenaciously to a good principle with an attitude falling short of the "gentleness" and "meekness" the apostle Paul listed as among the fruit of the Holy Spirit. Some said Humphrey aspired to be "the Moses of his people." If so, he forgot that Moses was the "meekest man" in Israel.

While these were not the only defections from Adventist ranks, they are some of the most notable. All of the men mentioned were Adventist ministers, most of them for decades. Small wonder that one of the church leaders' most persistent concerns was the quality of the Adventist ministry.

Suggested Reading:

Of all the persons discussed in this chapter, D. M. Canright has received the most attention from both Adventist and non-Adventist authors. Probably the most complete picture of Canright is given in C. Johnson, *I Was Canright's Secretary* (1971). A. W. Spalding gives a good picture of Canright's work in *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), II: 254-279. A provocative Canright defense is found in N. Douty,

The Case of D. M. Canright (1964). Much of F. D. Nichol's *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (1951) is devoted to answering Canright's charges. Adventist interest in Jones and Waggoner has centered largely on their contributions in 1888 and immediately thereafter. The ablest account of their separation from the church is that prepared by A. L. White as an appendix to A. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), pp. 302-316. The stories of Moses Hull and L. R. Conradi remain to be told, although on Conradi, D. Delafield's *Ellen G. White in Europe* (1975), pp. 286-296, gives some insights. An objective, yet sympathetic, picture of Humphrey's separation appears in J. Mesar and T. Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, I (January 1974), 34-41, 53, 54.

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1. E. G. White, Manuscript 154, 1898, in manuscript release 454, E. G. White Estate.
 2. *Review and Herald*, January 21, 1863, p. 64; J. Nix, "The Life and Work of Moses Hull," Andrews University term paper (1971), Andrews University Heritage Room; D. Hull and others, *Moses Hull* (1907), pp. 20-26, 90, 91.
 3. *Review*, January 5, 1864, pp. 45, 46; November 18, 1873, p. 179; E. G. White, *Testimonies*, I: 426-437.
 4. Nix, *passim*; Hull, pp. 32-81.
 5. C. Johnson, *I Was Canright's Secretary* (1971), pp. 11-19; N. Douty, *The Case of D. M. Canright* (1964), p. 152.
 6. Johnson, pp. 17-47.
 7. Johnson, pp. 48-58; D. W. Reavis, *I Remember* (n.d.), pp. 118, 119.
 8. Johnson, pp. 58-72.
 9. Johnson, pp. 73-83; Douty, pp. 90, 91.
 10. Johnson, pp. 84-99; Douty, pp. 93-98; D. M. Canright, *Life of Mrs. E. G. White* (1919), *passim*.
 11. Reavis, pp. 119, 120; Johnson, pp. 100-107, 126-144; Douty, pp. 99-116.
 12. L. H. Christian, *The Fruitage of Spiritual Gifts* (1947), pp. 51-53; W. A. Spicer, *The Spirit of Prophecy in the Advent Movement* (1937), p. 127.
 13. A. L. White in A. V. Olson, *Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901* (1966), pp. 302-306, 312, 313; A. T. Jones, *Some History, Some Experience and Some Facts* (1906), pp. 12-21.
 14. Quoted in Olson, pp. 306-308; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, February 23 and April 14, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
 15. A. T. Jones, *Some History . . .*, *passim*, and *Final Word and a Confession* (n.d.), *passim*; General Conference Committee, *A Statement Refuting Charges Made by A. T. Jones Against the Spirit of Prophecy and the Plan of Organization of the S.D.A. Denomination* (1906).
 16. Olson, pp. 311, 312; L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), p. 528; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 707.
 17. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, March 16, 1905, E. G. White Estate, incoming files; *General Conference Daily Bulletin* (February 17, 1899), p. 13.
 18. Olson, pp. 312-315; Froom, pp. 526, 529, 530; E. J. Waggoner, *The Confession of Faith* (n.d.), Document File 236, E. G. White Estate; *Chicago American*, January 8, 1906, p. 1; "Biographical Sketch of E. J. Waggoner by his daughter, Pearl Waggoner Howard," in DF 236, E. G. White Estate; E. J. Waggoner to E. G. White, November 28, 1898, March 23 and September 8, 1899, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
 19. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 348; *General Conference Bulletin* (April 22, 1901), p. 398; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, July 6, 1902, E. G. White Estate, incoming files.
 20. D. A. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe* (1975), pp. 286-291; F. Grob, "Conradi and the Consequences of His Apostasy," Andrews University term paper (1974), Andrews University Heritage Room.
 21. Delafield, pp. 292-296; "Statement on Conradi Hearing," October 13-16, 1931, Document File 96, E. G. White Estate.
 22. Froom, pp. 677-680; Grob, *passim*; L. Conradi, *The Founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (1939), *passim*.
 23. Most of the material on Elder Humphrey is drawn from J. Mesar and T. Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, I (January 1974), 34-41, 53, 54, but see also L. K. Dickson to J. L. McElhany, November 13, 1929, in Humphrey folder, secretarial special files, General Conference archives.

CHAPTER 29

Developing a Professional Ministry

As early as 1892 General Conference president O. A. Olsen had been “dreadfully pained” over the “exceedingly weak” condition of the Adventist ministry. “A large number,” he felt, were fit for “nothing but local preachers at best.” But the churches did not want these men working among them, Olsen reported. This was not surprising, for he found the Adventist laity “in many things ahead of the ministry.” In spite of his efforts to upgrade the Adventist clergy, as Olsen closed his term of service, he was anything but optimistic about his success. It seemed to him that often those workers of longest service were “so defective” that it was unsafe to send the younger ministers to work with them.

Ten years later Arthur Daniells echoed Olsen’s concerns. “I do not know of anything that is demanded more urgently today in our denomination than the improvement of our ministry,” he wrote W. C. White. Several years earlier Daniells had characterized the young ministers of the previous decade as a “third-rate lot.” Yet Daniells was so preoccupied with organizational problems, and with the instant demand for workers in the rapidly expanding overseas segments of Adventism, that until he was replaced as General Conference president in 1922, he was forced to think more in terms of quantity than of quality in church workers.¹

Although one of the reasons for establishing Seventh-day Adventist colleges had been to prepare effective ministers, the need for workers was so great in these early years that few theology students actually finished their courses before being pressed into service. Olsen tried to remedy the lack of formal instruction through short “ministerial institutes,” running from several weeks to three months in length. During the Daniells years the Department of Education began an annual ministerial reading course

to help Adventist preachers develop a self-improvement program. Both institutes and organized reading programs benefited primarily the North American workers; yet, as L. H. Christian noted in 1928, overseas workers needed better training every bit as much as those in America.

The Ministerial Association

And it was from one of the overseas divisions that in 1922 the idea of a ministerial association, concerned primarily with the problems faced by pastors and evangelists, was adopted. Australia, which had led the way in pioneering union conferences, developed a ministerial association in 1920. A "veteran educator and minister," A. W. Anderson served as association secretary. He began a small paper, *The Evangelist*, in which members shared the results of their study and experience. The Australian association sponsored its own reading course. Enthusiasm for this new association was so pronounced in Australia that the 1922 General Conference decided a similar organization would be beneficial at the General Conference level.

The Ministerial Commission (soon renamed the Ministerial Association) was not planned as another department, with secretaries on the division, union, and local levels. Instead, it was to be headed by a field secretary, who would supervise the collection of information concerning the problems and work of ministers and Bible instructors in various settings—at home, abroad, in rural, and in urban areas. The commission was charged with facilitating the exchange of ideas and methods of pastoral and evangelistic labor and encouraging suitable young men to enter the ministry. His organizational skills and long interest in the Adventist ministry made A. G. Daniells a natural choice to head the new commission.²

Before beginning this assignment Daniells took time to look at his own spiritual condition. Perhaps his own weaknesses would provide a clue to limitations in his ministerial brethren. As an aid in this self-analysis Daniells studied intensively the published writings of Ellen White, especially her *Review and Herald* articles. He was struck by the repeated calls for revival and reformation. For the first time he seemed really to comprehend the full importance of the great emphasis on righteousness through faith in Jesus that had been heralded in 1888. His discoveries triggered a compulsion to share these new insights with as many Adventist ministers as possible.

Throughout 1923, 1924, and 1925 Daniells held a succession of ministerial institutes ("retreats" we would call them today) in the various North American unions. As he exalted Jesus, showed the need for a *personal* relationship with Him, and stressed making love for Christ central to every Adventist doctrine, many hearts were moved. Daniells pointed out the necessity for an experiential righteousness by faith before the outpouring of the latter rain, the sounding of the loud cry, and Christ's return

in glory and majesty. Men such as Meade MacGuire, Taylor Bunch, and LeRoy Froom caught his enthusiasm and enlisted their voices and pens in the cause of revival and reformation. First MacGuire and then Froom joined Daniells as assistants in the Ministerial Association.

Froom, who had been editor of the *Watchman*, came primarily to assist Daniells prepare literature expanding on the material presented at the ministerial institutes. His first job was to help complete the book *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926), in which Daniells had brought together the most impressive Ellen White selections on this topic. Next the Ministerial Association issued, in leaflet form, nine Bible studies dealing with the importance of the spiritual life. MacGuire had already sounded a deeply spiritual note in his *The Life of Victory* (1924). Soon he followed it with *His Cross and Mine* (1927), while Froom brought out *The Coming of the Comforter* (1928), based on his lectures on the Holy Spirit presented to ministerial institutes held during 1927.

When Daniells made his first report to a General Conference session as secretary of the Ministerial Association, it became apparent that he had decided to reach a wide cross section of denominational employees. Slightly more than half of the association's 5000 members were ordained or licensed ministers; the rest were colporteurs, Bible instructors, teachers, editors, and school and sanitarium administrators. In addition to taking over the ministerial reading course program from the Department of Education, the association had developed an auxiliary course for local church elders and other active laymen. Through personal contacts and an increasing volume of literature Daniells was determined to stimulate denominational employees to deeper spirituality and more effective soul winning.³

What Daniells really wanted was a regular monthly journal especially for preachers. But those in charge of finances at church headquarters saw no light in such a proposition. It would be too expensive; surely a page or two in the *Review* would answer just as well. Daniells realized he would have to reach his objective obliquely. The association decided to sponsor periodic mimeographed bulletins, to include successful techniques, programs, and plans that association members desired to share with their colleagues. Separate series were developed for pastors, evangelists, singing evangelists, Bible teachers, chaplains, and Bible instructors.

Getting the proper bulletin to the right group became something of a chore, one that was complicated as Bible teachers began to request the material designed for pastors, pastors called for the evangelists' bulletins, and so on. At last those who had opposed a separate magazine for Ministerial Association members threw up their hands and decided a single journal might be less expensive after all. As a result *The Ministry*, edited by Froom, was born in January 1928.

Declining health led to Daniells's retirement as secretary of the Ministerial Association in 1931, but until his death four years later, he

remained vitally concerned that the Adventist ministry develop a deep and growing personal spiritual experience. Daniells believed that during much of his own life he had been so busy keeping the wheels of the denominational organization turning that he had neglected to nourish his own spiritual life through constant study of the Word and much prayer. His last years were devoted to warning his colleagues to avoid “this peril of sheer activity for God.”⁴

Both I. H. Evans, who followed Daniells as head of the Ministerial Association, and many other prominent Adventist leaders continued to emphasize the primary need for ministers to cultivate their own spiritual life. Writing in 1940, C. B. Haynes identified the basic ingredients in a minister’s life. “Great learning is not necessary for success in the ministry,” Haynes wrote, “but great devotion is. Great learning can be helpful—if it is consecrated. But it is not indispensable. Many things can take its place. But nothing can take the place of devotion, and sincerity, and understanding, and tact.”⁵

Professional Training

Yet both Daniells and his successors realized that a minister could not give all of his time to personal devotions. In the very first issue of *The Ministry* Daniells pointed out that ministerial efficiency was generally judged by (1) success in winning individuals to Christ and His church, (2) effectiveness in establishing these converts in the basic biblical doctrines, and (3) ability to get church members actively and joyfully to support church projects with their time and money. In all of these areas formal education could be most helpful.

While still General Conference president, Daniells had shared with the Bible and history teachers attending the 1919 Bible conference his ideas as to what prospective ministers and Bible instructors should be taught in college. He seemed to take for granted that students would be given thorough training in basic Bible doctrines, and he emphasized instead the development of character and personality. Daniells wanted future workers to learn to be honest and sincere, to develop habits of regularity and self-discipline, to understand the value of constant study and the importance of maintaining a daily regimen. They should be taught to dress appropriately, to maintain impeccable personal cleanliness, to use their native language well. He expected them to know proper platform decorum in everything from how to preach a sermon to how to provide an example of attentive listening when someone else was occupying the pulpit.⁶

The colleges were beginning to move in the direction of increasing the amount of practical experience required of theology students. At Emmanuel Missionary College during the 1920s, for example, students in the four-year ministerial program were required to take “Pastoral Training” and “Ministerial Field Work,” in addition to the traditional Bible courses

in doctrines, Daniel and Revelation, Old Testament Prophets, and New Testament Epistles. They were expected also to participate in at least two evangelistic crusades. The brothers T. M. and W. R. French, who successively headed the Theology Department, had been successful evangelists themselves and sparked an interest in this work among their students. During the seven years W. R. French led out, his students conducted fifty-three winter evangelistic campaigns. Frequently baptisms were scheduled to follow commencement exercises.

Even in the 1920s many aspiring ministerial students did not take the full four-year theological course. Emmanuel Missionary College offered a two-year junior ministerial program, a two-year Bible workers course, a one-year "gospel workers" course, and a six-month home missionary program. Those who completed one of the shorter courses were encouraged to take a variety of supplementary courses through the Home Study Institute.⁷

Ministerial Internship

At its 1929 Spring Council the General Conference approved a uniform internship plan for use throughout North America. This plan sought to replenish the number of workers in the home field (extensive mission calls since the close of World War I had caused a shortage of workers in many conferences) and to institute a trial period during which a young ministerial graduate might demonstrate his "divine call to the ministry or to the Bible work" at minimum cost to local conferences. Every spring the General Conference allotted each conference a specific number of interns.

Ministerial interns might be appointed for two successive years. Candidates needed the recommendation of their college faculty or, if they were not recent students, of their employing organization. They were expected to have had some practical experience, preferably in canvassing, medical work, or a skilled trade. Public speaking ability and good physical health also were required. Once the local and union conferences approved the intern applicant, the General Conference agreed to pay two thirds of his or her salary for the first year and half of the salary for the second year—providing the intern was reappointed. Interns were not to be reappointed unless the local conference expected to hire them as regular workers at the expiration of their internship.

Since one object of the internship program was to secure promising youthful workers, persons over thirty were not generally accepted. Another object was practical training under supervision; local conferences were expected to place interns under the direction of experienced ministers who could provide guidance and instruction. In general it was recommended that interns be used "chiefly in public efforts" as this was considered "the ideal initiation into the gospel ministry."

When denominational finances came under exceptional strain during

the early 1930s, only a limited number of young people could be accepted as interns. Some conferences developed alternative plans under which recent theology graduates received room and board, but no salary, while engaging in evangelistic work. Students who showed promise under such circumstances were eventually advanced to an internship.⁸

Although the internship plan became thoroughly established as a basic part of ministerial training, adjustments in it were made from time to time. One shift in the post-World War II period was toward providing a more balanced exposure to the various activities expected of a minister. Although he was still to be associated with an evangelist for at least nine months, he was to receive more pastoral training (home visitation, counseling, etc.) and was to gain some experience in the various programs and promotional activities of the church such as youth work, development and management of church schools, and the conduct of Ingathering campaigns. In 1956 the General Conference virtually required at least one summer of full-time colporteur work as a prerequisite for an internship.⁹

The leaders of the Ministerial Association were active in establishing the internship program; Elder Evans also "took a keen interest in the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary." Talk of the advantages of opening an advanced "school of theology" began in the late 1920s, but it was not until the 1932 Fall Council that the General Conference Committee actually voted to start a graduate program in this area at one of the existing senior colleges. One year of advanced study in theology was to be supplemented by five or six months of practical field work in evangelism for students lacking successful evangelistic experience.

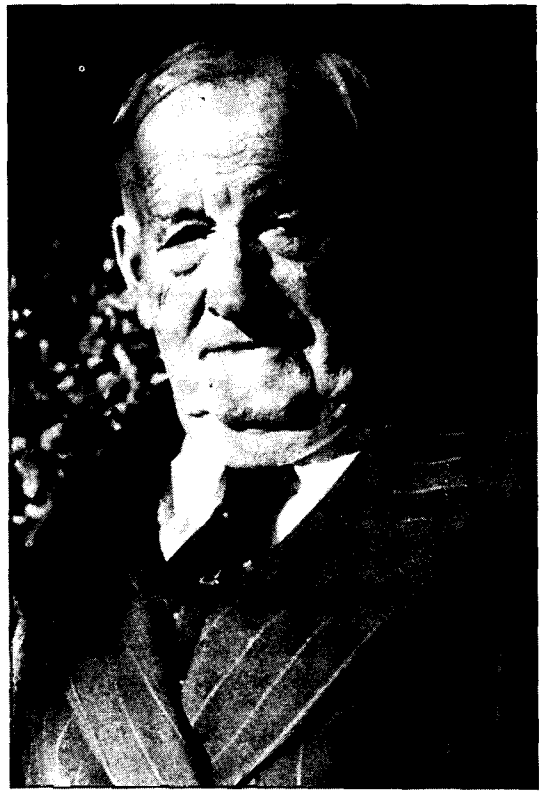
The early 1930s proved a financially inauspicious time to launch the proposed theology school. Instead the 1933 Fall Council approved a series of summer sessions, the first to be held for twelve weeks at Pacific Union College in the summer of 1934. These summer sessions were to provide advanced training in Bible and religious history primarily for teachers of these subjects in Adventist academies and colleges, although it was agreed that some ministers and editorial workers might also be benefited. Members of the faculty were to be drawn from several Adventist colleges.

Theological Seminary

As scheduled, the Advanced Bible School got underway in June 1934, with General Conference secretary M. E. Kern acting as dean. Forty students attended one or both of the two sessions held that summer. Most of the teaching staff were drawn from the regular Pacific Union College faculty, but Walla Walla College sent George McCready Price, probably the denomination's leading authority on the relationship of science and religion, and its president, William Landeen, a scholar in Reformation history. Although the original plan had been for the Advanced Bible



William Landeen



George McCready Price

School to meet on different college campuses in succeeding summers, it continued to operate at Pacific Union College through the summer of 1936. That year the General Conference Committee voted to organize a theological seminary that would operate independently of any existing college. It was decided to locate the seminary in Takoma Park—away from the rivalries associated with the existing colleges and where General Conference officers could be used in giving instruction.

A look at the Advanced Bible School during its final summer of operation may help us to understand the kind of training envisioned at that time. As yet, there was no assurance that a program of study would result in an advanced academic degree. The best the *Bulletin* could promise was that "it is expected that arrangements will be made for granting the degree Master of Arts." To qualify for this proposed degree, students would need to complete thirty semester hours of graduate work during at least three summers. Of this amount twelve hours were to be concentrated in one of the two areas available as majors: Bible or religious history. A minor of eight hours, selected from either the area not elected as a major or from Greek or Hebrew, a thesis worth four hours, one hour of research methods, and five hours elected from speech, homiletics, and religious education completed the required course work. A written qualifying examination was required early in each student's program, while an oral examination covering all his graduate work would follow acceptance of the thesis.

Students interested in majoring in Bible had a choice during the 1936 term of two courses in systematic theology offered by Union College president, M. L. Andreasen; a seminar in prophetic fulfillment or "Prophets of the Assyro-Babylonian Period" taught by the Pacific Union College dean of theology, B. P. Hoffman; a course in the Corinthian epistles offered by the Walla Walla College dean of theology, F. A. Schilling; or George McCready Price's "Bible and Science." A special lecture series at the thrice-weekly chapel periods and on some evenings was designed to benefit all students. Among those scheduled were General Conference vice-president and Ministerial Association secretary Evans, who presented a general series on evangelism, Dean Kern lecturing on youth evangelism, and W. C. White with a series on the spirit of prophecy.¹⁰

When the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary opened in Takoma Park in the summer of 1937, it was housed in temporary quarters—the old Review and Herald cafeteria. It would be nearly four years before a new seminary building, including administrative offices, library, and classrooms for 150 students, was completed. With the move to Takoma Park a three-month winter quarter was added to the previous summer programs. By the school year 1944-45, a year-round program of four academic quarters was in operation.

The seminary matured rapidly, especially after former China missionary D. E. Rebok became president in 1943. That year a division of Missions and Christian Leadership was established. For several years it offered intensive instruction in Arabic, French, German, and Russian in order to prepare workers for a new mission outreach at the close of World War II. After a decade of existence the seminary offered not only a master of arts degree, but also an eight-quarter program culminating in a bachelor of divinity. The eighteen courses available in 1936 had expanded within a decade to ninety-five, spread over departments of Archaeology and History of Antiquity, Bible and Systematic Theology, Biblical Languages, Church History, and Practical Theology. This last department encompassed courses in evangelism, church activities and administration, homiletics, missions, public speaking, and sacred music!

By the 1945-46 school year, a definite international flavor was noticeable at the seminary. Students were in attendance from China, Egypt, Finland, India, the Philippines, and a variety of Latin American countries. More than half the faculty were either non-Americans or had seen overseas mission service.¹¹

Originally the organization and emphasis of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary more closely resembled that of Adventist colleges than of other Protestant seminaries. During the 1950s this began to change. It was during this decade that one year of seminary training as part of the ministerial internship program was required by the General Conference—much to the dismay of some local conference presidents

who were inclined to think that too much education limited a minister's effectiveness as an evangelist. These church leaders were partially mollified by the great expansion of the offerings in practical theology. Especially popular were Charles Weniger's emphasis on biblical preaching and the courses in pastoral counseling introduced by C. E. Wittschiebe. An emphasis on biblical theology rather than the systematic theology of the general Protestant seminaries likewise gave a distinctive stamp to Adventist seminary education. In this area the imaginative teaching of first M. L. Andreasen and later Edward Heppenstall was particularly effective.

Extension Schools

Total enrollments in the seminary doubled during the 1950s. Several things contributed to this rapid increase. The mandatory seminary year for all interns was one, of course. Another was the practice of holding intensive extension schools in some of the overseas divisions. The extension school idea was a result of close collaboration between the Ministerial Association and the seminary. At the General Conference of 1941, delegates decided to add Australian R. A. Anderson, a successful evangelist, as one of the associate secretaries of the Ministerial Association. That same year L. E. Froom became secretary of the association. For eight years he had been at work on the project which would eventually result in his massive four-volume *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*. Froom had been asked to research the historical development of biblical prophetic interpretation to counter the hostile criticisms advanced by L. R. Conradi after his defection.

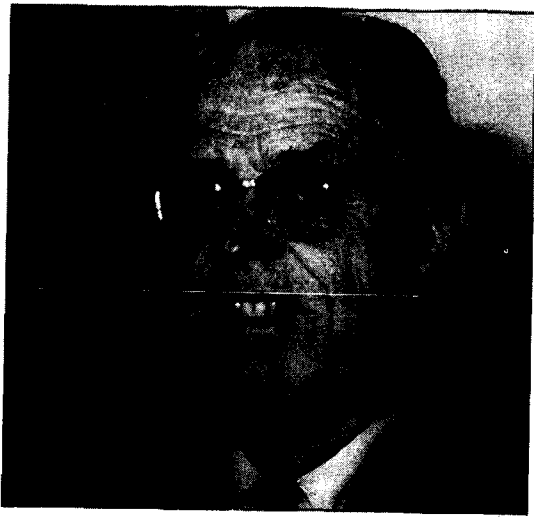
In the post-World War II years Adventist leaders in Great Britain felt two outstanding needs: (1) to refute Conradi's charges of Adventist errors and (2) to improve evangelistic techniques. With Froom's active encouragement the seminary agreed to hold an extension school in England. Froom offered a course in prophetic interpretation, veteran evangelist J. L. Shuler gave instruction in evangelistic techniques, and Holger Lindsjo taught church history. Sixty-seven students enrolled. So successful was this experiment that a similar program was offered in Uruguay the following year for eighty students from the South American Division. During the 1950s extension schools became an accepted part of the seminary effort to serve the world field.¹²

Seminary Moves to Michigan

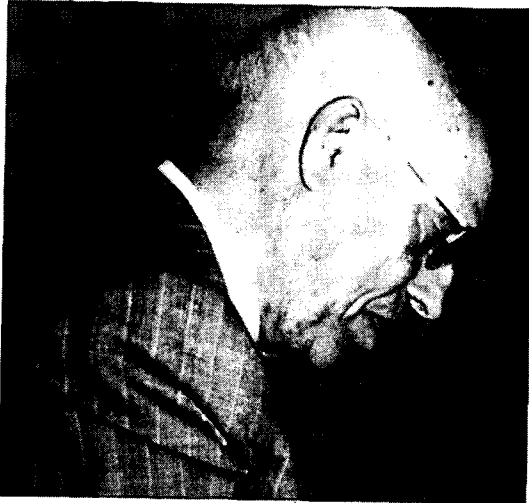
Increasing numbers of seminary students strained classroom, library, and housing facilities. An added burden came during the 1956 Autumn Council, when the General Conference Committee authorized the development of a university-type educational institution which would include the seminary, a school of graduate studies, and an undergraduate college. Originally the plan was to bring the graduate divisions and



L. E. Froom



S. H. Horn



M. L. Andreasen



R. A. Anderson



Edward Heppenstall



Charles Weniger

Washington Missionary College together on a common campus in the Washington, D.C., area. But problems of finance, administration, and site selection hindered the consummation of this plan. Opponents of an urban location for the denomination's first university saw this as an opportunity to rally behind an offer from the Lake Union Conference to make adequate land available adjacent to Emmanuel Missionary College.

After considerable debate the 1958 Autumn Council accepted the Lake Union's proposal, and the following year the transfer of the seminary and graduate school to Berrien Springs, Michigan, was begun. During the 1959-60 academic year the schools operated on a divided campus, with part of the seminary faculty and students in Berrien Springs and part in Takoma Park. Generous appropriations by the General Conference soon provided apartment buildings, Seminary Hall, and a greatly expanded library in Berrien Springs. During its tenuous existence in Takoma Park the new institution had been entitled Potomac University. This geographic designation was hardly appropriate in southwestern Michigan. Thus after considerable hesitation over the wisdom of naming an institution after any individual, the university board capitulated and rechristened the school Andrews University in honor of John Nevins Andrews.¹³

Transplanting an entire institution hundreds of miles was not accomplished without some stress, but under the genial leadership and hard work of Dean W. G. C. Murdoch a new era of development was soon underway. By 1964 church leaders were convinced that seminary training had become so valuable that they voted that henceforth young American ministerial students should spend two of their three years of internship at the seminary studying for the bachelor of divinity degree.

Field Schools of Evangelism

A major consideration in the willingness of local conference presidents to lose the services of their interns for an additional year can be credited to the growing popularity of the field schools of evangelism. While church administrators might question the wisdom of acquainting prospective Adventist ministers with modern non-Adventist theological concepts, they were enthusiastic about programs that resulted in more effective evangelistic techniques with their promise of increased baptisms.

Evangelistic field schools (on-the-spot experience with a successful evangelist during a major campaign) had been operated by the seminary for years, but it was Edward Banks who regularized these schools. As a young minister Banks had quickly realized the inadequacy of his own preparation for evangelistic endeavors. He floundered until given the opportunity to attend J. L. Shuler's first evangelistic field school in 1938. Finding that he could use Shuler's methods successfully, Banks began to pray for an opportunity to share these techniques with college ministerial students. The opportunity came with an invitation to teach in the religion department at Southern Missionary College. Here he conducted his first

organized evangelistic field school. Regular classes with lectures and reading assignments were held each morning; afternoons were given to visits and studies with interested persons.

Banks conducted his first Seminary Field School of Evangelism in the summer of 1960 at Rockford, Illinois, in a “bubble” or “cloud cathedral” auditorium. He taught his students the necessity of (1) choosing a good location, preferably in an attractive auditorium, (2) utilizing advertising effectively, (3) adapting their topics to meet local and current interests, (4) developing an organized system of visitation, and (5) the value of calling for some type of public decision making almost every evening.

As requests for field evangelism schools multiplied beyond the ability of Banks and his associates to care for them, he developed the plan of utilizing successful conference evangelists in his instructional program. This greatly increased the number of schools that could be held each summer. Soon it was possible to honor requests for schools in Canada, England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as in all parts of the United States. With the refinement of the B.D. program (renamed master of divinity in 1972) it became the practice to require all candidates to enroll in an evangelistic field school during their first summer of study.¹⁴

Department of Missions

In the mid-1960s the Department of Missions was added to the seminary. Under first Myrl Manley, who had several decades of service in Southern Asia, and later Gottfried Oosterwal, fresh from the Philippines and New Guinea, this department set out both to stimulate interest in mission service and to prepare future missionaries for the challenges to be faced in dealing with other cultures and peoples from non-Christian backgrounds. At General Conference request the department developed and offered each summer a special orientation program for new mission appointees.

There were other curricular changes during the 1960s. The Department of Applied Theology (renamed the Department of Church and Ministry) reduced its offerings in speech and sacred music and added courses in youth leadership, youth camp counseling, and training and maturation of the laity for ministry. There was also more emphasis on the church's relationships to black Americans, to the urban milieu, and to social problems invading the church—such as drug abuse, divorce, and changing sex mores. In an effort to take advantage of Adventist insights into healthful living, courses designed to help future pastors give hydrotherapy treatments and speak knowledgeably on matters of nutrition, temperance, and physical fitness were added.¹⁵

The Doctoral Programs

During the 1970s the seminary inaugurated two doctoral programs. The first, leading to a doctor of ministry degree, was designed primarily for

persons interested in pastoral and evangelistic activities. During the student's course of study efforts are made to help him relate Bible principles to contemporary issues and problems; the approach is practical rather than theoretical and research-oriented. The seminary's second doctoral program was designed primarily to prepare teacher-scholars in biblical studies and theology for service in Seventh-day Adventist colleges. In some ways this spelled a return to the original purpose of the Advanced Bible School. Involving a minimum of two years advanced study beyond the master of divinity degree, this second program culminates in the doctor of theology degree.

In order for them to be accepted in the general world of scholarship, it seemed advisable to have seminary degrees accredited by both a regional educational accrediting body (the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools) and the professional organization responsible for establishing standards in theological training (the American Association of Theological Schools). This was possible, in no small measure, because of the increased recognition the seminary faculty had won in non-Adventist scholastic circles.

Archaeology

Two men in particular were forerunners in winning this recognition: Doctors Siegfried Horn and Daniel Walther. For more than two decades Horn gave leadership to the Old Testament Department. Among his many activities were the launching of *Andrews University Seminary Studies* in 1963 as a biennial scholarly journal in which seminary teachers, students, and other Adventist scholars could publish results of their research in biblical studies, theology, ancient and church history, and related areas. Horn's skill as an archaeologist, developed during participation in various excavations of ancient Near Eastern sites, proved of particular help when he organized and led the first Andrews University Expedition to uncover the remains of biblical Heshbon in 1968. Walther built an independent reputation in the medieval and Reformation areas of church history and maintained a wealth of personal contacts with prominent European theologians. Both Horn and Walther compiled impressive bibliographies of published works.

At the time the first seminary overseas extension courses were offered, J. L. McElhany's term as General Conference president was ending. McElhany predicted that those courses would become one of the greatest factors for unifying Adventists around the world. So it has turned out—particularly in the area of theology. As leading teachers, administrators, and pastors from all the overseas divisions mingled and studied together in the seminary, a uniformity of belief and practice emerged. This was undoubtedly enhanced by the overseas experience of the seminary faculty, many of whom were natives of Europe, Australia, or South America. Most were at times called upon to teach in an overseas extension school.¹⁶

The Ministerial Association, in continuing its efforts to serve and improve the worldwide Adventist ministry, also proved a unifying factor. Around 1940 it increased the size of *The Ministry* and sought to broaden its usefulness by including a medical missionary section in each issue. Association leaders continued their efforts to make helpful books available. Outstanding in this category was their success in getting important E. G. White manuscripts and out-of-print materials dealing with the energetic promulgation of Adventism published as the 747-page book *Evangelism* (1946). Instead of relying on the best available professional books for use in the Ministerial Reading Courses, association leaders began to commission talented Adventist writers to produce books in needed subject areas. The association was largely responsible for the *Gospel Melodies* songbook, published for use in evangelistic campaigns, and for the development of a variety of visual aids for use in the public presentation of cardinal Adventist doctrines and main prophetic interpretations.¹⁷

Keeping pace with technological changes, the association began a tape-of-the-month program in the late 1960s. These tapes featured some of the most prominent Adventist speakers and were valuable in providing inspiration to improve preaching methods as well as supplying new theological insights.

Reaching Christian Clergymen

During the 1970s the Ministerial Association leaders sought to enlist Adventist pastors' cooperation in several new programs. One, named "Operation Concern," focused on reclaiming members who had stopped attending church and drifted away from both its activities and beliefs. Another project, bearing the acronym P.R.E.A.C.H., was designed to reach clergymen of other Christian denominations at home by sending them a free subscription to *The Ministry*.¹⁸

Ministry of Women

It seemed much easier to many Adventist ministers in the 1970s to reach out to their colleagues in other denominations than to extend a fraternal hand and welcome their Adventist sisters into the joys and sorrows of the pastoral and evangelistic ministries. For in spite of the promising early experiences of Sarah A. H. Lindsey and Ellen Lane, the Adventist ministry had become by the 1930s a virtual male preserve. Although the initial internship policy seemed to provide for young women to be considered for internships, none were ever really accomplished. So forgotten had this possibility become that a group of Adventist theologians assembled in the spring of 1976 at Andrews University felt it necessary to recommend to the General Conference Committee the development of an internship program for Bible instructors comparable to that in operation for ministerial interns.

This same group saw “no serious theological objections to the ordination of women to various offices, including the ministry.” Yet for decades church leaders had generally conceived of the female role in the church to be a supportive one. It was good for a pastor’s wife to be able to help with the music, accompany her husband in giving Bible studies, and perhaps teach the local church school—all, except in the case of the church school teacher, without pay. Young women who felt a special call to full-time religious work might be utilized as “Bible workers,” aiding evangelists in giving studies to interested persons. College religion departments, and later the seminary, offered abbreviated courses to prepare women for their assigned role as “Bible instructors.”

Did this role really best meet the needs of the church? Some Adventist women (and men) thought not. A few managed to find places as teachers of religion in Adventist academies and colleges. During the first decades of the twentieth century quite a number found satisfaction in promoting some of the church’s departmental activities, particularly in the Sabbath School, Youth, and Education departments. Then, during the depression of the 1930s, these opportunities were virtually wiped out; and Adventist women once more were relegated to the roles of wife, Bible instructor, teacher, nurse, and secretary.

By the early 1970s an increasing number of Adventist women were asking why they should be automatically excluded from the full work of the gospel ministry. Church leaders appointed a variety of study groups to survey this possibility. In spite of favorable recommendations the church leadership decided in 1975 that the worldwide body of Adventists was not yet ready to accept ordination of women to the ministry. Several years earlier it had agreed to a limited number of women serving on a trial basis as ordained local elders.

In September 1973 Dr. Josephine Benton, who had been ordained as the first Adventist woman local elder the previous year, joined the pastoral staff of the large Sligo Seventh-day Adventist church in Takoma Park. Subsequently, other female local elders appeared, at Walla Walla College and Atlantic Union College. But as of March 1975 Dr. Benton was the only woman pastor in North America.¹⁹

Shifting ideas as to just what role women should play in the Adventist ministry demonstrate the interaction between the church and the world in which it operates. Just as the growing Women’s Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 70s undoubtedly heightened Adventist women’s interest in a larger role in the group that traditionally has directed the work of the church, so the economic distress of the 1930s had reinforced the image of the strictly supportive and subordinate role of Adventist women. Economic considerations were a persistent concern of church leaders at all levels. These concerns grew increasingly complex in the post-World War I period. How church leaders wrestled with these financial problems is a topic to which we next turn our attention.

Suggested Reading:

The development of the Adventist ministry has so far attracted little substantive research and writing. L. Froom, in *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 392-408, gives a personalized view of the early Ministerial Association, highlighting Daniells's concerns. A Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 4 vols. (1962), III: 243-256, presents a cursory view of the developments covered in this chapter. The S.D.A. *Encyclopedia* may be consulted for the development of the seminary, which is also treated briefly along with a fuller account of the move to Berrien Springs in E. K. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 243-251. In many respects students will get a better picture of the development of the S.D.A. ministry, its concerns and problems, by surveying representative issues of *The Ministry* or reading the reports of the Ministerial Association secretary to the periodic General Conference sessions.

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 4. Froom, pp. 401, 402, 404-407.
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 7. P. Cannon, "An Era of Excellence: The Training of Pastor-Evangelists at Emmanuel Missionary College (1919-1929)," S.D.A. Seminary term paper (1971), Andrews University Heritage Room; *The Ministry*, January 1928, p. 27; July 1928, p. 23.
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 12. S.D.A. *Theological Seminary Annual Catalog, 1956-1957*; *Review*, July 17, 1950, pp. 121, 122, 131, 141, 142; L. Froom, *Finding the Lost Prophetic Witnesses* (1946), p. 11; Interviews with W. G. C. Murdoch, March 23, 1976, and S. Horn, April 14, 1976.
 13. E. K. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 244-251; S.D.A. *Encyclopedia*, pp. 50, 51.
 14. Interviews with W. G. C. Murdoch, March 23, 1976, and Edward Banks, April 29, 1976.
 15. S.D.A. Theological Seminary, *Bulletin, 1966-1967, 1975-1976*; *Review*, September 22, 1960, p. 20.
 16. *Bulletin, 1975-1976*; Interviews with W. G. C. Murdoch, March 23, 1976, and S. H. Horn, April 14, 1976; *Review*, November 17, 1972, p. 24.
 17. *Review*, June 3, 1941, pp. 140, 141; June 14, 1946, pp. 190, 192.
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 19. *Review*, December 6, 1973, p. 19; Minutes of the Biblical Research Committee Council, April 4-7, 1976; General Conference Committee minutes, April 3, 1975; *Stigoscope*, March 1975, p. 3; May-June, 1976, p. 9.

CHAPTER 30

Meeting Financial Pressures

Preoccupied with the challenging task of preaching the three angels' messages of Revelation 14, Adventist leaders often forgot how frequently secular developments impinged on the church's ability to carry on its activities. Periodically, as in the case of military service during the American Civil War and World War I, the severe economic depression of the 1890s, and the ugly racial tensions of the turn of the century, the leaders were forced to recognize that their work was affected by the political, economic, and social milieu. Yet when the immediate crisis passed, many forgot that similar problems might be just around the corner.

Financial problems had always dogged the heels of church leaders, yet in the chaotic European scene of the immediate post-World War I years new aspects of these problems appeared. Up to this time the rate of exchange between world currencies had remained generally stable; price inflation, while not unknown, had been relatively moderate. Now all this changed dramatically throughout central and eastern Europe. In Poland, for example, it was necessary to increase workers' wages 600 percent in the course of one year by adjusting pay rates every few weeks.

Inflation and Reevaluation

Revolution and civil war played particular havoc with the Russian economy and currency. In the early 1920s the salary of the conference president was fixed at 2,000,000 rubles per *week*, a fantastic sum until one realizes that at this time the United States dollar would buy 2,100,000 rubles! In circumstances like this it seemed wise to reckon the wages of Russian church workers in foodstuffs rather than in currency. Thus, the wage scale was fixed at forty pounds of flour, twenty pounds of other grains, and twenty pounds of potatoes per month for each adult member of a family; children were entitled to less. Of course the establishing of this

scale did not guarantee that these food items would be available.

Many countries devalued their currencies drastically. This proved particularly disadvantageous in Germany where, during the war, church leaders had accumulated a considerable cash reserve because money given for mission purposes could not be sent from the country. In a matter of months devaluation reduced the worth of thousands of German marks in denominational bank accounts to 10 percent of their wartime face value. Rapid devaluation took place in other countries as well.

The European field, for years financially self-sufficient, had previously borne the expense for much of the mission work in Africa and the Near East. Now it was forced to appeal to the General Conference for aid in meeting local expenses. It was not that European Adventists stopped giving to missions, but their gifts turned out to be pitifully small when converted into a stable currency for use in other parts of the world. In 1921, probably the last year in which they could send money out for mission endeavors, the gifts of Russian believers in 320 Sabbath Schools amounted to only \$55.56 when converted into United States currency. Yet this seemingly small amount represented a sacrifice unimaginable in most of North America.¹

The war years were financially prosperous for most American Adventists. Their increased tithes and offerings enabled the General Conference to accumulate a reserve, which was, however, quickly dissipated during 1919 and 1920 as mission appointees, impossible to send out during the war, were dispatched in large numbers, new fields were entered, and new projects begun. The sharp postwar depression of 1921 in America was unexpected, and the accompanying sudden decline in income confronted General Conference leaders with a million-dollar deficit in the mission budget.

Postwar Reverses

As Adventist leaders considered the sudden reversal in their financial status, they began to seek its causes. Many were inclined to think they had expanded too rapidly at the war's end. They recognized, too, that in many cases they had once more fallen into a trap identified in the early days of Daniells's presidency and for years conscientiously avoided. The easy credit of the immediate postwar period led a number of Adventist educational and medical institutions to borrow money. When the financial picture suddenly worsened, these debts and the cost of servicing them became burdensome. Church leaders at the 1924 Autumn Council once more pledged themselves to a no-debt policy.

Two years earlier it had seemed that it would be necessary to reduce the number of denominational workers because of the budgetary deficit. Instead, the Autumn Council appealed to all church employees to give a special sacrificial offering equal to one week's salary. More than \$150,000 was received as a result of this appeal within North America alone, and the

anticipated cutbacks were avoided. In fact, the success of this "Week of Sacrifice" appeal led church leaders to make it an annual one and to broaden it to include all church members.

Although most segments of the American economy showed improvement by 1923, church revenues failed to recover quickly. This reflected the fact that a large number of Adventists were farmers or lived in rural villages dependent upon agriculture, and this segment of the economy remained depressed until World War II. The General Conference found it necessary to reduce the percentage of tithes collected from local conferences in order to allow them sufficient funds to maintain their own pastoral and evangelistic programs. To make up the lack, increased promotion of Ingathering and Big Week programs was instituted.

Retiring the Debts

Other budget-balancing measures followed. A moratorium on all institutional building was instituted; only vital repairs were to be allowed. The campaign of twenty years earlier, during which church members had been mobilized to sell *Christ's Object Lessons* to relieve school debts and *The Ministry of Healing* for the benefit of sanitariums, was revived, and \$100,000 raised to help retire institutional debts. Sanitariums were required to set aside a specific portion of income for debt retirement.²

By the late 1920s the combination of more conservative financial policies with a booming economic climate did much to improve denominational finances. Increased tithes and offerings allowed for expanded appropriations for the world field. The institutional debt reduction campaign succeeded in cutting school debts nearly in half and in reducing sanitarium indebtedness by nearly \$600,000. Twenty Adventist schools were reported in 1930 to be entirely free from debt.

In retrospect, the financial difficulties of the early '20s can be seen as an unrecognized blessing. They alerted church leaders once more to the dangers of debt and stimulated them to develop better budgeting techniques. The minor depression of 1921-23 proved a good training ground for the most severe worldwide depression of modern times, which began in the fall of 1929. These years also brought a new leader to the attention of the world church—a man particularly gifted with business acumen.

Charles H. Watson

Charles H. Watson, who in 1922 became a General Conference vice-president and associate treasurer, rose rapidly in denominational ranks. He had learned diligence and frugality as a boy in southern Australia. Watson's father supported his dozen children by combining a wool brokerage business with a small store and the family farm. From him Charles learned to buy and sell wool at a profit; he was a successful wool merchant when he decided at the age of thirty to enroll at Avondale



C. H. Watson



J. L. McElhany

College. This was five years after he had accepted the Seventh-day Adventist faith.

Following his graduation from Avondale in 1909, Watson entered the Adventist ministry. Six years later he was elected president of the Australasian Union Conference. Watson was deeply interested in missionary endeavor and led in developing work for the Australian aborigines and in promoting the spread of Adventism throughout the islands of the South Pacific.

An able administrator, Watson helped reorganize and invigorate the infant Adventist health food company and turn it into one of the most profitable business ventures in the church's history. By the mid-1930s the Sanitarium Health Food Company had six factories, two packing houses, eight wholesale stores, and a number of vegetarian restaurants and retail stores. Its profits were underwriting a major part of the cost of the expanding Adventist school system in Australia.

After four years at headquarters Watson returned to his homeland in 1926 as president for the Australasian Division. But he was not forgotten in Takoma Park. Four years later, when W. A. Spicer, worn from eight years of active direction of the worldwide church, decided he was not up to continuing in this post in the face of new financial difficulties, many decided that C. H. Watson was just the man needed. For the next six years this only non-American to serve as General Conference president devoted his business and administration skills to keeping the church sound financially.³

The first half of the 1930s was indeed a trying time for those responsible for the financial operation of the church. Tithe receipts in the United States declined by 25 percent from 1929 to 1933; total church income in 1934 was only about two thirds of what it had been in 1930. Hard decisions

had to be made. Should the number of denominational employees be cut back, salaries reduced, and mission projects delayed? What about the wisdom of borrowing money to continue the current level of endeavor? The United States government was borrowing billions of dollars. Was this a sensible pattern to follow?

The financial reserve fund, rebuilt during the late '20s was quickly exhausted. Like millions of other workers, denominational employees found it necessary to accept a 30-percent cut in pay. Local conferences introduced many economy measures: less travel by workers, restricted use of telephones, smaller advertising budgets for evangelistic series. In this way most, but not all, were able to avoid discharging ministerial laborers.

Denominational schools were particularly hard hit. Students found it difficult to raise money for tuition, room, and board. School managers suddenly realized as never before the value of school industries, where students could earn a major part of their school expenses. In spite of cutting back on the variety of courses offered, reducing staff, and watching expenses closely, many schools that had been successfully retiring their debts now found this process reversed.

As part of the effort to conserve denominational funds, church leaders in the fall of 1935 decided to start their own mutual insurance company. The following year the International Insurance Company, Takoma Park, Maryland, was incorporated. It was authorized to write policies covering most types of property damage as well as liability and theft insurance. In subsequent years thousands of dollars of profits that would have gone to private insurance companies have been saved for denominational use.

After 1934 the per capita amount of tithes paid in North America began to increase, but this was not true of mission offerings, which actually showed a per capita decrease until the American economy began the rapid expansion and recovery that accompanied World War II. The normal quadrennial session of the General Conference regularly scheduled for 1934 was delayed two years as an economy measure. At this session Watson, worn by the financial battle and acting on his doctor's orders, requested a lighter assignment. He was invited to reassume his former role as president for Australasia.

J. Lamar McElhany

Conference delegates chose J. Lamar McElhany to replace Watson. For the past decade McElhany had served as vice-president for North America and before that as president of several union and local conferences. As a young worker McElhany had served overseas in Australia and had helped to open the work in the Philippines. A conservative man, not given to hasty decisions, he inspired confidence through his tact, good judgment, and deep spirituality. McElhany proved an excellent chief executive for the church during the next fourteen years.⁴

Better Times

By 1941 denominational finances had recovered to the place where the General Conference educational secretary could proudly report that a minimum salary of \$13.50 per week for teachers in denominational schools had recently been established! Wartime prosperity increased church income, yet still it failed to keep up with the needs of a world church. *Review* editor F. M. Wilcox expressed the fear that with the return of good times Adventists would no longer feel the need to economize and restrict their personal desires so that they might have more to give to promulgate the Advent message. He reminded them that war's end would bring new challenges to rebuild churches and mission stations and to expand into areas as yet unwarned of the three angels' messages.

It was fortunate that the church's financial base continued to be in North America, largely untouched by wartime destruction. The North American church in 1941 represented slightly more than one third of the entire Adventist membership but gave almost two thirds of the tithe contributed to the church treasury. It was largely American prosperity that allowed the General Conference to build a rehabilitation fund of more than \$4,500,000 by 1946. Even this amount proved woefully inadequate in replacing the properties destroyed in Europe, the Far East, and the Pacific islands.

The improved American economy proved a great boon to Adventist institutions. Between 1939 and 1945 North American academies and colleges were able to retire more than half a million dollars in debts; only \$28,000 remained outstanding in 1945. It was the same with Adventist sanitariums, publishers, and Book and Bible houses.⁵

The Porter Bequest

More than once Adventist institutions benefited from the generosity of non-Seventh-day Adventist philanthropists. This was so with Denver, Colorado's, Porter Sanitarium and Hospital, which opened in 1930. The origins of the Porter Sanitarium proved an interesting example of the long-range influence of Adventist medical institutions and their staffs.

Henry M. Porter was an authentic figure out of the development of the American West. As a young man he had been a scheduled rider on the pony express. Along with his brother, he established the first telegraph service to Denver. In the process the Porters acquired a large amount of Denver real estate. Porter later became a banker in the city. After his retirement it was Porter's custom to spend the winters in southern California. On one of these visits he was staying with his daughter in Pasadena when he came down with a heavy cold. Porter's daughter suggested he take hydrotherapy treatment at the nearby Glendale Sanitarium. Not only was Porter benefited by the treatment, but he was impressed when the young man who gave the treatment refused a tip, stating "that it was part of his religion to contribute in every possible way

to the comfort of others without any additional remuneration” beyond his regular wages.

Several years later, while vacationing near San Diego, Porter came down with another severe cold. Remembering his experience at Glendale, he inquired if there might be a similar Adventist institution in the area and was directed to the Paradise Valley Sanitarium. Again Porter found the hydrotherapy treatments helpful, and both he and Mrs. Porter were impressed by the considerate Christian care they saw all about them. Porter later remembered how he had particularly observed the kindness of a student nurse who daily fed an old man suffering from Parkinson’s disease.

Several days after the Porters had checked out of Paradise Valley the sanitarium business office discovered that Porter had been accidentally overcharged forty-five cents. A letter of apology accompanied the forty-five-cent refund check. This small act of honesty greatly reinforced Porter’s already favorable image of Adventist medical care. Several months later he wrote the sanitarium credit manager, requesting to be put in touch with the proper persons to discuss the development of an Adventist health-care institution in Denver.

Negotiations with local church leaders resulted in the receipt of the largest single gift Adventists received prior to the Great Depression. Porter provided \$330,000 to purchase forty acres of land some six miles south of the state capital and to construct on it a 100-bed sanitarium-hospital. Even before the original building was completed, Porter and his daughter provided an additional \$50,000 to construct a nurses’ dormitory. When built, the Porter Memorial Hospital included the latest and best equipment for patient care. In the years since its opening in 1930 it has expanded several times, always maintaining a reputation for medical excellence as well as considerate Christian care. The additional expansions have been made possible largely through the continued generosity of the Porter family. When Henry Porter’s son William died in 1958, he left more than one million dollars for the expansion and development of the hospital his father had made possible.⁶

The Kettering Bequest

A third of a century after the founding of the Porter Hospital another generous gift brought a magnificent 400-bed hospital in southwestern Ohio into being as a Seventh-day Adventist institution. The background to this gift began some fifteen years earlier, when a tragic polio epidemic hit the Chicago, Illinois, region. Most area hospitals lacked the facilities for restorative treatment of this crippling disease. An exception was the Hinsdale Sanitarium and Hospital with its excellent hydrotherapy department. Soon it became a center for the treatment of polio victims (mostly children from Chicago’s western suburbs).

Among the residents of Hinsdale were Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Kettering

and their three children. Although the Kettering children did not contract polio, some of their friends did. As Mrs. Kettering visited these unfortunate victims, she was impressed by the compassionate care they received at the hands of sanitarium personnel. The Ketterings were both public spirited (Eugene was the only son of the famous inventor and General Motors executive, Charles F. Kettering) and wealthy. Having observed what could be done in antiquated facilities, the Ketterings took the lead in rallying community support behind a plan to completely rebuild the Hinsdale Sanitarium. Local residents raised over a million dollars for this project.

Nearly a decade later, following Charles Kettering's death, his son and daughter-in-law desired to perpetuate his memory by constructing a hospital in his honor in the Dayton, Ohio, suburb where he had lived and which bore his name. The Ketterings lacked both the experience and the resources to manage such a hospital, but they believed they knew an organization with both—the Seventh-day Adventist Church. As their plans progressed, the Ketterings learned that area studies of Dayton showed a critical need for more hospital facilities. The 100-bed institution they had envisioned would be too small before it was built. Consequently, they appealed to family friends in the business community to help finance a larger hospital. They pledged a second 100 beds if others in the area would contribute enough to finance an additional hundred.

Since the Ketterings were intent on securing a commitment from Seventh-day Adventists to operate the hospital they were planning, Eugene brought three airplane loads of Dayton's most prominent citizens to observe how Adventists ran the Hinsdale Sanitarium. Among this group was a medical doctor. Instead of taking the guided tour with the rest, he loitered in the physicians' lounge, inquiring of the non-Adventist doctors who entered just how Adventists operated a hospital. Later he told members of the Dayton Medical Society that these physicians had unanimously "responded that they preferred to have their patients in the Adventist hospital for three reasons: the cleanliness of the institution, the completeness of the equipment, and the dedication of the nurses and workers."

With the support of the president of the National Cash Register Company and the vice-president of General Motors, the Ketterings quickly secured pledges for the desired 300-bed hospital. While the building was under construction, an additional floor containing another 100 beds was provided jointly by an old business associate of C. F. Kettering and the Kettering family. By the time the Kettering Memorial Hospital was ready for occupancy in 1964 more than eleven million dollars had been spent to make it a showplace of modern medical care. All this was deeded to the Columbia Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists with the provision that it be operated as a nonprofit institution. Church leaders also agreed to construct and operate a school of nursing in conjunction with the

hospital. This eventually grew into the Kettering College of Medical Arts, a two-year college slanted toward medical and paramedical programs, but offering the first two years of liberal arts education as well.

The Kettering generosity toward Adventist medical work did not end here. In the 1960s it became apparent that the 195-bed Hinsdale Sanitarium was inadequate. A million-dollar gift from the Ketterings sparked a new community drive which resulted in providing a new sanitarium wing that added 150 beds.⁷

It was not only wealthy industrialists and philanthropists who recognized the value of an Adventist medical institution to a community. An interesting chain of events developed in Texas in the 1950s and 60s. In 1955 the Texas Conference acquired a twenty-six bed private hospital in the little community of Santa Anna. This small institution soon built an enviable reputation. Two years later, when town and county officials in Menard found themselves without a physician or medical facilities, they negotiated an agreement with the Texas Conference to operate a hospital and retirement home in an old hotel which the local governments agreed to purchase, remodel, and lease to Seventh-day Adventists. Similar small community hospitals, constructed by local governments but leased to Seventh-day Adventists, were later acquired in several other Texas cities and in Georgia, Florida, and Oklahoma as well.

The Huguley Bequest

A gift paralleling in some respects that of Porter and the Ketterings came to fruition for Texas Adventists in the 1970s. For some years before his death, in 1967, Dr. Herbert Taylor Huguley had dreamed of building a Seventh-day Adventist hospital and school of nursing in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Huguley was not an Adventist, although his parents were, and he himself attended Adventist church services rather frequently in his late years. In his will Huguley left the Adventist Church real estate in Dallas worth between three and four million dollars. By 1976 this property had doubled in value.

After extensive consultation with community leaders, in the fall of 1974 Texas Conference officials began construction of the Huguley Memorial Adventist Medical Center on fifty acres of land about five miles south of Fort Worth. The 220-bed hospital was partly underwritten by gifts from local businessmen added to Dr. Huguley's bequest. This center was designed to serve as the clinical facility for the nursing and other health-training programs of nearby Southwestern Adventist College.⁸

Gifts Overseas

It is not in the United States alone that substantial gifts have been made to Seventh-day Adventists for the purpose of developing medical institutions. One of the first such was in southern India, where a local prince gave funds for the construction of Gifford Memorial Hospital in 1925. Few

heads of state were more liberal in the support of Adventist medical work than Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia. Two years after he came to the throne in 1930, the Emperor donated to Adventists the Empress Zauditu Memorial Hospital in the capital city of Addis Ababa. Several years later he contributed the equivalent of \$20,000 U.S. to establish a hospital named after him in an economically depressed remote province.

One of the strongest Adventist medical facilities in Southeast Asia, Bangkok Sanitarium and Hospital, owes its beginning to the generosity of a philanthropic Mexican sea captain. The Seoul Adventist Hospital was able to build one of its first buildings through the generosity of a missionary of another denomination. In Brazil, the Penfigo Adventist Hospital, specializing in the treatment of an endemic skin disease commonly called "savage fire," has attracted the interest and support of non-Adventists in many different parts of the world.⁹

Not every gift to the medical program of the church turned out entirely as expected. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this came in the early 1970s as American military forces began to reduce their involvement in South Vietnam. Church leaders were at this time in the process of raising funds for a larger and more conveniently located Saigon Adventist Hospital, an institution with an excellent local reputation, but operating with only thirty-eight beds, in extremely crowded conditions. When United States officials offered to turn the no-longer-needed Third U.S. Army Field Hospital over to Seventh-day Adventists along with \$500,000 worth of medicines and supplies, church leaders thought the gift providential.

The Third Field Hospital could accommodate approximately 500 patients and had the latest in medical equipment. It was virtually self-contained, air-conditioned, and with its own electrical generating and sewage systems. The U.S. government even agreed to underwrite operating costs, if the Adventist Church would assume responsibility for staffing and managing it. These costs amounted to approximately \$180,000 during the first year. The agreement church leaders accepted provided that the building should revert to United States ownership when no longer needed. The Adventists, however, could first transfer the hospital's medical equipment (perhaps worth as much as two million dollars) to the planned new Saigon Adventist Hospital. In the meantime the hospital's only obligation to the United States government would be to maintain a group of private rooms for the use of embassy personnel.

Unforeseen difficulties arose almost immediately. Where could administrative and service personnel to run the hospital be found? A large proportion of the Vietnamese Adventist leadership was taken from evangelistic work to help in the business and administrative aspects of the hospital. Then a new U.S. Embassy official decided that for the U.S. government to underwrite the operating costs of a private, denominational hospital was highly illegal; and the subsidy was abruptly discontinued, putting the local mission under severe financial strain.

Worse was to follow, when the fall of Saigon to the communist forces became imminent. In the minds of many Vietnamese a close link between Adventists and the American government seemed obvious. What would this mean to those Vietnamese connected with Saigon Adventist Hospital? Many feared it would result in harsh persecution and probably death. As a result, some 200 Vietnamese Adventists accepted the evacuation offered by the U.S. Military. These individuals represented about one tenth of the church membership in South Vietnam and virtually all of its national leadership.

Many questions surfaced for discussion in Adventist circles in the wake of the Saigon tragedy. Just how deeply should Adventists get involved in the operation of acute-care hospitals? How much of the church's limited financial and human resources should be committed to this branch of service? Would it have been better to have spent the time, effort, and money involved in running Saigon Adventist Hospital in the production of evangelistic materials and in preparing Adventist workers to live under an atheistic and totalitarian regime? Such questions had no easy answer.¹⁰

Adventist education has also frequently benefited from the generosity of governments or non-Seventh-day Adventists. When, for instance, Andrews University laid plans in the late 1960s to build a new science complex, several industrialists in the area helped university officials secure approximately one million dollars from non-Adventist businesses and individuals in the community. This example could be multiplied many times over, both in the United States and throughout the world.

A unique gift to the church was accepted by General Conference leaders in 1951 after much discussion and considerable initial reluctance. The givers were Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Harris of Pendleton, Oregon; the gift consisted of a highly integrated lumber and furniture manufacturing corporation that was probably the largest maker of unfinished furniture in the world.

The Harris Pine Mills

Harris Pine Mills was started by Clyde Harris and his brother shortly before the outbreak of World War I. The original enterprise had consisted of a sawmill and box factory at Milton, Oregon. Not long after launching into this business operation Clyde Harris and his wife became Seventh-day Adventists. Through the years the business prospered and expanded, showing a profit each year, except for 1932, at the very bottom of the Great Depression.

In 1939 the Harris brothers relocated their business in Pendleton, Oregon, and renamed it the Harris Pine Mills. Two years later Clyde Harris and his wife bought out the brother's interest and became sole owners of the business. Through the years Harris Pine Mills had become a perfect example of a vertically integrated business. It owned its major sources of raw material in the form of thousands of acres of forest. The company built its own logging roads, cut and transported the timber,

processed it into lumber, and then converted it into unfinished furniture. This in turn was sold to major furniture distributors across the nation.

As Mr. Harris approached the normal age for retirement, he began to consider what disposition to make of his property. Both he and his wife decided they "wanted the Lord to have the business." The Harrises decided not simply to will their property to the church at death, but to give it while they could enjoy seeing the benefits it would bring to God's cause. They shared their ideas with C. J. Nagele, vice-president of the North Pacific Union Conference, who helped work out the complex arrangements for the transfer. For several years Harris stayed on as general manager of the company, but Nagele was brought in as vice-president and assistant manager and was trained in the details of the business.

Although some church leaders were fearful lest the company's steady profits turn into a series of losses that would drain the church of needed funds, this did not occur. At the 1952 Autumn Council, Harris Pine Mills was able to turn over to the General Conference a check for \$100,000 representing the profits from the first year of denominational ownership and operation. In the spring of 1975 church members were informed that in the slightly less than a quarter of a century during which it had belonged to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Harris Pine Mills had contributed more than six million dollars to church enterprises, all the while paying taxes and meeting normal expenses.

Harris Pine Mills continued a program of expansion that was, after 1953, especially aimed to help the educational program of the church. That year a furniture factory was opened at Cleburne, Texas, only a few miles from Southwestern Junior College. The primary object of this new plant was to provide work for college students who needed to earn a major part of their school expenses. During the next twenty years Harris Pine Mills branches were established near Adventist academies and colleges on the average of one each year. In 1974 more than 2700 students earned two and a quarter million dollars in a Harris Pine Mills factory; nearly \$18 million of student labor had been provided since the first plant was opened in Texas.¹¹

Wills and Trusts

Since early in the development of the church Adventist leaders had urged members to give careful thought to the way in which their property should be disposed of at death. In 1872 James White cautioned that special care should be taken in drawing up a will. He pointed out that although parents had an obligation to provide for their children, too large an inheritance frequently had a detrimental effect on character. Was it not wise to remember the work of the church and its various institutions when one gave legal order for the division of his estate?

Through the years sporadic attempts were also made to get aging Adventists who had means to turn over a major portion of their property to a church institution in return for an annuity guaranteeing a specified annual

income. At times a sanitarium would write an annuity agreeing to provide necessary care for the rest of the annuitant's life. All too frequently both wills and annuity agreements were not carefully drawn. A few troublesome legal problems had the effect of cooling church leaders' interest in adding to church revenues in this way.

In order to gain the financial benefits of properly drawn wills, annuities, and trust agreements—while avoiding legal difficulties—the General Conference Committee decided in 1932 to restrict the writing of annuities and trusts to the General Conference or one of its divisions. Several years later this was modified to include local and union conferences and legally organized denominational institutions. It was not until 1968, however, that a trust service was developed within the General Conference and at lower administrative levels. This service was managed by persons specially trained to give advice on the wide variety of legal avenues for transferring property.¹²

During the years following World War II a burst of interest in building more representative churches and adequate church-school and academy facilities developed in many parts of the North American Division. The booming economy and the increasing affluence of many church members encouraged conference committees and local church boards to appoint building committees. They also began to look for a method of securing maximum financial commitments from all members. In order to accomplish this some conferences began to employ professional fund-raising organizations. In return for a percentage of the money raised (which might go as high as 15 percent) such concerns organized and helped to conduct a program during which each church member was contacted concerning the projected building plan and strongly urged to make a definite pledge toward underwriting the plan.

Dissatisfaction with both the methods used by some consultants and the cost of their services led the Southwestern Union in 1957 to employ William Hubert, an Adventist with experience in professional fund raising, to aid groups within the union with their development programs. Reaction to Hubert's work was so favorable that the General Conference decided to establish this kind of service for all of North America and called Hubert to train personnel for unions and local conferences desiring to institute development programs. Within three years' time more than \$15 million was raised from church members for building projects in this way.

Stewardship

As the years went by, some of the men trained as church-development secretaries began to question certain of the methods used in securing financial pledges. Were "worldly" techniques gradually creeping into their fund-raising programs? As these men studied Ellen White's *Counsels on Stewardship*, they began to see their role not so much as fund raisers but as persons with a mission to help church members reorient

their thinking. How much better if Adventists could really see God as the owner of all their property and themselves as simply stewards returning to Him from love according to the amount He had given them.

The new concept of stewardship found a particularly effective advocate in W. M. Starks. In 1967 the General Conference Committee created a new Department of Stewardship and Development, which absorbed the old Church Development Service. Under Starks's leadership departmental personnel still were available to conduct stewardship seminars and give advice on the financing of church building projects. Their chief emphasis, however, was not on getting individuals to pledge a certain amount, but rather to show them the joy of giving themselves *wholly* to Jesus and trusting Him to direct them into a pattern of systematic giving.

For one hundred years Seventh-day Adventists have promoted the tithing system as the divinely ordained plan for the support of the gospel ministry. No Adventist is accepted into church membership "until he accepts tithing as a scriptural obligation." And yet estimates of the number of church members who either do not tithe at all or who fail to tithe consistently range as high as sixty percent in large suburban and metropolitan Adventist churches.

There are undoubtedly many reasons for failure to tithe, e.g. non-Adventist spouses, child members who lack independent incomes, and sporadic church attendance. Stewardship secretaries believe the chief reason is a cooling of spiritual ardor: thus, they reason that true spiritual revival would actually solve all church financial problems.¹³

Emergency Financing

Whether as an excuse or because of genuine conviction, some church members have defended their failure to give because they disapprove of church investment practices—for the church does have millions of dollars invested. This seems a huge amount to many church members until they learn the purposes behind the investment. Years ago the General Conference Committee decided to keep a reserve fund equal to twenty percent of the previous year's expenses. This would serve as a cushion in the case of unexpected depression or other financial emergency. Money must also be set aside to meet future sustenance expenses for retired workers. These funds should be invested in such a way as to be secure, yet easily available, while at the same time earning the best possible rate of interest.

An investments committee made up of administrators who meet weekly under the chairmanship of the General Conference treasurer decides how to handle money available for investment. A diversified policy is followed, by which funds are invested in savings and loan banks, government securities, and "high-quality stocks and bonds." Care is taken *not* to invest in companies engaged in the production of anything out of harmony with Adventist belief and practice, such as tobacco, alcohol, or questionable entertainment.

Some church members question whether church monies should not also be prohibited from investment in companies with military contracts or ones that do business in areas of the world where racial discrimination is practiced.¹⁴ Such members help to highlight a problem that has faced the church for a long time: How does a group of people preparing for another world address itself to problems and challenges that emerge from the present one?

Suggested Reading:

Financing a World Church (1969) by K. Emmerson provides in laymen's language a compact picture of the philosophy and practice of church finance. The dramatic story of several major gifts to establish Adventist medical institutions is presented in D. E. Robinson, *Story of Our Health Message*, 3rd ed. (1965), pp. 414-426, and R. Schaefer's *Legacy* (1978), pp. 103-114. A somewhat elementary but interesting account of the Harris Pine Mills gift may be found in R. Utt, *Harris and the Pines* (1967). Daniel and Grace Ochs knew C. H. Watson personally and have presented an engaging character sketch in *The Past and the Presidents* (1974), pp. 157-172. The *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* articles dealing with "Church Development Service," "Tithe," and "Stewardship Department" are brief but useful.

1. *General Conference Bulletin*, May 23, 1922, pp. 217, 218.
2. *Review and Herald*, February 28, 1924, pp. 3, 4; May 30, 1926, pp. 12-15; June 9, 1926, pp. 3, 4.
3. *Review*, May 30, 1930, pp. 15-20, 26; June 3, 1930, p. 69; June 11, 1936, pp. 263-267; D. and G. Ochs, *The Past and the Presidents* (1974), pp. 157-169.
4. *Review*, September 22, 1932, pp. 898-904; May 28, 1936, pp. 7, 8; May 29, 1936, pp. 30-35; June 4, 1936, pp. 147-150; November 20, 1941, pp. 8, 9; Ochs, pp. 172, 179-183; D. Appel, "The Effect of the Depression on the SDA Church," Andrews University term paper (n.d.), Andrews University Heritage Room; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 660, 661.
5. *Review*, May 29, 1941, pp. 39-41; June 1, 1941, pp. 81-83; August 6, 1942, pp. 2, 15, 16; October 14, 1943, p. 24; June 7, 1946, pp. 29, 34, 35; June 10, 1946, pp. 90, 91, 96; June 12, 1946, pp. 138, 139.
6. H. Rice in D. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, 3rd ed. (1965), pp. 414-418; *Review*, April 3, 1930, pp. 21, 22; September 18, 1930, p. 28; April 21, 1955, p. 22; December 3, 1959, p. 20; July 16, 1964, pp. 18, 19; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1133, 1134.
7. Robinson, pp. 418-424; *Review*, December 1, 1959, pp. 1, 16, 17; March 5, 1964, pp. 1, 20, 21; February 20, 1969, p. 22; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 734, 735, 586, 587.
8. See *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 566, 867, 868, 1288; R. Schaefer, *Legacy* (1978), pp. 107-109.
9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 426, 514, 515, 550, 604, 124, 1322.
10. Interview with Chester Damron (former Southeast Asia Union ministerial secretary), July 9, 1976.
11. R. Utt, *Harris and the Pines* (1967), *passim*; *Review*, December 27, 1951, pp. 16, 17; January 8, 1953, p. 3; May 28, 1953, p. 24; August 29, 1957, p. 24; July 30, 1964, pp. 15, 16; September 14, 1972, p. 24; April 10, 1975, p. 32.
12. J. White, *An Appeal to the Working Men and Women in the Ranks of Seventh-day Adventists* (1872); *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 148; *Review*, July 11, 1975, p. 779.
13. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 297, 298, 1489; Interview with Don Copsey, Lake Union Conference stewardship secretary, July 7, 1976.
14. R. Pierson, "About Stocks and Bonds and Church Financial Policies," *Review*, December 25, 1975, pp. 9-11; K. Emmerson, *Financing a World Church* (1969); C. L. Torrey, "Financial Safeguards for Our World Work," *Review*, August 2, 1956, p. 32; T. Dybdahl and J. Chapman, "Stewardship and Securities: A Study of Adventist Corporate Investments," *Spectrum*, V (Summer 1973), 39 ff.

CHAPTER 31

The Church Confronts the Secular World

Seventh-day Adventists' attitudes toward many aspects of the world have been heavily influenced by their understanding of last day events, the special role they have been called to play in these events, and the counsels received from Ellen White relative to God's expectations of them as a distinctive group of Christians. The American milieu in which the church originated and matured has also played a definite part in conditioning its thinking on matters as diverse as proper church-state relationships and membership in trade unions.

Labor Unions

The late nineteenth century saw the acceleration of the trade union movement in America. With their roots in America's farms and villages, Adventists generally escaped the low wages, long hours, and sweatshop conditions that spurred mine and factory workers into organizations promising to better their lot. Although generally quick to condemn the monopolistic practices of big business and sympathetic toward the plight of the laboring man, Adventists were repelled by the violence that accompanied labor's fight for union recognition and collective bargaining. They also objected to "closed shop" agreements as unfairly infringing on individual liberty.

Large numbers of industrial workers were Roman Catholics. As a result, Catholic leaders became interested in the union movement and promoted its growth. This quickly aroused Adventist fears. Was not this simply one more way in which Catholicism was seeking to establish its dominion in America in order to cause all to "follow after the beast and its image"? When Samuel Gompers, long-time president of the American Federation

of Labor, endorsed laws designed to insure that Sunday would be a "rest" day, Adventist leaders saw their worst fears being realized.

As if all this was not enough, the interest of some labor union leaders in socialism and communism disturbed many Adventists. Not only were these doctrines seen as likely to destroy the American system of government, but their emphasis on the attainment of a temporal utopia ran counter to Adventist theology. Adventists did not believe that a just and equitable social order would be established prior to the second coming of Christ. Instead of trying to remake society, they preferred to concentrate on convicting men and women of their sins. Then they would be anxious to prepare for Christ's return.

Writing in the *Review and Herald* in 1903, Uriah Smith's son Leon highlighted another Adventist objection to unions. "The Christian never joins in any movement to save men from poverty, or to remove social inequalities by law," he wrote. "He sees that there is no necessity for such movements. He does not feel it necessary to join himself to any of the numerous confederacies that exist in the land, since he had joined himself to the Lord, who has all power, all wisdom, and all authority." Unequal yoking together with men of different values might incline Adventist brothers to look to the actions of men to advance their interests instead of trusting completely in God.¹

Adventist antipathy toward trade unions was reinforced by several pointed statements of Ellen White written shortly after the turn of the century. "Those who claim to be the children of God are in no case to bind up with the labor unions that are formed or that shall be formed," Mrs. White wrote in 1902. Two years later she observed that "the time is fast coming when the controlling power of the labor unions will be very oppressive"; they would be "the cause of the most terrible violence that has ever been seen among human beings."

Mrs. White was equally opposed to organizations of businessmen who sought to control the manufacture or sale of products in order to guarantee excessive profits. The very principle of consolidation, forming "confederacies" she frequently termed it, frightened her. Such organizations were inclined to deprive members of "freedom of action." She saw both capital and labor combined as contributing to those last days in earth's history when "no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."²

A more sympathetic national administration and the desire for harmony in America's war effort helped increase the power and influence of organized labor during World War I. This bred resentment and a determination to curb union influence on the part of business leaders. The result was a series of sharp disputes involving major segments of the economy in 1919 and the early 1920s. These helped fan the fires of class conflict and led Adventist leaders to caution members to remember that their message was to both capitalists and laborers.

Throughout the 1920s Adventist working men and women could generally avoid joining unions without much difficulty. They might be misunderstood and condemned by fellow employees, but few unions yet possessed the power to force unwilling employers to accept the closed shop—one employing only union members. This changed dramatically during the New Deal days of the 1930s. The National Labor Relations Act not only protected union organizations and their activities, but also was used to promote them. Friendly government officials endorsed the closed shop as necessary to strengthen the worker's collective bargaining position. Increasingly, Adventist laborers found they had but two alternatives; join the union in the shop where they worked, or seek employment elsewhere.

As more and more Adventists faced this dilemma, it was only natural for them to appeal to denominational leaders for aid and counsel. Since Adventist officials did not feel the church's stand against union membership was wrong, their first reaction was that the situation might improve if labor leaders understood the reasoning behind the Adventist position. Thus in November 1940 the General Conference Committee adopted a concise statement that indicated Adventist approval of "those objectives of labor organizations which seek to provide the worker proper hours and wages and decent living conditions." Adventists' decisions not to join labor unions were based solely on "the conscientious conviction that their mission in the world demands that they make no discrimination between employer and employee, or between social classes."

This statement apparently made little impact; so four years later the General Conference Committee addressed an appeal directly to major union leaders. While admitting that "laborers who are conscientiously free to do so are warranted in organizing" to obtain proper wages, hours, and working conditions, the committee pointed out that Adventist workers' consciences did not allow their participation in these organizations. The liberties guaranteed by the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution, the committee argued, should mean "that no opposition should be raised against, and no penalties or disabilities should be applied to, those who choose not to belong to industrial organizations" as a matter of conscience.³

Trade union chieftains viewed matters from an entirely different perspective. To them, a worker in a plant who accepted the higher wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions negotiated by union officials without being willing to share in the costs of maintaining a union through the payment of dues and participation in such labor weapons as strikes and boycotts was simply a "free-loader." As the number of closed shops increased, so did the number of Adventist laborers who chose to compromise their conscience rather than sacrifice their paychecks. After all, union membership did not mean direct disobedience to one of the Ten Commandments in the same way as would laboring on Sabbath.

Council on Industrial Relations

In the fall of 1945 Adventist leaders established two new organizations to wrestle with the problem of aiding members escape the dilemmas posed by union membership: the Council on Industrial Relations and the Commission on Rural Living. Carlyle B. Haynes was probably the most forceful member of both. This is not surprising as Haynes had spent the previous five years in aiding Adventist soldiers as secretary of the War Service Commission. Church leaders saw a parallel between the problem of military conscientious objectors and workers seeking to avoid union membership because of religious scruples.

Through numerous articles in denominational journals and in institutes held in various parts of North America, the Commission on Rural Living promoted the idea that Adventists should leave the large cities for small towns and rural areas. Here, it was believed, there would be less pressure to join unions as a prerequisite to employment. Years before, Ellen White had urged Adventists to move to the country to escape many of the temptations prevalent in urban areas and find better conditions for family life. As the commission's assistant secretary, Haynes published an appeal for information relative to rural employment opportunities in all the union-conference papers. "The response," he reported several weeks later, "has nearly swamped us." The information received was compiled into lists by geographical location and made available to interested church members. This service was continued for several years.

Recognizing that the mass movement of Adventist workers from the cities would take time, Haynes set out in his role as secretary of the Council on Industrial Relations to reach some type of accommodation with labor leaders. Through the columns of the *Review*, Haynes also sought to convince Adventists of the correctness of the Adventist position on union membership. He stressed that church views were not antilabor, for the Adventist church was in reality a "workingman's church" with few wealthy members.

Basis of Agreement

Within a few months Haynes had developed a solution he hoped would satisfy both conscientious Adventist workers and union leaders. Entitled *Basis of Agreement*, this document provided that a church member desiring to work in a closed shop without joining the union would agree to the following: (1) "to contribute to the benevolent objectives of the union [e.g., pension or welfare funds] a sum equal to that paid by the members, such as initiation fee, regular dues and assessments," (2) to accept wage, hour, and working conditions established through collective bargaining, so long as these did not require Sabbath work, (3) to remain neutral in the case of a strike at his plant—he would neither continue to work nor participate in strike activities; he would not interfere with union picket-

ing. If union officials accepted the Basis of Agreement, they would pledge to allow Adventists to work in a closed shop without being union members and “defend as a recognized and associate worker the employee in his desire to practice the religious convictions of his conscience.”⁴

The reaction of union leaders to the Basis of Agreement was mixed. In 1948 the leadership of the nation’s largest union, the United Automobile Workers, accepted it as a viable alternative to union membership for Adventists. By the following spring more than 1100 union locals, representing a variety of trades throughout the United States and Canada, had followed suit. Yet from the start many “of the larger international unions would have nothing to do with the agreement, and ‘some of them told Elder Haynes that if they knew of any of their locals entering into such agreements, they would make it their job to see that they withdrew.’”

The response of church members also varied. Some questioned the arrangement whereby Adventists would refrain from work in the case of a strike. Was not this in fact joining in the strike? Not so, said Haynes; Adventists would simply act as “noncombatants” withdrawing “altogether from the strife and await[ing] its issue.” Some objected to what appeared to be a basic concession that a “closed shop” was legitimate. Was not this a violation of individual liberty? Others disliked the provision for the Adventist worker to contribute an amount equal to union dues and assessments. Yet in the end hundreds of Adventist laboring men and women were able to continue work without actually joining a union through signing a Basis of Agreement.⁵

During the 1950s the influence of organized labor in America expanded greatly. It became difficult for Adventist laborers to escape pressure to join a union even by moving to small towns and rural areas, for small shops and even agricultural workers were often “organized.” As labor’s power increased, union leaders seemed less responsive to the plea for special consideration to the conscientious scruples of a small minority. When it became evident that the Basis of Agreement approach was breaking down, General Conference officers disbanded the Council on Industrial Relations in 1954 and assigned the Religious Liberty Department the task of defending Adventists who found themselves in trouble with labor unions because of their religious beliefs.

At the 1961 Fall Council, the General Conference Committee formally abandoned the Basis of Agreement as the “exclusive” Seventh-day Adventist position toward organized labor. Because of the complexity of the situation, church leaders decided “to counsel church members to seek employment under union-free conditions, leaving, however, to each church member the decision as to his attitude toward this question.”

Since 1961 church efforts have been confined largely to lobbying against abolition of right-to-work laws and to the support of members who have appealed to the courts when their religious convictions have deprived them of employment. During efforts in 1965 to repeal the prohibi-

tion on the closed shop imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders suggested that unions accommodate such individuals by allowing them regular union work privileges if they would contribute an amount equal to union dues and fees to a non-religious charity designated by the union. Although some unions accepted this recommendation, most ignored it.⁶

The historic Adventist position relative to labor unions developed within the American milieu and was heavily influenced by it. Many Adventists in other parts of the world where the trade union movement developed in other ways viewed organized labor with more tolerance. In the socialist countries unions were virtually an arm of the state, and the average laborer had no choice but to accept membership. At the same time, in many of the preindustrial societies of Africa and Asia, the issue of union membership was irrelevant.

Calendar Reform

It was not the same with an issue that threw a considerable scare into Adventist leaders during the early 1930s: calendar reform. Serious talk about modernizing the Gregorian calendar surfaced during the 1920s. Each of several different proposals had its advocate, but the plan advanced by statistician Moses Cotsworth won the support of American millionaire industrialist George Eastman, who contributed liberally to a campaign in its support throughout the world. Cotsworth's plan called for thirteen equal months composed of four seven-day weeks. A "Blank Day" holiday at year's end plus a second one on leap years would keep the seasons regular, but to Adventists' horror would destroy the traditional weekly cycle and turn the Sabbath into a day that "wandered" into a different spot in the week with each new year.

In 1923 a special international committee to study calendar reform was created under the auspices of the League of Nations. This committee encouraged the formation of national committees which would study possible revisions and each would report the views of its country to an international congress empowered to adopt a new calendar. During 1928 and 1929 attempts to put the U.S. Congress on record as favoring the Cotsworth plan failed, largely through the opposition of groups, including Adventists, who disliked its blank day feature.

But calendar reform was not dead. Its advocates succeeded in getting it placed on the October 1931 agenda of the League of Nations' Fourth General Conference on Communications and Transit. They were hopeful that a favorable recommendation from this body would swing the League's support behind a reformed "world calendar" and thus secure its universal adoption. If this were to happen, Adventists from Norway to New Zealand would be affected. Denominational leaders quickly prepared to contest what they were certain was a satanic attempt to subvert their loyalty to God, His law, and especially His Sabbath day.

Having received permission to send four delegates to the League conference in Geneva, General Conference leaders assembled an international delegation to demonstrate the worldwide opposition of their church. Religious Liberty secretary C. S. Longacre was sent from the United States. He was joined by author-editor Arthur Maxwell of Great Britain and Australian evangelist R. A. Anderson. Since none of these men spoke French, the General Conference requested the Southern European Division to select as the fourth member a man fluent in French. Dr. Jean Nussbaum, a Swiss physician practicing in Paris, was suggested.

Before leaving for Geneva, Longacre learned that Dr. Charles Marvin, chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, was to head an unofficial delegation of Americans favorable to calendar reform. Although Congress had declined taking a position on the proposed world calendar, Longacre was suspicious that Marvin would use his official post to try to appear as the spokesman of the United States government. Taking advantage of a friendship that had developed with President Herbert Hoover during World War I, Longacre called on Hoover, who agreed to have Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson write a letter stating that Marvin was in no way the official spokesman of the U.S. government. This proved useful in Geneva when Marvin did misrepresent his role in an attempt to influence the delegates.

Arthur Maxwell also made an extremely useful contact, before leaving London. At the insistence of Britain's Chief Rabbi, Dr. Joseph Hertz, Maxwell agreed to an interview with Sir John Baldwin, who was to head the British delegation to the Geneva Conference. At Baldwin's invitation Maxwell explained the objection of Jews and Seventh-day Adventists to a blank day calendar with its resultant wandering Sabbath. Baldwin proved a most effective ally at Geneva, where he told the delegates that "the king of the United Kingdom will not back a measure that could trouble the conscience of one of his subjects."

Although Dr. Nussbaum knew virtually nothing about calendar reform, he was skilled at meeting government officials. At Longacre's suggestion Nussbaum contacted the chief French delegate to the Geneva Conference and succeeded in planting the idea in his mind that Moslem opposition to a "wandering Friday" was certain and this would undoubtedly affect French interests. Once at Geneva, Nussbaum quickly established rapport with the head of the Yugoslavian delegation. Nussbaum had served as a volunteer medical officer in Serbia during World War I. At that time he married a Serbian girl, whose godfather was, in 1931, foreign minister of Yugoslavia. Dr. Nussbaum was certain God was working for the Adventist cause when the French and Yugoslavian delegation leaders were named as the two vice-presidents of the conference.

At the opening of the conference the official delegates decided to let the nonofficial delegates, representing various interested groups, state their cases first. Realizing, however, that these men had no voting power in the

conference, the official delegates paid little attention to their presentations. So great was the confusion and lack of attention at these meetings that Dr. Nussbaum refused to join his Adventist colleagues in addressing the assembly.

Then came the official debate. Remarks by some delegates indicated an appreciation of the religious problem involved, but the Spanish and Swiss delegates personally attacked Seventh-day Adventists for their opposition to the proposed reform. The United States' Dr. Marvin was particularly vehement against Adventists, confusing many by injecting the problem experienced by a person crossing the International Date Line from west to east and thus being confronted with an eight-day week.

The Adventist observers agreed that Marvin's charges must be answered, but how? The time was past for nonofficial delegates to speak. Nussbaum approached the Yugoslavian delegation chief. Pointing out that he had not spoken earlier and that the attack on Seventh-day Adventists should be answered, Nussbaum inquired if the delegates should not extend him the courtesy of making a reply to Marvin.

At first the Yugoslavian diplomat was reluctant—the decision had been made earlier to close the floor to nonofficial delegates once the official discussion had begun. He agreed, however, to consult several other heads of delegations; and if they concurred, he would speak to the conference president about Nussbaum's request. This was done, only to have the Portuguese conference president take a firm stand against Nussbaum's speaking—until he found that the doctor was a personal friend of the Yugoslavian foreign minister.

Granted the floor under unusual circumstances and contrary to the conferences' own rules, Nussbaum received the delegates' rapt attention—something he probably would not have had if he had spoken at the regularly scheduled time. After refuting Dr. Marvin's arguments Nussbaum concluded his remarks with a moving appeal that the League do nothing to infringe on the conscientious scruples of a minority. When he finished speaking, the delegates broke into a deafening applause.

There were several more days of debate, but it became evident that world opinion was too divided to consider seriously any change in the calendar at that time. A vote showed only three of the forty-two official delegations in favor of a blank-day calendar. Reporting to *Review* readers a month later, Longacre pointed to Nussbaum's speech as the event that turned the tide. What Longacre did not know then was that this experience had also launched Nussbaum into a career as the denomination's outstanding exponent of religious liberty. Over the next thirty-five years his contacts with church and state officials on three continents proved extremely useful to fellow Adventists denied religious privileges. He became a personal friend of Pope Pius XII, Eleanor Roosevelt, and leading church and state officials in a score of countries.⁷

Backers of calendar reform did not accept their defeat in 1931 as final,

but continued propaganda in favor of something similar to the Cotsworth plan. Adventist religious liberty advocates devoted much time and energy in opposing their efforts. Two resolutions introduced in the U.S. Congress in 1947 would have put the United States on record as favoring a new world calendar to begin Sunday, January 1, 1950. Both were defeated. In 1954 the United Nations Economic and Social Council considered a proposal for calendar revision advanced by India and Yugoslavia. But a questionnaire sent out to U.N. members revealed that only five of the forty-one governments that replied favored the proposed changes.⁷

When calendar reform was included on the agenda of the Roman Catholic Church's Vatican II Council, Adventist leaders once more grew nervous. Although the Catholic Fathers approved the concept of calendar reform only if the weekly cycle remained undisturbed, some Adventist leaders believed their resolution was ambiguous enough to open the door to a blank-day calendar at least a crack.

In 1967 a dramatic example of the problems that could arise when a government started tampering with the calendar surfaced in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Government officials substituted Buddhist lunar holidays for the traditional Sunday of rest. Work weeks varied from four to seven days, and the old cycle was completely disrupted. Seventh-day Adventists alone among Christians refused to compromise their convictions and adapt to the new regime. As a result they suffered economic hardship but also gained increased respect in many quarters.

More insidious was the confusing practice adopted in the early 1970s by some socialist and Scandinavian countries. Calendars appearing in these countries were revised so that Monday was shown as the first day of the week "for the convenience of business." This practice had already been followed in the Soviet Union for some years. Should this become a general practice, it is easy to see how in a few years the distinctive Adventist call to honor the seventh-day Sabbath might become confusing.⁸

Not all of the secular challenges facing Adventists were as easily won as the battle against a blank-day calendar. Some of the most persistent and pervasive came from the hypotheses advanced by natural scientists and geologists challenging the biblical accounts of special creation and a cataclysmic worldwide flood. So persuasively was the evidence arranged that by the first years of the twentieth century large numbers of Christians had accepted the evolutionary explanation of the origin of the earth and life on it. The first few chapters of Genesis were interpreted as allegories or homiletic myths.

Evolution

As dedicated biblicists, Adventists strongly rejected Darwinian evolution and the concept of an earth millions of years old. During the nineteenth century those Adventists who bothered to answer the evolutionists and uniformitarian geologists generally relied on theologi-

cal arguments. A young Canadian school teacher changed that shortly after the opening of the twentieth century. While George McCready Price was principal of a high school in New Brunswick, a local physician tried to convert him to the evolutionary view of human origins. As part of his campaign he encouraged Price to read widely in the substantial geological library he had collected. Price read, but with the purpose of discovering alternative explanations for the data presented that would harmonize with the Genesis account of Creation and the Flood.

In 1902 Price published the first of the more than twenty books he would eventually write in the fields of science and religion. In 1920 Price became professor of geology at Pacific Union College. During the next two decades he taught at four other Adventist colleges while at the same time pouring out a host of scientific articles defending Genesis.

Price got attention, if not acclaim, for his ideas by sending copies of his books and articles to leading scientists and theologians around the world. He became something of a hero to conservative Christians who had been floundering under the ridicule of evolutionists. William Jennings Bryan, in his antievolution campaign of the 1920s, frequently cited Price as a scientific authority. By the time Price retired from teaching in 1938, he had inspired several other young Adventist scientists, most notably Harold Clark and Frank Marsh, to take up their pens in defense of a special creation in six twenty-four-hour days. These men did not agree among themselves (Clark and Price in fact disagreed violently in the late 1930s) as to the best explanation of various scientific data, but they did provide Adventists with alternative answers to the arguments of evolutionists.⁹

From the start Adventist scholars were handicapped in their defense of the biblical creation account because they lacked formal training in earth sciences. Price was largely self-educated, while the advanced degrees of Clark and Marsh were in the biological sciences. As early as the 1940s President H. J. Klooster of Emmanuel Missionary College suggested that the church sponsor some reliable men for formal study in geology. His appeal was soon echoed by Adventist college science teachers. Yet it was not until the Autumn Council of 1957 that the General Conference Committee decided to sponsor two experienced men "of proven loyalty" (Frank Marsh and Peter Hare) to study geology and paleontology at leading universities. A committee was established to guide their work. Out of this beginning came the Geoscience Research Institute, with headquarters adjacent to the Andrews University campus.

Adventist leaders handed the Geoscience Research Institute the job of correlating scientific data with the testimony of the Bible and Ellen White. In fulfilling that assignment the institute's staff conducts field research and also monitors a large variety of scientific publications. Each year staff members teach a class in science and religion in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. In 1974 the institute began publication



Harold Clark and Harold Coffin, Exponents of Creationism

of a semiannual, *Origins*, in which evidence for the Creationist viewpoint could be presented in a scholarly, scientific way.¹⁰

Accreditation of Schools

One of the major reasons Seventh-day Adventists developed their own system of schools was their fear that secular influences would erode the faith of their children. Adventist higher education's main goal, initially, was to provide the variety of workers needed to carry the three angels' messages to all the world. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries all levels of Adventist schools operated virtually without interference by the state or professional organizations. This situation began to change markedly during the 1920s.

A resurgence of nativism hit the United States in the post-World War I years. One aspect showed itself in a mistrust of parochial schools as "divisive." The Oregon legislature actually prohibited attendance by children in the first eight grades at any but public schools. Although this action was eventually held to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, its influence was felt in states as widely scattered as Nebraska and Michigan. In the latter state Adventists twice found it necessary to engage in a political campaign to stop a proposal similar to the Oregon law from being enacted by popular initiative. As more and

more states specified minimum amounts of education for their youthful citizens, it became obvious that Seventh-day Adventist elementary and secondary schools must meet standards established by state departments of education or face closure.

On the advanced level pressure on Seventh-day Adventist colleges to meet minimum standards specified by the regional accrediting associations established in the early twentieth century came via the medical school at Loma Linda. The College of Medical Evangelists was itself pushed in this direction by the American Medical Association's decision to demand that medical schools aspiring to an "A" rating accept only students who had completed their premedical courses in accredited colleges. At first a two-year premedical course was all that was necessary; thus it was possible for Adventist colleges to satisfy the medical school's demands by obtaining less rigorous accreditation as junior colleges.

From the start there was considerable opposition in some church circles to Adventist colleges' seeking accreditation from "worldly" associations. The General Conference Department of Education was particularly fearful that such a course would compromise the distinctive character of Adventist higher education. Educational secretary W. E. Howell told Adventist educators gathered for a world council in 1923 that "registering our colleges in a secular standardizing association" would mean "tying them by much more than a thread to the educational policies of those who do not discern the voice of God and will not hearken to His commandments." This, Howell felt, would be "like tying ourselves to the tail of a kite, to be carried whither the holder of the string may list—seemingly in the direction of less efficiency to serve the cause of God."¹¹

Probably no single person pressed harder for Adventist colleges to become accredited than Dean (later President) P. T. Magan of the College of Medical Evangelists. This was not because Magan believed inherently in the many requirements this would inevitably bring. He had not renounced his reform educational ideas of a quarter century earlier. "I will do everything I can and believe it is right that I should do to circumvent the machinations of the North Central Association," Magan wrote Howell in 1926. But he would also "do certain things before I will ever submit to shutting our schools up, although you know that in my heart of hearts I am opposed to all that kind of stuff."¹²

Magan could not feel that it was right for the College of Medical Evangelists to require the students it accepted to attend non-Adventist colleges simply because the Adventist ones were not accredited. Nor was it sensible for would-be teachers in Adventist church schools to be forced to attend non-Adventist colleges in order to receive the accredited teaching certificate demanded in more and more states. Magan's arguments prevailed; the General Conference decided to allow the accreditation of premedical- and teacher-training programs.

For a brief time it was hoped that the church might satisfy medical and

educational authorities by developing its own accrediting association. This was behind the 1928 Autumn Council's decision to organize the Seventh-day Adventist Board of Regents and the establishment the following year of the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Colleges and Secondary Schools. Although these organizations continued useful for nudging reluctant boards and faculties toward improvement of facilities, teaching staff, and curriculum, they were not accepted as legitimate replacements for the regional accrediting association by secular groups such as the American Medical Association.

When premedical course requirements were expanded to three years of college work, General Conference officials in 1931 reluctantly decided to seek accreditation for all American Seventh-day Adventist colleges. The next year Pacific Union College became the first Adventist college to receive accreditation from the Seventh-day Adventist Board of Regents. The following year it scored another first by winning accreditation from the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. Walla Walla College received similar approval in 1935. Back in the Midwest, Union and Emmanuel Missionary Colleges experienced more difficulty in satisfying the exacting North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, even though Union had been accredited with the neighboring University of Nebraska since the early years of the twentieth century.

Perhaps more than anything else, accrediting associations were demanding that Seventh-day Adventist college faculties include more teachers with graduate degrees. To secure these, attendance at non-Adventist universities was necessary. This proved expensive; but more important, church leaders feared lest exposure to evolution, higher criticism, and other antagonistic intellectual philosophies wreck the faith of those sent to get the needed masters and doctoral degrees. Although college administrators attempted to send only mature and established Adventists, even some of these experienced crises of faith. An added problem came when bright students saw their teachers go to "outside" universities and followed suit. As these men and women earned graduate degrees, they were frequently hired by an Adventist college president who was trying to placate his accrediting association. Some of these new faculty lacked maturity, perspective, and firm commitment to all the traditional Seventh-day Adventist educational goals and values. Church administrators saw such cases as a perfect example of "worldly" influences infiltrating and destroying Adventist education.

Securing accreditation involved other problems as well—principally financial ones. Inspecting teams called for better instructional facilities, especially libraries and laboratories. They found the financial structure of Adventist colleges shaky at best and made endowment funds for operating expenses a prerequisite for accreditation. This seemed an insuperable hurdle, but eventually a compromise was reached, and the associations grudgingly accepted pledges from the supporting conference organiza-

tions for a specified annual subsidy in lieu of an endowment.

By the 1935 Autumn Council many Adventist leaders had become disillusioned with accreditation problems. A committee, chaired by W. H. Branson, had been appointed the previous spring to review the entire matter of accreditation; most members thought efforts in that direction had been a mistake. The council decided that two accredited colleges were enough to serve prospective Adventist physicians and teachers. They voted to limit accreditation to Pacific Union College and Emmanuel Missionary College. Thus they hoped to minimize their problems.

But Adventist leaders failed to recognize how strongly college boards and faculties had come to feel the importance of accreditation. Without it they were certain students would boycott their school—a first step to its quick demise. They did not intend to have this happen. As the Emmanuel Missionary College board chairman, J. J. Nethery, said, church members had “Stetson hats, Florsheim shoes, Arrow shirts . . . and accredited cars”; so why not accredited colleges as well? And so General Conference officials capitulated, and each college persisted until it had achieved acceptance by its regional accrediting association.¹³

The pressures to have accredited schools which American Adventists had experienced in the 1920s and 30s became evident in the overseas divisions in the 1950s and 60s. In some cases it was possible to secure government approval for degree-granting institutions through the upgrading of staff and facilities. In others a program of affiliation with one of the American colleges was found to be the answer. The first affiliation program, negotiated in 1953-54, linked Australia's Avondale College with Pacific Union College. Several PUC faculty members spent academic years teaching at Avondale. By conforming to the American school's pattern of courses and requirements, Avondale students qualified for a Pacific Union College degree. Similar patterns of affiliation developed in later years between Newbold College (England) and Columbia Union College, between Middle East College (Lebanon) and Loma Linda University, and between the Adventist Seminary of West Africa (Nigeria) and Helderberg College (South Africa) and Andrews University.¹⁴

Use of Government Funds

About 1940 American Adventists began to face a new problem—should Adventist schools accept government funds to aid in their operation? Legislation pending in Congress proposed making federal funds available to both public and parochial schools by providing money for textbooks, library materials, health services, and transportation for pupils. The initial response of the Religious Liberty Department was negative—to accept aid would be to break the historic pattern of separation of church and state in the United States. A fear was also voiced that with government aid was bound to come government regulation—ending in total control of those parochial schools accepting aid.

Following World War II an added temptation arose when the government made surplus war property (including some real estate) available for educational purposes, either as a gift or at a nominal price. Some Adventist institutions and conferences moved quickly to take advantage of this opportunity. Criticism and debate followed, but eventually a church-state committee established by the General Conference approved. Similar approval was given when the government later made free food available for school lunch programs, and free inoculations. Church officials decided not to take a stand on whether or not Adventists should accept free textbooks and free transportation to and from church schools. Decisions in these matters were left with individual parents.

A greater test came in the 1960s, when federal legislation made funds available to help in the construction of necessary buildings on college and university campuses. Hard-pressed Adventist college administrators rather naturally coveted such funds; church religious-liberty personnel opposed acceptance. The 1965 Autumn Council decided that it was acceptable for an Adventist school to take government money for services rendered, such as carrying out a specific research project. Government money offered for capital improvements, faculty salaries, or maintenance, however, should be refused.

Church officials did not frown on government grants, loans, and scholarships made to individual students and used to attend Adventist schools, although some leaders worried about the large amounts of money coming to Adventist institutions in this way. What would be the effect if ever it should suddenly cease—or if restrictive stipulations were made for its continued receipt? Would this lead to an Adventist school's severing its church connections as had happened with numerous other American schools founded by religious denominations? These issues continue to trouble Adventist leaders and laymen. They recognize that in other areas of the world Adventist schools became very dependent upon government grants—and some fell victim to so much government regulation as to remain Adventist in name only. In other cases, especially in newly independent Third World countries, Adventist schools have been completely taken over by the government. Would this eventually happen everywhere?¹⁵

Legal Battles

Adventist leaders also found that government regulations touching on the rights of church members could be a two-edged sword. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, Religious Liberty Department personnel battled to help American laboring men and women denied unemployment compensation because they refused jobs that would require Sabbath labor. They were jubilant when at last in 1963 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Adventists could not be denied unemployment benefits because of refusal to labor on Saturdays.

But it was another story when in the early 1970s Merikay Silver, a

female employee of the Pacific Press Publishing Association, began legal action against the press, charging it had violated the Civil Rights Act by (1) having a pay scale based on sex rather than performance, and (2) discriminating against women workers in wages paid and other financial benefits granted. Church officials were dismayed that a church member would sue the church and tried unsuccessfully to persuade Mrs. Silver to drop her case. They reasoned that the government had no right to interfere in a dispute between the church and one of its employees, but the federal judge involved thought otherwise. Pacific Press was ordered to reinstate Mrs. Silver, who, along with another female employee supporting her, had been discharged. General Conference and Pacific Press leaders felt Mrs. Silver acted precipitately in not waiting patiently until her charges could be dealt with by church officials. In an effort to block future acts of this kind, they persuaded the 1975 General Conference session to pass a resolution to the effect that litigation of members against the church or other members could be grounds for withdrawal of church membership.¹⁶

Although Mrs. Silver's method of challenging church policies toward women failed to win the overwhelming support of other female denominational employees, many of them agreed with her contention that they were the subjects of unfair discrimination. In the summer of 1972 Dr. Leona Running, the only woman faculty member in the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary, pointed out that the makeup of the General Conference Committee (275 men and four women) was very unbalanced. She also noted that in spite of recent adjustments in the pay scale that largely equalized the compensation of men and women involved in the same type of work, there was still some discrimination against women who were not recognized as head of a household.

In the spring of 1973 Adventists in southern New England, meeting in conference session, passed a series of resolutions upholding the rights of Seventh-day Adventist women to equal treatment within the church. They recommended (1) electing the most competent persons to church offices without reference to sex, (2) considering competent women for conference leadership roles, (3) increasing the number of women on church boards and committees, (4) giving consideration to paying pastors' wives when they acted as Bible instructors, (5) approving women to serve as local elders, and (6) acknowledging that women "who feel called to the gospel ministry by God ought not to be refused ordination by men."

Two years later, during its Spring Council, the General Conference Committee went on record to the effect that all church positions "not requiring ordination" were to be open to women "whose home and family responsibilities make this possible." It maintained, however, that God had ordained that a woman's primary role be played in the home. And church leaders were concerned about the state of the home in the world of the late twentieth century. This concern was shared by delegates to the 1975 General Conference session; they voted to establish a home and

family service at church headquarters and charge it with developing programs and materials designed to strengthen Adventist home bonds.¹⁷

Divorce and Remarriage

Many factors threatened the unity of Adventist homes; probably none more than the effect of changing societal attitudes toward divorce and remarriage. American society in particular had become characterized by what some commentators refer to as serial polygamy. During their early years as a church, Seventh-day Adventists under the leadership of the Whites, Uriah Smith, and G. I. Butler had taken the position that texts such as Matthew 5:32 and 19:9 and Luke 16:18 indicated that divorce for any reason other than adultery was not approved by Christ and so could not be recognized by the church. If a person obtained a divorce on other grounds, he or she had no right to remarry until the divorced partner either remarried or died. In cases where a divorce was granted for adultery, Adventist leaders taught, the innocent partner had a right to remarry, but the guilty one did not.

It was not until 1925 that the General Conference Committee took formal action codifying this Adventist position on divorce, which was later written into the first edition of the Seventh-day Adventist *Church Manual* in 1932. Church leaders did not teach that adultery automatically or necessarily dissolved a marriage. If the guilty partner was truly repentant, the injured spouse was urged to forgive and take every step possible to rebuild a strong Christian home.

For the next twenty years Adventists who remarried after securing a divorce on grounds other than adultery were usually disfellowshipped. They could not rejoin the church as long as their second marriage continued, since they were held to be living in a state of continual adultery. Some Adventist leaders and pastors considered this position too harsh. They noted that, following Ellen White's counsel, the church accepted into membership persons who before their conversion to Adventism had been divorced for any reason and later remarried. Was there no way back into church fellowship for those who recognized their sin in obtaining an unscriptural divorce and subsequent remarriage except by breaking up the second marriage even though it was sound, happy, and had produced children?

During the late 1940s, A. V. Olson, a General Conference vice-president, was asked by church leaders to do an in-depth study of the whole question of divorce and remarriage. As a result of his investigation into biblical and Ellen White references, Olson recommended a slight liberalization of church policy. He argued that sincerely repentant persons who had remarried contrary to biblical principles should not be *permanently* denied church fellowship.

Although not all Adventist leaders agreed with Olson's conclusions, the 1950 General Conference did modify slightly the *Church Manual* state-

ment on divorce and remarriage. After an appropriate period of separation from the church (which would indicate its disapproval of the divorce and remarriage), repentant persons might be considered for reacceptance into church fellowship. The local pastor was to counsel with conference officials concerning each case before recommending readmission to the local church congregation, which retained ultimate jurisdiction.

This action brought continuing criticism from a small, but vocal, minority within the church. As the general attitude of society toward divorce became more liberal, so did the views of some Adventist pastors and their congregations. Inconsistencies in treating remarried former Adventists led General Conference leaders in 1972 to establish a new committee composed of pastors, church administrators, sociologists, marriage counselors, psychiatrists and clinical psychologists to again review the issues; both men and women were included on this committee. Church theologians presented papers on all aspects of the problem for the committee's consideration.

After four years of study this large committee rendered a comprehensive report to the 1976 Annual Council. Probably the most significant recommendation made was that each local conference appoint an advisory committee made up of ministers and professional people involved in marriage counseling to advise pastors and churches on the procedure for readmitting former members involved in the divorce-and-remarriage tangle. Among the general guidelines suggested were that (1) there be no "rush" for readmittance until the bruised feelings aroused by the original divorce had had time to heal, (2) sufficient time be allowed to demonstrate that the new home had a reasonable chance to succeed as a happy one, and (3) the parties involved demonstrated sorrow for past misconduct and a growing spiritual experience.¹⁸

Seventh-day Adventists had learned that their road to a better world, "even an heavenly," was beset by many problems in the present one. Not all of these problems were solely of a secular nature—some grew out of relationships with fellow Adventists; others resulted from contacts with Christians of other faiths.

Suggested Reading:

There is no good published account of the development of Adventist attitudes toward, and relations with, labor unions. Eric Syme's "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts on Church and State," Ph.D. dissertation, American University (1970), provides the best overall picture of Adventist reaction to threatening government activities in the United States. His Chapter X details the changing attitude toward accepting government aid for church schools. For an engaging account of Jean Nussbaum's contribution to the struggle against calendar reform, see G. Loewen, *Crusader for Freedom* (1969). A comprehensive history of the

Adventist battle against evolution is still needed. H. Clark's brief life of George McCready Price, *Crusader for Creation* (1966), is interesting but hardly definitive. Probably the best idea of Adventist arguments can be secured from such books as Price's *The New Geology* (1923) and *Genesis Vindicated* (1941). Later works by Clark, F. L. Marsh, and H. Coffin are also useful. Probably the best "feel" for the accreditation struggle is Everett Dick's eyewitness account in *Union: College of the Golden Cords* (1967), pp. 153-168. On the Merikay case, see T. Dybdahl, "Merikay and the Pacific Press," *Spectrum*, VII (Summer 1975): 44-53. Good statements of the opposing views within Adventism toward acceptance of government aid to church schools appear in *Spectrum*, I (Autumn 1969).

1. K. Osborn, "Adventists and Labor Unions: An Historical Analysis of the Seventh-day Adventist Position with Respect to Labor Unions in America," M.A. project, Andrews University (1973), Andrews University Business Department, pp. 17-51; L. A. Smith, "Christianity Versus Socialism," *Review and Herald*, March 17, 1903, p. 5.

2. E. G. White, Letters 157 and 201, 1902; Letters 5 and 99, 1904; Letter 26, 1903.

3. Osborn, pp. 76-80; General Conference Committee minutes, November 8, 1940, December 28, 1944; M. Moore, "An Investigation of the Seventh-day Adventist Attitude to Organized Labor in the United States, 1900-1960," M.A. thesis, Andrews University (1961), p. 60.

4. Osborn, pp. 81-86, 111; Moore, pp. 61-70.

5. Osborn, pp. 84, 85; Moore, pp. 70-77.

6. Osborn, pp. 87-95, 114-116.

7. G. Loewen, *Crusader for Freedom* (1969), pp. 63-102; N. Krum, *Charles A. Longacre, Champion of Religious Liberty* (1959), pp. 65-68; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 212-214; *Review*, November 19, 1931, pp. 3-6; December 10, 1931, pp. 4, 5.

8. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 214-217; *Review*, February 13, 1964, pp. 2, 3; February 4, 1965, pp. 19, 20; May 14, 1967, pp. 13, 14; May 10, 1973, p. 21; July 19, 1973, pp. 4, 5; July 26, 1973, pp. 8, 9; *Liberty*, January-February 1974, pp. 10-12.

9. H. Clark, *Crusader for Creation* (1966), *passim*; H. Clark, "Traditional Adventist Creationism," *Spectrum* (Winter 1971), III: 7-16; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1150.

10. E. Zinke, "A History of the Geoscience Research Institute," Andrews University term paper (1969), Andrews University Heritage Room; Interviews with Robert Brown, July 1, 1976, and Frank Marsh, July 14, 1976; *Review*, June 2, 1960, pp. 21, 22; November 7, 1974, p. 31.

11. *Review*, July 12, 1923, p. 15; June 9, 1926, pp. 17-19; *General Conference Bulletin*, May 18, 1922, pp. 121-125; L. Jones, "The History of the Move Toward Accreditation in S.D.A. Colleges," S.D.A. Seminary term paper (1973), Andrews University Heritage Room.

12. Quoted in J. Lee, *A Compendium of City-Outpost Evangelism* (1976), p. 278.

13. Lee, pp. 279, 281-300; Jones, "The History of Accreditation in S.D.A. Colleges." For the struggle for accreditation at Union College, see E. Dick, *Union: College of the Golden Cords* (1967), pp. 153-168. For Emmanuel Missionary College, see E. Vande Vere, *The Wisdom Seekers* (1972), pp. 163-166, 181-186.

14. K. Reynolds, draft chapter on the period 1930-60 prepared for *Studies in Adventist History*, a projected multi-author history of the S.D.A. Church. Reynolds was the associate secretary of the General Conference Department of Education active in negotiating the first affiliation.

15. *Liberty*, Fourth Quarter 1939, p. 26; Second Quarter 1940, p. 21; First Quarter 1941, p. 281; March-April 1973, pp. 14-19; *Review*, September 26, 1968, pp. 1-7; March 6, 1969, pp. 1, 2, 13; November 27, 1975, pp. 2, 10; R. Hammill, Presentation on Government Aid to S.D.A. Education, Adventist Forum, Andrews University, December 9, 1975.

16. *Review*, May 31, 1954, pp. 122-124; June 26, 1966, pp. 196, 197; July 31, 1975, p. 913; T. Dybdahl, "Merikay and the Pacific Press," *Spectrum* (Summer 1975), VII: 44-53.

17. L. Running, "The Status and Role of Women in the Adventist Church," *Spectrum* (Summer 1972), IV: 54-61; *Forum*, Spring 1973, pp. 4, 5; General Conference Committee minutes, April 3, 1975; *Review*, August 7-14, 1975, p. 939.

18. G. Winslow, "Seventh-day Adventists and Divorce," S.D.A. Seminary term paper (1968), Andrews University Heritage Room; G. Winslow, "Divorce, Remarriage and Adultery," *Spectrum* (Summer 1975), VII: 2-11; Interview with Neal Wilson, August 15, 1976.

CHAPTER 32

Relationships With Other Christians

Throughout their history Seventh-day Adventists have generally found their relationships with other Christian groups to be strained; frequently they have encountered considerable antagonism. To a large degree this has been due to differing interpretations of Scripture, with most objections focusing on Adventist beliefs in (1) the continuing obligation to reverence and keep the seventh day as the Sabbath, (2) conditional immortality, (3) the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, (4) the investigative judgment, and (5) the gift of prophecy being “manifested in the life and ministry of Ellen G. White.”

Sabbath vs. Sunday

To many genuinely religious persons, Adventists’ emphasis on keeping the Ten Commandments, their refusal to eat certain foods, and their disapproval of “worldly” adornment and recreation mark them as “legalists” who expect to win salvation by works rather than through the all-sufficient sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Many fellow Christians also resent what they interpret as Adventist exclusiveness and pride in being “the remnant church.” Mistakenly they believe that Seventh-day Adventists consider that all who keep Sunday have already received “the mark of the beast” while Adventists alone have earned the “seal of God” through their loyalty to His Sabbath.

In all honesty it should be admitted that some Adventists’ extravagant interpretations of Revelation 12:17 and 14:6-12 have provided grounds for this view. Seventh-day Adventists do believe that there are “special truths for today” which it is their mission to proclaim. Although holding that the prophecy of Revelation 12:17 “points to the experience and work of the

Seventh-day Adventist Church," Adventists "do not believe that we alone constitute the true children of God—that we are the only true Christians—on earth today." Yet they expect that as they proclaim "God's last testing truths," His true children from all Christian communions will be drawn "into that prophetically foretold company making ready for the day of God."¹

Conditioned by their understanding of the eschatological prophecies of Revelation 13-17, Adventists "anticipated Roman Catholic world dominion" just preceding the second advent. Further they expected American Protestants would be "foremost in stretching their hands across the gulf to grasp the hand of Spiritualism," while at the same time reaching "over the abyss to clasp hands with the Roman power; and under the influence of this threefold union, this country [the United States] will follow in the steps of Rome in trampling on the rights of conscience." Determined to have no part in such a "Babylonish" apostasy, Adventists have viewed Protestant ecumenism with suspicion as part of the prelude to America's forming an image to the Roman "beast." Ellen White warned that when this happened "the infliction of civil penalties upon dissenters will inevitably result."²

While Adventists have expected a universal Sunday law at the end of time, they have been less certain just what form it would take. In the United States an amalgam of Sunday laws has been on state statute books since colonial days. The earliest, promulgated in Virginia in 1619, required Sunday church attendance; most have proscribed a variety of activities considered to profane the day of worship. For nearly a hundred years after the federal Constitution forbade Congress to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," most state Sunday "blue" laws were seldom enforced. However, in the final two decades of the nineteenth century a significant number of Adventists were prosecuted for Sunday labor—enough to call forth the formation of the Religious Liberty Association with its journal, *The American Sentinel*.

Adventists considered Sunday laws as essentially religious and a violation of both the United States Constitution and Christ's injunction in Matthew 22:21 to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Still in 1902 Ellen White counseled her fellow believers not to antagonize other Christians and thus impair their witness to them by flagrant Sunday-law violations. It would be better, where persecution threatened, to devote the first day of the week to missionary rather than secular activities.

By the early years of the twentieth century Sunday was becoming simply a secular holiday in the eyes of many Americans. Thus when Congress considered several Sunday-rest bills for the District of Columbia in 1903, there was as much agitation for such legislation from grocers and butchers anxious for a day free from work, without having to worry

about competitors absorbing their trade, as there was from church leaders. Whatever the justification for such proposed laws, Adventists successfully opposed them because of the religious connotations. They were joined by most of the capital city's press and many influential citizens who feared an outburst of religious intolerance.³

Fear that a Congressional Sunday law for the District of Columbia would establish a precedent for the entire country stirred Adventists to launch both an extensive petition campaign and a new journal. *Liberty*, founded in 1906 as a quarterly, was designed to replace the *Sentinel of Christian Liberty* (successor to *The American Sentinel*), which had been allowed to lapse in 1904. Expanded into a bimonthly in 1959, *Liberty* by the mid-1970s had a circulation approaching half a million copies per issue.

Contrary to Adventists' fears, there was virtually no expansion of Sunday blue laws or prosecution of their violators during the first half of the twentieth century. During the 1920s and 30s, calendar reform seemed a more lively threat to sabbatarians. Then as fears of communist domination became widespread in the late 1940s, a new thought occurred to Adventists. Might Sunday observance become "the symbol of a national religious revival to counter the new paganism undermining Christian society"?

Sunday Legislation

With this thought in mind Adventists reacted vigorously against the new wave of Sunday-law proposals and arrests that developed during the 1950s. The main impetus behind this increased legislation and enforcement came from business interests reacting to what they considered the "unfair" competition of the "discount stores" that began to spring up on the outskirts of American cities. These stores added Sunday hours to their advantages of lower taxes and plentiful parking facilities, much to the distress of downtown merchants who were hard pressed to compete. Labor leaders, anxious to cut back on the length of the work week, were quick to support the merchants. Adventists detected the buildup of an ominous coalition in support of Sunday laws—this time operating under the façade of social and economic rather than religious interests.

The seriousness of this Sunday-law threat became evident to Adventist leaders when in 1958 the New York legislature turned down a request from the state's influential Jewish mercantile community for exemption for Orthodox Jewish merchants who observed Saturday and did not feel they should also be forced to stay closed on Sunday.⁴ Adventists were particularly concerned because the United States Supreme Court refused to review Sunday-law convictions on the grounds that the First Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of religion, did not apply. The court assumed that current Sunday laws were examples of social rather than religious legislation. This attitude stirred Adventist leaders to launch a new drive to educate the general public to Sunday laws as threats

to religious and individual liberties. They were helped by the inconsistencies in many Sunday laws. In some areas it was possible to sell tobacco on Sundays but not milk. Businesses that depended heavily on weekend vacationers were especially hurt.

At last, contradictory rulings on the part of two federal district courts forced the United States Supreme Court to abandon its fifty-year policy of refusing to review Sunday-law cases. A federal court in Pennsylvania upheld the state's Sunday-closing law when it was challenged by both Philadelphia's Orthodox Jewish merchants and the proprietors of a large discount chain. In Massachusetts a similar court declared that state's Sunday-closing law invalid when it was challenged by an Orthodox Jewish kosher supermarket.

Delighted at the prospect of a Supreme Court ruling, Adventist leaders secured permission to file an *amicus curiae* brief with the court in support of those who were challenging Sunday laws. This brief enunciated Adventists' reasons for considering Sunday laws as basically tending to force religious conformity and outlined the church's fears that these laws would lead to religious persecution. The attorneys representing Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, however, argued that the laws were a proper exercise of the state's police powers; they were basically designed to protect the citizens' health, welfare, and safety rather than to promote religious worship.

The Supreme Court's decision in 1961 proved a great disappointment to Adventist church members. Although the court majority admitted the religious origins of Sunday laws, it decided that their current purpose was simply to provide all citizens with a uniform rest day. Admittedly this made sabbatarian observance more costly, but that was not sufficient grounds for invalidating the laws. Even more disturbing to Adventists was the court's refusal to endorse exemption or one-day-in-seven closing laws because this would limit a state's right to provide a day free from commercial noise and activity.

Agitation for more Sunday laws appeared in widely scattered parts of the nation in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision. The Lord's Day Alliance, an interdenominational organization dedicated to promoting Sunday worship, and a number of Catholic clergymen were active in promoting more stringent Sunday laws in the nation's most populous states. A reaction led by disgruntled retailers, tourists, and civil libertarians quickly developed. Judges took very differing attitudes toward imposing penalties on persons charged with Sunday law violations. The fines levied varied widely. "In terms of sheer economics, chaos reigned. Exemptions and exceptions seemed arbitrary and capricious," it was said.

As public reaction swung against Sunday-closing laws, more and more states either enacted exemption clauses to protect sabbatarians or stopped enforcement altogether. Yet when the Massachusetts Senate included an exemption for sabbatarians in its Sunday law, a vigorous campaign led by

an influential Roman Catholic newspaper, *The Pilot*, led to reconsideration and the exemption's defeat. To Adventists this was clear evidence of future Catholic intentions.

Although the United States Supreme Court refused to change its view that Sunday laws were essentially "social and welfare enactments," it did rule in 1963 that state regulations regarding unemployment compensation could not penalize sabbatarians. The case at issue involved a Seventh-day Adventist woman in South Carolina who had been denied unemployment benefits because she refused a job requiring Saturday work. This, the Court held, was an unconstitutional penalization of a person because of her religion.

Since 1965 agitation for Sunday laws has been relatively quiescent throughout the United States, although the energy crisis of 1973 "triggered a precipitate rush to secure stronger Sunday-closing laws in many states." Quick and strong protests by local-conference religious liberty secretaries and church members helped defeat these proposals in Indiana and California. The Ohio legislature even rescinded its Sunday-closing law. A decade earlier the Presbyterian General Assembly had gone on record as opposing enforcement of Sunday laws by government officials. Adventists observed that, so far at least, many fellow Christians in other denominations were as committed to church-state separation and religious liberty as they were.⁵

One of the side effects of Sunday-law agitation in the late nineteenth century had been the disruption of the natural alliance between Adventists and church groups interested in temperance. During the 1870s Ellen White had spoken at a variety of temperance rallies, and Adventists had cooperated with the "dry" forces in local-option campaigns. But the evangelical forces opposed to liquor also favored Sunday laws; frequently they saw legislation to close saloons on Sunday as the first step in their campaign for prohibition. Adventists, on the other hand, wanted nothing to do with any kind of Sunday law even if it had so good an objective as limiting liquor sales. This made them frequently the incongruous and uncomfortable allies of the liquor interests.

Resolving the Temperance Issue

Sincere non-Adventist temperance advocates found it difficult to understand the Adventist position. Saloons were particularly harmful on Sundays, they reasoned, because so large a part of the population had the leisure on that day to patronize the liquor emporiums. Surely good temperance people should favor the Sunday closing of saloons! In Adventist eyes this was a poor argument. By prohibiting labor on Sunday these laws contributed to the very leisure that sent people to saloons on that day, they pointed out. With perhaps more than a shade of spiritual pride, they noted that *they* opposed the sale of liquor on all days of the week. It was easy to see who were really the better temperance advocates!

As the drive for first state-wide, then national, prohibition accelerated just prior to World War I, the situation began to change. Temperance organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League dropped their patronage of Sunday laws, and Adventists became enthusiastic supporters of their efforts to rouse popular support for prohibition. Although some cynics questioned how Adventists could favor a moral reform like prohibition while opposing what to them seemed moral Sunday laws, church leaders saw a definite difference. Liquor consumption affected man's relations to his fellowmen; thus as a social problem it was a fitting subject for state regulation. Sunday laws, on the other hand, sought to regulate a relationship between man and God. This made them purely religious and hence outside the jurisdiction of the state.

Charles S. Longacre played a key role in the rapprochement that developed between Adventists and other Christian groups that favored prohibition. Longacre had joined the General Conference Religious Liberty Department in 1913. Soon he was also made chairman of the denomination's temperance committee. In this capacity he regularly represented Adventists at national conventions of the Anti-Saloon League; three times he served as chairman of these conventions. Longacre became the good friend of some of the progressive members of both political parties who were temperance advocates, notably William Jennings Bryan and Gifford Pinchot. Temperance-minded members of other Protestant churches found in Longacre a dedicated opponent of Sunday laws who could also be a most persuasive campaigner for prohibition. He did much to change the negative attitude of many conservative Christians toward Seventh-day Adventists.⁶

Church and State

Longacre was involved also in the preliminary discussions that led in the winter of 1947-48 to the founding of Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State. A number of thoughtful American church leaders had become concerned lest the historic separation of church and state in the United States be eroded through a combination of public apathy and efforts on the part of Roman Catholics to obtain government funds for their parochial schools. These leaders had viewed the increasing involvement of the Catholic hierarchy in matters of public interest with alarm ever since President Franklin Roosevelt had appointed Myron Taylor as his personal representative to Pope Pius XII during the troubled days of World War II.

Long concerned for the cause of religious liberty and fearful of Catholic intentions to subvert it, Adventists were only too happy to support Protestants and Other Americans United. Dr. Frank H. Yost, an associate secretary of the General Conference Religious Liberty Department, became a member of the Protestants and Other Americans United original execu-

tive committee along with such prominent churchmen as Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; Charles Clayton Morrison, long-time *Christian Century* editor; and Louie D. Newton, president of the Southern Baptist Convention. Other Adventists—President Alvin W. Johnson of Emmanuel Missionary College and Religious Liberty secretary H. H. Votaw—served on the initial National Advisory Council of Protestants and Other Americans United.

When Protestants and Other Americans United held its first national conference in Washington, D.C., in January 1949, Dr. Yost served as the conference's program chairman; Dr. Johnson gave one of the principal addresses on Religion and the Public Schools. Johnson and Yost's book, *Separation of Church and State in the United States* (1948), was one of three basic texts recommended for use by local Protestants and Other Americans United study groups. In the spring of 1950, Protestants and Other Americans United recognized Adventists' persistent efforts in defense of church-state separation when it granted Washington Missionary College \$100 to establish the first Protestants and Other Americans United scholarship designed to encourage college students to make "specialized inquiries into church-state relations."⁷

Throughout the late 1940s and early 50s, Adventists cooperated with Protestants and Other Americans United leaders in opposing transportation of parochial-school students at state expense and the practice of "released time" in which clergy were allowed to come into public schools during the regular school day and give religious instruction. Although the United States Supreme Court eventually ruled "released time" programs unconstitutional, it later approved a "dismissed time" plan that allowed students to leave school early in order to attend religious instruction in nonpublic facilities. The court also decided by a 5-4 margin that public transportation might properly be provided to parochial-school students.

Government Aid to Parochial Schools

Debate over federal aid became exceptionally vigorous when in 1949 Rep. G. A. Barden introduced legislation to make \$300 million available for public schools, but specifically excluded parochial schools from this grant. New York's Francis Cardinal Spellman led a Catholic campaign to get a share of this money for parochial schools. When Protestants and Other Americans United officials and the Adventist's *Liberty* magazine were joined by Eleanor Roosevelt in support of the Barden Bill, Spellman labeled them "un-American." Catholics claimed their members were forced to pay "double taxes" because they must support parochial schools in addition to paying local school taxes. Adventists argued that a major purpose of parochial schools was to make church members. They gladly assumed the burden for their schools and saw no reason why their Catholic fellow-citizens should not do the same—an argument Protestants and Other Americans United officials vigorously applauded.

As the federal government made more and more funds available in the form of research grants to colleges and universities and expansion grants to hospitals, several Adventist institutions applied for and accepted these funds. Institutional leaders reasoned in the first instance that they were simply selling services to the government. As far as hospital funds were concerned, the argument advanced was that Adventist hospitals were largely "public-service" rather than "proselytizing" institutions. Thus they could accept tax money because of the secular benefits the public received. The strong advocates of complete church-state separation who controlled Protestants and Other Americans United disagreed and criticized Adventist willingness to "compromise" their traditional principles for immediate gain. In general the church's Religious Liberty Department sided with Protestants and Other Americans United officials; they were unhappy with Adventist school and hospital administrators' willingness (some felt eagerness) to dip into the public till.

The 1962 Supreme Court case outlawing the recitation of a state-composed prayer in New York's public schools won the support of both Protestants and Other Americans United officials and Adventist leaders, as did a decision the following year prohibiting required Bible reading in public schools. These court decisions were widely criticized by many Catholic and Protestant Americans. Some claimed the Supreme Court was joining in a campaign to turn the nation's schools into agencies for promoting atheistic communism. Neither Adventists nor Protestants and Other Americans United officials were impressed with this argument. The home and church were the proper places for religious indoctrination, they held. To entrust these functions to the public schools was to contribute to the development of a state religion in which God was likely to be pictured as the "'Great American' leading . . . His 'chosen people' in a holy crusade against the infidel."

Throughout the 1960s and 70s Protestants and Other Americans United continued to fight the same basic battles against government aid to parochial schools, released time, and so on. In 1972, in an attempt to broaden its base, it changed its name to Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Its leaders hoped this name would be less offensive to Catholics, Jews, or atheists who shared their basic views on church-state relations, but might be offended at the name "Protestant" in the organization's title.

Individual Adventists have continued close ties with Americans United although the general church body has never officially endorsed its program or activities. In 1976 two members of the General Conference Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department served as the secretary and the treasurer of Americans United. The unofficial alliance seemed to profit both groups. Adventist experience and energy proved useful to their partners to maintain church-state separation, and they gave added weight to basic Adventist positions, including opposition to Sunday laws.⁸

Ecumenism

Although Seventh-day Adventists have worked closely and well with other Christian churches and groups in the pursuit of common goals such as prohibition and religious liberty, they have consistently refrained from participation in the formal ecumenical movement. This movement began in the nineteenth century as various Protestant churches started to cooperate in programs of social service such as the Young Men's Christian Association and foreign-missionary endeavors.

In 1908 twenty-five denominations with a combined membership approximating two thirds of all Protestant church members in the United States created the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Almost immediately this organization began to support various types of social and political reforms. From the start Adventists held aloof. Not only were they sure it was impossible to create the kingdom of Christ on earth through church agitation and government legislation, but also they feared the potential role ecumenism might play in last-day events.

Without doubt the Adventist reaction to the Federal Council of Churches was heavily influenced by one of the resolutions the delegates passed at its organizing session. This called for promoting "the Scriptural observance of *the first day of the week* as the sacred day" and "working for such legislation as may be secured to protect and preserve this bulwark of our American Christianity." When one of the delegates, recognizing the presence in the council of Seventh Day Baptists, offered an amendment to the effect that this was in no way to interfere with the convictions of those brethren "who consistently observe the seventh instead of the first day of the week as the day of rest and worship," a stormy debate broke out. The observer from the *Review* felt nothing else in the discussion had moved the participants so strongly. The amendment was overwhelmingly defeated, leading the *Review* to observe that "the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has placed itself on record as rejecting the seventh-day Sabbath enjoined in the fourth commandment, and substituting in its place the first day of the week, and has declared in favor of enforcing the observance of this man-made institution by securing legislation in its favor." The *Review* expected a union of church and state and subsequent persecution "in the near future."⁹

Although their immediate expectations were not realized, Adventists were no less suspicious of the formation of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948. The *Review's* correspondent at Amsterdam felt it was "not at all inconceivable that the associated churches could be led into unbiblical lines of development which have little respect for the great principles of Protestantism and thus the World Council could become a powerful weapon against rather than for the truth of God." In view of this possibility Seventh-day Adventists could hardly entertain any thoughts of joining.

The events at Amsterdam were significant to Adventists because they saw the World Council of Churches as "likely to become stabilized as a non-Roman federation of churches of the West." "The prophetic Word," they were certain, "has not a little to say concerning the rise of ecclesiastical grouping, contemporary with, but separate from, the great Roman church in the last days." Adventists' prophetic interpretation of Revelation 17 colored even the language of the *Review's* reporting of Amsterdam. "The harlot mother [Roman Catholics] was not there," readers were told, "but the World Council was very conscious of her."¹⁰

Interestingly enough, in the two short years between the formation of the World Council of Churches and the reorganization of the Federal Council into the National Council of Churches of Christ in America (1950), Adventist leaders underwent a change of attitude. In explaining why Seventh-day Adventists could not join the National Council, *Review* editor F. D. Nichol emphatically stated that it was not "because we think that the Protestant leaders who created it are evil men with a sinister, long-range plan to dominate the religious world and drive out all who differ with them." Nor did Adventists believe the National Council's leadership was communistic or socialistic, as some opponents claimed. Nichol gave a hint as to the reason behind the modified Adventist attitude when he said, "A mood of suspicion and evil imputation can serve only to erect an inseparable barrier between us and those whom we believe God intends us to reach with a special message for these days."

Nichol's justification for Adventists' standing apart from the National Council was based on the biblical question, "Can two walk together unless they be agreed?" The *Review* editor obviously felt the answer was No! He pointed out a number of areas of basic disagreement including (1) the interpretation of the Genesis stories of creation and the flood in a literal or figurative way, (2) the view of God as One who might periodically choose to break into human history in a miraculous way, (3) faith in a social-gospel type of reformation of mankind, (4) the Sabbath, its origin, purpose, and perpetuity, (5) the nature of man and his state in death, (6) the imminence and prime importance of the second advent, and (7) Adventist emphasis on prophecy, including the conviction that Adventists were prophetically portrayed in Revelation 14 as having a commission to call God's people into a special reformatory work at the end of time.¹¹

Variant interpretations of Scripture was not the only factor that kept Adventists from active participation in the ecumenical movement. Since cooperation rather than competition was the goal of the National and World Councils, they promoted the plan of dividing non-Christian areas of the world into subdivisions assigned exclusively to individual denominational mission boards. Adventists, with their concept of a worldwide commission, could not accept the idea of being "frozen out" of large areas of the world. The whole spirit of ecumenism was also against one church seeking converts from other Christian communions, yet Adventists felt

called to awaken all of God's children to specific truths. As Nichol himself said, Adventists were commissioned to sound the call "come out," not "come in."

Although Adventists were thrilled at the World Council's interest in and emphasis on the second advent at its Evanston, Illinois, assembly in 1954, they saw council leaders in subsequent years turning more and more from discussion of basic salvation doctrines to economic, political, and social issues. For most Adventists this was a dangerous detour they did not wish to take.

Adventists were quite willing to admit that the ecumenical movement produced beneficial side effects. In 1960, for instance, the World Council encouraged its member churches to place greater emphasis upon Bible study. There was also increasing interest in biblical studies within the Catholic Church. This showed up when the Vatican II Council reversed the policy of centuries by recommending Bible reading to all faithful church members. As dedicated Bible scholars, Adventists welcomed this new interest which, they felt sure, would ease the way to their proclamation of the three angels' messages.¹²

Although he did not favor formal Adventist membership in the major ecumenical bodies, F. D. Nichol frankly encouraged his fellow believers to join other Christians wherever possible in humanitarian endeavors and in efforts to improve the moral tone of their communities. He also recommended joining in specially proclaimed days of prayer or joint services of praise and thanksgiving. Following Ellen White's counsels, many Adventist pastors joined local ministerial associations and profited from meeting with fellow clergymen. Local contacts such as these, Nichol felt, were essential to dispel the notion that Adventists were a pharisaical, "holier-than-thou" people.

The General Conference also maintained an affiliation with several subdivisions of the National Council of Churches. Although Adventists discontinued formal membership on the Foreign Mission Conference of North America when it became the National Council's Division of Foreign Missions in 1950, denominational leaders arranged to continue as consultants, without vote or responsibility, but profiting from the exchange of information and ideas. Adventists did accept membership on the National Council's Broadcasting and Film Commission. Very real advantages accrued in the form of information on broadcasting opportunities, costs, and technical problems.

As the National or World Councils developed other technical commissions or committees whose expertise proved useful in the Adventist world mission, church leaders worked out arrangements for limited participation in these groups. The Church World Service Commission, which attempted to coordinate humanitarian efforts in the wake of natural disasters or war, was one of these. Another involved the production of films and visual aids. It seemed logical for Adventists to join an interchurch commit-

tee promoting religious liberty. The General Conference also found a technical commission dealing with the transfer and investment of church funds helpful. In 1965 European Adventist leaders began an annual exchange of views with personnel from World Council headquarters. A major result has been a more favorable image of Adventists in the eyes of many other Christian leaders.¹³

More intimate contacts with various ecumenical bodies did not substantially alter Adventists' views as to the probable end result of this "unity" movement within Christianity. During the 1960s and 70s they watched and speculated as to the significance of Anglican, Eastern Orthodox, and Lutheran overtures to Catholicism. They were fascinated as the Roman Church reciprocated by inviting Protestant observers to attend its great Vatican II Council and even provided opportunity for them to express their viewpoints on matters under discussion. When in 1965 Cardinal Bea met with World Council leaders in Geneva to establish a joint study group of Catholics and Protestants to explore areas of harmony and agreement, many Adventists saw the final prophecies of Revelation in process of fulfillment.¹⁴

Although Adventist leaders expected the ecumenical movement to end in repression and persecution of nonconformists like themselves, they were anxious to avoid condemnation based on a misunderstanding of their theological positions. Yet several basic misconceptions seemed to surface regularly in Protestant circles. The most prominent of these concerned the nature of Christ, His atoning work, and the basis for the individual sinner's salvation.

Clarifying Misconceptions

During the mid-1950s Adventist efforts to correct misstatements and misconceptions culminated in the preparation of a nearly 700-page book, *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*. The first precipitating incident arose from an editorial comment by the noted Bible scholar, Dr. E. Schuyler English, in the evangelical journal *Our Hope*. English remarked that Seventh-day Adventists "deny Christ's deity" and disparage His person and work. Friendly correspondence with L. E. Fromm of the General Conference revealed that English had based his statement largely on a passage that had for many years appeared in the widely circulated Adventist book, *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*. This declared that during His incarnation, Christ "partook of our sinful, fallen nature."

The *Bible Readings* phrase that troubled Dr. English had troubled many Adventist theologians for years. During the 1940s, following careful study, the General Conference leadership had decided to issue a revision and updating of Uriah Smith's standard *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*. They decided not to alter any of Smith's distinctive prophetic interpretations, even though in some details these no longer represented

the consensus of more recent Adventist commentators. They *did* decide to eliminate several passages that revealed Smith's Arian concepts of the nature of Christ, since these were directly contrary to Ellen White statements and the published beliefs of the church. In 1949, during a revision of *Bible Readings*, the phrase to which Dr. English objected had also been eliminated as incorrectly expressing the views of most Adventists.

Dr. Froom assured English that Seventh-day Adventists agreed with him that although Christ "was perfect in His humanity . . . He was none the less God" and as such "did not partake of the fallen sinful nature of other men." Froom went on to put Adventists on record as believing "in salvation solely through grace by faith, all and only in Christ—good works following after salvation as the fruitage and evidence of its genuineness." As a result of his correspondence with Froom, Dr. English apologized in *Our Hope* for his misstatements regarding Adventist beliefs. Although noting that he was "not in accord with some of the doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventists," English expressed satisfaction with their biblical view of the nature of Christ and the efficacy of His atoning sacrifice.¹⁵

Several years before the English-Froom exchanges, a friendly letter from an Adventist administrator to Dr. Donald Grey Barnhouse, leading Philadelphia Presbyterian pastor, and editor of the influential *Eternity Magazine*, initiated what was to prove an even more far-reaching train of events. T. E. Unruh, president of the East Pennsylvania Conference, had listened to a series of radio broadcasts on the book of Romans by Dr. Barnhouse. At the conclusion of the series Unruh wrote an appreciative note to Barnhouse, "commending him on the Biblical soundness and spiritual helpfulness" of his presentation of the doctrine of righteousness by faith. Barnhouse's reply indicated astonishment that an Adventist could commend the views he had expressed since "it was well-known that Adventists believed in righteousness by works."

Thinking that Ellen White's *Steps to Christ* might help dispel some of Barnhouse's misconceptions, Unruh mailed him a copy. A few months later Dr. Barnhouse "sharply criticized *Steps to Christ* and its author in *Eternity*." Disillusioned, Unruh made no further effort to pursue his contacts with Barnhouse. Yet the editor of *Eternity* did not forget Unruh; several years later he gave his name to an associate, Walter Martin, a specialist in non-Christian cults who had been commissioned to write a book about Seventh-day Adventists.

Martin contacted Unruh, asking for copies of the "most representative and authoritative" books on Adventist doctrines. He also requested a series of interviews with responsible Adventist leaders who could answer a series of questions he had composed. Martin was frank to state that he was preparing a book against Adventism's "doctrinal errors." He desired, however, to be fair and get the "full facts" before attacking his assignment.

The books were of course provided, and a series of conferences was arranged between Martin and four Adventist leaders: Unruh, Froom,

Ministerial Association secretary R. A. Anderson, and General Conference field secretary W. E. Read. These conferences (ranging in length from one to three days) stretched out over a period of eighteen months. Martin was generally accompanied by Dr. George Cannon, professor of Greek at an evangelical Bible college. Two of the meetings took place in the home of Dr. Barnhouse, with Barnhouse an active participant.

In the course of his conversations with the Adventist representatives, Walter Martin's early antagonism underwent a profound change. He became persuaded that Adventists were "born-again Christians and truly brethren in Christ." The meetings in Dr. Barnhouse's home persuaded Barnhouse and his son, an adviser on the staff of Billy Graham's evangelistic crusades, that they, too, had held many misconceptions of Adventist teachings concerning Christ, the efficacy of His atonement on the cross, and the relationship between faith and works. The younger Barnhouse persuaded his father that justice demanded that they report their changed views in the columns of *Eternity*. Dr. Barnhouse agreed, although both he and his son knew that many of their subscribers with strong anti-Adventist prejudices would surely be displeased.

In the fall of 1956 the senior Barnhouse and Martin published a series of articles on Adventism in *Eternity*. In this series they argued that Adventists had been misunderstood; although they "held many strange views at odds with orthodox Christianity, yet on the essentials of the deity of Christ, the sinfulness of man and the efficacy of the atonement, the basic SDA teaching was within the bounds of Biblical orthodoxy." More than one sixth of the approximately 35,000 *Eternity* subscribers canceled their subscriptions in protest.¹⁶

As Walter Martin's understanding of Seventh-day Adventist theology increased, the questions he submitted to his Adventist contacts became more friendly and serious. As a researcher he still was anxious to secure as complete a picture of Adventist doctrines as possible. To facilitate this, the three General Conference leaders he met with prepared written answers to his questions. These were approved by a supervising committee chaired by General Conference president R. R. Figuhr before being passed on to Martin. Later they were sent out for comment and criticism to more than 200 leading Adventist administrators, Bible teachers, and editors. Eventually they appeared in 1957 as *Questions on Doctrine*.

From the start Martin's Adventist informants had emphasized that "practically all Seventh-day Adventist beliefs are held by one or more Christian groups." They identified nineteen as generally shared by most conservative Protestants. These included (1) an omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, eternal Creator-God, (2) the Trinity, (3) the Bible as the "sole rule of faith and practice" (4) the "vicarious, atoning death of Jesus Christ," (5) "a premillennial, personal, imminent second advent," (6) "salvation through Christ by grace alone," and (7) a final judgment of all men. Twelve Adventist doctrines were identified as being "one of two or

more alternate views" held among conservative Christians. These included: (1) man's free choice rather than predestination, (2) baptism by immersion, (3) conditional immortality, (4) the seventh-day Sabbath, (5) creation in six literal days, and (6) abstinence from alcohol and tobacco. Five doctrines were held to be distinctively Seventh-day Adventist. These were: (1) that there are two distinctive phases to Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, (2) that there is an investigative judgment, (3) that the prophetic gift was manifested in the work and writings of Ellen G. White, (4) that the seal of God and mark of the beast "are the symbols of the opposing forces of good and evil in the last great conflict," and (5) that the three angels' messages portrayed in Revelation 14 represent "the proclamation of God's last message to the world."¹⁷

When Walter Martin's *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* appeared in 1960, it carried an introductory statement by H. W. Lowe, chairman of the General Conference Biblical Study and Research Group. Lowe indicated appreciation for "the kindly Christian attitude" in which the book was written and also for the fact that the author had come "directly to Seventh-day Adventists in a sincere desire to study fully at firsthand what they really do believe." Since Martin had a different set of theological beliefs, he was naturally critical of those Adventist doctrines with which he disagreed. Yet his book did clear up many misconceptions about Adventists in evangelical circles. In one of his concluding paragraphs Martin urged "those who have further questions on Adventism to read *Questions on Doctrine*." Many have apparently done this, for references to the book appeared with increasing frequency in evaluations of Adventism by non-Adventists during the 1960s.

Not only did *Questions on Doctrine* prove useful to other Christians and to Jews, but it was said to have had a unifying and stabilizing influence in the Adventist clergy and seminarians throughout the world. Inevitably there was some intra-Adventist criticism of the book and objection to the way in which it was prepared. Some even thought that the General Conference leadership was "revising" major aspects of Adventist theology. The most vocal critic was M. L. Andreasen, long-time educator, and for many years a respected instructor in the Adventist Seminary.

Andreasen claimed to have discovered seventeen "divergencies" from accepted Seventh-day Adventist doctrine in *Questions on Doctrine*. In the main these clustered around the role of Christ as priest, a complete atonement being made at the cross, and the divine-human nature of Christ. Rashly he accused church leaders of a plan to revise Ellen White's writings in an attempt to harmonize them with their changed views. This charge was capably refuted by A. V. Olson, then serving as chairman of the Ellen G. White Trustees.¹⁸ Although some church members were disturbed by Andreasen's charges, most were too busy devising new ways of witnessing to the imminence of the Advent. The role played by laymen in proclaiming the messages of the three angels was greatly expanding.

Suggested Reading:

Seventh-day Adventists' eschatological concerns about the eventual union of Catholic and Protestant forces pressuring the state into persecuting those who insist on keeping God's commandments come through well in E. Syme's "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts on Church and State," Ph.D. dissertation, American University (1969), of which pages 151-308 are especially relevant to this chapter. For an Adventist perspective on the Ecumenical Movement, see B. Beach, *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* (1974) and *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (1968). L. Froom provides a participant's view of the Martin-Barnhouse conversations with representative Adventist leaders in *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 465-492, as does T. E. Unruh in "The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conference of 1955-1956," *Adventist Heritage*, IV (Winter 1977): 35-46. Students will get the best understanding of the points at issue between Adventists and other conservative Christians by examining *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (1957) and W. Martin's *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* (1960). In *Doctrinal Discussion* (n.d.) the Ministerial Association has collected relevant essays by top Adventist theologians designed to answer Martin's major criticisms of Adventist beliefs.

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1. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (1957), pp. 16, 186-196. There are many polemic anti-Adventist works. One of the most temperate and recent is W. Martin, *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* (1960), *passim*.
 2. E. Syme, "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts of Church and State," Ph.D. dissertation, American University (1969), p. 211; E. White, *The Great Controversy* (1911), pp. 445, 588.
 3. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1436, 1437; Syme, pp. 151, 152, 159, 160.
 4. Syme, pp. 160, 161, 213, 234-238; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 785, 1320.
 5. Syme, pp. 238-253, 294-296; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1437-1439.
 6. Syme, pp. 151-186; N. Krum, *Charles A. Longacre: Champion of Religious Liberty* (1959), pp. 64, 65, 86-92.
 7. W. Hoffer, "Americans United," *Liberty*, November-December 1973, pp. 12-16; M. F. Beasley, "Pressure Group Persuasion: Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, 1947-1968," Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University (1970), pp. 14-28; *Church and State Newsletter*, January 1949, p. 1; June 1949, p. 4; May 1950, p. 1.
 8. Syme, pp. 259-282; *Church and State*, July-August 1976, p. 3.
 9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 410; *Review and Herald*, December 17, 1908, p. 4; December 24, 1908, p. 4; December 31, 1908, pp. 3, 4; January 7, 1909, pp. 3, 4.
 10. H. Lowe, "Ecumenical Movement Afterthoughts," *The Ministry*, June 1937, pp. 20, 21; July 1937, pp. 17, 42; W. Emerson, "Spotlight on Amsterdam," *Review*, September 23, 1948, p. 7; October 7, 1948, p. 9; December 9, 1948, p. 17.
 11. F. Nichol, *Review*, January 4, 1951, p. 3; January 11, 1951, pp. 13, 14; January 18, 1951, pp. 12, 13.
 12. *Review*, August 3, 1961, pp. 6-8; January 4, 1962, p. 12; July 16, 1964, pp. 15, 16; March 18, 1965, pp. 14, 15; B. Beach, *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (1968), p. 54.
 13. *Review*, December 2, 1965, pp. 13, 14; December 9, 1965, p. 13; October 9, 1969, pp. 6-8; *Ecumenical Review*, April 1972, pp. 200-207.
 14. *Review*, January 14, 1960, pp. 3, 4; November 8, 1962, p. 12; November 22, 1962, p. 8; January 23, 1964, p. 4; February 25, 1965, p. 12; March 3, 1966, p. 13; June 27, 1974, pp. 1, 8; Beach, pp. 332-336.
 15. L. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (1971), pp. 422-428, 468-472.
 16. Froom, pp. 476-480; T. E. Unruh, "The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences of 1955-1956," *Adventist Heritage*, IV (Winter 1977): 35-46; W. Peterson, "25 Years of Eternity," *Eternity*, April 1975, p. 62.
 17. Froom, pp. 480, 481; *Questions on Doctrine*, pp. 7-10, 21-25.
 18. Unruh, pp. 45, 46; Froom, pp. 488-492; Martin, pp. 15, 239; Document File 961, Ellen G. White Estate.

CHAPTER 33

The Expanding Role of Laymen

How was such a small group to carry the message God had entrusted especially to it “to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people”? To sit and contemplate the task was to be overwhelmed by its magnitude. Were the new technological marvels of radio and television the answer to the problem of reaching into every city, town, and rural community with the three angels’ messages? Some thought so. Others thought these media too impersonal.

From the start Adventism’s leaders had been certain that their job required the active participation of every believer. With few denominational employees in the early years, it was easier for each Adventist to feel his *personal* responsibility to witness. If he or she did not do so, who would? And in these decades of every-member involvement, the church grew at a phenomenal rate—more than 430 percent between 1870 and 1900. By 1900, however, the church had developed a host of specialized institutions and an expanding number of pastors, evangelists, and departmental administrators. It became easier for both membership and clergy to think of workers drawing denominational salaries as the ones with the special responsibility for promulgating Adventism. And the rate of church membership growth slowed appreciably to a little less than 185 percent in the years 1900-1930. It dipped even lower, to 167 percent, between 1930 and 1960.

A few years before her death Ellen White had expressed her strong conviction as to the need for the involvement of every member in the active proclamation of Adventism. “The work of God in this earth can never be finished,” she wrote, “until the men and women comprising our church membership rally to the work, and unite their efforts with those of

ministers and church officers.” Speaking of the role of pastors, she observed, “The minister should at first seek not so much to convert unbelievers, as to train the church members . . . to work for others.”¹

Since organizing the Home Missionary Department as a subsidiary of the Publishing Department in 1913, the General Conference had carried on an active program aimed at encouraging all Adventists to become active propagandists for their faith. Part—sometimes a major part—of weekly missionary meetings was devoted to recording the number of missionary activities (e.g., hours of Christian help work, literature distributed, Bible readings held) each member had engaged in during the preceding week. While this encouraged emulation and thus served as a stimulus to many persons, it also provided ground for some in “Laodicea” to consider themselves rich in good works.

Aids to Personal Evangelism

In 1922 the Home Missionary Department produced a small textbook entitled, *The Art of Giving Bible Studies*. Over the next two decades local pastors and missionary leaders conducted hundreds of classes based on this text. By 1930 Bible studies were available on filmstrips for use by the timid. The *Lay Preacher Manual* was produced in 1934, followed by the *Lay Preachers' Magazine* three years later.

A major effort to involve every church member in lay evangelism was launched in 1950. On three special “Visitation” Sabbaths, Seventh-day Adventists were encouraged to make calls in their community, going in pairs. They distributed specially prepared tracts, had prayer in the homes visited, and hopefully sparked a spiritual interest in many. This method was used again and again throughout the '50s and '60s.

Inspiration received at a North American Division Laymen's Congress held in Grand Ledge, Michigan, in 1951 was partially responsible for the simultaneous launching of 4237 lay evangelistic crusades on Sunday, November 11, 1951. Over the next few years similar congresses held by local and union conferences, or on a regional basis, were popular. New approaches, such as the “Gift Bible” and “religious census” means of discovering interested persons, were frequently introduced at these gatherings. Attention was given also to contacting special categories of persons such as those in prison or those in the Adventist radio audience. With the rapid expansion of Bible correspondence courses in the 1940s, a new avenue for witnessing opened. Members could distribute invitations for these free home-study courses; later they could hold Bible studies with persons who completed a course or who developed questions from their study.²

What was the effect of all of these programs and training institutes? Certainly the Lay Activities Department (as it was renamed in 1966) compiled impressive statistics annually. Hundreds of thousands of Bible studies, hours of “Christian help work,” and missionary contacts were

reported; thousands of additions to the Seventh-day Adventist Church were traced to the evangelistic endeavors of laymen. Yet in 1970 a survey revealed that "in North America barely 65 percent of the population has ever heard about Seventh-day Adventism, and only a fraction of them has heard God's particular message of salvation and warning." In other parts of the world the situation was even more discouraging.

Success in Witnessing

That is looking on the dark side. The brighter side reveals myriads of lives changed through the efforts of dedicated laymen. Practically every issue of the *Lay Preachers' Magazine* and those of its successors, *Go* and *The Adventist Layman*, contains stories of successful witnessing. A few examples provide a glimpse of the unsung heroes responsible for much of Adventism's continual growth.

In southern Georgia a black lay evangelist began a series of meetings in the local Methodist church. Soon he was forced to transfer these to a dilapidated tent furnished by the conference. The facilities were unimpressive, but the results would have pleased many an experienced evangelist—sixty-five persons requesting baptism.

In southern Europe a lay preacher was selling Adventist publications during the tragic days of World War II. Disregarding a police order to leave town, he found himself thrown into jail. That night seven men, all condemned to be shot in the morning, were placed in the cell with him. All night the Adventist brother preached the "good news" to his companions. Three of the condemned men gave their hearts to God as a result. When morning came these three were released; the uninterested four were taken out and executed.

One young woman was so enthusiastic about Seventh-day Adventism that within a year of her baptism she persuaded thirty-eight persons to follow her example. In Los Angeles an Adventist laywoman won an average of five persons a year to her church during a twenty-year period. Her first convert resulted from taking a sick mother's children to Sabbath School. Another layman reported winning 106 persons, including five ministers, during a ten-year period.³

Some of the overseas divisions developed particularly successful programs of lay evangelism. In 1940 Inter-American leaders set a goal of training 1000 lay preachers; they surpassed their goal in seven years' time. These laymen, in turn, were responsible for thousands of additions to the church and a denominational growth rate unsurpassed around the world. By late 1942, forty-five Mexican laymen reported over 3000 persons attending Sabbath Schools they had started, with more than 800 of them baptized Seventh-day Adventists. Twenty years later church officials reported that approximately three out of every five of the more than 50,000 persons baptized in Inter-America during the preceding four years had been won by lay members.

South America provides similar examples. Despite the deaths of his wife and child, the loss of his job, and time spent in jail, a Chilean layman won 125 converts in the twelve years preceding 1943. During that time he had given away over 900,000 tracts, nearly one third of which he had published himself. When the division declared 1960 "lay evangelism year," all forty-seven Seventh-day Adventist churches in Sao Paulo, Brazil, began lay efforts on April 2. Before the year was over laymen in the South Brazil Union were carrying the Adventist message to nearly 2000 new localities. A few years later a Peruvian youth of eighteen led more than 300 to request baptism in a single year.⁴

The Philippines were another center of heavy lay involvement. In 1948 a visitor reported that "every Filipino is taught how, and is expected to give Bible studies and do evangelistic work." At this time three fourths of all new members in the Philippines were being won by lay members. A recent convert who was blind did not let his handicap deter him. Memorizing thirty Bible studies, he soon had as many converts to show for his efforts. In 1966 one of the most active laymen in the world, Urbano Castillo, saw his one-thousandth convert baptized. This was the result of some twenty years of active witnessing during which he usually held at least three evangelistic efforts annually. Castillo was instrumental in the founding of twenty-five new Seventh-day Adventist churches.⁵

Membership throughout the entire Far Eastern Division expanded greatly as the result of lay evangelistic endeavors. The nearly 25 percent annual gains in Korea during the 1950s were made possible by dedicated laymen. In 1972 the *Review* reported that Far Eastern Division laymen had prepared more than 13,000 new members for baptism during the previous year.

Even India and Burma, bastions of Hinduism and Buddhism, testified to the effectiveness of lay witnessing. A Burmese Adventist carpenter responded with a Bible study to inquiries as to why he did not work on Saturday. The interest generated resulted in a forty-member Sabbath School. Along the Burmese-Indian border laymen formed a "Daniel's Band" for evangelism. Going out two-by-two they established eight churches and seven companies and won many isolated converts in two years' time.

Similar stories could be multiplied in many parts of the great African continent, but one example must suffice. After twenty years of work in the Ivory Coast, Adventists could count only about 200 members. After two years of active lay institutes, with members putting into practice what they learned, the membership tripled.⁶

From simple acts of kindness to elaborately planned lay-evangelistic campaigns, the work of laymen has brought astonishing results. At the 1975 General Conference session, the Lay Activities secretary reported that over 450,000 persons had been added to the church during the previous five years as a result of laymembers' witness. Yet as Dr. Gottfried

Oosterwal has written, "*the scope of the unfinished task is immense.*" One problem has been the tendency for Adventists to clump together in "pleasant places." Approximately thirty percent of the Seventh-day Adventist population of North America is located in California, most of it in the southern part of the state. Other large concentrations exist near Adventist headquarters and major church institutions, "while at the same time there are whole counties and cities which Adventism has not yet penetrated."⁷

Youth Missionaries

How could the challenges and opportunities facing the church be made real to its youth? This was the question under discussion one day in 1959 at the home of William Loveless, pastor of the large Sligo Seventh-day Adventist church which serves both as the campus church for Columbia Union College and as home church for many General Conference leaders. Those involved were members of the local Missionary Volunteer Executive Committee. Suddenly Loveless advanced a novel idea. Why not send a CUC student to a mission field for a summer of in-depth exposure to the problems and potential found there? Upon his return, he would have a firsthand story to tell that should do more to interest his peers than any number of Sabbath School mission reports or *Review and Herald* articles.

Loveless's guests were intrigued but immediately began to raise possible objections. Most centered around problems of selecting the right individual and financing such a venture. However, before the afternoon was over, a definite plan had emerged. Applications would be made available to all Columbia Union College students interested in serving as a summer student missionary. From those who applied, one would be selected after careful consideration as to the useful skills each possessed, and why he or she wanted to go to a mission station.

In order not to deter good prospects unable to sacrifice the income from a summer job, a \$500 scholarship was established for the appointee. Half of this money, along with transportation costs, was to be raised by the local Missionary Volunteer Society. The college administration agreed to furnish the other half of the scholarship, while the mission field to which the student missionary would go was to supply room and board.

Interest among students in this new Missionary Volunteer project ran high; so did the criticisms from many older members of the community. What could an untrained college student hope to accomplish in three months? Would not the entire church mission program suffer if individual groups within the church began to collect money to send out missionaries where and as they chose? Was not a youthful helper liable to cause more problems than he or she was worth?

Undaunted the Missionary Volunteer Executive Committee, encouraged by Loveless, plowed through the mound of student applications and at last picked Marlin Mathiesen, a junior premedical student, to be Columbia Union College's (and the denomination's) first student missionary.

He was to spend the summer of 1959 in Mexico, something that caused Mathiesen to quaver just a bit. He knew *no* Spanish! Thoughtfully the committee armed its emissary with a camera and plenty of film to record his impressions. As Mathiesen left it was with this appeal ringing in his ears: "We want to know what it's like—this being a missionary. Let us in on it."

The summer did not start out smoothly. No one in Mexico seemed to know quite what to do with Mathiesen. At last he was told to spend his time observing the operations of Montemorelos Hospital and Sanitarium. This was *not* what Mathiesen considered he had been sent to do. Armed with his camera and suitcase and a few words of faltering Spanish, he set out for the interior. There he joined a national pastor preparing to launch an evangelistic series in a mountain valley twelve miles from the nearest dirt road.

For three weeks Mathiesen and Pastor Salazar held nightly meetings by candlelight in a little one-room school building. They slept on boards placed on top of sawhorses in a tiny thatched hut. Mathiesen bathed in the river as did the mountain people he was ministering to. Complete exposure in this new culture quickly expanded his Spanish vocabulary. Before the series had ended he was delivering simple sermons; on the side he tried his hand at pulling a few aching teeth. At the end of their evangelistic series, Mathiesen watched as thirteen persons were baptized in the river in which he had bathed.

When Marlin Mathiesen returned to Columbia Union College that fall he came back with dozens of pictures and memories that would never be forgotten. He could honestly tell the 2000 persons who turned out to hear of his summer adventure, "Last summer changed my life plans."⁸

Mathiesen's experience changed the lives of hundreds of other young Adventists as well. The following year the Missionary Volunteer Societies at both Andrews University and Walla Walla College decided to follow the plan pioneered at Columbia Union College. A decade later every Adventist college in the North American Division had student missionaries overseas. Most now spend from nine to twelve months at their posts instead of the summer vacation period Mathiesen had served. By 1975 more than 1200 had gone out to eighty-three different countries.

Overseas division leaders were quick to discover that the youthful volunteers made it possible to meet needs which limited budgets and nonexistent personnel had doomed to some rosier future. In 1967 M. T. Bascom, director of the new evangelistic center in Osaka, Japan, opened an English-language school with student missionaries as teachers. Although there were only twelve students in the first class, the number climbed to more than 600 in two years' time, twenty-five of whom became baptized Seventh-day Adventists. By 1970 Bruce Bauer, one of the first student missionaries at Osaka, had become the director of the language school. Bauer was but one of the nearly forty student missionaries who

had by 1975 become full-time Adventist missionaries.

English-language schools proved a highly successful way of reaching many of the non-Christian peoples of the Far Eastern Division. Bauer established several more schools in major Japanese cities. In 1968 student missionary Ed Moore opened a similar language school at the evangelistic center in Djakarta, Indonesia. Moore hoped fifty students would enroll, but he was swamped by 140 applicants the first day.

It was a similar story in Korea, where Dean Hubbard's projected school won the approval of Dr. Karl Bartz, the cultural attaché at the U.S. Embassy. Bartz could scarcely believe that American college students would take a year from their formal studies, pay their own way to Korea, and work as language instructors for only a small expense stipend. With personnel like that, Bartz told Hubbard wonderingly, "You'll conquer the world!"

Hubbard had some anxious moments. He needed 300 paying students to finance the spacious school quarters he had rented in a new shopping and office complex. Only sixty-nine signed up during preregistration. But at the end of the first class day, 323 were registered and 400 had been turned away because the available staff could not handle more. Religious questions in the regular classes led to the opening of special English-language Bible classes; 122 enrolled in these classes in the first three days. Soon the student missionaries were giving up to 150 Bible studies a week. Within the first year and a half "twenty-one known baptisms directly resulted from the language school." By the mid-70s several hundred Koreans had become Adventists as the result of their contact with the English-language school, which regularly conducts at least one evangelistic effort each quarter. Language schools were launched in other Korean cities, where they were able to reach some of the best-educated and influential Koreans, few of whom might otherwise have been interested in Adventism.⁹

Teaching in English-language schools was only one of the wide variety of activities in which student missionaries engaged. Some went to Adventist academies in Ecuador, Liberia, or Pakistan to teach music, physical education, or biology. Others served in hospitals or mobile clinics, even on a mission launch plying the Amazon. Frequently hard physical labor was involved; student missionaries poured concrete, helped dig a well, or laid cement blocks to build a school or a chapel. Some worked with young people in summer camping programs, served as secretaries, or took part in evangelistic crusades. There was even service in war-torn Vietnam—giving injections and caring for orphans. A few accepted the isolation and adverse weather of northern Alaska to work in Eskimo villages north of the Arctic Circle. One young married couple was located only forty miles from the Siberian border.

By 1972 five Adventist colleges outside North America also had student-missionary programs in operation. Even some academies had sent groups out, although generally these youth did not go to such distant

posts and served only during the summer-vacation months. In spite of careful screening by local committees and efforts at orientation courses, not all student missionaries enjoyed their experiences. Some proved unable to adapt to a strange culture; some had never learned to think of others. In general, however, such persons, more liability than asset, were the exception rather than the rule.

As the student-missionary program developed, it was taken over, nurtured and coordinated by the General Conference Youth Department. Committees on each local campus, often including students or faculty with mission experience, accept responsibility for evaluating applicants and making final recommendations. Students earn or solicit the funds to pay their transportation overseas. As a rule only sophomores and juniors who expect to return to school are accepted into the program. One of the prime goals continues to be for the returnee to share the challenges and opportunities of overseas service.¹⁰

The success of the student-missionary program led the 1968 Fall Council to establish a similar program for nonstudents under the title Adventist Volunteer Service Corps. Well-established church members (1) at least eighteen years of age, (2) in good health, (3) with the ability to adjust to cultural differences, and (4) possessing some technical skill were recruited for one or two years of overseas service to meet specific needs as requested by division leaders. Service Corps volunteers pay their own transportation expenses, but the field in which they serve provides travel insurance, food, lodging, and a modest stipend for expenses during the volunteer's period of active service. There are, however, no regular salary, sustenance, or other fringe benefits.

During the first year of its operation fifteen Service Corps volunteers served overseas. In this way the Far Eastern Division secured three nurses for the Tokyo Sanitarium, two retired teachers to help at the Osaka English Language School, and a teacher who spent a sabbatical year teaching in Thailand. Other volunteers helped in construction and in accounting in Africa, Inter-America, and South America. Although the Adventist Volunteer Service Corps has never equaled the number of persons sent overseas annually as student missionaries, it has provided opportunity for retired persons, those who want to give a short time to church activity, and youth as yet undecided as to a vocation an opportunity to serve. In recent years retired denominational employees on sustenance have also been able to volunteer for this type of service.¹¹

MV Task Force

The enthusiasm generated by the student-missionary program demonstrated that large numbers of Adventist youth were anxious to serve humanity and their church in a wide variety of ways. Yet many of these youth were hesitant about the expenses and adaptation involved in overseas service. Could they not be utilized in projects closer home? The

General Conference agreed they might. In 1970 it adopted a service program prepared by the Youth Department and called Adventist Collegiate Task Force. As experience proved that more than just college students were interested in Task Force goals and activities, it was renamed the MV Task Force in 1973 and opened to dedicated Adventist youth between the ages of sixteen and thirty-one.

Task Force volunteers agree to serve for a minimum of ten weeks, or for longer periods of up to two years. The work they do is approved by a local conference Task Force committee composed of conference officials, pastors, and at least three youth. In most instances a local church, institution, or the conference committee itself initiates a request for volunteers to help in a program it has in mind. These vary widely but include (1) service as youth pastors in large churches, (2) operation of church day camps or Vacation Bible Schools, (3) presentation of temperance programs, (4) involvement in inner-city programs such as recreation, clean-up, and health education, and (5) evangelistic crusades on secular college and university campuses.

As in the case of student missionaries, Task Force volunteers pay their own transportation expense from home to their place of service. The local church or institution where they work provides room, board, and necessary local transportation expenses. Individualized arrangements are worked out to provide either a scholarship at an Adventist college or academy or an expense allowance of up to ten dollars per week. Volunteers go through an orientation and training program provided by the local Task Force committee before they begin service.¹²

All of the programs for lay witnessing mentioned thus far have been developed and promoted by agencies or departments of the church. Operating alongside these are a variety of institutions and activities developed by Adventist lay members themselves. Some duplicate, others complement official church programs. The basic idea of independent institutions and projects dedicated to advancing Adventist goals and concepts while operating outside the formal structure of the church goes back at least three quarters of a century to Sutherland and Magan's dream of a self-supporting educational and medical work. They implemented this dream by developing Madison College and its satellite rural schools, sanitariums, treatment rooms, and agricultural demonstration programs.

Self-supporting institutions based on the Madison model share several distinctive characteristics. The developers have almost always been devoted to the idea of a simple life-style. Their goal has been to make the institution as self-sufficient as possible. To this end students and workers are trained in advanced agricultural methods so that necessary fruit, grains, and vegetables may be produced by their own efforts. The same is true of building projects and the maintenance of facilities. Student labor is utilized, both for its educational value and as a means for the student to earn his expenses while learning. A high degree of cooperation is

stressed; students and teachers work together. Staff members receive only maintenance wages such as can be provided by the earnings of the institution. Great emphasis is placed on self-government and cooperative decision making. Adventist health doctrines are promoted both as a means to improve personal health and as an avenue of Christian witness. Bible study and instruction loom large in the program, with the goal of assuring each member's personal salvation and enhancing his abilities to present the gospel for the last days effectively to those he contacts.¹³

Self-Supporting Work

Mrs. Lida Scott, daughter of Dr. Isaac Funk, founder of the Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Company, came to Madison Sanitarium as a patient in 1914. She was enamored with the concepts being fostered by Sutherland and his associates and decided to give her considerable fortune to finance the network of small educational and medical institutions Madison was promoting. On Sutherland's advice Mrs. Scott had her attorneys organize a legal corporation known as the Layman Foundation. She endowed this foundation with a substantial sum, which has been used to establish or expand small self-supporting schools, sanitariums, and nursing homes, mostly across the southern United States. Many of these are still in operation, among them Little Creek School and Sanitarium, Knoxville, Tennessee; Fletcher Academy and Hospital near Asheville, North Carolina; and Pine Forest Academy and Sanitarium-Hospital in Chunky, Mississippi.

As some of the Madison-type schools and sanitariums became larger, their financial problems increased to the point where they could no longer remain solvent. Several have been given to local conferences and have been continued as denominationally owned and operated institutions. This eventually happened to Madison College and Sanitarium itself.¹⁴

Self-supporting institutions have not been confined to the United States. In 1965 C. S. Tonsberg began a small clinic in a mountain village in the Mexican state of Chiapas. There were perhaps a dozen Adventists in the village at the time. Tonsberg's preparation consisted almost solely of the training and experience he received as a U.S. Army medic. His first patients were mainly men injured in drunken fights. Eventually he was able to purchase twenty acres of land a few miles from town. Here the Montebello Mission with a clinic and school were built almost entirely from materials on the land. Several thousand patients from some seventy-five mountain villages are treated each year. Ten years earlier there were no Adventists in these villages; by 1976 there were twenty congregations, largely as the result of the students who went out from Montebello each weekend to preach.

Near the Guatemalan border two American families began in 1972 to hack a site for a clinic and school from thirty acres of Mexican jungle. When Bella Vista Clinic was established, it served patients from thirty

villages. By 1976 a small church school and a branch Sabbath School were also in operation. Edwin Norton, one of the men involved in this venture, earned funds to support the mission by spending his summers fishing for salmon off the Alaska coast.¹⁵

From the time Sutherland and Magan launched their independent enterprise at Madison, an ambiguous attitude toward self-supporting work has characterized Adventist leaders. On the one hand they recognized that there was abundant support for such endeavors in the writings of Ellen White. Many persons trained in self-supporting schools and sanitariums later connected with denominationally owned institutions and gave excellent service. Needs were met that it had seemed impossible to care for. Yet at the same time many conference officials felt uneasy over the growth of institutions over which they had no control. These institutions were generally known to be Seventh-day Adventist-related, yet the church was frequently not consulted in the work done. Might this not someday prove embarrassing? Many of these small institutions seemed perpetually on the verge of financial disaster. Was it wise to solicit funds from Adventists for such perilous enterprises?

At its 1945 Fall Council the General Conference Committee began to urge the formation of an association that would draw the various self-supporting enterprises together for mutual support. Such an organization might also become a point of contact for closer coordination of the member institutions and the regular church organization. A step in the direction or organization was made the following year when the General Conference lured the patriarch of self-supporting work, Dr. E. A. Sutherland, into becoming secretary of its Commission on Rural Living.

The ASI

With Sutherland's active support, arrangements were made to gather representatives of more than twenty self-supporting medical and educational institutions, the Layman Foundation, and several medical clinics at Cincinnati, Ohio, in the spring of 1947. There they organized the Association of Seventh-day Adventist Self-Supporting Institutions. Direction of the association's work was placed in the hands of an eleven-member executive committee, six elected by the members of the association at the annual meeting, five appointed by the General Conference Committee. Thus a close tie with the church organization was assured.

In later years the association's executive committee was enlarged to sixteen members, with half elected by the association and half appointed by the General Conference. Office space and secretarial help at church headquarters in Takoma Park were provided by the General Conference, which also paid the salary and traveling expenses of the association's executive secretary, who became a member of the General Conference Committee.

Through the years membership in the ASI, as it was generally known,

increased greatly. By mid-1975 there were 370 members spread over a wide variety of fields. The majority of members continued to be involved in medical or health-care facilities such as hospitals, nursing homes, and retirement centers. Only sixteen were primarily educational institutions. The largest single category of membership was in business enterprises—ranging from a trucking business to realtors, building contractors, service station operators, a recording studio, and a pet shop! Adventist professional men such as lawyers and certified public accountants held personal membership. Appropriately the association's name was changed to the Association of Privately Owned Seventh-day Adventist Services and Industries.

As ASI membership broadened, its objectives appeared to change. It seemed headed toward becoming a Seventh-day Adventist Chamber of Commerce. Emphasis was placed on infusing Seventh-day Adventist principles into every aspect of the individual ASI member's business operations. Some members continued a heavy emphasis on distinctive Adventist health principles, others on practical and vocational education. Yet these aspects, so dominant in the early self-supporting institutions, were overshadowed by efforts to swing the financial resources of ASI members behind specific church projects such as contributing \$40,000 to print a new Bible course developed by New York businessman Emilio Knechtle.¹⁶

Liga International

One of the clearest evidences of the viability of lay participation within Adventism is the fact that new ideas continue to surface among laymen—ideas that involve them and their peers in church-related programs. Several of these deserve attention. Liga International, Incorporated, popularly referred to as the "Flying Doctors of Mercy," is the outgrowth of Dr. Iner Ritchie's dream to bring better health care to the people of northern Mexico. As early as 1934 Dr. Ritchie and Dr. Ralph Smith began to hold improvised clinics in Mexico. In the early forties these men and several associates established Liga Mexico Americana as the legal corporation responsible for their medical and educational activities. An American counterpart was chartered in California in 1948.

Liga's charter indicates the four major ways in which the organization attempts to live up to its slogan—"The Helping Hand." These are (1) direct medical assistance to individuals, (2) sponsoring agricultural and industrial education outside the United States, (3) aiding victims of natural disasters, and (4) helping to sponsor religious enterprises or projects. The original incorporators recruited additional members of the association primarily from among Adventist doctors, dentists, and other medical personnel in southern California. By 1976 there were around 900 members, more than 90 percent of whom were Seventh-day Adventists.

Liga members contribute both financially and through personal involvement in group projects. In the early years they built and staffed a

number of primary schools in the mountainous region of northern Mexico. Two major Adventist institutions were started with Liga support: Montemorelos Hospital and Sanitarium and Mexican Pacific Academy. Nearly 700 acres of land were purchased for this academy, which operates a thriving agricultural program and a modern factory that processes the wheat and soy beans the farm produces. In 1973 the school farm produced a net gain of \$100,000. The industrial program allows many of the more than 300 students who attend to earn their entire educational expenses. The academy won the praise of government officials, including the president of Mexico who visited the school on Christmas Day, 1973.

Regularly on the first Friday of every month Liga members fly in as many as twenty private planes to bring medical supplies and care to thousands of residents of the small villages of northern Mexico—persons with virtually no access to such care. The group has extended its mercy flights into Guatemala and Honduras following earthquake and hurricane disasters. Some Liga members fly several times a year to provide medical services to Indian tribes in remote parts of Panama.

One of Liga's members, a surgeon, once suggested to a grateful patient that she contribute to Liga in place of paying him a surgical fee. This resulted in a \$30,000 gift which became the basis for a revolving loan fund for medical and dental students studying outside the United States. Liga has maintained and expanded this fund. Through member contacts with one of southern California's largest producers of vegetables and flower seeds, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of free seeds have been donated for distribution by Liga members in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. Liga has financed several of Seventh-day Adventist agronomist Jacob Mittleider's demonstration garden programs in New Guinea and Fiji as well as paying to have Mittleider's textbook translated into Spanish.

There have been a host of other Liga projects—purchasing four thoroughbred bulls to improve the dairy herd of River Plate College in Argentina, the purchase of a small plane for the Peruvian Mission, and a bulldozer for a government resettlement project in Brazil, to name a few. In the mid-70s there were new projects underway—plans for a hospital in Guatemala, a cooperative health-care plan to be developed with the Honduran government, a series of fifty videotapes on healthful living, prepared in Spanish by two Liga doctors.

In addition to all this "Liga itself is a mission field," according to executive secretary John Baerg. "Scores of wonderful people come to unite with us, some who might never do 'missionary work' in the regular way. To help others to accept and serve Jesus is certainly the highest goal of any Liga member."¹⁷

A request for help while on a photographic assignment in Jamaica started John Freeman thinking of a plan that would allow Adventist laymen to combine church service with a "different" vacation. Freeman,

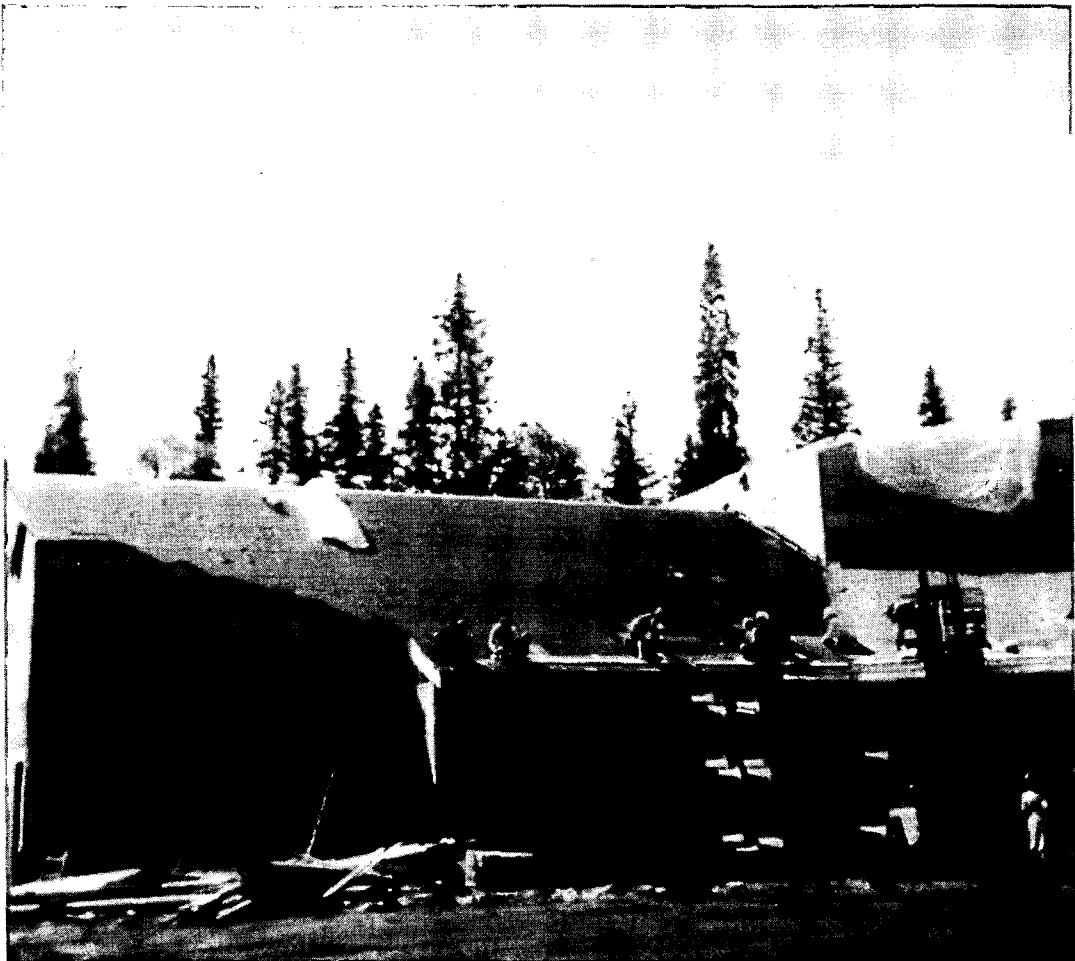
the owner of a printing business specializing in pictorial brochures for industry, resorts, and motels, was in Jamaica to get pictures of a cruise ship coming into a Caribbean port for the Jamaica Queen Steamship Line. In Kingston he stayed with a doctor on the staff of Andrews Memorial Hospital. The doctor shared with Freeman a problem he faced. Two young men from Southern Missionary College had volunteered to install a badly needed public address system in the hospital free of charge. Neither they nor the hospital, however, had money for their transportation to Jamaica. Did Freeman think he might persuade his client to provide free passage for the two on one of their ships? John Freeman agreed to try. The steamship company complied, and the two young men were able to add a little sightseeing in Jamaica during the two weeks they were at the hospital.

As he thought of this experience Freeman wondered if there were not a number of Adventists who would be happy to give their labor to help in a church project in a distant place. He decided to write church leaders throughout Inter-America inquiring if they had any building projects that could utilize volunteer labor. From the responses Freeman selected one as a pilot program. He recruited twenty-eight people, including a number of college students, to spend their ten-day Christmas vacation in 1969 in completing the construction of a Seventh-day Adventist church in Freeport, Grand Bahamas. The group traveled to Florida by car and was flown across to Freeport in Freeman's private plane. The local mission provided housing and food, the volunteers the skilled and unskilled labor necessary to get the church ready for use.

Maranatha Flights International

So successful was this project that Freeman and some friends proceeded to organize Maranatha Flights International to sponsor similar programs. Freeman's idea caught on, especially among Adventist pilots, many of whom took Maranatha members to project sites in their own planes. By 1976 there were some 1200 Maranatha members; many were carpenters, plumbers, electricians, masons, or were skilled in some other building trade. But many were retired persons, housewives, and secretaries who could volunteer only their ability to mix mortar, carry cement blocks, or prepare meals for hungry workers.

There were a number of large projects, many small ones. In the summer of 1973 nearly 150 Maranatha members flew and drove to Yellowknife in Canada's Northwest Territories. There in two weeks' time, working around the clock, they constructed a multiple-purpose building that included a church, gymnasium, and living quarters for the pastor. The next summer 185 members flew to Honolulu, Hawaii, to build a church in three weeks' time. The summer of 1975 found 125 volunteers constructing a church in Kodiak, Alaska. They did the job in eleven days and found time, in an ecumenical gesture, to put up a thirty- by forty-foot all-purpose



A Maranatha Project in Alaska

building for St. Mary's Catholic School, which had generously housed the workers and loaned them the school bus for transportation during their stay in Kodiak.

Some Maranatha projects were very small. A single builder was dispatched to Borneo where he constructed a simple jungle chapel during his two available weeks. Four members helped construct an academy administration building in Sierra Leone. Larger groups built an industrial education building at the Adventist Mission for the Navajo Indians in Arizona, rebuilt a church destroyed by an earthquake in Mexico, and helped finish a hospital in Honduras.

Maranatha members pay their own way to project sites, although the central office tries to arrange for charter flights at reduced rates. In 1976 friends of the program raised money to purchase for Maranatha a Convair 300 airplane capable of carrying thirty-five people at one time. This was expected to make flight costs only about half the regular commercial rates. A mobile kitchen was also constructed so that workers' meals could be prepared efficiently. Both the new kitchen and airplane were inaugurated

in Maranatha's 1976-77 project of rebuilding twenty churches destroyed in the disastrous 1976 Guatemalan earthquake.¹⁸

Many Adventist laymen within particular professions (e.g., nurses, optometrists, historians) have formed their own associations for purposes of fellowship with others of common interest and to explore means in which they may jointly serve the church more effectively. Sometimes these groups seek successfully to influence church leaders to take a particular course of action, as when the Seventh-day Adventist historians in 1973 formally requested the General Conference officers to establish an archive at church headquarters.

Association of Adventist Forums

Probably no Adventist lay organization has done more to focus attention on social, cultural, and organizational problems confronting the church than the Association of Adventist Forums organized in 1967. The Association of Adventist Forums ties together a number of discussion groups that grew up during the 1960s in the main centers of Adventist population in the United States. Appealing primarily to the church's "intellectuals," the Association of Adventist Forums has sought, by sponsoring retreats, conferences, and discussions on controversial topics, to encourage thoughtful consideration of contemporary issues facing the church. In 1969 the Association of Adventist Forums began publication of *Spectrum*, a scholarly quarterly whose columns have frequently presented differing views on such issues as the relationship of church and state and the financing of church institutions. *Spectrum* has also carried a number of articles on aspects of Seventh-day Adventist history, the relationship of science and religion, and the role and authority of Ellen White in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.¹⁹

As Seventh-day Adventist membership became more diversified and the average member more highly educated, laymen and laywomen took a more active role in establishing church policies. More and more lay members began appearing on local and union conference committees and on the boards of denominational institutions. Organizations speaking for particular groups of lay members were sharing their concerns directly with church leaders. Does this foreshadow the possibility of lay members serving as conference executives as did William Higley in the early days in Michigan? That remains to be seen, but definite administrative changes have taken place in the three decades following World War II.

Suggested Reading:

Gottfried Oosterwal has produced a powerful appeal for involvement by the total Adventist membership in the gospel presentation in his *Mission: Possible* (1972). For an idea of the church-promoted lay-activities programs consult the General Conference Home Missionary

Department's *The Lay Preacher and His Work* (1940) and *Training Light Bearers* (1947). The student may also profit from browsing through back issues of *Go*, *The Journal for Adventist Laymen* (1951-1971) and *The Adventist Layman* (1972-). The origins, problems, and successes of the student missionary program are skillfully woven together in D. Evans, *Mosaic of Adventure: A Scrapbook of Student Missionary Experiences and Documents* (1976). For an in-depth view of an SM's experiences in Japan see the same author's *From Japan With Love* (1973). The philosophy undergirding the original self-supporting institutions comes through well in J. Lee, *A Compendium of City-Outpost Evangelism* (1976). W. C. White's compilation, *Sketches of the United Work of Small Schools and Sanitariums* (1933), gives glimpses into the founding of many of these institutions by dedicated laymen. The *ASI News* (1961-) affords the best picture of the changing nature of the Association of S.D.A. Self-Supporting Institutions.

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1. G. Oosterwal, *Mission: Possible* (1972), p. 107; E. White, *9T* (1909), p. 117; E. White, *Gospel Workers*, rev. ed. (1915), p. 196.
 2. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 772-776; R. Hetland, "The Development of the Missionary Meeting in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, 1913-1969 . . ." (S.D.A. Seminary term paper, 1971), Andrews University Heritage Room; B. Schoun, "A Survey of Lay Training in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (S.D.A. Seminary term paper, 1972), Andrews University Heritage Room.
 3. Oosterwal, pp. 115, 116; *Lay Preachers' Magazine*, November 1940, p. 4; July 1943, pp. 4, 5; November 1946, p. 7; July-September 1948, p. 7; *Go*, February 1966, pp. 25, 26.
 4. *Lay Preachers' Magazine*, November 1942, p. 4; May 1943, p. 7; July-September 1945, p. 8; *Review and Herald*, March 10, 1949, pp. 19, 20; December 22, 1960, pp. 18, 19; August 22, 1963, p. 24; June 8, 1967, p. 22.
 5. *Lay Preacher*, September 1943, pp. 4, 5; *Review*, May 6, 1948, p. 18; *Go*, July 1964, pp. 18-22; June 1967, pp. 3-5.
 6. *Review*, October 18, 1962, p. 14; May 7, 1964, p. 48; November 19, 1964, p. 32; February 4, 1971, p. 32; April 13, 1972, p. 31; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 750.
 7. *Go*, February 1955, pp. 6-9; *Review*, July 18, 1975, p. 14; Oosterwal, pp. 45, 115.
 8. D. Evans, *Mosaic of Adventure* (1976), pp. 11-14.
 9. Evans, pp. 25-33; *Review*, April 16, 1970, p. 16; letter from Charles Martin, March 29, 1976.
 10. Evans, *passim*; *Review*, December 31, 1964, pp. 17, 18; August 4, 1966, p. 32; February 5, 1970, p. 32; November 18, 1971, p. 24; September 28, 1972, p. 24; July 9, 1973, pp. 14, 15.
 11. *Review*, November 28, 1968, pp. 14, 15; November 20, 1969, p. 32; February 11, 1971, p. 32; February 17, 1972, pp. 14-16.
 12. General Conference Youth Department, *MV Task Force Training Manual* (1974), *passim*; *Review*, July 31, 1975, p. 930.
 13. E. A. Sutherland in W. C. White, comp., *Sketches of the United Work of Small Schools and Sanitariums* (1933), p. 54.
 14. White, *Sketches . . .*, *passim*; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 828, 829.
 15. B. Archbold, "Self-supporting Centers Win Members in Mexico," *Review*, April 1, 1976, p. 24.
 16. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 87, 88; Minutes of Meeting Held by Representatives of Self-supporting Institutions at Cincinnati, Ohio, March 4, 5, 1947; *ASI News*, May-June 1975, pp. 2, 15; July-September 1975, pp. 5-7; Interview with Don Copsey, Lake Union ASI secretary, July 7, 1976.
 17. J. Baerg, "Liga International, Inc.," *ASI News*, July-September 1975, pp. 4, 5; R. Brown, *The Story of Liga* (n. d.); Assorted pamphlets supplied by V. O. Sabo, D.D.S., past president of Liga International, Inc.
 18. C. Scriven, "Flying High," *Insight*, September 12, 1972, pp. 3-6; *ASI News*, May-June 1975, pp. 5, 7; *Review*, June 14, 1973, p. 20; August 30, 1973, pp. 16, 17, Project Files, Maranatha Flights, International, Berrien Springs, Michigan.
 19. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 87-90, 1409, 1410; *Forum*, July 1976, pp. 5, 6.

CHAPTER 34

The Rise of Indigenous and Ethnic Leadership

Adventist efforts at evangelizing Afro-Americans made slow progress until an Afro-American was placed in charge of this work. When W. H. Green became the first black secretary of the North American Negro Department in 1918, nine years after its organization, there were approximately 3500 Afro-American Seventh-day Adventists throughout North America. Three years later this number had doubled.

By the end of World War I the great migration of American blacks to northern urban centers had clearly begun. Yet by far the largest number were still in the old slave states. To coordinate Adventist efforts to reach them, conference organizations in the South established Negro Departments chaired by the white conference presidents. Black workers played only supporting roles. Even at Oakwood College the majority of the faculty remained white until the 1930s. Oakwood got its first black president, J. L. Moran, in 1932 following a student strike strategically timed to occur when the predominately white college board was meeting on campus.

Several years earlier at the 1929 Spring Council a majority of the leading black ministers in attendance had suggested that Adventist work among Afro-Americans would prosper best if blacks were allowed to organize their own conferences. "In these conferences, they could handle their own money, employ workers, develop institutions, and generally promote the work along their own cultural lines."

Negro Commission

The General Conference Committee was not ready for such a step, but it did establish a Negro Commission comprising eleven whites and five

blacks to study the matter. One of the black members, Elder J. K. Humphrey, became so disillusioned over what he regarded as a failure to pay serious attention to the views of black Seventh-day Adventists that he eventually led his large Harlem congregation to secede from the church. At the 1929 Autumn Council the General Conference Committee decided to follow the recommendations of its Negro Commission and continue the existing pattern of departmental organization in those conferences with substantial numbers of black members. Separate black conferences still seemed potentially divisive. Many of the white leaders probably also doubted the administrative abilities of blacks, which certainly had been afforded little opportunity for development.¹

For nearly a year following the sudden death of W. H. Green in 1928 the secretaryship of the North American Negro Department was allowed to remain vacant. Then George E. Peters, a skilled evangelist who had baptized more than 230 converts during a campaign in Tampa, Florida, was asked to fill this post. Soon, however, Peters was dispatched to New York City to rally loyal black Adventists at the time of J. K. Humphrey's defection. He was succeeded in Washington by Frank L. Peterson.

Message Magazine

During Elder Peterson's administration of the Negro Department (renamed the Colored Department in 1942) a new evangelistic journal aimed at American Blacks was launched in 1935. In a by-now-familiar pattern, the *Message Magazine's* first editor was white. It would be another decade before Louis B. Reynolds would arrive as its first black editor. By that time *Message Magazine* had an average monthly circulation of 150,000; shortly thereafter, extensive sales on big city streets pushed the circulation of one issue to more than 260,000 copies.²

Riverside Sanitarium

Several attempts to start a sanitarium for blacks in Nashville during the early years of the twentieth century had foundered. In part this was because the hydrotherapy treatments used seemed too radical for a clientele accustomed to drug therapy. Then in 1922, while recovering from an automobile accident, seventy-eight-year-old Nell Druillard determined that upon her recovery she would do something special for southern blacks. Nell Druillard was one of Adventism's most remarkable women. With her husband she had helped pioneer the spread of Adventism in South Africa. Later she took an active role in assisting her nephew, E. A. Sutherland, in founding Emmanuel Missionary and Madison colleges.

On a bluff overlooking the Cumberland River, five miles from Nashville, Mrs. Druillard established the Riverside Sanitarium. She also began a small nurses' training program, enrolling eight or ten young women per year. "Mother D," as she was affectionately known, served as the first nursing instructor. The Riverside Sanitarium prospered. In 1935,

several years before her death, Mrs. Druillard turned the sanitarium over to the General Conference.

The Struggle for Representation

Throughout the 1930s the number of blacks added to the Seventh-day Adventist Church continued to increase, but not as rapidly as during the early 1920s. The Humphrey defection had hurt. So did the continued denial of treatment for blacks in most Adventist sanitariums and the difficulties they faced in gaining entrance to Adventist colleges other than Oakwood. In spite of this, by 1936 more than two thirds of the black Seventh-day Adventist Church employees had been trained in Adventist schools; so had an increasing number of professionals among black laymen.³ It was this latter group that now took the lead in pressing for a new move to grant blacks more responsibility in the management of church affairs.

Washington's black Ephesus Seventh-day Adventist church was no ordinary congregation. It contained a high percentage of independent businessmen, public school teachers, government workers, and Howard University graduate students. Among them were Alma J. Scott, social worker and founder of the first settlement house for Afro-Americans, and Joseph Dodson, a bookstore proprietor who also operated an extensive limousine service. Strategically located in the very shadow of Adventist world headquarters, this group was constantly reminded of the racial separation practiced in the church. Their children could not enroll in Washington Missionary College; they themselves could not eat in the Review and Herald cafeteria.

In the fall of 1943 an incident at the Washington Sanitarium fanned smoldering discontent into a blaze. Lucy Byard, a light-skinned mulatto, was brought by her husband to the sanitarium during an illness. The Byards were long-time members of an Adventist church in New York City. At first Mrs. Byard was admitted, but later when her racial identity was learned from the admittance forms, the Byards were told that a mistake had been made. Lucy Byard was wheeled into the hall while the sanitarium switchboard attempted to locate another hospital that would admit her. Eventually taken to Freedman's Hospital, Mrs. Byard died shortly thereafter of pneumonia. The black Adventist community saw Lucy Byard's life as a sacrifice to a church policy of racial exclusiveness.

An effort by W. G. Turner, vice-president for North America, to defuse the situation through a Sabbath sermon on 1 Peter 4:12, "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you," only made matters worse. After the close of the Sabbath, October 16, 1943, a group of Ephesus laymen met in the back room of Dodson's Book Store to plan strategy. Quickly they organized the National Association for the Advancement of Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists, with Joseph Dodson as

chairman and Alma Scott as vice-chairman. Next, following Alma Scott's suggestion, they began a concerted effort to rouse Seventh-day Adventist blacks across the nation. Telephone calls were made, stationery printed, letters dispatched. The effort was largely lay directed, although J. H. Wagner, secretary of the colored work for the Columbia Union, agreed to act as an adviser. For fear of reprisals most black church employees were reluctant to identify openly with this new grass-roots movement.

Separate Conferences

At the request of the black laity, General Conference president J. L. McElhany held several meetings with their representatives. He promised to keep the General Conference Committee informed of their views and, in partial response to these contacts, church leaders decided to invite the black secretaries of local and union colored departments, leading black evangelists, and the pastors of the larger black churches to meet with the General Conference Committee at its Spring Council in Chicago, April 8-19, 1944. Before that date most of the active black lay leaders had come to feel that the idea of separate black conferences, suggested in the late 1920s, held the most immediate promise for Afro-Americans.⁴

Although officially uninvited, two representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of the Worldwide Work Among Colored Seventh-day Adventists journeyed to Chicago to get their laymen's views before the Spring Council. Denied access to an opening meeting because of their lay status, they did succeed in holding nearly a half-hour conference with Elder McElhany and in presenting delegates with an eight-page pamphlet which they had prepared.

Discussion on how best to meet the legitimate needs of black Seventh-day Adventists waxed warm, but under McElhany's skillful and informed leadership, more and more delegates accepted the idea that the time had come to authorize separate conferences led by officials elected by the black membership. The key meeting was scheduled for Sunday morning, April 10. To his consternation, G. E. Peters, once more Colored Department secretary, arrived to find McElhany absent and another person in the chair. Informed that the president was ill, Peters hurried to McElhany's room. Fearful that without McElhany something would go wrong, Peters informed the General Conference president that if no solution to the colored problem emerged from this meeting "he didn't see how Elder McElhany could ever face the colored constituency again and he was sure that he, G. E. Peters, never would."

Moved by Elder Peters's words, McElhany left his sickbed and chaired the meeting. With a strong assist from Lake Union Conference president J. J. Nethery, a comprehensive resolution was passed. It authorized union committees "when the colored constituency is considered . . . to be sufficiently large, and where the financial income and territory warrant" to organize colored conferences. These conferences were to be adminis-

tered by black officers and committees and would sustain the same relationship to the union as the white conferences.⁵

Three months later, under Nethery's prodding, the Lake Union Conference executive committee authorized the organization of the black churches in the union into a separate conference, if this proved to be the desire of the black members. Black delegates assembled in Chicago's Shiloh church on September 26, 1944. Some were quite certain that a separate organization was not the answer. After considerable debate, however, arguments that separate conferences would provide blacks with both job opportunities and experience won out. The delegates voted to organize the Lake Region Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. J. Gershon Dasent, of the Indianapolis Capitol Avenue church, was elected president; delegates also selected a complete staff to assist him. The Lake Region Conference actually began operating on January 1, 1945.

One week after Lake Union blacks had voted to organize their own conference, a similar meeting was held by black constituents of the Atlantic Union. The Northeastern Conference resulted. Before the end of 1944 blacks in the Columbia Union had organized the Allegheny Conference. Four more regional conferences followed in the next several years. Only along the Pacific Coast and in the Northern Union did black Adventists elect to remain within predominantly white conferences.⁶

The approximately 18,000 black Seventh-day Adventists in North America at the time the first regional conferences were organized faced real problems. Their individual conference territories were large, the churches scattered. They had no office property or equipment, little available cash, and few experienced administrators. In spite of these difficulties the number of Afro-American Seventh-day Adventists continued to increase rapidly. By 1966 there were more than 60,000 black Adventists in North America, contributing more than two million dollars annually to local expenses while at the same time giving more than six million dollars in tithes and \$1,400,000 to missions. By 1976 one out of every five Seventh-day Adventists in North America was black—twice the ratio of Afro-Americans in the entire population. The only other Protestant church in North America growing more rapidly among Afro-Americans was the Southern Baptist.

The same Spring Council which approved the idea of black regional conferences also authorized the North American Colored Department to publish a journal similar to the union conference papers for the benefit of black members and workers. George Peters had actually begun a small mimeographed bulletin several years earlier. This now became the *North American Informant*.

Black College Accredited

Even before the establishment of regional conferences, the General Conference and the administration of Oakwood College had begun a



Earl E. Cleveland

concentrated effort to advance the college to senior college status. By 1943 the board decided that enough progress had been made to vote this change. The first baccalaureate candidates received their degrees in 1945. It took almost two more decades of upgrading staff and facilities, however, before Oakwood received full accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1964.

Several of the regional conferences moved rapidly to develop facilities black Adventists had generally been denied. The Lake Region Conference purchased a 120-acre tract of land in southwestern Michigan for use as a camp-meeting and youth-camp site. In Pennsylvania the Allegheny Conference acquired the historic 575-acre Pine Forge Farm with a similar purpose in mind. On this property a year later (1946), the first boarding academy in North America for blacks was begun.⁷

With the establishment of regional conferences, black Adventists' influence on decision-making within the church organization increased substantially. This was true not only at the local level, but also in union and institutional boards and committees and, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, in the General Conference itself. Prior to 1951 there was only one black on the General Conference headquarters staff—G. E. Peters, secretary of the Colored Department (renamed Regional Department in 1954). An expansion of the Colored Department occurred in 1951, when Calvin Moseley was added as an associate secretary. Both he and Peters were later named as field secretaries of the General Conference.

Brotherhood

Other black faces began appearing at world headquarters. In 1954 Earl E. Cleveland became an associate secretary in the Ministerial Association; five years later O. A. Troy was elected to a similar position in the Sabbath School Department. At the 1962 General Conference session, Frank L. Peterson was chosen as a general vice-president of the worldwide organization—the highest post ever reached by an Afro-American. By the 1960s there were half a dozen Afro-Americans serving at

world headquarters, and blacks were also being elected as departmental secretaries in several unions.

Black Adventists could hardly escape being influenced by the demands for equal treatment and retributive justice that emanated from the civil rights and "black power" movements of the 1950s and 60s. Nor could white Adventists escape accusing consciences for lost years of imperfectly practiced brotherhood. The 1961 Autumn Council established a biracial committee on human relations whose recommendations led to increasingly stronger resolutions by church leaders condemning racial discrimination. At its spring meeting in 1965 the General Conference Committee voted a series of recommendations that among other things declared that "membership and office in all churches and on all levels *must* [italics supplied] be available to anyone who qualifies, without regard to race." Any type of racial distinction practiced in the staffing of Adventist hospitals and schools, or in the admission of patients or students, was also condemned.⁸

Resolutions and recommendations were one thing, actions another. Black Adventists continued to be unwelcome in some Seventh-day Adventist churches and schools. Black administrators noted that they were still conspicuously absent from the real seats of power in the North American Division—the presidencies of union conferences. At a national meeting of black Seventh-day Adventist ministers in the spring of 1969 several black leaders suggested that the time had come to combine the local regional conferences into two or more black unions having equal status with the existing unions. This would open up more leadership opportunities for black administrators, increase the responsibility felt by the rank-and-file of black membership, and improve the image of Adventism among the general Afro-American population. The group requested the annual Autumn Council to study the formation of black unions.

Black Union Conferences

In harmony with this request the 1969 Autumn Council established a biracial commission to study the entire question of black unions. Several meetings of this group were held during the next few months. Although a subcommittee appointed to determine the financial feasibility of the proposed plan reported favorably, not all of the black members of the commission believed separate unions were desirable. To some this seemed a separationist, self-segregating trend that would end in a totally divided church.

Speaking for those skeptical of black unions, President Frank Hale of Oakwood College suggested another way. Existing unions should have black officers, committees, and board members in proportion to the black membership in the union. Efforts should be made to get black ministers preaching assignments in white churches. Conference organizations should subject to economic sanctions any church institutions that failed to

follow the church's position on race relations. Equal employment opportunities should exist in all church institutions. A \$5,500,000 reparations fund should be established by the church to aid worthy black youth to obtain an education and find employment in church posts. Increased funds should be committed for evangelizing black inner-city residents.

Debate waxed hot. A firm decision was delayed until just prior to the 1970 Spring Council. The Association of Adventist Forums aired the opposing views in *Spectrum*. Finally, in a secret ballot, the commission decided by a 3-2 margin to oppose the formation of separate black unions. Perhaps partly to meet the disappointment of many, the Spring Council voted a series of resolutions that sought to implement President Hale's suggestions.⁹

Not all black Adventists were satisfied with this action; some threatened a demonstration at the 1970 General Conference session in Atlantic City, New Jersey. An unsavory confrontation was avoided when church leaders got session delegates to approve an extensive "Declaration on Human Relations." Among other things this document reaffirmed the Seventh-day Adventist commitment to "Christian love and brotherhood" and specifically labeled prejudice and discrimination as sins. It frankly admitted that "too often" both the church and its members had failed to live up to the Christian ideal of brotherhood. Seventh-day Adventists should be, it declared, "an object lesson and spectacle to the world . . . in establishing true fellowship, respect and oneness in the gospel." Baptismal candidates should be instructed that all entered the Seventh-day Adventist Church on an equal basis; no congregation was free to practice discrimination in fellowship or worship.

Inner-City Evangelism

During the next five years the General Conference contributed more than two million dollars to improve the lot of neglected and destitute residents of America's decaying inner cities. The imaginative STOP (Society for Training People in Trouble) program was launched. This encouraged and trained Adventist church members to act as volunteer probation officers to keep troubled youth from prison by helping them reshape their attitudes and their environment. Although not all problems of prejudice and discrimination within the church could be considered solved by 1975, tremendous gains had been made over a thirty-year period. Regional conferences were flourishing, and talented black administrators were serving at the union level and in almost every North American Adventist institution in numbers, if not truly proportional, still far greater than could have been imagined in 1944.¹⁰

Cultural Relationships

Afro-Americans were not the only group to be treated for years in a paternal, patronizing way. Adventist missionaries going to Africa, Asia,

and Latin America in the early years of the twentieth century did not escape the general Western imperialistic attitude practiced by the colonial powers. In general this attitude tended to equate European culture, education, and technology with progress. The more another culture varied from the European or North American model, the more backward it was assumed to be. It was easy to conclude that nationals from non-Western areas could not be trusted in leadership roles until they had absorbed Western ways as well as Adventist doctrines.

Yet church leaders were not unmindful of the need to develop indigenous leaders as rapidly as possible. "In mission lands, where many are coming to the light from among backward and untaught people," delegates to the 1926 General Conference resolved, "we urge that immediate steps be taken to develop a much larger force of ministers and leaders from among these converts and that responsibility of leadership in various posts of duty be placed upon them as rapidly as possible." The best way of accomplishing this seemed to be to establish church schools where none existed and to expand those skeletal systems begun earlier. Yet this took time—and money. With the onset of the "Great Depression" in the United States in 1929, the home base found it increasingly difficult to finance an expanding system of education overseas.

The vision of increased responsibility for local workers did not mean that Adventist officials looked forward to the development of separate indigenous church organizations. Rather they disparaged those potent forces, such as nationalism and racial exclusiveness, which encouraged thoughts of separate churches. These leaders believed strongly in a free exchange of workers from one country or area of the world to another. This would encourage unity, because "it has often been seen that where a country is set off by itself, with workers of its own people alone, our work does not prosper as well as it otherwise would."¹¹

After a quarter century of Seventh-day Adventist penetration, locally born pastors and institutional managers could be found directing Adventist efforts in Northwestern Europe, South Africa, and Australia. It took longer in those sections of the world that had a less developed economy or where the cultural heritage was Roman Catholic or non-Christian. Some division administrators put forth more effort than did others to develop a corps of workers from within their own geographic area. Carlyle B. Haynes, who in 1926 became president of the South American Division, noted joyfully just four years later that of the 800 denominational workers in South America, less than 100 came from outside the division. He was hopeful that soon South America could be entirely self-supporting. "We are convinced," Haynes told the General Conference of 1930, "that the work in South America will be carried forward most successfully and satisfactorily by South Americans." Yet it was another forty-five years before Brazilian Enoch Olivera became the first South American to serve as division president.¹²

Indigenous Leadership

Financial depression in the United States, while restricting the funds that could be sent overseas, actually contributed to the increase in the proportion of national workers employed in a field. These individuals proved less expensive to support. They needed no costly furloughs home and seemed willing, if not always completely content, to accept salaries substantially less than those paid to overseas missionaries. From 1930 to 1936, the number of foreign missionaries in China, for example, remained constant, while the force of national workers increased by 388.

The dislocation occasioned by World War II gave a new push to the utilization of national workers in higher administrative posts. In 1941 General Conference president J. L. McElhany noted that as far as Ethiopia and the Far East were concerned, "the responsibility for carrying on the work in these countries now rests largely upon our national workers and indigenous churches." These workers proved more capable than expected. Although the war in China brought myriad problems, China Division president E. L. Longway observed in 1946 that in the three unions entirely under the direction of Chinese workers, "every phase of the work has been fostered and kept intact."¹³

For decades prior to World War II, the spirit of nationalism had been growing throughout much of Asia. Resentment of foreign domination and exploitation frequently carried over into a mistrust of Christianity, the religion of the Europeans. With the achieving of independence by India and Pakistan in 1947, followed by Indonesia two years later, Adventist officials could see the need to move more rapidly in placing direction of church activities and organizations in local hands. By 1950 less than 20 percent of the working force in Southern Asia was made up of overseas personnel. In the six unions and twenty-seven local missions fifteen superintendents and many departmental secretaries were nationals. At division headquarters four department heads, the assistant treasurer, the assistant auditor, and most of the clerical staff were indigenous.

Lessons From the China Revolution

The swift communist conquest of China that culminated in 1949 dramatized the passing of Western influence in much of Asia. Fearing "that the continued presence of foreigners on the mission stations would cause embarrassment, and in some cases be a real source of danger to the national church leaders," church officials quickly turned over all administrative posts from the division level down through the local conferences to Chinese nationals. That was not enough for the Commissars whose anti-Western and antireligious bias soon sparked persecution and repression that "destroyed the institutional and organizational structure of the church" and drove loyal members underground. All connection between world headquarters and Seventh-day Adventists in China was broken."¹⁴

Disturbingly, at least in the eyes of one loyal and astute Chinese Seventh-day Adventist minister, the tragedy that racked the church in China might have been greatly alleviated. David Lin, secretary of the China Division after the departure of overseas workers, saw the elaborate church organizational structure and its publishing, educational, and medical institutions taken over by ambitious workers willing to compromise with the new regime. He concluded that many institutional workers “never were really converted.” Had a major part of the money spent in operating the organizational machinery and building institutions been used instead to translate and circulate Ellen White’s books, Lin believed, the faith of Adventist church members would have been much stronger and the spirit of compromise less prevalent.

In retrospect Lin expressed the opinion that a much larger share of the budget also should have gone to strengthening local congregations. Too much, he reasoned, was spent on travel by overseas personnel. These overseas workers frequently absorbed the attitude of the colonial powers and came to consider themselves as “a little king in his realm.” Such persons were easy victims of local “sycophants, hypocrites and opportunists,” who used flattery to gain ordination and promotion. The fact that American missionaries drew salaries nearly six times that of local workers, not because of “experience, talent, ability or efficiency, but simply on the color of skin,” bred resentment, no less real because it was concealed. Lin believed that foreign missionaries “unconsciously imbibed the spirit of foreign imperialism,” and thus it was inevitable that the aversion to imperialism would be carried over to the church organization these foreigners had created.¹⁵

David Lin’s criticisms of the salary differential between overseas and indigenous church employees highlights a problem which church leaders struggled to resolve equitably. There seemed to be no easy answer. To those charged with financing the world church, it appeared that salaries should be governed largely by the economy of the area in which a church employee was serving. It did not seem wise to pay a pastor or teacher wages that were noticeably more than those received by the average church member in the area.

At the same time, church leaders believed that overseas personnel must be compensated in such a way as to allow them to maintain a standard of living roughly comparable to that of their homeland. Generally this meant higher salaries for the North American or European serving in a less technologically complex culture—if they were to afford familiar foodstuffs and enjoy what were considered common “necessities” at home. Depending upon the area of service, such workers might be paid considerably less than they would have received in a comparable post at home, yet still be paid substantially more than their indigenous counterpart. Misunderstandings were the inevitable result.

Perhaps Adventist leaders at headquarters and in traditional mission

areas learned more from the China experience than David Lin realized. By 1954 the neighboring Far Eastern Division could report that twenty-one presidents in its thirty-two local missions and twenty-seven secretary-treasurers were nationals. The division's largest union in terms of members, the Southern Philippines, was entirely staffed by Filipinos. Several thousand miles to the southeast, war hero Kata Rangoso became the first national to serve as a mission president in the territory of the Australasian Division. The pace of peaceful "nationalization" had quickened even more in Southern Asia, where three quarters of the local mission presidents and all local secretary-treasurers and departmental secretaries were nationals.¹⁶

In large part this expanded corps of loyal, committed, and well-equipped national leaders was the product of Seventh-day Adventist schools such as Spicer Memorial College and Philippine Union College. Spicer traces its origins to the South India Training School established in 1915 as a worker-training institute, while Philippine Union College developed from a Seventh-day Adventist academy begun in 1917. By the late 1950s several generations of local Adventists had profited from the instruction received in these schools. It was now possible for these young people to fan out into neighboring countries as evangelistic, medical, and educational workers. By 1958, for instance, Filipino workers were serving in Hong Kong, Indo-China, Thailand, Borneo, Sarawak, Indonesia, and Guam and also carrying almost the entire leadership in their homeland.

World Nationalism

The nationalistic spirit which led to independence for India and Indonesia in the 1940s was very evident in Africa and the Caribbean during the next decade. Beginning with Ghana in 1957, a stream of new national states began to appear in the political councils of the world. The church could not escape the changing times. Long-suppressed peoples considered it only fair that they should now have a hand in the major direction of their lives and institutions. This included the church.

Adventists leaders moved quickly to upgrade available educational programs in Rhodesia, Nigeria, and Jamaica in order to have properly trained nationals available for administrative posts. In 1958 four-year post-secondary courses in religion and education were developed at "old Solusi." The next year an initial class of seven ministerial students was begun at what would eventually become the Adventist Seminary of West Africa in western Nigeria. Concurrently in Inter-America the ministerial training program at West Indies College was expanded and lengthened.

Robert H. Pierson proved to be a key man in the development of African Seventh-day Adventist administrators. Sensitized by years of experience in Inter-America and Southern Asia, Pierson, who became Trans-Africa Division president in 1958, quickly recognized the urgent need to bring loyal, dedicated African workers into positions of larger responsibility.

There was no time to wait for the maturation of the young workers graduating from the Solusi College ministerial course. Thus, as many as 200 older African workers, many with only a grammar-school education, were brought to Solusi annually for from one to nine months of course work covering practical leadership problems.¹⁷

The world in 1966 was a vastly different one from that of twenty years earlier. The number of independent national states had increased dramatically; 98.5 percent of the world's population lived in such areas. As General Conference secretary W. R. Beach reminded that year's General Conference delegates, "this proliferation of fiercely independent units has greatly modified the context of a world mission." In an effort to keep pace with the changing times, Beach noted that "national leadership personnel has increased dramatically." On the whole Beach felt these changes were for the good. Yet he was anxious to avoid parochialism, since he believed that "experience teaches us . . . that the work of God is best fostered in any section of the world by a cosmopolitan working force." Such a force "constitutes a constant reminder of a movement embracing all peoples."

Working Together

Ten years after Beach spoke, Adventist leaders around the world continued to see an international working force in every division as a definite asset. Persons from different backgrounds with varied experiences introduced fresh ideas that kept the Adventist evangelistic outreach from stagnating. Other advantages in having at least some workers of a different nationality also persist. In areas of Africa, India, and Indonesia, for example, tribalism is so deeply ingrained that laymen and church employees alike may find it easier to trust an American, an Australian, or a Filipino than one of their own nationality with roots in a tribe or community only a few miles distant.

It has also proved easier for administrators of a different nationality to resist pressures toward nepotism or for the granting of financial "favors" to friends and relatives. For this reason many conference and institutional treasurers in particular serve in areas other than their homeland. In spite of the efforts to upgrade overseas educational institutions, a need for personnel trained at an educational level beyond that available locally is still felt in many lesser-developed nations. This is particularly true in education and medicine, although scores of young nationals are each year sent to the United States, Great Britain, Australia, or the Philippines for an advanced education. Unfortunately some elect to stay in a more affluent society. Thus Adventists suffer their own "brain drain." It was not until 1975 that the church inaugurated a second medical school, at Montemorelos, Mexico, primarily to serve the needs of the Spanish-speaking fields.

Although the day of the Adventist missionary is not over, it is a new kind

who is required in the closing years of the twentieth century. As Sievert Gustavsson, president of the Nigerian Union, suggested in 1976, the missionaries needed now are those who consciously go out "to assist the nationals rather than to be their 'masters.'"¹⁸

Just as Adventism among Afro-Americans prospered after the development of the regional conferences, so it has prospered in former colonial areas under vigorous national leadership. In 1970 the Ghana Conference became the first black African conference to be staffed locally, with J. K. Amoah as its first president. Within a very few years, tithe receipts in the Ghana Conference more than doubled, while membership increased nearly 45 percent.

Although virtually isolated from the rest of Adventism since the 1960s, the Burmese church has continued to grow under national leadership. By 1970 no foreign religious workers could work in Burma, nor could any national workers leave to attend council meetings. Yet the membership increase from 1966 to 1970 was 52 percent greater than during the previous quadrennium.

One of the very practical benefits from increasing the percentage of national workers in many overseas areas is economic: more workers can be hired for less money because of the lower wages paid local workers as compared to those coming from overseas, particularly the United States. In addition to not being hampered by language barriers, local workers also are frequently more successful because of a better understanding of how to work within the local culture. In India, for example, American evangelists utilizing the expensive mass advertising techniques they had known at home proved less successful in winning converts than indigenous evangelists willing to work much more modestly, but intensively and personally, in India's thousands of small villages.

It also appears that the proud people of the emerging third world often respond better to evangelists of their own nationality. In many areas religious workers from other nationalities are suspect as potential "imperialist agents." Recognizing the abilities of local workers through election to administrative posts encourages some to work more diligently. Local administrators lend stability to the program; they seem to move less frequently than do overseas personnel.¹⁹

With the development of more experienced workers native to all parts of the world field, the General Conference headquarters staff, once almost exclusively filled by North Americans with a sprinkling of Europeans, Australians, and a South African or two, has become more cosmopolitan. Following the 1975 General Conference, there were few departments without an associate director whose homeland was not the United States, or who had not at least served a number of years in an overseas post. Among the seven general vice-presidents elected in 1975, four were non-North Americans coming from Brazil, Norway, South Africa, and the West Indies.

Nationalistic pressures and racial antagonisms were very much a part of the world scene in the second half of the twentieth century. Seventh-day Adventists could neither ignore these forces nor fail to be affected by them. Their organization, however, proved able to encompass the resultant stresses and accommodate to them. There was no splintering into separate ethnic or national churches, but rather a continued, intensified, united effort to sound the three angels' messages with new urgency.

Suggested Reading:

Until the manuscripts on S.D.A. work among Afro-Americans currently being prepared by Frank L. Jones and Louis B. Reynolds become available, Jacob Justiss's *Angels in Ebony* (1975) has probably the best account of the development of the regional conferences. There is really no good source on the growth of national workers in the overseas divisions. Perceptive readers will glean some insight from articles dealing with individual countries in the *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*. Also helpful are the reports presented by the division presidents at the quadrennial General Conference sessions. David Lin's "Years of Heartbreak: Lessons for Mission by a China Insider," *Spectrum*, VII (Number 3): 22, 23, and S. J. Lee's, "Adventism in China: The Communist Takeover," *Ibid.*, pp. 16-22, provide disturbing but thought-provoking insights into one area where national leadership was placed under terrific strains.

1. F. L. Jones, "The Black Man and the Church in America," (unpublished MS, 1976), pp. 71, 101, 102; J. Justiss, *Angels in Ebony*, 1975, pp. 75, 76; J. Mesar and T. Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage*, I (January 1974): 36; *Review and Herald*, June 14, 1926, pp. 4, 5.
2. *Review*, June 14, 1946, pp. 194, 195; July 17, 1950, pp. 123-125; Jones, p. 71; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 869, 1195; Justiss, p. 34.
3. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 403, 1221; *Review*, June 2, 1936, p. 109; Justiss, pp. 102-104.
4. Justiss, pp. 43-47.
5. Justiss, pp. 47-50; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1175; E. K. Vande Vere, "The Heart of the Lake Union," *Lake Union Herald*, August 3, 1976, p. 3; Jones, pp. 102-104.
6. Justiss, pp. 50-61; Jones, pp. 104, 105; *Review*, January 25, 1945, p. 13; February 7, 1946, p. 20; June 14, 1946, pp. 194, 195; Vande Vere, "The Heart of the Lake Union."
7. Jones, pp. 105-107; *Review*, February 14, 1946, p. 19; May 9, 1946, p. 19; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 759, 983, 1019, 1123.
8. Jones, pp. 127, 128; *Review*, June 22, 1966, p. 13; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1196.
9. Jones, pp. 131-137; Justiss, pp. 147-149; *Spectrum*, II (Spring 1970).
10. *Review*, June 17, 1970, pp. 19, 20; July 31, 1975, p. 25.
11. *Review*, May 29, 1926, pp. 27, 28.
12. *Review*, July 24, 1975, p. 7; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1370.
13. *Review*, June 11, 1936, p. 259; May 27, 1941, pp. 9, 10; June 14, 1946, p. 182.
14. *Review*, July 19, 1950, pp. 164-166; July 20, 1950, p. 183; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 276.
15. David Lin, "Years of Heartbreak: Lessons for Mission by a China Insider," *Spectrum*, VII (Number 3): 22-33. See also S. J. Lee, "Adventism in China: The Communist Takeover," *Spectrum*, VII (Number 3): 16-22.
16. Letter from R. H. Pierson, October 26, 1977; *Review*, May 28, 1954, p. 86; May 30, 1954, p. 104; May 31, 1954, p. 132.
17. *Review*, June 23, 1958, pp. 60, 61; June 29, 1958, p. 190; July 30, 1962, p. 13; July 31, 1962, p. 6.
18. *Review*, June 19, 1966, pp. 7, 8; July 18, 1975, p. 13; Interviews with Don Roth, February 24, 1976, and G. J. Christo, September 14, 1976; letter from Sievert Gustavsson, December 1976.
19. *Review*, June 24, 1966, p. 9; June 16, 1970, p. 18; July 31, 1975, p. 8; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 514; letters to the author from various S.D.A. divisional leaders.

CHAPTER 35

Dramatic Breakthroughs in Evangelism

Through the years Seventh-day Adventists have developed many methods of heralding the three angels' messages. In the century following the first tent effort in Battle Creek in 1854, series of public meetings held by itinerant evangelists played a dominant role. But in the early 1940s, wartime pressures led to a decline in attendance at evangelistic meetings. Then the atomic age brought new life to public evangelism. Gloomy predictions by scientists and statesmen enhanced the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To many the world seemed only "minutes from midnight." In these circumstances, Adventist emphasis on eschatological prophecies suddenly appeared relevant.

The Public Evangelism Movement

Church leaders, sensing the opportune times, issued a call at the 1947 Autumn Council for every Adventist minister, including those involved in departmental and institutional work, "to actively engage in public evangelism for as much time as possible each year." The General Conference Ministerial Association staff was strengthened by adding two successful evangelists, Melvin Eckenroth and George Vandeman, as associate secretaries.

Public evangelism received an even greater boost through the actions of delegates to the 1950 General Conference. They named R. Allan Anderson to head the Ministerial Association—the first professional evangelist to fill this post. Equally important was the selection of William Branson, an enthusiastic supporter of public evangelism, as president of the General Conference. In 1950 the communist takeover had forced Branson to leave his position as head of the China Division. Since the end of World

War II he had directed “the greatest public evangelism movement ever undertaken by any religious organization in China.” It was a new experience to have a thousand persons come to hear a presentation of the Sabbath in the old capital city of Peiping and to have 126 persons baptized in one day in Swatow.

Branson had called the successful American evangelist, Fordyce Detamore, to hold major campaigns in Shanghai and Hong Kong. In the latter city continuous public campaigns in English, Mandarin, and Cantonese were carried on for over a year. At one time, in spite of revolutionary agitation, there were sixty major city efforts going on simultaneously across China. Several thousand Adventist converts were the result.

At the final session of the 1950 conference the delegates unanimously called upon all Adventist workers, lay members, children, and youth to “coordinate *now* their resources, talents and efforts in a concerted, unparalleled and worldwide evangelistic campaign.” This was to be the “supreme objective”; every other interest was subordinate. The delegates recognized the impossibility of their task unless they received the divine blessing. Hence they called upon every Adventist church, school, and institution to sponsor revival services “as soon as possible”; in these services there was to be a call for “complete renunciation of sin and a full reconsecration of our hearts and lives to God.”

“Double the Membership”

Church leaders believed in 1950 that Adventists should now sell their surplus property and prepare their wills, making ample means available for evangelism. Campaigns should be held in all the large cities of the world. At the same time, each local minister and district leader should plan an evangelistic series for every part of his field. Doubling of the church membership was held to be a viable “immediate objective.”¹

The next several years saw campaigns in two of the world’s most populous cities. R. A. Anderson drew crowds of up to 4000 to New York City’s prestigious Carnegie Hall, while in London Vandeman attracted peak audiences of more than 7000 in the Coliseum. In these major metropolitan areas appropriate facilities proved both difficult to secure and costly to rent. As a result, the denomination decided to purchase quarters for use as permanent evangelistic centers in a centralized area of both. The New Gallery Theater on London’s Regent Street was acquired by the British Union Conference in 1953 and transformed into a religious and cultural center. At the end of a Vandeman campaign there the next year, 210 individuals were baptized into the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The New Gallery Center presented the evangelistic film “I Beheld His Glory” three times a day for a four-month period. Nearly 100,000 copies of *Steps to Christ* were presented to viewers. A wide variety of lectures, seminars, discussion programs, and concerts provided Britons with a new concept of Adventism.

A remodeled hotel became the New York Center in 1956. Located near Times Square in the heart of the theater district, it offered a variety of programs similar to those of the New Gallery. Several years later a second Times Square Center was developed a few blocks away by the Adventist Hebrew Congregation. Later evangelistic centers were constructed in Cairo, Beirut, Osaka, Manila, and Djakarta.

Overseas Growth

The postwar emphasis on evangelism proved particularly effective in increasing Adventist membership outside North America. These areas averaged an annual growth rate of approximately 6 percent in the decade following the end of World War II—twice the annual increase in North America. The following factors help explain the larger rate of increase in overseas areas: (1) the influence of the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary's evangelistic field schools, (2) less economic prosperity, with its accompanying secularization, and (3) increased expenditures for evangelism (the Southern Asia Division, for example, committed five times as much to evangelism in 1951 as was spent in 1950).²

"Adventist" Evangelism

During the late 1940s, a division of opinion became prominent among Adventist evangelists as to the wisdom of identifying their meetings with Seventh-day Adventists. Fearful that prejudice would keep most people away, Seventh-day Adventist evangelists had traditionally avoided a denominational label, arguing that their messages were "for the people of every denomination." Some even met questions as to their sponsorship by advertising that they were lecturers for some innocuous-sounding organization such as J. L. Shuler's "American Bible Institute." This gave rise to charges of deception and frequently proved embarrassing to church members questioned by their friends as to why their evangelist was not more candid in identifying himself as an Adventist.

When M. K. Eckenroth held a major campaign in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1946, he decided to announce his Seventh-day Adventist sponsorship from the start. On opening night the theater in which his meetings were held was jammed to capacity with some 2300 listeners, while several hundred had to be turned away. Eckenroth concluded that openly labeling the meetings as Seventh-day Adventist had been beneficial, not harmful.

Not all agreed. Fordyce Detamore held out for nondisclosure until after distinctive Adventist doctrines had been presented. Noting that "in many places our church buildings are not representative," and that sometimes a vocal few "unrepresentative" Adventists had given the denomination an "unsavory name," Detamore feared the Seventh-day Adventist label could be an "embarrassment." He was also concerned lest persons who had attended a few Adventist meetings in the past decide not to attend the

new series because of a feeling that they already knew what would be presented. Detamore noted that major evangelists like Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday had never advertised themselves as members of any denomination.

For several years the debate continued, but by 1950 even such an experienced evangelist as J. L. Schuler had become convinced that "in our city evangelistic campaigns in the United States it is obviously wise, in advertising the first meeting, to inform the public that the meetings are being sponsored by Seventh-day Adventists." L. E. From had taken a similar position several months earlier, arguing that Adventist radio programs, widely circulated literature, schools, and sanitariums, had brought the church to "an entirely new day." The thousands who know something about Adventist beliefs and had favorable opinions of Adventist welfare activities could be counted on to be attracted by the Seventh-day Adventist label attached to a series of meetings.³

Although there were differences of opinion as to openly identifying church sponsorship of an evangelistic crusade, Adventist commitment to evangelism did not falter. President R. R. Figuhr told delegates to the 1958 General Conference that "evangelism remains our chief task." Figuhr recognized that evangelists were facing new problems in attracting audiences. In particular, there was much more competition for the public's attention, especially from the entertainment and communications media. Public evangelism was increasingly expensive. Figuhr called upon all Adventist workers to be willing to experiment with new methods for projecting their message to the world.

"Spearhead" Evangelism

By the time Figuhr spoke, Adventists had already become heavily involved in the use of radio and television. Although evangelistic lecture series were not discarded, many were considerably modified. "The church had definitely swung away from the large city campaign, led by a dynamic evangelistic orator." One new approach was the "spearhead campaign." Local church members first launched an intensive drive to secure enrollments in an Adventist Bible correspondence course. After a number of persons had completed a substantial part of the lessons, a major Adventist evangelist was invited to give a few well-publicized lectures on basically noncontroversial topics. These were followed by a weekly Bible class in which local personnel dealt with the more distinctive Adventist doctrines.

Spearhead evangelism seemed particularly adapted for use in smaller and medium-sized cities. One of the first Adventist congregations to use this approach, the church in La Crosse, Wisconsin, found it profitable to bring in a new guest speaker for a few meetings every six months. Continuous spearhead evangelism over a three-year period led to a tripling of the La Crosse church membership.⁴

Whereas spearhead evangelism was designed to create or nurture interest in Adventism, another type of short evangelistic campaign began appearing in the 1950s. Frequently termed a “reaping” series or “decision” meetings, this campaign of one or two weeks, or perhaps only a meeting or two, was designed to take advantage of the continuous evangelistic outreach of the church through its literature, radio, and television broadcasts, and the personal witness of individual members. Special efforts were made to gain the attendance of persons in the community who already knew much about Adventist beliefs. The evangelist’s task was to bring these persons to the point of accepting and practicing these beliefs and joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Voice of Youth

An alternative plan of evangelism, designed to harness the talent and energy of the denomination’s youth, was developed by the Missionary Volunteer Department in 1954—the “Voice of Youth” series. Working closely with their pastor, a church’s younger members held a relatively short evangelistic series designed to attract attention from other young people and adults intrigued by the novelty of dedicated youthful speakers. Some three years after the program’s development it was reported that 4774 youth baptisms had resulted from “Voice of Youth” meetings.⁵

Some evangelists experimented with alternative formats in place of the conventional lectures in tent or auditorium. The most prominent of these were panel discussions followed by small group discussion, the dialog or conversational approach, and revival services conducted in the local Adventist church. As the drive-in motion picture theater became popular, several speakers attempted “drive-in evangelism” with modest success. A wide variety of premiums (books, Bibles, pictures, and records) were offered both to secure and to hold attendance at evangelistic series. Publicity devices included such things as a contest to discover the oldest Bible, or the most popular hymn or Bible verse in the community.

Public Service Programs

Increasingly, a medically oriented segment preceding the regular sermon was added and given wide publicity. This drew on Adventist physicians, nurses, dentists, and dietitians to present health talks, hold stop-smoking clinics, and conduct cooking schools and weight-control programs. Most evangelists also revised the content of their evangelistic sermons. More emphasis was placed on basic salvation doctrines held in common with other Christians. More sermons on practical problems of daily living—social and psychological tensions, the home, marriage, and child rearing were preached. By the 1970s some evangelists were combining these less-doctrinal presentations into adult education series offered as a “public service” to the community. Enrollees who displayed spiritual interests were encouraged to enroll in a Bible-study class.⁶

City Evangelism Abroad

Long after attendance at traditional evangelistic campaigns declined in the United States and Canada, Adventist preachers found it possible to attract large audiences in other parts of the world. In Australia, Europe, and South Africa popular interest in archaeological discoveries was utilized. The traditional prophetic approach continued to appeal to thousands in Latin America. Reporting to the General Conference session of 1962, the president of the Inter-American Division noted that during the preceding four years in the large cities of his division, "the public attends our evangelistic meetings to a degree never before known in Latin America." The principal problem seemed to be to locate auditoriums large enough to accommodate those interested.

One of the most successful evangelistic campaigns in Adventist history was begun by Earl Cleveland in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, in September 1966. The 3300 who attended on opening night swelled to 7000 by the time of the final service in November. As the audience grew it had to be sheltered in two large tents pitched side by side. In the month of November alone 812 new members were baptized. By the time follow-up meetings were completed, the total number of additions to the church had climbed to 1222. Forty-six ministers worked with Cleveland in personal visitation and instruction and went away fired with a new enthusiasm for public evangelism. About this same time, W. W. Fordham drew an opening crowd of 7000 in French-speaking Haiti. At the close of ten weeks of meetings he could report 450 converts.⁷

Radio Ministry

Although the evangelistic lecture series continued to be a significant part of the organized Adventist outreach during the three decades following World War II, as early as 1941 church leaders decided to embark on a major program of radio evangelism. Nine years later a similar decision was made with regard to television. After a decade of experimentation by dozens of Adventist ministers in the use of radio, the General Conference established a committee in 1935 to determine the extent of use and the potential in this mass medium of communication. It found that Adventist radio broadcasts were being aired in forty different local conferences across North America "and that hundreds of conversions were the result." But the cost of radio broadcasting was high. When church leaders learned that a half-hour weekly broadcast on a national network would probably cost \$200,000 per year, their interest cooled.

Out in California one of the church's prominent evangelists, H. M. S. Richards, was convinced that radio must be exploited. Like some of his colleagues, Richards had used local stations to advertise his evangelistic series. Sometimes these stations offered public service time for occasional broadcasts while his tabernacle meetings were in progress. In 1930



W. H. Branson



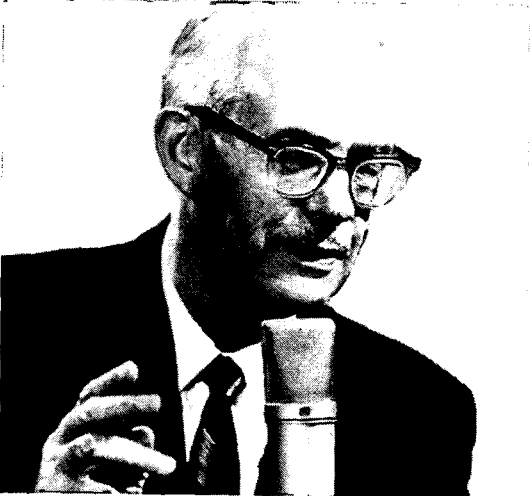
Robert H. Pierson



R. R. Figuhr



Fordyce Detamore



H. M. S. Richards, Sr.



H. M. S. Richards, Jr.

Richards decided the time had come to launch a regular broadcast. One evening during his sermon he invited those in the audience who would like to help finance such a venture to slip their contributions—cash, jewelry, even old gold teeth—into the left-hand pocket of his coat as he shook hands with them after the service. The first night's pocketful amounted to \$220. Over the next seven years Richards's radio pocket garnered thousands of dollars to finance production of "The Tabernacle of the Air" on station KGER in Long Beach.

At the time Richards began his regular broadcasts, most radio preachers were simply preaching as if they were before a live audience. Fortunately, Richards met a young man at KGER who believed that a radio program should sell something—in this case religion. With his help Richards worked out an attractive format that included music and a conversational presentation of his message. Soon five or six letters per day were arriving from listeners, some with questions, some with requests for prayer, others containing contributions to keep the program on the air. Richards answered each letter in longhand until Betty Cannon, a local Adventist public stenographer, offered her services one day each week. As the radio audience grew, Miss Cannon was needed full time. Each day she received her pay from the donations that arrived in that day's mail.

To many it seemed that Elder Richards had chosen the worst possible time to begin a radio broadcast. The United States was in the grip of the Great Depression. Church leaders offered no financial support; yet for seven years Richards's radio pocket and listeners' contributions met broadcast expenses. During some periods the evangelist was even broadcasting three times a day.

When Richards heard the "Lone Star Four" quartet, composed of young Adventist male nurses, he was certain they would be a real asset to his program. The men were willing, but they had families to support and work was scarce; they could not afford to pass by jobs just to be available for each broadcast. After much talking Richards persuaded conference officials to hire the quartet for six months. They would sing for Adventist evangelistic series, radio broadcasts, and church services. Some time after they became a permanent fixture, the quartet adopted a new name—the King's Herald's—suggested by several listeners during a radio contest.

The birth of a new radio network—the Mutual Broadcasting System—offered an opportunity for expanded coverage of Richards's program, recently renamed the "Voice of Prophecy." The existing NBC and CBS networks did not accept paid religious broadcasts, but Mutual was willing to do so. The "Voice of Prophecy" became one of the first regular programs to sign up on the Mutual System, expanding its coverage to seven stations throughout the Pacific coastal states.

After considerable hesitation, Richards agreed to union president Glenn Calkins's offer to assume sponsorship and financial responsibility for his program. In order to demonstrate radio's drawing power to skepti-

cal church officials, a test was arranged. A "Voice of Prophecy" evangelistic series was scheduled for Lodi, California, with advertising confined to announcements over the San Francisco Mutual station. An opening night overflow crowd made it necessary to call police to direct the congested traffic. One hundred evening meetings resulted in 280 baptisms—enough to convince even the most skeptical.

In 1941, four years after Richards first went on a network hookup, the General Conference Committee in Autumn Council decided to adopt the program and expand it into a coast-to-coast broadcast. The following January "The Voice," as Richards was identified, began broadcasting on eighty-nine stations blanketing the entire nation.

Fordyce Detamore, joining the program as associate speaker and announcer, proceeded to develop a radio Bible correspondence course, a project Richards at first viewed with considerable skepticism. When 2000 listeners enrolled in the course during the first month, Elder Richards's attitude changed to one of enthusiasm. Courses for juniors, in Braille, and in a variety of languages were quickly prepared.⁸

During 1942, the first year of national exposure, the "Voice of Prophecy" received nearly 225,000 letters from listeners. That year the General Conference called Braulio Perez Marcio to prepare a Spanish version of the program. Soon Dr. Perez Marcio's flawless Spanish was heard throughout Central and South America. By the end of 1942 the number of stations carrying the "Voice of Prophecy" had increased to 225, including outlets in Hawaii, Panama, and Ecuador. By March of 1943 sixty stations throughout Latin America were carrying the broadcast in Spanish or Portuguese.

Rapid growth continued as arrangements were made for coverage in Australia, and the message was broadcast over powerful short-wave transmitters in Africa. In 1946 the number of station outlets passed 600; that year a report from Africa told of more than 70,000 families contacted through the "Voice of Prophecy" Bible school. Europe's most powerful station, Radio Luxembourg, began carrying the broadcast in six languages in 1947. Bible correspondence schools were not the only spinoff from the radio broadcasts. In September 1944 some 450 newspapers were carrying a "Voice of Prophecy" Bible Questions and Answers column.⁹

Elder Richards's dream of "proclaiming Christ to the millions" was further realized when in 1949 his broadcast began appearing on the ABC network in the United States; seven years later a third national network was added when time was purchased on ninety-one NBC stations. Desiring more intensive coverage, Richards prepared four different series, each six months in length, for airing as thirty-minute daily broadcasts. These began appearing in 1960. That year Richards's oldest son, H. M. S., Jr., joined his father as associate speaker. He also assumed much of the responsibility for answering correspondence and conducted several evangelistic series each year under "Voice of Prophecy" auspices.

As the "Voice of Prophecy" went international, speakers were secured to present the Adventist message in more than fifty major languages. The King's Heralds and contralto Del Delker, who had joined the program several years after it went nationwide, learned to sing in Navajo, Russian, Japanese, Swahili, Indonesian, Pidgin English, and a variety of other tongues. When radio time became available with unexpected suddenness in Japan following World War II, professional singers had to be hired. The soprano soloist was the daughter of a Buddhist priest, while the leading tenor was himself a Buddhist priest!

Radio made it possible for the Adventist message to gain a hearing in areas formerly hostile to Christianity. In Japan, for instance, the radio Bible school enrolled over 100,000 students in five years' time; 15,000 completed the entire course. Bible correspondence schools operating from Cairo, Beirut, and Teheran reached many Moslems. A broadcasting studio at Middle East College prepared a series of Arabic health broadcasts, entitled "Voice of the Home," designed to prepare the way for a later religious series. After the communist regime had forced Christian missionaries out of China, the advent message was still proclaimed there via broadcasts in Cantonese and Amoyese from Radio Saigon.¹⁰

The "Voice of Prophecy" pioneered a variety of approaches to attract the interest of groups normally unresponsive to religious broadcasts or free Bible correspondence courses. One of the most unusual, designed to reach American youth, appeared in 1969 under the title "The Way Out." Time was purchased for thirty- to sixty-second spot announcements on leading "rock music" stations. These spots utilized a rock-type theme song to advertise a special magazine and posters prepared in contemporary language and design. A special correspondence course and series of tracts dealing with social concerns of youth followed, as did special exhibits designed to attract young visitors at fairs and conventions.

H. M. S. Richards, Jr., who succeeded the senior Richards as speaker-director of the "Voice of Prophecy" in 1969, continued the innovative tactics his father had begun. In 1967 "Nite Owl" broadcasts were launched in an effort to reach the millions of Americans who listen to the radio during late evening and early morning hours. By 1971 a nightly network of eighteen powerful stations blanketed the United States with fifteen-minute "Voice of Prophecy" broadcasts. In 1976 the "Voice" began testing a five-minute public-service-type broadcast called "Introspect," an expanded version of an earlier series of spot commercials that explored ideas in science and religion or commented on family problems of wide interest.¹¹

Although the "Voice of Prophecy" became the most famous Adventist radio broadcast, scores of others, ranging from programs produced by local pastors for a single station to conference-sponsored regional broadcasts, soon developed. In the autumn of 1971 the church launched a major effort to reach the millions of Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia via

short-wave radio. At the outset time for twenty-two weekly broadcasts in a variety of languages was purchased from huge 250,000-watt Radio-Trans-Europe in Portugal. Later, time also became available on a similar station in Malta. Many programs were taped in a central studio in Paris; others were produced in Yugoslavia, Italy, and Greece.

Operated under the title "Adventist World Radio," the short-wave broadcasts proved particularly popular among the thousands of Europeans who listened to short-wave radio as a hobby. During the first five years of operation, these multilingual broadcasts drew responses from as many as one thousand listeners per month. One in ten requested enrollment in a Bible course. A special ten-minute "DX News" program, directed at short-wave hobbyists and aired just before the religious broadcasts, caught the attention of many who would probably otherwise ignore a religious program. Additional outlets capable of reaching into southern Africa, Asia, and Australia were eventually secured over Radio Sri Lanka and Radio Macao.¹²

Using the air waves to spread Adventism was not confined to official church employees. Seventh-day Adventist amateur radio operators frequently found ways of sharing their faith during short-wave contacts with fellow "hams" all over the globe. Some even developed regular amateur "nets" for Bible study. Others produced weekly broadcasts over commercial stations.

One of the most successful lay ventures into radio was aimed at children and began from a neighborhood Sabbath-afternoon story hour. Students and staff members at Emmanuel Missionary College hesitatingly agreed in 1949 to accept a local station's offer to broadcast dramatized Bible and character-building stories (originally drawn largely from Arthur Maxwell's *Bedtime Stories*). By 1976 "Your Story Hour" was aired over nearly 550 radio stations—largely on donated time worth some \$750,000 annually. The program was not confined to North America but had outlets in Africa, Australia, the Caribbean, and the Philippines as well. The producers, laymen operating with no official church financial support, were busy developing a pilot film for television. They had earlier produced a variety of long-play records and cassettes which won wide acceptance among parents and public and parochial school teachers.¹³

Television

Following World War II, advanced technology moved television from a "science-fiction dream" to a major purveyor of news and entertainment. Adventist pastors in Baltimore and San Francisco began experimental programs, but it was William Fagal's "Faith for Today" in New York City that was adopted as the church's major effort to exploit the new medium. Fagal's first half-hour telecast aired on May 21, 1950, drew sixty-six letters, most requesting the free Bible course he had offered.

The first weeks were hectic ones—Fagal lost forty pounds in three



W. A. Fagal



George Vandeman

months—as the staff sought to create a format that would capture viewer interest. After much consultation, and considerable experimentation, a varied program centering around a “parable approach” was developed. Using local church members as actors, a modern-day problem was dramatized, ending with a biblical solution driven home by Fagal in a brief sermonette. Music by a male quartet and Mrs. Fagal’s invitation to enroll in the free Bible course rounded out the program.

By fall the General Conference had decided to expand the “Faith for Today” coverage by releasing it over stations in eight additional major American cities. Church leaders initially planned that the “Voice of Prophecy” group should add television broadcasting in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, but afterward it seemed better to divide responsibilities, with Richards concentrating on radio while Fagal assumed responsibility for the denomination’s television program.

At the start “Faith for Today” programs were broadcast live in New York and by kinescope in other cities. A major breakthrough came in 1952, just as expansion into new areas seemed impossible due to lack of funds. A station in Utica, New York, offered to broadcast the program free as a public service; others followed, and soon it was necessary to pay for broadcast time only in the largest metropolitan areas. By early 1958 the telecast was appearing on 130 stations at no cost to the church beyond that of producing and distributing program films. At that time a weekly viewing audience of four million was estimated.

As television facilities developed around the world, "Faith for Today" was given international exposure. At Pentagon request, films were dispatched to all American Defense Forces television stations overseas. "Faith for Today" became the first religious broadcast aired over Australian television, when the series' first program appeared during the initial week of station operation there. DZAQ-TV in Manila was already screening the program at that time. When Africa's first television station began transmitting from Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1960, "Faith for Today" became its first religious program. Several years later the South American Division began producing Portuguese and Spanish versions of the North American Adventist telecast.

Like the "Voice of Prophecy," "Faith for Today" developed a wide variety of Bible correspondence courses and lent its name to Adventist evangelistic series in major cities. As viewers' tastes changed, so did the telecast's format. The parable approach was varied by interviews with missionaries and a variety of Christians "with a meaningful story to tell." The male quartet was dropped in 1966 while in the 1970s the story situations were based around hospital episodes to take advantage of the public's interest in health matters. Volunteer Adventist actors had long since been replaced with professionals, and the telecast had been a pioneer in converting to color films. Public response was sustained. Some weeks as many as 10,000 letters were received. During the first twenty-five years of broadcasting, an average of 1000 baptisms annually could be directly traced to the television series.¹⁴

An alternative television approach was begun in the late 1950s when George Vandeman of the General Conference Ministerial Association developed "It Is Written" with a basic evangelistic format. Using no dramatizations and a minimum of music, Vandeman filmed a series that was more openly doctrinal. Backed up by Bible-study guides distributed by local church members to interested viewers, "It Is Written" became a vital part of the coordinated evangelism program in many conferences.

At the 1971 Annual Council the General Conference decided to establish a radio, television, and film center to coordinate production of the church's varied mass-media programs. The center, located at Thousand Oaks, California, contains broadcast and production studios, administrative offices, the Bible schools affiliated with the various programs, and mailing, printing, and accounting facilities. Also located in this complex is the denomination's Audio-Visual Services which produces films, filmstrips, slides, recordings, television "spots" and public-service radio programs. One of the newest additions to the center has been the "Breath of Life" television series with an all-black cast and aimed at black Americans.¹⁵

Bureau of Public Relations

Much of the success attending Seventh-day Adventist radio and television programs can be traced to the thousands of Adventist laymen who

rallied to promote these endeavors through passing out advertising materials. Church leaders were constantly seeking new methods to encourage every member to call public attention to the three angels' messages. During the 1940s General Conference Press Bureau chief J. R. Ferren successfully urged local churches to elect press secretaries whose job would be to secure publicity for Adventist activities in the local news media. Ferren held numerous institutes and seminars to turn untrained Adventist men and women into effective public-relations agents.

As a consequence of expanding concepts of the possibilities for utilizing the public media to disarm prejudice against Adventists and to arouse interest in their teachings, the old General Conference Press Bureau was transformed in 1954 into the Bureau of Public Relations. While old programs were continued, new ones were developed—ranging all the way from the insertion of advertisements offering free literature in national magazines to the erection of signs along the highways directing passers-by to the local Adventist church. A Community Relations Day was inaugurated with special Sabbath services calling attention to Adventist involvement in local social-welfare programs.¹⁶

Relief Work

By the 1950s the church had become very conscious of the publicity value of members' activities in providing food, clothing, bedding, and medical assistance to those in need. During the late nineteenth century J. H. Kellogg had achieved considerable success in directing Adventist energies into this line of welfare work. Then his break with the church threw, at least in the United States, something of a cloud over Seventh-day Adventist "Good Samaritan" activities—a cloud that lasted nearly half a century. During those years local Dorcas societies met to tie quilts and process used clothing for later distribution to victims of local disasters such as fires, floods, and tornadoes. Widespread distress during the Great Depression once more quickened Adventist interest in an active welfare ministry. In Central California, conference officials organized mass distribution of food and clothing to the unemployed; local churches sponsored canning bees to preserve fruit and vegetables that would otherwise have rotted in fields and orchards. Dorcas Welfare Federations began to appear, providing an avenue for consultation and experience-sharing essential to a major forward thrust into relief activities.

This thrust developed in the wake of World War II. Widespread devastation and famine dramatized the pressing needs of millions. Dorcas activities expanded in a spectacular way as tons of food, used clothing, and medical supplies were dispatched to needy areas. Favorable publicity followed as a welcome benefit to the church, press secretaries set out to exploit this, and community-service activities in local churches were placed, significantly, under the overall supervision of the church evangelism council.¹⁷

As welfare activities grew, many local congregations established community service centers where church ladies could collect, sort, repair, and store serviceable used clothing, bedding, and, if space permitted, articles of furniture. Assembly rooms were provided for cooking and nutrition schools, first-aid classes, and other activities designed to improve the quality of life for those disadvantaged by physical disasters or economic need. Local conferences purchased trucks and vans to facilitate transfer of supplies and to serve as distribution units in disaster areas. Then when a hurricane struck the Texas coast, flood waters ravaged West Virginia or Kansas, or a tornado devastated Alabama or Michigan, temporal help could be provided quickly.

SAWS

The international aspects of Adventist relief activities of the immediate post-World War II years continued to expand throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Earthquake victims in Central America, Turkey, and the Philippines, hurricane and typhoon victims in the Caribbean and Bangladesh, famine victims in the African Sahel—all were helped. Wars in the Middle East, Korea, and Southeast Asia provided opportunity to minister to thousands of homeless refugees in need of aid. In 1956 the General Conference created the Seventh-day Adventist World Service, Incorporated (SAWS) to coordinate and direct the church's international relief activities. SAWS developed close working relationships with organizations like CARE, the Red Cross, and Church World Service and has received substantial amounts of surplus food for free distribution from the United States government's AID program. An annual Disaster and Famine Relief Offering collected in Seventh-day Adventist churches around the world helps finance SAWS activities.

Racial disturbances in the United States during the 1960s helped to direct Adventist eyes to the sorry plight of "inner-city" blacks, Hispanic-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other ethnic groups who had not shared in the general American prosperity. As local community service centers sought to meet these needs, some imaginatively added basic medical and dental care, child day-care centers, and neighborhood clean-up and recreational programs to the services they provided. Since the 1920s, the church had operated summer camp programs for its children and youth. During the 1960s, "opportunity camps," with local churches sponsoring non-Adventist children from poor families, appeared in many conferences. In cooperation with the church's Christian Record Braille Foundation, conference MV departments found the operation of camping programs for blind children challenging and rewarding.¹⁸

While not discounting the need for church members to provide services to meet the physical, emotional, and social needs of the disadvantaged as part of basic Christianity, church leaders frequently saw this ministry as a major avenue for dispelling prejudice and opening the way for Advent-

ism's particular spiritual message to be presented. Although it was not always easy to trace a new convert's first interest to the clothing and furniture given after a flood or the sending of a child to summer camp, the conviction persisted that such activities did add church members. And then occasionally there were persons like the Roman Catholic nun in the northern Philippines whose first contact with Adventists came while cooperating in giving aid to the victims of a major Manila fire. Two years later she was a baptized Seventh-day Adventist.

By whatever means possible the prime goal of Seventh-day Adventists continued to be presenting the three angels' messages to as many people as possible. This was the basic reason for church displays at fairs and exhibitions. Ranging from tiny booths or tents sponsored by local churches at county fairs to striking presentations prepared by the General Conference for international exhibitions, these displays uniformly featured a variety of Adventist literature along with invitations to listen to Adventist radio and television programs and the offer of a free Bible correspondence course. Frequently some aspect of health and temperance such as "Smoking Sam," the film "One in 20,000," or samples of vegetarian foods was successfully utilized to attract attention. But the main goal was to get Adventist literature into the hands of as many persons as possible. Church leaders and members were confident that the "honest in heart" who read would believe and be converted.

Missionary Book of the Year

Since their birth as a movement, Adventists had displayed great faith in the power of the printed page. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a new emphasis on literature distribution. In 1950 the "missionary book of the year" plan was inaugurated. Over the next quarter of a century Adventists purchased several million copies of these mass-produced, modestly priced books for lending and giving to friends and relatives. Many of the books were new editions of those long sold by colporteurs. In their new format their distribution was phenomenal. When *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* was reprinted as the missionary book of the year, 236,980 copies were sold—more than in the previous fifty years combined.

Laymen in many parts of the United States utilized the missionary book of the year in a new program of motel evangelism. Ellen White's *The Desire of Ages* and Arthur Maxwell's *Your Bible and You* were placed in hundreds of motel rooms beside the ever-present Gideon Bible. In the 1970s the three Adventist publishing houses in North America combined to mass produce inexpensive paperback newsprint editions of Adventist classics. During the first fifteen months of this project "800,000 [of] *The Desire of Ages* . . . 1.2 million *The Great Controversy*, and 5.4 million *Steps to Christ* were distributed."

Meanwhile millions of specially designed multicolor, four- or eight-

page tracts were passed out during house-to-house visitation programs designed to blanket entire cities and towns. In the decade from 1951 to 1961, some 67 million tracts of this type were printed and given away. In one year alone (1972) a record 25 million tracts of the *Reach Out for Life* series were produced. Many Adventist professionals kept free tract racks in their offices, while other laymen regularly stocked racks posted in public places such as laundromats and the waiting rooms of bus stations and airline terminals.¹⁹

Public evangelistic meetings and radio and television broadcasting involve primarily those Adventists on the church payroll. Welfare work and literature distribution are evangelistic endeavors in which nearly every healthy Seventh-day Adventist can participate. The same is true of two activities promoted through the Sabbath School Department with increasing success since the 1940s: Branch Sabbath Schools and Vacation Bible Schools.

Branch Sabbath Schools

Branch Sabbath Schools, originating in several different ways, have a long history within Adventism, but have been promoted energetically only since World War II. A common approach has been to invite neighborhood children to a Saturday afternoon story hour. Through songs and Bible and character-building stories, basic gospel truths are presented. Frequently a resulting parental interest can be turned into Bible studies. Adult classes may result. During the 1940s the General Conference Sabbath School Department developed a series of four adult quarterlies for use in Branch Sabbath Schools. The lessons progress from salvation truths common to all Christian churches through distinctive Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal beliefs.

Enthusiasm for Branch Sabbath School evangelism has been particularly strong in the Far Eastern, Inter-American, and South American divisions. Among the most effective programs have been those carried out at Mountain View College in the southern Philippines by the students, who began programs in nearby villages almost immediately after the school was founded in the early 1950s. In the 1970s the same enthusiasm was demonstrated by students at Kabuifa Adventist High School in Papua, New Guinea. There on one Sabbath 195 students and staff members "held Branch Sabbath Schools in 85 villages, and 1730 people heard the good news again."

The growth of Branch Sabbath Schools has been phenomenal. In 1953 there were about 3000 around the entire world. By 1964 the number had increased to 27,268, enrolling some 203,546 regular members. By 1975 there were nearly that many schools and half that many members in the Inter-American Division alone. Worldwide totals indicated nearly 65,000 Branch Sabbath Schools operating in 1975, bringing the "good news" to more than 371,000 members.²⁰

Vacation Bible Schools

The Vacation Bible School plan of child evangelism did not progress to any extent among Adventists until the 1950s, although other Protestant denominations had been conducting such schools for years. Taking advantage of the summer vacation period, local Seventh-day Adventist churches offered a ten-day program for children from four to fourteen years of age. Bible lessons, stories, and quizzes formed the heart of the program, which also included arts and handicrafts, gospel songs, and supervised recreation. A concluding program, generally held in the church, provided opportunity to invite parents of non-Adventist children to visit for regular services.

All-out Evangelism

During the second half of the twentieth century Seventh-day Adventists engaged in many new evangelistic endeavors and greatly expanded old ones. Yet by 1976 there was a growing frustration among church leaders and much of the rank-and-file membership at their seeming inability to finish the work upon which Adventists had been engaged for 130 years. At the 1976 Annual Council the top leadership of the church laid aside routine business for the major part of the session, concentrating instead on methods for finishing the tasks they saw as committed to Adventists: warning the world of Jesus' soon return and cooperating with the Holy Spirit to restore the image of God in those who anxiously await that event.

Frankly admitting that they had "permitted the pressures of our church and the influence of people and programs to distract us from our central work," these assembled leaders set out to rectify the situation. The church had developed many excellent social programs. "But, worthy as they may be, if they do not lead to the new-birth experience in Christ and acceptance of the doctrinal tenets of God's remnant church, they consume the time, attention, and money of the church and its working force without achieving God's ultimate objective of saving a person for eternity."

Those in attendance at the council agreed to do all in their power to awaken the Adventist membership to the urgency of evangelism. Pastors must be freed from detailed "housekeeping" duties to make the "giving of the gospel" their first work. This must also be the objective of administrators, institutional workers, and departmental personnel. Definite plans should be laid by "every church, company, Sabbath School, and institution to reach every home within its territory with the three angels' messages between now and the time of the 1980 General Conference session in Dallas." This could be accomplished only as every member in the whole church was organized to engage in "one-to-one witnessing and all-out evangelism."²¹

There was a great work yet to be done. During preceding decades the

church's medical "right arm" had done much to clear the way. We will next examine briefly the continuing impact of Adventism's health message on the church's efforts to fulfill the gospel commission.

Suggested Reading:

Howard Weeks's *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), pp. 182-309, is basic for understanding the shifting philosophy of, and emphasis on, evangelism since World War II. V. Cason's *H. M. S. Richards: Man Alive!* (1974) presents an appealing portrait of the "grand old man" of Adventist radio evangelism. Development of the "Voice of Prophecy" and "Faith for Today" can best be followed through perusing the files of their respective journals: *The Voice of Prophecy News* and *Telenotes*. The evangelistic role of the Sabbath School is portrayed in G. Nash, *Evangelism Through the Sabbath School* (1964), and W. Harris, *The Challenge of Vacation Bible School Evangelism* (1965). The urgent concern of church leaders for all-out evangelism comes through in the 1976 Annual Council's powerful document "Together for a Finished Work."

1. H. Weeks, *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century* (1969), pp. 210-214; *Review and Herald*, July 19, 1956, p. 164; July 27, 1950, pp. 263, 264.
2. Weeks, pp. 214-220, 238-240; *Review*, June 3, 1954, p. 207; January 30, 1958, pp. 19, 20; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.), pp. 440, 441.
3. Weeks, pp. 227-231.
4. *Review*, June 20, 1958, p. 5; Weeks, pp. 240-242, 246, 247.
5. Weeks, pp. 253-271; *Ministry*, May 1952, p. 19; September 1960, pp. 30-32; May 1972, pp. 19-21; *Go*, June 1953, pp. 3, 4; June 1956, p. 3.
7. *Review*, August 2, 1962, p. 12; June 19, 1970, p. 20.
8. V. Cason, H. M. S. Richards: *Man Alive!* (1974), *passim*; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 339, 340, 1559.
9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1092, 1559; *Voice of Prophecy News*, December 1942, p. 1; March 1943, p. 1; August 1944, p. 1; September 1944, p. 1; December 1945, p. 1; *Review*, May 2, 1946, p. 17.
10. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1560; R. Eldridge, *From the Rising Sun* (1963), p. 95; *Voice of Prophecy News*, February 1953, pp. 1, 2; October 1956, p. 1.
11. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1561; *Voice of Prophecy News*, March 1967, p. 1; March 1968, p. 1; July 1970, pp. 1, 2; February 1976, p. 4.
12. *British Review and Herald*, July 1971, p. 13; February 1972, p. 12; *Review*, May 25, 1972, p. 17; interview with Alan Steele, October 21, 1976; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 15, 16.
13. *Go*, October 1953, pp. 6, 7; November 1957, p. 12; January 1963, pp. 18, 19; *Review*, April 26, 1956, p. 21; September 13, 1956, p. 23; interview with Stanley Hill, December 17, 1976.
14. *Review*, June 1, 1950, p. 24; January 9, 1958, pp. 22, 23; *Telenotes*, June 1960, pp. 1, 7; July 1962, p. 8; December 1964, p. 3; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 447, 448.
15. *Ministry Magazine*, January 1964, pp. 4-6; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 664-666, 690, 1332.
16. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 338, 339.
17. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 342-344, 399; *Review*, October 1, 1931, p. 19.
18. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 344, 399, 400, 1335, 1336; *Review*, December 9, 1954, p. 24; March 21, 1957, p. 26; August 24, 1961, pp. 12, 13, 20; April 20, 1967, pp. 11, 12; November 23, 1967, p. 18; May 16, 1968, p. 22; December 5, 1968, pp. 2-5; March 7, 1972, p. 32; *Go*, August 1956, pp. 18-23; June 1963, pp. 3-5; July 1964, pp. 31, 32; November 1967, pp. 14, 15.
19. *Go*, July 1951, p. 22; March 1953, pp. 5, 6; May 1971, pp. 3, 4; June 1971, p. 25; *Tell*, December 1958, p. 4; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 911, 912.
20. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 178, 179, 935; *Worker*, August 1974, p. 3; World Sabbath School Department Comparative Report, 1975.
21. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 1545, 1546; World Sabbath School Department Comparative Report, 1975; "Together for a Finished Work," *Lake Union Herald*, December 14, 1976, pp. 4-14.

CHAPTER 36

Impact of the Health Message

Sixty years after the founding of the Western Health Reform Institute in 1866, Seventh-day Adventists were operating thirty-four sanitariums around the world. In these institutions an average of 30,000 persons each year were cared for by 3500 Adventist doctors and nurses. For the most part the doctors were trained at the College of Medical Evangelists, while the nurses were the product of twenty-one different schools connected with Adventist sanitariums. There were in 1926 approximately 1000 student nurses in training; they studied in any one of seven languages.

Outside the United States Adventist medical work was most highly developed in northern and central Europe. The conferences of the German Union each employed a nurse for full-time work among the churches. These nurses traveled from place to place, giving health lectures, training church members to give simple treatments, and encouraging the distribution of health literature. As regular conference employees, they met with the evangelistic workers in committee meetings to plan for the spread of the three angels' messages in their localities.

In the mission fields of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific islands, Adventist medical workers were still relatively rare in the mid-1920s. Only a handful of doctors and nurses was available to serve the millions of China. On the borders of Tibet Dr. J. N. Andrews, grandson of Adventism's first official foreign missionary, operated a small dispensary with only his wife to assist. At Malamulo Mission in Nyasaland Dr. Carl Birkenstock fought white ants that threatened to destroy the inadequate structure in which he treated 150 patients per day. In spite of difficulties he managed to inaugurate the first Seventh-day Adventist hospital for lepers.

Helping a Sick World

Seventh-day Adventists had not lost Dr. Kellogg's vision of serving as Good Samaritan to the world's sick and suffering. They were, however, primarily interested in presenting a cure for the sickness of sin. Yet even as Jesus had found the multitudes more responsive once He had healed their illnesses, so Adventist missionaries found the healing arts a great "entering wedge" for the promulgation of the message of salvation. As Eric B. Hare noted from his Burmese mission outpost, medicines—with music and "magic lanterns"—were the missionary's best friends and allies. The 3000 converts to Adventism in the Solomon Islands, medical secretary A. W. Truman told fellow delegates to the 1926 General Conference, were largely the result of medical missionary contacts.

Such success only made Adventist workers in other parts of the world more eager to begin medical work in their areas. The needs were so obvious; the rewards promised to be great. A man might travel for hundreds of miles across great stretches of South America without ever meeting a physician or nurse, F. A. Stahl reported. W. H. Branson observed that the situation in much of Africa was parallel—and Adventists had only one doctor in all of the vast Belgian Congo. It was the same in Mozambique, yet thankfully a small hospital had recently been opened in East Africa and a doctor was ready to enter Ethiopia. The situation was not much better in Southern Asia, which could boast only three Seventh-day Adventist physicians in 1926. There were no Adventist medical workers in Japan and still none four years later in all of the Inter-American Division.¹

After a quarter of a century (1950) the situation had improved greatly. During the 1940s three sanitariums were opened in Inter-America (Mexico, Jamaica, Nicaragua), and a fourth was under construction in Puerto Rico. In addition Adventist clinics were operating in Trinidad, Colombia, and Venezuela, while the medical launch *Portaluz* plied Colombia's Magdalena River. In Africa new Adventist hospitals were being built in Basutoland, Barotseland, Tanganyika, and Uganda. Others were appearing in Brazil, Pakistan, and Iraq. The College of Medical Evangelists was graduating ninety Adventist doctors annually, while church-sponsored nursing schools produced 300 graduate nurses each year.

The growth of Adventist medical work was even more dramatic during the years 1950-1975. By the latter date Seventh-day Adventists were operating 402 health-care centers around the world. Each year nearly 4,500,000 persons received treatment in these institutions, which ranged in size from the tiny, twelve-bed Kwailibesi Hospital in the Solomon Islands to ultra-modern, acute-care institutions such as the Loma Linda University Medical Center with its more than 500 beds. In addition there were scores of privately owned nursing homes, treatment rooms, vegetarian restaurants, and small sanitariums operated by individual Seventh-

day Adventists. In 1975 Adventist schools of nursing were graduating nearly six times as many nurses per year as they had during the mid-1920s.²

Medical Missionary Launches

One of the most colorful innovations in Adventist health care was the development of the medical-missionary launch. Ever since the *Pitcairn*, Adventists had operated a variety of mission vessels, principally designed to carry evangelistic workers and colporteurs among the islands of the Pacific or to facilitate the work of the ship missionaries who labored primarily during the years 1890-1910 in the major harbors of Europe and the United States.

The idea of a medical-missionary launch originated in the mind of Leo B. Halliwell during a scouting trip along the world's greatest river—the Amazon. Halliwell had served for some years as an American missionary to Brazil. In 1928 he was placed in charge of the Lower Amazon Mission in the northeast part of the country. To survey his huge parish, Halliwell took a trip by riverboat and canoe along the Amazon. He was “dismayed to discover the poverty, superstition, and disease” that dominated the area. Back in Belém, Halliwell told his wife, Jessie, “We cannot do our full job or even a major part of it here in Belém, or by taking trips up the river on the steamers. . . . We’re going to have to have our own boat so that we can go wherever we have to go.”

There was no money in the mission budget for a boat, but during their next furlough home, the Halliwells presented their need to church groups all across America. Contributions poured in, especially from Missionary Volunteer societies. The Halliwells returned to Brazil with \$5400 with which to build their boat. Leo had read everything that he could get his hands on concerning boat building and navigation. He paid particular attention to the problems of the Amazon—high, storm-driven waves with wide variations in tides and depths. Then on the ocean voyage back to Brazil he proceeded to design his own boat.

Halliwell's plan called for a thirty-three-foot-long, ten-foot-wide craft with a double-V bottom that would draw only two and a half feet of water. The owner of the boatyard in Belém, who finally agreed to help build the boat, was certain that it would sink at the time of launching. For three months Halliwell worked in the boatyard helping prepare planks from hard Brazilian timber, laying the keel, doing the wiring. Fortunately he was a trained electrical engineer with considerable practical skill. He even installed the twenty-horsepower diesel engine himself. On July 4, 1931, the *Luzeiro* (“Light Bearer”) was launched, looking somewhat more like a houseboat than a river launch. It operated perfectly and became the basic pattern for a dozen more boats that would in the years ahead ply the Amazon and other major Brazilian rivers.

Jessie Halliwell was a graduate nurse, and Leo himself had used part of his furlough time to take a course in tropical diseases. Malaria, hookworm,

and a host of other diseases ravaged the residents of the Amazon basin. For thirty years the Halliwells plied the river, traveling an average of 12,000 miles per year and treating more than 250,000 persons. With the help of their phonograph and "magic lantern" they also introduced thousands to Jesus Christ. Theirs was a practical kind of Christianity, laced with liberal amounts of nutrition, sanitary advice, and family counseling. The Brazilian government recognized the Halliwells' contribution by presenting them the prestigious Order of the Southern Cross.³

An idea of the work conducted from the river boats is revealed in a report from the early 1950s. During a six-month period personnel from the Adventist mission launches operating along the Amazon and two other Brazilian rivers distributed more than 12,000 pieces of literature, gave approximately 800 Bible studies, organized six new churches and eight new Sabbath Schools, and held 457 meetings during which 108 persons were baptized. They also treated some 11,000 cases of malaria, dressed ulcers and wounds, and ministered to 4000 patients infested with parasites. Several years later the *Luminar's* crew, operating on Brazil's São Francisco River, treated 15,000 cases during an eight-month period; they also pulled 1800 teeth, held 150 meetings, and distributed some \$7000 worth of free medicine. At first Halliwell had purchased medicines from the slender mission budget, but in later years these were supplied free by American doctors, pharmaceutical houses, and the Brazilian government.

Although the medical-mission launches were most widely used in Brazil, they also proved their worth in Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia. For a short time after World War II, a mission launch operated in the delta region of Burma. Others have been used in Borneo, Indonesia, and the South Pacific islands. However the fleet of South Pacific Adventist mission launches (twenty-five in number during the 1950s) was reduced to less than half that number by 1975. This reduction was made possible by the improved roads on many islands and especially by the greatly increased use of mission airplanes.⁷

Aircraft Relief

Prior to World War II virtually no thought was given to the use of small aircraft by mission personnel, even when they were forced to cover large or remote areas. Among the war's side effects were improved aviation technology, accumulated experience in flying small craft under difficult conditions, and heightened public interest in aviation. This led to a boom in commercial aviation at war's end and also started innovative church workers thinking about the use of small planes to facilitate travel between remote and civilized areas.

It was not until the mid-1950s, however, that a few Adventist missionaries began to purchase personal planes for use in their work. One of the first was Dick Hall, who got private financial support from friends in the United States for the purchase and maintenance of a plane to help in

his work in Borneo. At this same time several Africa-bound Adventist missionary physicians purchased their own planes in order to reach remote villages and mission outposts quickly. These men believed the day would come when mission aircraft would be as widely accepted as the medical-missionary launches.

That day was still several years in the future. It was advanced when long-time aviation-enthusiast James J. Aitken became president of the South American Division in 1958. Following his first trip around the continent, he became convinced that a light plane was the only efficient way of reaching at least two thirds of his division. The death of a small child on one of the mission launches, due to its inability to reach a more sophisticated medical facility quickly, reinforced Aitken's views. While waiting for the General Conference to develop a policy providing for denominational ownership and operation of mission planes, Aitken enrolled in a flying school and soon earned his private-pilot's license.

Learning that William Baxter had for some years been utilizing a plane for medical and evangelical outreach in the highlands of Mexico, Aitken visited Baxter's base of operations in Montemorelos. What he saw confirmed him in the determination to develop a similar service in South America. Already, interested persons in the United States were sending Aitken money "with the stipulation that it was 'to be used for aviation or to be returned to sender.'"

After considerable investigation the South American Division leaders decided to develop an air base in the jungles of Peru. Once a facility was constructed the next steps were to secure an aircraft suitable for the short landing strips that could be hacked out of the jungle and to find a pilot willing to fly it. Much of Aitken's furlough time in 1963 was spent in investigating various types of aircraft. This culminated on June 16, 1963, when Ana Stahl, wife of the pioneer missionary, christened a newly purchased Helio Courier, the *Fernando Stahl*, at the airstrip adjacent to Pacific Union College. A Kansas farm boy and crop duster with more than 3000 hours of flying time, Clyde Peters, was chosen to pilot the *Fernando Stahl*.

The mission plane soon proved its worth. During its first year of service more than 200 persons were airlifted from the forty rough jungle strips the Indians had constructed. Many would probably have died without quick access to medical help. Baptisms in the area increased. Before long a second plane was needed, and the *Ricardo Hayden*, a Piper Super Cub, was selected because its oversized tires were especially good for use on soft strips. It was while taking off from just such a soft strip that the *Fernando Stahl* crashed into a flooded river. Fortunately the Peters family, its passengers, swam to safety, but the three-year-old plane was lost. Aviation enthusiasts in the United States quickly contributed funds to replace it. Soon more planes were added to the growing fleet of aircraft in Peru. In 1968 the South American Division purchased an amphibious



Fernando and Mrs. Stahl



Leo and Mrs. Halliwell



J. L. Tucker



The Luziero Mission Launch

plane, christened the *Leo Halliwell*, to use in connection with the mission launches in the Amazon basin.

Other divisions had also been quick to adopt the use of planes to answer the multiplying calls for aid. In January 1962 Malamulo Hospital in Malawi began a flying-doctor service which later included a dentist. The Australasian Division secured its first aircraft, named for pioneer missionary Andrew Stewart, in mid-1964. About this time J. L. Tucker of The Quiet Hour radio broadcast, enthusiastic about the possibilities of mission aviation, raised money from his listeners for the first of more than thirty planes eventually contributed for mission service. These planes have particularly proved their worth in keeping in touch with mission stations in the rugged mountains of New Guinea and bringing medical aid to the primitive Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert.

The increased use of mission aircraft contributed to a growing interest in flight training in the United States. During the 1960s and 70s several academies and colleges developed instructional programs and airport facilities. In the fall of 1976 the General Conference Committee voted to establish an Adventist Aviation Training and Service Center at Andrews University. William E. Smith, former flying missionary in Borneo and New Guinea, was given responsibility for coordinating a program to prepare pilots for mission service and centralizing the purchasing of mission aircraft.⁵

Sometimes Adventist laymen carried on private mission projects with medical overtones. One of these was Dr. R. F. Swanson of Orlando, Florida, who during the 1960s began collecting used optical glasses and dispensing them to needy individuals overseas. Swanson and several associates took the first 2000 pairs of glasses to Haiti. So popular was their service that in one place a near riot developed among those seeking help. The project became an annual one.

Leper Work

One of the early Adventist medical outreaches in Africa had been the treatment of leprosy victims at Malamulo. This has continued, with some 1100 patients receiving either regular in- or out-service treatment in 1974. In 1949, at government request, Seventh-day Adventists began the development of a hospital for the treatment of lepers at Togoba in the highlands of New Guinea. For a time Togoba Hospital accommodated more than 500 lepers, but changing concepts of treatment made possible the treatment of most as outpatients and allowed the hospital to serve other needs as well. At the request of the Sierra Leone government, Adventists took over operation of a government-constructed leprosy hospital in Masanga. Here initial treatment of the disease is begun, corrective surgery performed, and active physiotherapy and occupational therapy programs are conducted to aid in the rehabilitation of victims of the disease.

The compassionate, skilled care Adventist medical institutions provide has won the church friends even in Muslim lands. A decade after the close of World War II the church began a small general hospital in Benghazi, Libya. When after a few years the need for expanded facilities became evident, a member of the royal family made a piece of choice property available for a new hospital. Oil companies contributed more than half the cost of the \$1.4 million structure completed in 1968. Unfortunately after less than two years of operation, Benghazi Adventist Hospital was nationalized by the new revolutionary government. Government expropriation of Adventist hospitals also occurred in several other independent African states.⁶

From Sanitarium to Hospital

Dramatic changes in general medical treatments, the widespread use of medical insurance, and changing public attitudes have gone far to modify Adventist medical institutions in the second half of the twentieth century. Most have become acute-care hospitals rather than following the sanitarium style characteristic of the late nineteenth century. When Dr. Kellogg characterized the Battle Creek Sanitarium as a place where people came to learn how to get well and how to stay that way, he was stating the basic Adventist justification for sanitarium operation. A major goal of these institutions was the restructuring of patients' habits of eating and exercise; treatment was principally by slower "natural" methods such as hydrotherapy. The average stay was probably a month or six weeks. By 1975 insurance companies, if not patients, looked askance at hospitals that could not discharge the average patient in a week or ten days.

As Adventist hospitals were forced by circumstances to relinquish some of their teaching role, the church's Medical and Temperance departments stepped into the breach. As early as 1919 the Medical Department developed a twenty-lesson home-nursing course. At first church sanitariums undertook to prepare nurses to teach these courses to local congregations. Later the department developed its own instructor's training course. The Medical Department also worked closely with the Education Department to insure that all pupils in Seventh-day Adventist schools receive regular physical examinations and instruction in Adventist views of proper diet and healthful living.

The Health Department

In 1954 Dr. J. Wayne McFarland, as associate secretary in the Medical Department (changed to Health Department in 1970), launched a drive to increase church members' knowledge of proper diet and nutrition. He arranged for Dr. and Mrs. H. W. Vollmer to conduct nutrition and cooking schools at various Adventist institutions across the United States. Their goal was to train lay nutrition instructors for conferences and churches so that members could be taught to prepare balanced, tasty meals while

avoiding fadism. By 1961 some 2200 of these instructors had been trained.

During the 1970s the Health Department developed and began to promote programs for general physical fitness, weight control, stress management, and the prevention of heart attacks. In many of these they had the cooperation of personnel from the Loma Linda University School of Health and the Seventh-day Adventist Dietetic Association.⁷

American Temperance Society

Seventh-day Adventists had been active in the temperance movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The American Health and Temperance Association, organized in 1878, however, became a casualty of the Kellogg controversy. Individual Adventists were active in the movement to legislate prohibition in the United States, but the church did not reactivate the American Temperance Society until 1932 when national prohibition was on the verge of being repealed.

For the first decade and a half after its reactivation the American Temperance Society followed a modest program of promotion, largely within the church. Its chief outreach was in the form of distributing millions of copies of an annual temperance issue of the *Signs of the Times* and an antinarcotics edition of *Our Little Friend* for children.

Following a year of study by church leaders, a reorganization of the American Temperance Society took place at the 1947 Autumn Council, which also launched the International Temperance Association to coordinate the activities of the various national societies the church had begun to organize. The dynamic W. A. Scharffenberg was made executive secretary of both organizations. For the next seventeen years he jetted around the world enlisting the support of monarchs, prime ministers, and presidents in the temperance cause and promoting a variety of new programs designed to catch the public's attention and alert it to the dangers of alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and narcotics.

One of Scharffenberg's first accomplishments was the launching of a new quarterly journal, *Listen*, designed to appeal primarily to young people. By presenting testimonials from prominent sports and entertainment personalities coupled with the latest scientific data on the dangers of drinking alcohol, it sought to advance the cause of total abstinence. *Listen* quickly won acceptance among many non-Adventist educators and was widely circulated in the public schools. Eventually changed to a monthly, its circulation had reached 200,000 by 1975. Its editors could boast of having won the National Safety Council's Public Interest Award for exceptional service to safety.

Scharffenberg was particularly anxious to influence the nation's thought leaders. To accomplish this he talked leading educators, public health officials, physicians, clergymen, businessmen, judges, and government officials into joining him in forming a National Committee for the Prevention of Alcoholism. The overwhelming majority of these men and

women were not Seventh-day Adventists, but Scharffenberg provided the driving force and led out in establishing the first Institute of Scientific Studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism, held in 1950 at the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda. This institute, primarily for professional people involved in education, law enforcement, and law making, consisted of lectures, seminars, field trips, and forums in which the latest scientific data concerning the physical dangers and social costs of alcohol were presented.

Both the National Committee and the Institute of Scientific Studies served as patterns for later duplication in other countries and were eventually broadened to become international institutions. Scharffenberg was able to persuade King Saud of Saudi Arabia to serve as honorary president of the International Commission for the Prevention of Alcoholism. After Scharffenberg retired from the secretaryship of the General Conference Temperance Department (organized in 1960) in 1964, the work of the national committees and institutes continued under Seventh-day Adventist auspices. The first World Congress of the International Commission was held in Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1972.⁸

Probably the most far-reaching contribution of Seventh-day Adventists to the campaign against smoking occurred when Scharffenberg began a film production program in 1954. The first film, "One in 20,000," was a dramatic, full-color portrayal of the relationship between smoking and lung cancer. It was viewed by leading medical authorities and members of Parliament in Great Britain and is credited with initiating the 1962 Royal College of Physicians' report on *Smoking and Health*. This report in turn led U.S. Surgeon General Luther Terry to appoint a panel of experts to examine the scientific evidence on the effects of smoking on health. From their investigation came the famous Surgeon General's report on *Smoking and Health* that has been called "the greatest single event in the field of health in this century."

In slightly more than twenty years "One in 20,000" was issued in fourteen languages and was seen by an estimated 75 million people. The film was especially well received in the Soviet Union, where it helped trigger a nationwide campaign against the dangers of smoking.

Reinforcing the success of "One in 20,000," the temperance department produced five more antitobacco films depicting among other things smoking's effect on an unborn child and its relationship to coronary heart disease. In addition, several films were produced showing the insidious dangers of drugs and alcohol. One of these, "Circle of Love," with an all-black cast, was designed especially to reach inner-city youth entrapped by drug dependency. Adventist-produced films on smoking, liquor, and narcotics were enthusiastically welcomed by temperance and educational leaders. In the quinquennium ending in 1975 more than \$2 million worth of these films were sold.

Although Scharffenberg did not originate the Five-Day Plan to Stop

Smoking, he became one of its most enthusiastic promoters. The plan itself was a product of the cooperative endeavors of a physician-minister team—J. Wayne McFarland, M.D., and Elman J. Folkenberg. Folkenberg found many smokers disturbed by viewing “One in 20,000,” but unable to break their habit. McFarland had worked with smokers desiring to quit, both at the Battle Creek Sanitarium and in New York City. Together the two men developed a group-therapy approach that in five consecutive evening meetings demonstrated the harmful effects of smoking and also advanced psychological, spiritual, and moral reasons for quitting. Changes in diet, proper breathing, the “buddy system,” and calling on divine aid were all introduced as aids in reinforcing a positive decision to quit smoking.

The Five-Day Plan

After several years of extensive testing, the Five-Day Plan received its first general presentation at the 1962 General Conference session. Shortly thereafter, programs designed to prepare physician-minister teams to conduct the plan were held throughout the United States. Almost immediately the plan was picked up by Adventist workers in other countries where it quickly became equally popular. Organizations concerned with the hazards of smoking, such as the American Cancer Society, frequently cosponsored a Five-Day Plan as a community service.

Through conducting Five-Day Plans, Seventh-day Adventists were able to make a favorable impact in countries such as Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait, where Christianity generally is ignored. In the Catholic lands of southern Europe, Five-Day Plans were often used to awaken interest before an evangelistic campaign. Official government approval of the plan came from such widely scattered countries as Ecuador, Norway, and the Philippines; the United States Navy even entered into an official contract with the Temperance Department for the presentation of the plan on all its naval bases. During the year 1974 an average of sixty Five-Day Plans per week were conducted around the world. In the years following its development, it is estimated that eleven million persons were helped to quit smoking through the plan.

The 4 DK Plan

A Temperance Department program to combat alcoholism, structured somewhat like the Five-Day Plan, experienced more modest success. Billed as the Four Dimensional Key (4 DK Plan) to the cause of alcoholism, it was developed in 1969 by temperance secretary E. H. J. Steed and L. A. Senseman, M.D. In a series of four evening presentations geared toward both alcoholics and their families, the 4 DK Plan traces alcoholism to “the neglect or impairment of the physical, mental, social, or spiritual dimensions of the individual.” Following positive presentations on the value of each of these four dimensions of man on four successive nights, a

series of eight counseling sessions is offered to those desiring to break from alcohol dependency. As in the Five-Day Plan, the 4 DK Plan utilizes specially trained physician-minister teams for both the public presentations and the counseling sessions.

Realizing the need to implant temperance principles in childhood and youth, American Temperance Society leaders attempted during the 1950s and 60s to organize an American Temperance Society chapter in every Seventh-day Adventist school. To stimulate interest, these chapters instituted a wide variety of essay, poster, jingle, and oratorical contests. During Temperance Days or Weeks special literature distribution was promoted. Chapters developed temperance programs to present in adjacent public schools and sponsored displays at fairs and exhibitions. Frequently these featured "Smoking Sam," a manikin equipped to demonstrate the harmful tars that collect in a smoker's lungs. In the 1970s the school American Temperance Society chapters experienced a "face lifting" and emerged as CABL (Collegiate Adventists for Better Living) and AYBL (Adventist Youth for Better Living). The activities promoted were also modernized, with oratorical contests giving way to physical fitness demonstrations.¹⁰

Health Foods

During the 1890s Seventh-day Adventist views on proper diet were in large part responsible for the development of prepared breakfast cereals and meat analogues from vegetable proteins. Dr. J. H. Kellogg's invention of wheat flakes and peanut butter started a revolution in the American breakfast. Although his Nuttose and Protose (gluten-based meat substitutes) were not very successful outside Adventist circles, they were the forerunners of a long line of Adventist "health foods." In the early years of the twentieth century Dr. Kellogg's brother, Will Keith, built a considerable fortune on "Corn Flakes." At approximately the same time, the Loma Linda Sanitarium bakery began producing a small line of whole-grain breads and wafers for retail sale.

Loma Linda Foods was hardly a threat to the Kellogg Company. It took thirty years before it was officially incorporated, and not until 1938 did a modest factory, adjacent to the La Sierra College campus, begin to produce for a truly national, although almost entirely Adventist, market. At first the most popular product was Ruskets, a flaked whole-wheat biscuit cereal. Later research concentrated on the development of high-protein foods of vegetable origin. This was substantially augmented when Loma Linda Foods acquired Dr. Harry W. Miller's International Nutritional Laboratories, Inc., in 1951. Miller's Mount Vernon, Ohio, plant became a production and distribution center for the eastern United States. A decade later a Canadian division was established at Oshawa, Ontario.

Loma Linda Foods is representative of numerous small food processing businesses that grew up as adjuncts to Adventist medical institutions in

many parts of the world. With a single exception these food companies remained small, catering largely to the food demands of vegetarians. The single exception was Australasia's Sanitarium Health Food Company. By the 1970s it was operating a chain of twelve factories, eight wholesale distribution agencies, sixty-eight retail stores, and four vegetarian restaurants scattered through Australia and New Zealand.

The Australasian enterprise began in a tiny way in the late 1890s with the production of two Battle Creek standbys: granola and caramel cereal (a coffee substitute). Following counsel from Ellen White, production was moved from Melbourne to Cooranbong in 1899 so that Avondale students could find work. After several decades of modest success, a rapid period of expansion began in 1920. Through the acquisition of two competitive companies in 1928 and 1929, the Sanitarium Health Food Company gained a dominant position among the manufacturers of Australia's breakfast cereals. Its Weet-Bix proved especially popular, but corn flakes and other cereal foods sold well also.

The Sanitarium Health Food Company's production was not limited to breakfast cereals. Peanut butter, Marmite (a yeast-extract flavoring), soy milk, and a whole line of vegetarian "meats" also appeared under the Sanitarium label. Some seven decades after its beginning, the Sanitarium Health Food Company employed more than 1100 workers in producing more than 20,000 tons of foods each year. The wholesome foods produced contributed greatly to the nutritional needs of the millions of Australasia. At the same time the evangelical, educational, and medical work of the church was advanced. In 1965 more than a quarter of the division budget was contributed by profits earned by its health food department.

In 1968 the General Conference established the World Foods Service to coordinate and promote the food factories operated by the church in twenty-three countries of North and South America, Australasia, Europe, Africa, and the Orient. In addition to their major emphasis on vegetable meat substitutes and breakfast cereals, these plants also produce canned legumes, soy milk, and fruit juices. In South America the marketing of honey forms a profitable part of the four Seventh-day Adventist food companies' business.

One problem continued to trouble Adventist food technologists in the mid-1970s. Their products were being sold largely to middle- and upper-class families. They were anxious to score a profitable breakthrough that would result in a cheap, palatable vegetable protein to meet the needs of the world's poor. Most promising in this area seemed to be the soy granules developed in the church's Mexican plant in 1973.¹¹

Advances at Loma Linda

By the 1970s the medical school Adventist leaders had begun so hesitantly and with such misgivings seven decades earlier had become a complex university specializing in the education of a wide variety of

health care professionals. More than a decade of agitation and pressure from Adventist dentists culminated in 1951 when a school of dentistry was established; the first students began studying in this new curriculum at Loma Linda two years later. Subsequently programs for dental hygienists and dental assistants were also added.

As early as the mid-1930s medical accrediting teams began to question the separation of the College of Medical Evangelists' instructional facilities for physicians between Loma Linda and Los Angeles. Following a decade of sometimes stormy controversy over consolidation, the trustees voted late in 1962 to center all teaching on the Loma Linda campus. To provide proper facilities an ultramodern, nine-story hospital was begun in 1964. This hospital, along with other hospitals in the area, including a new Veterans Administration hospital located one-half mile away, provides medical students with the latest in clinical experience.

Concern for the proper preparation of missionary physicians to meet the special diseases and nutritional and sanitary problems of tropical regions led in 1948 to the formation of the School of Tropical and Preventive Medicine at Loma Linda. One of the school's early field projects was supervision of the construction of a model sanitary village in Tanzania. Following several reorganizations, the school emerged in 1970 as the Loma Linda University School of Health. Degree programs in public health and health education were instituted. As part of its outreach the School of Health actively promoted health evaluation and educational programs throughout the United States and in many other countries of the world.

As early as 1937 a school of medical technology was begun at Loma Linda. Several years later first a school of physical therapy and then one of radiological technology followed. Subsequently curriculums were developed in occupational therapy, medical records administration, respiratory therapy, dietetics, and anesthesia. In 1966 all of these programs were combined into the School of Allied Health Professions.

The impact of Loma Linda University is worldwide and has not been limited only to its graduate medical missionaries. The medical school sends several faculty members each year to teach at Vellore Christian Medical College in India. For years medical and dental clinics have been conducted during the summer in Mexico, Central America, or one of the Caribbean islands. Twenty thousand Navajo Indians benefit from the medical and dental clinic Loma Linda students and faculty maintain at Monument Valley, Utah. In 1968 university medical personnel began a social action corps which operates free medical clinics in some of the poorer neighborhoods of the greater San Bernardino metropolitan area.

The Heart Team

Probably no Loma Linda outreach program has received more public attention or won more goodwill for Seventh-day Adventists than the

dramatic visits of the university's heart team to perform open-heart surgery in a number of "third world" countries. In 1961 a little three-year-old Muslim girl was dying of a defective heart in Karachi, Pakistan. A friend suggested that perhaps somewhere in the United States there might be medical help. The desperate father frantically read whatever American magazines and newspapers he could find, searching for aid for his daughter. One day someone gave him a religious journal entitled *Signs of the Times*. It contained a story on cardiac surgery being performed at Loma Linda University.

A letter to Loma Linda brought a return offer to operate on the little girl free of charge—if she could be brought to California, some 12,000 miles away. The father was not dismayed. A special appeal to Vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson, himself the survivor of a heart attack, opened the way for the journey. Months later the girl was home in Pakistan with a healthy, mended heart. Soon the U.S. Embassy was deluged with requests for aid in getting to Loma Linda.

Someone decided the answer to the burgeoning problem was to bring the Loma Linda Heart Team to Pakistan. Open-heart surgery had never been done in this country of ninety million inhabitants. The elaborate equipment needed would have to be brought along with the team. Undismayed, surgeon Ellsworth Wareham and cardiologist Joan Coggin, accompanied by an associate surgeon, an anesthesiologist, a skilled cardiac nurse, and a heart-lung machine technician, journeyed to Karachi.

Here in the Seventh-day Adventist mission hospital during five and a half weeks they performed forty-four operations. Many of their working days stretched out to eighteen hours. All members of the team except Dr. Coggin became ill at one time or another. On the way home the heart team stopped to perform surgeries at Vellore Christian Medical College and at Seventh-day Adventist hospitals in Thailand and Taiwan. The U.S. Department of State, which had requested its services, considered the team's work a smashing success. Vice-president Johnson told them their effort had "done more than anything in recent times" to advance good feeling between Pakistan and the United States.

The successful exploits of the Loma Linda heart team were repeated in other countries where Adventists had formerly been looked upon with suspicion. Visits to Greece in 1967 and 1969 included instruction in open-heart surgical techniques for local physicians at the Athens Evangelismos Hospital. In 1975 and 1976 the team traveled to Saudi Arabia to operate at a military hospital in this country closed to Christian missionary work. One result was an agreement for the Saudi government to send a number of its doctors to Loma Linda to learn the techniques of open-heart surgery.¹²

Although less dramatic than performing open-heart surgery in faraway places, the careful work of several Loma Linda physicians in collecting and analyzing data relating to the health and mortality of Adventists as

compared to the general population has been of great interest to both the medical profession and Seventh-day Adventists themselves. During the 1970s, under the direction of Dr. Roland Phillips of the School of Health, a group of Loma Linda scientists systematically compared thousands of California Adventists with their non-Adventist peers. As expected, they found that Adventist abstinence from smoking and drinking made such ailments as lung cancer and heart disease less prevalent among them. Would evidence show that the lacto-ovo-vegetarian diet that approximately half of Seventh-day Adventists follow, along with avoidance of tea, coffee, and condiments, makes a significant impact on their health?

Research Confirms Health Principles

As of 1977 the data had not yet been completely analyzed, but interesting trends have been identified. Cancer mortality among Seventh-day Adventists even in areas not yet linked to smoking and drinking appears to be only 50 to 70 percent that of the general population.

Other interesting data suggest that younger Seventh-day Adventists have only about one third the risk of death from cardiovascular causes faced by their non-Seventh-day Adventist peers. Adventist death ratios from colon-rectal cancer appear to be about two thirds those of the general population. A similar situation exists as far as leukemia is concerned, while breast cancer in Adventist females is approximately three fourths that of the general population. Seventh-day Adventist males at thirty-five have a six-year longer life expectancy than non-Seventh-day Adventists, while Seventh-day Adventist females can expect a 3.5 year advantage. Perhaps half of this superiority is traceable to nonsmoking, with the rest probably related both to dietary practices and the higher educational level found among Seventh-day Adventists, who are twice as likely to have twelve or more grades of education as non-Seventh-day Adventists.¹³

If further analysis confirms Dr. Phillips's suspicions, it will be clear that following the health insights Ellen White pressed Adventists to accept a hundred years ago has definite temporal advantages. Small wonder that church leaders have taken this evidence as dramatic confirmation of divine guidance in their past history. With such conviction it is only natural to expect that Adventists would continue a firm belief in Ellen White's special role among them—a role they see as a continuation of the work of the old prophets recorded in the Scriptures. And Seventh-day Adventists also continued their traditional emphasis on the Holy Scripture as a rule of life. Although twentieth-century "modernism" threatened the faith of some, the vast majority remained as firmly committed to the Bible as God's inspired Word as ever.

Suggested Reading:

The drama of service on an Amazon mission boat comes through exceptionally well in Leo Halliwell's *Light in the Jungle* (1959). Just as Hal-

liwell's story is that of the prime participant, so J. and D. Aitken's *White Wings, Green Jungle* (1966) tells the story of the first mission plane and pilot to serve in South America from the viewpoint of those closely involved. Reports at General Conference sessions give a good overview of the continuing concerns and goals of the General Conference medical and temperance leaders. The *S.D.A. Encyclopedia's* succinct accounts are also useful. For the development of "health foods" and prepared cereals among Adventists, see R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 37-47, 116-122, 209-212, and the same author's "Granola, Postum, Corn Flakes and Peanut Butter," in W. Johns and R. Utt, *The Vision Bold* (1977), pp. 75-93. The Australian success in these areas needs to be chronicled fully, but is given in capsule form in A. Maxwell, *Under the Southern Cross* (1966), pp. 79-82. The humanitarian spirit Loma Linda University tries to inculcate in the medical personnel it trains is captured in J. Wiley, *Loma Linda University Next Right* (1968). For the exploits of the LLU heart team, see A. Sutton, *The Heart Menders* (1965), and H. Ford, *Affair of the Heart* (1970). As its subtitle suggests, R. Schaefer's *Legacy: The Heritage of a Unique International Medical Outreach* (1977) focuses on the worldwide impact of the S.D.A. health gospel.

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1. *Review and Herald*, June 13, 1926, pp. 25-30; June 17, 1926, pp. 8-11; June 3, 1930, pp. 70-74; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.), p. 163.
 2. *Review*, July 16, 1950, pp. 99, 100, 111; July 18, 1950, p. 159; July 18, 1975, pp. 883, 884.
 3. L. Halliwell, *Light in the Jungle* (1959), pp. 94-101; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 554, 555, 913, 914.
 4. *Review*, June 5, 1947, pp. 17, 18; July 14, 1949, pp. 17, 18; December 2, 1954, p. 241; December 19, 1957, pp. 19, 20; *News Beat*, May 1949, p. 1; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 913.
 5. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 908-910; *Ministry Magazine*, March 1968, pp. 4-15; *Review*, January 22, 1970, p. 20; January 17, 1972, pp. 8, 9; March 30, 1972, p. 18; June 22, 1972, pp. 6-8; *Revue Adventiste*, May 1977, pp. 7, 10.
 6. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 147, 859, 1490, 1491; *Go*, February 1968, pp. 18-20; *Review*, June 22, 1966, p. 111; June 14, 1970, p. 43.
 7. *Review*, June 3, 1930, pp. 70-74; June 2, 1941, pp. 121-124; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 572, 573, 593.
 8. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 38, 39, 650, 651, 790, 791, 945, 946, 1292, 1293; *Review*, July 17, 1950, pp. 134, 135, 143; June 4, 1954, pp. 252, 253; June 26, 1958, p. 134.
 9. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 463, 464, 1293, 1468, 1469; E. H. J. Steed, *Temperance Department Report* (1976); *Review*, June 23, 1958, pp. 69, 70.
 10. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 39, 40, 474; *Ministry Magazine*, March 1970, pp. 14-16; *Listen*, October 1972, pp. 8, 9.
 11. R. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (1970), pp. 116-122, 209-212; A. Maxwell, *Under the Southern Cross* (1966), pp. 79-82; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 797, 798, 1285, 1286; *Review*, July 17, 1970, pp. 23, 24; August 7-14, 1975, p. 954; April 8, 1976, pp. 18, 19.
 12. A. Sutton, *The Heart Menders* (1965); H. Ford, *Affair of the Heart* (1970); *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 799-808; *Review*, February 19, 1970, pp. 2-4; April 8, 1976, pp. 15-17; *Signs of the Times*, July 1968, pp. 7-9.
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CHAPTER 37

Still a Bible-oriented Church

“We are known in some parts of the world, at least, as Bible preachers, Bible Christians,” General Conference president W. H. Branson told the opening session of the 1952 Bible Conference. Branson went on to express hope that Seventh-day Adventists would “always retain that name, that designation, and that we shall never drift away from the preaching of the Word of God.”¹

The 450-odd delegates before whom Branson spoke had been called together as the result of an action of the General Conference Committee during its 1951 Fall Council. They included representatives from all of the overseas divisions, from each of the ten unions in North America, and from the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, all of the North American senior colleges, and the church’s three major American publishing houses.

This group, which met in Takoma Park’s Sligo church from September 1 to 13, 1952, did not gather to redefine Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. Church leaders were certain that these needed no redefining. Rather, as *Review* editor F. D. Nichol wrote, it seemed wise “at least once in a generation . . . to turn aside from administrative meetings to refresh our spirits and quicken our fervor by concentrating for a time on the divinely connected pattern of truth that God has given to us.”

Nichol frankly admitted that there was “an attack on the Bible today [1952] of which the pioneers knew nothing.” This was causing some Adventist ministers to get “a little panic-stricken at times.” A thorough restudying of some of the cardinal Seventh-day Adventist doctrines would better illuminate the soundness of these doctrines, providing “a clearer sense of direction than ever before.”

The 1952 Bible Conference

Much careful planning went into preparing for the 1952 Bible Conference. Twenty-three of the denomination's top leaders under Branson's chairmanship developed conference ground rules, decided what subjects would be discussed, and chose the men to present these topics. They decided against open-forum discussions as tending more toward divisiveness than unity. Nor was time to be given to details of unfulfilled prophecy or to attempts to identify Melchizedek or the "king of the north."

Some of the best scholars and most able theologians of the church were enlisted to give in-depth presentations of topics the planning committee saw as most needing the attention of the church as a whole. Seminary professor Siegfried H. Horn is illustrative of the scholars chosen to address the conference. Just beginning what would become a distinguished career as a biblical archaeologist, Horn spent three hour-long sessions discussing recent archaeological discoveries that confirmed details of Bible accounts. The average conference day included six separate periods devoted to intensive consideration of topics ranging from "The Increasing Timeliness of the Threefold Message" (discussed by Editor Nichol) to a three-part presentation by General Conference vice-president L. K. Dickson on the Holy Spirit and the latter rain. One writer in the *Review* referred to the conference as a "refresher course in theology" for those in attendance. Each day just before the lunch hour a special devotional and revival service was held. In the brief intermissions between sessions animated conversations developed as delegates compared ideas. Many meetings proved deeply spiritual, concluding with seasons of prayer for changed lives and power to show the new insights received.

Although those who made the major conference presentations had spent months in study on the particular topic assigned them, they did not claim to be covering all aspects of the subject. In an effort to secure increased understanding of difficult concepts, question boxes were placed in several areas of the church. Into these delegates placed written questions, which were then sifted by a committee composed of Branson and the four General Conference general vice-presidents. Each question deemed of wide enough interest was answered during an open session by the expert who had prepared the related topic.

The organizers of the conference were clearly more interested in strengthening confidence in the cardinal doctrines of the church than in developing new theological concepts in those in attendance. "Unity of teaching is most essential," President Branson told delegates in his opening address. "We are to speak the same thing. True there will always be a slight divergence of opinion over this or that interpretation of certain scriptural passages, but on the great lines of fundamental teaching there should be absolute unity."

The 1952 conference, open to the public, was not characterized by the sharp differences on details of prophetic interpretation that had plagued the 1919 conference, which had been held behind closed doors. An observer noted that in the informal discussion groups that gathered during intermissions “there were differences of opinion expressed on small points, but in none of these small groups could we hear any word of doubt concerning the great fundamentals of the Advent Message.”

Since Seventh-day Adventists were noted for their interest in Bible prophecy, for the conference to have ignored eschatological events would have been uncharacteristic. Nor did it do so. *Signs of the Times* editor Arthur Maxwell addressed the delegates on a favorite topic—the signs indicating the imminence of Christ’s second coming. General Conference field secretary W. E. Read discussed closing events in the “Great Controversy,” while Washington Missionary College religion professor T. H. Jemison skillfully directed a potentially controversial presentation on the 144,000 into a consideration of the purity of character found in those making up this mystic number.

Distinctive Adventist doctrines such as Christ’s work in the heavenly sanctuary, the relationship of the law of God to the two covenants, Ellen White as God’s special last-day messenger, and health reform were all accorded substantial coverage. Toward the end of the conference, Southern European Division president W. R. Beach and Ministerial Association secretary R. A. Anderson reminded conference participants of their responsibility for evangelizing the entire world before Christ could return. Daily devotional studies emphasized the need for personal study of the Scriptures. Radio evangelist H. M. S. Richards even went so far as to challenge delegates to set aside certain parts of the year to feed upon the Bible “in massive doses” in addition to their customary daily study.

In the early sessions of the conference, Evangelist M. K. Eckenroth sounded a familiar challenge to his listeners—one that W. W. Prescott had urged upon the men attending the 1919 Bible Conference: Make Christ the center of every doctrine preached! With the help of a large chart he had constructed, Eckenroth proceeded to demonstrate how this might be done.

President Branson was especially concerned that those attending the Bible conference have an experiential knowledge of the great salvation doctrine of righteousness by faith in Jesus Christ that had been agitated spasmodically in Seventh-day Adventist circles ever since 1888. To that end, Branson himself made a stirring three-part presentation of this doctrine. In his final remarks, just minutes before the conference closed, Branson urged delegates not to repeat the experience of 1888, when some rejected and others appeared confused by the righteousness by faith message.

“We cannot possibly overemphasize the importance of receiving righteousness by faith in preparation for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and

in preparation for the loud cry of the Advent message,” Branson declared. “Let us raise a cry to the ends of the earth, calling our people to the reception of the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ by faith. If we do, we are going to carry the blessings of the Bible Conference right out to the very ends of the world, and it will bring great revival to all our churches.”

As the delegates left, perhaps the one meeting of all the eighty-two held during the thirteen-day session that stood out the most vividly in their minds was that of the final Friday afternoon. It began with a foot-washing and Communion service, followed by moving prayers by former General Conference president J. L. McElhany, veteran Meade MacGuire, and H. M. S. Richards. Then the chairman opened the floor for an “old-fashioned” testimony service. Church leaders pressed to the microphone to give thanks for the blessings they had received at the conference. Their faith reaffirmed, their consecration deepened, many left Takoma Park with a renewed determination to see the three angels’ messages heralded with new vigor.²

Published in two thick volumes under the title *Our Firm Foundation*, refined versions of the papers presented at the 1952 Bible Conference have continued to serve as authoritative “position papers” on significant aspects of Seventh-day Adventist theology. Yet not all of the participants in the 1952 conference went away satisfied. Twenty-two years later one remembered that “some delegates felt frustrated; they left with questions unanswered; they hinted to one another that leaders dared not open the floor for a free exchange of ideas.”

Later Conferences

Mindful of this dissatisfaction, when church leaders began planning another major Bible conference two decades later, a considerably different format was instituted. The 1974 North American Bible Conference was actually a three-in-one affair. Between May 13 and June 27 three separate sessions, each eight days long, were held at three different locations in the United States. The first, with some 450 delegates in attendance, met on the campus of Southern Missionary College. The two sessions that followed were held at Andrews University and Pacific Union College. Approximately 750 delegates attended the session held at Andrews, 550 at PUC. These men and women were drawn from conference and institutional workers, district pastors, and interested laymen.

In many respects the three conferences may be viewed as one. The same fifteen major presentations were made by the same individuals, a majority of whom were professors at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. Following these formal hour-and-a-half presentations, the audience divided into small groups of from twenty-five to thirty. For the next hour, under the guidance of a discussion leader, questions concerning the topic were raised and debated. “No questions were off limits.”

At the end of every discussion period each group selected two of the

questions that it felt were most significant from among those that had surfaced among them. These were referred that evening to a panel for discussion before the entire body of delegates. Thus each topic received a formal presentation followed by two hours of discussion. This format led to wide participation by those in attendance. "Hundreds raised questions that had been bothering them. They took issue with viewpoints differing from their own. They requested clarification of obscure points. They offered their own answers to bothersome matters."

The agenda for the 1974 Bible Conference was in the main prepared by the General Conference Biblical Research Committee, a study group established by the General Conference Committee in 1952. Drawn from experienced administrators, scholars, theologians, and editors, this committee had been meeting several times each year to study, discuss, and make recommendations to church officials on Bible-related topics that had proved troublesome to some Adventist pastor, evangelist, or layman.

From its own experience, the Biblical Research Committee was acutely aware that persons frequently arrived at different understandings of biblical passages because they began with different rules of interpretation. Thus they decided to structure the 1974 Bible Conference around the theme of correct biblical hermeneutics—rules of interpretation. Since Seventh-day Adventists are convinced that they have a unique biblical message to carry to the world, it was vital that this message be based on "arguments that cannot be assailed" because they are based on "true principles of hermeneutics." Yet never before had the church attempted "to systematize principles of Bible interpretation on a wide scale."

Each of the three sessions of the 1974 Bible Conference began with a keynote address by General Conference president Robert H. Pierson. In his message, entitled "Is There Any Word From the Lord?" Pierson pointed out that the Scriptures were "central to Adventist theology." From the start of his presidency Elder Pierson had emphasized the need for Seventh-day Adventists to experience revival and reformation. Now he noted that "in the past, revival and reformation have been closely linked with the study of God's Word. It must be so in the Adventist Church today as well. Real revival and reformation will come only when we as a people come back to the Bible!"

It was largely a new and younger group of theologians who made the presentations at the 1974 conference. Only two—Siegfried Horn and W. G. C. Murdoch—had given major studies in 1952. As he had at the earlier conference, Horn discussed biblical archaeology, but this time stressing how it aided in solid biblical exegesis. Dr. Murdoch focused on correct principles to use in interpreting the prophetic and apocalyptic portions of the Scriptures.

President V. Norskov Olsen of Loma Linda University provided delegates with a rapid overview of the attitude of Christian leaders toward the authority of the Bible ever since the days of the apostolic church. Next

seminary professor Raoul Dederen outlined a possible Seventh-day Adventist approach to the doctrine of revelation-inspiration as applied to the Scriptures. Only Gerhard Hasel, chairman of the seminary Old Testament Department, gave two of the fifteen major presentations. In his first discourse Hasel focused on sound basic principles of biblical interpretation; in his second he demonstrated how these principles could be applied to the moving "Song of the Vineyard" found in Isaiah 5:1-7.

In light of the recurring question Adventists continually faced as to how they regarded Ellen White's writings when compared with the Bible, Thomas Blincoe surveyed past Adventist thought on this topic, concluding with quoting Mrs. White herself to demonstrate that her goal was to direct her readers to the Word of God. Blincoe reminded his hearers that nearly a century earlier Ellen White had written in the *Review* "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is to be our creed, the sole bond of union; all who bow to this holy word will be in harmony."

Other major sessions heard Walter Specht discuss the role of the Holy Spirit in correct biblical interpretation and the Geoscience Research Institute's Robert H. Brown present a paper on the interrelationships between the Bible and science, especially as this related to the Adventist understanding of Creation. In an effort to help the hundreds of ministers in attendance, *Review* associate editor Don Neufeld described a variety of tools helpful in understanding and interpreting the Bible. Later, delegates had opportunity to examine lexicons, grammars, dictionaries, and encyclopedias at the campus bookstore and to purchase those they felt would be of particular use to them.

Wrapping up the main section of the conference, the seminary's Kenneth Strand chaired a panel that discussed the need for a balanced hermeneutics, one that would avoid both the pitfalls of modern liberal theology and those of extreme fundamentalism. The three final presentations became demonstrations of the hermeneutical principles discussed earlier at work in areas of vital concern to Seventh-day Adventists. The seminary's Hans LaRondelle once more directed attention to the much talked about but seemingly never completely understood and accepted doctrine of righteousness by faith. *Review* associate editor Herbert Douglass described Adventism's unique contribution to eschatology, while his chief, Kenneth Wood, focused on the role of Seventh-day Adventists at the very end of time.

There were other practical demonstrations of sound exegesis as well. The morning devotionals differed at the three conference sessions, but each focused on one of Paul's epistles. The Friday-evening and Sabbath-morning sermons were also varied at the different locations as was a session presentation on biblical preaching.

The net effects of the 1974 Bible conferences and their 1977 counterparts in Europe are difficult to evaluate. A new generation of Seventh-day Adventist workers had been confirmed in the sound biblical basis of

Adventist theology. Once more the church's dedication to the Bible, correctly understood, had been demonstrated. "All who attended the Conference," Editor Wood opined, "seemed determined to understand the Bible better, and present it with greater clarity and power."³

Examples of Seventh-day Adventist dedication to the Bible might be multiplied. *Bible Readings for the Home Circle*, a question-and-answer topical approach to great biblical themes, was a major subscription book sold by several generations of literature evangelists. In addition to the Bible correspondence courses promoted by the "Voice of Prophecy" and "Faith for Today," almost every union or local conference had a similar course of its own. Beginning in the 1920s, the Missionary Volunteer Department sponsored the "Bible Year," a plan for systematically reading the Bible completely through in one year's time. In the 1940s this was updated through a program correlating the reading of the Bible with Ellen White's *Conflict of the Ages* series. In the 1960s and 70s, the Gift Bible Plan, by which church members offered non-Adventists a free Bible if they would complete a series of Bible lessons, was popular. During these same years the Department of Education spent several hundred thousand dollars to bring out a series of new Bible textbooks for grades one through twelve in Seventh-day Adventist schools.

One of the most successful means of promoting a knowledge of and belief in the Bible involved the marketing of more than a million and a half sets of *The Bible Story*. In 1945 the book manager for the Review and Herald Publishing Association asked Arthur S. Maxwell to write a set of Bible stories for children. Maxwell's *Uncle Arthur's Bedtime Stories* had been a favorite of both Adventist children and colporteurs for two decades. Determined to aid children "not only to understand the Bible but to love it," Arthur Maxwell spent seven years in preparing a ten-volume set that did full credit to his skill as a storyteller. Lavishly illustrated by the publishers and enthusiastically promoted by literature evangelists, it became as popular with thousands of parents as it was with their children.⁴

Archaeology

Adventists made a unique contribution both to understanding the Bible and to increasing confidence in it when they decided in the 1960s to sponsor the archaeological excavation of a biblical site. Interest in archaeology within the church had been building ever since the *Review and Herald* carried its first archaeological news story in 1857. Advent pioneer Uriah Smith utilized archaeological discoveries to update his *Daniel and the Revelation*, while in 1933 W. W. Prescott became the first Seventh-day Adventist to publish a book on biblical archaeology. As early as 1937 archaeological courses began appearing in the offerings of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, which in 1944 instituted the Department of Archaeology and History of Antiquity under the chairmanship of Lynn H. Wood.

Wood was probably the first Adventist to receive formal archaeological training; he worked with several expeditions sponsored by Jerusalem's American School of Oriental Research. Following World War II, Siegfried H. Horn began his career as a biblical archaeologist. As a German citizen, Horn, who was serving as a missionary in the Dutch East Indies, was interned during the war. He used this six and a half years of captivity well, in intensive study of ancient languages and historical and archaeological works. Once released from internment, he studied at Johns Hopkins University with famed biblical scholar W. F. Albright and then went to the University of Chicago for a Ph.D. in Egyptology. In 1951 he succeeded Wood as chairman of the seminary's Department of Archaeology and History of Antiquity.

Throughout the 1950s Horn traveled extensively in Palestine and visited numerous archaeological sites. In 1960 he joined G. Ernest Wright's expedition to uncover biblical Shechem. After spending two additional summers in helping uncover Shechem, Horn was anxious to lead an archaeological dig of his own. The promise of financial support for three summers of excavation from the Archaeological Research Foundation of New York allowed Horn to convince the Andrews University trustees to schedule the first Seventh-day Adventist archaeological expedition for the summer of 1967.

Deciding to select a site from among the relatively unworked tells (mounds marking the sites of ancient cities) east of the Jordan River, Horn began negotiations with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's Department of Antiquities. Eventually arrangements were completed for excavating Tell Hesbân, fifteen miles by newly paved road from Amman, the Jordanian capital. Tell Hesbân was the reputed site of Amorite King Sihon's capital, known in Bible times as Heshbon. As this was one of the first cities to fall to Israel in the conquest of Palestine, it was hoped that its ruins might help confirm the date of the Exodus.⁵

June 1967 found Horn in Jordan completing arrangements for the Heshbon expedition. Then Israel's Six-Day War with her Arab neighbors forced a sudden shift in plans. Horn, with other American nationals, was quickly evacuated by the United States Air Force. Expedition members who were on their way were diverted, and the start of the "dig" postponed for a year. It was not until July 15, 1968, that the first shovels of dirt were turned and the forty-two overseas expedition members and five Jordanian advisers began the search for Heshbon's past. They were assisted by 140 local workmen who broke up the ground with pickaxes, sifted the dirt, and carted away unwanted debris.

When ancient cities were destroyed by tragedies such as earthquake or war, survivors would level the site and rebuild on top of the ruins. Thus cities grew upward and a mound or "tell" gradually developed. One goal of the Heshbon expedition's first summer of work was to sink shafts at various spots on the tell in an effort to reach bedrock. In the process they

would document successive rebuildings of the city. Through the study of pottery fragments found at various levels, experts could date the changes in the site.

A typical day for the expedition began at 3:45 a.m., when the rising bell rang at the Adventist academy in Amman, where the overseas personnel were headquartered. Breakfast came fifteen minutes later, and then it was off to the tell where actual operations began around 5:00 a.m. At 8:30 a second breakfast interrupted the morning's work. By 1:30 p.m. the heat forced all excavation to cease; the staff returned to Amman for lunch and a rest. Late-afternoon hours were devoted to a study of the thousands of sherds (pottery fragments) that had been uncovered the previous day. Then after a light supper followed by staff conferences, it was off to bed.

A variety of specialists served on the expedition's staff—surveyors, photographers, an anthropologist, experienced archaeologists. These were assisted by seminary students, Seventh-day Adventist college Bible teachers, and interested amateurs. The supervisor in each square shaft was required to keep an accurate account of all artifacts discovered, as well as the level and position at which each was found. As delicate objects were located, they were carefully unearthened with camel's-hair brushes and spoon-sized shovels.

Successively the expedition worked its way through Arab, Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic, and Persian cultural layers. Ruins of a Byzantine church and stone fortifications from the Persian period were uncovered. A wide variety of small artifacts was discovered—Arab coins, rings, bracelets, needles, bells, horseshoes, an iron helmet, a fifth century B.C. ostrakon (pottery fragment used for written messages) with five lines of writing that included Egyptian, Babylonian, and Western Semitic names.

After seven weeks the expedition's work was suspended. No evidence of Sihon's Heshbon had been found. Another season of work in 1970 was planned—only to be delayed for a year by strife between the Jordanian army and Palestine liberation fighters. Four seasons of excavation followed the initial Heshbon dig—1971, 1973, 1974, and 1976. New discoveries were unearthened. Among the most exciting was the first "rolling-stone tomb," similar to the one in which Christ was buried, to be found east of the Jordan. Later a second tomb of this type was located. Continued excavation of the Byzantine church revealed that the Arabs had transformed its narthex into an elaborate bathing establishment, the most advanced ever discovered in Jordan. The Roman road leading into the city was outlined, and excitement mounted as a large water reservoir was located at the right level to make it seem likely that it was one of the pools of Heshbon mentioned in Song of Solomon 7:4.

Disappointingly, however, there were no remains dating earlier than the twelfth century B.C.—too late to link the tell with Sihon's Heshbon. Reluctantly Horn and Dr. Larry Geraty, who directed the 1974 and 1976 digs, decided that Sihon's Heshbon was in another, nearby, tell. They

concluded that the name Heshbon had been moved to the site on which they had worked some time after the Israelite conquest of Canaan.

Although the original hope had not been realized, the Andrews University Heshbon Expedition contributed a great deal to the knowledge of an important biblical site. Ruins of twenty-three separate civilizations stretching over a 2700-year period were uncovered. Dozens of Adventist scholars and ministers who participated during one or more seasons received new insights into the culture of Bible times. Expedition members of more than half a dozen Christian faiths and from as many different nationalities worked together harmoniously. Adventists gained new respectability as biblical scholars in the eyes of many who had before considered them a mere sect with a curious apocalyptic and legalistic theology. Visits to the expedition's work area by the royal families of Jordan and Greece and by dozens of diplomats, scholars, and newsmen brought the church much favorable notice.

By national law many of the most valuable artifacts discovered at Heshbon were retained in Jordan, but some 2000 were shipped to Andrews University for study and display in an archaeological museum opened in the university's library in 1970. Gifts and purchases expanded the museum's collection to more than 7000 artifacts, including a collection of 3000 cuneiform tablets. Displays and museum lectures now enliven students' and visitors' understanding of biblical culture and history. The approximately \$30,000 per season invested to uncover Heshbon can be seen as a clear evidence of Adventist concern that knowledge of Bible times and Bible teachings be placed on a firm foundation.⁶

Publishing Advances

Since Seventh-day Adventists have long held that "the reading and study of the Bible is greatly aided by the comments and counsels" of Ellen G. White, it is not surprising that through the years major efforts have been made by church leaders to encourage the reading of Mrs. White's writings. The General Conference makes annual appropriations to aid in the publishing of Ellen White books in new languages or in new parts of the world. By 1976 Mrs. White's *Steps to Christ* had been translated into eighty-four languages, while *The Great Controversy* was available in thirty-two and *Thoughts From the Mount of Blessing* in twenty-one. Shortly after World War II a three-volume selection from the nine-volume *Testimonies for the Church* was published as *Testimony Treasures* in an effort to make the "cream" of the larger series available to Adventists outside North America.

The trustees of the Ellen G. White Estate have been particularly active in promoting a knowledge of and interest in Mrs. White's writings. One of the major projects they sponsored in the 1950s was the preparation of a new comprehensive three-volume index to Mrs. White's published writings. This project involved a dozen persons over a four-year period. A



Arthur L. White

careful card index of the materials in Mrs. White's unpublished letters and manuscripts also has been prepared. This is available for use at world headquarters and at E. G. White research centers by church leaders and scholars. This latter index has proved useful also in preparing the stream of new Ellen White compilations that continue to roll from Seventh-day Adventist presses. The trustees authorized the preparation of a special noncredit Spirit of Prophecy correspondence course and, during the 1970s, backed the preparation of a multivolume biography of Mrs. White by her grandson, Arthur L. White.

Testimony Countdown

One of the most effective efforts at encouraging interest in Mrs. White's writings among Adventists began in Takoma Park on the evening of January 8, 1969, with a "Testimony Countdown" program organized by White Estate personnel. In place of a prayer-meeting format, the planners utilized an adult-education approach. During the first evening and the nine successive weekly meetings in the series, a forty-odd page reading assignment was made in one of the volumes of the *Testimonies for the Church*. Each participant received a *Guidebook*, which included a series of ten short-answer questions on the material to be studied. The *Guidebook* also contained a brief sketch giving the historical setting for the materials to be read.

Subsequent evenings during the series were divided into segments during which the reading assignment was quickly reviewed, students shared some new spiritual insight gained from their reading, dramatic stories connected with a particular testimony were related, and questions concerning Ellen White's life, work, and teaching were answered. A high level of interest was evident throughout the series, with an average attendance at Sligo church of 1500; more than 1000 attended at least eight out of the ten Testimony Countdown meetings held at Sligo. In several months' time 250 sets of the *Testimonies* were sold in the Washington, D.C., area.

The success of Sligo's Testimony Countdown, reported in the *Review and Herald*, resulted in similar programs in hundreds of churches across North America. Within two years' time the White Estate had distributed more than 3000 pastor's kits designed to provide necessary background materials for the Countdown series. Interest spread to Australia, the British Isles, South America, and the Far East.

As the series closed, participants began to inquire when a second series would be held. This question was not answered until 1976 when a *Guidebook* for Testimony Countdown II was issued by Pacific Press. In explaining the reasons for its issuance, the publishers stated that "no other program launched by the General Conference ever received a more enthusiastic response by the rank and file of Seventh-day Adventists than the original Testimony Countdown."

While the earlier format was retained for the second series, the focus was on topics not treated previously. A special effort was made to get church members young and old to participate in a joint study of the writings of the church's "Messenger." Again, popular response exceeded expectations.⁷

We Still Believe

In spite of Seventh-day Adventist efforts to highlight their devotion to the Bible and the special insights they had received through Ellen White, as the church entered the final quarter of the twentieth century there were those who insisted that it was "aging." There were fears that the "modernism" so long resisted was infiltrating both leaders and the rank and file. Were Adventists about to redefine some of their major doctrinal positions?

Not if the church leaders could help it. In 1975 General Conference president Pierson issued a 254-page book significantly entitled *We Still Believe*. In the opening paragraphs Pierson stated his purpose quite frankly. It was to strengthen reader "confidence in God's Book, the Bible, in God's Son, Jesus Christ, and in God's present truth, the Advent message."

Pierson proceeded to place the church squarely on record as accepting the Bible as "God's unerring Word," and Jesus Christ as being very God and very Man—the only possible Saviour of a sin-laden world. Adventists,

Pierson indicated, still believed God created the earth in six literal days and that He had outlined the duties of mankind in the Ten Commandments. They still believed in dressing modestly and in living healthfully. Pierson saw no place within the church for compromises that would tend to lower standards of deportment or recreation.

Old Adventist doctrines such as the investigative judgment currently in progress in the heavenly sanctuary, the mortality of man, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church as "God's Remnant Church" were reiterated. There was also a reiteration of the need for continued devotion to religious liberty and a new emphasis on equality of members within the church. "Thank God for the Bible-based, Christ-centered third angel's message, as we affectionately call it among ourselves," Pierson concluded. "Cling closely to it! Never be ashamed of it! It is God's message for God's people in God's hour to prepare a people to meet God's Son! It is still God's truth and *we still believe it!*"⁸

Suggested Reading:

Students may secure an excellent idea of the presentations made at the 1952 Bible Conference by consulting *Our Firm Foundation*, 2 vols. (1953). Similar insight into the 1974 Bible conferences will be found in *North American Bible Conference, 1974* (1974). It is much more difficult to evaluate the impact of these conferences. Contemporary accounts in the *Review and Herald* help, but since they are intended for a wide audience and appear in the official church journal, they must be used according to historical rules for such sources. Good accounts of the Andrews University Heshbon Expedition can be found in the *Review* some months after the completion of each seasonal dig. A summary survey will be found in the 1977 summer issues. Probably the best picture of the Testimony Countdown programs can be secured from the *Guidebooks* prepared for the two series. R. Pierson's *We Still Believe* (1975) is a convenient, cogent, and straightforward summary of official S.D.A. views in 1975.

1. *Our Firm Foundation*, 2 v. (1953), I:49.

2. *Our Firm Foundation*, *passim*, especially I:14-58; II:575-618, 707-767.

3. *Review and Herald*, August 1, 1974, pp. 2, 18; August 15, 1974, pp. 4-9; *North American Bible Conferences 1974* (1974), p. 25.

4. *Review*, June 20, 1963, pp. 68, 69; July 18, 1975, p. 881; *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 160, 161, 863, 864.

5. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 62-64; *Review*, January 2, 1969, pp. 2-5; M. Thomsen, "Andrews University Helps Bare Secrets of Ancient Civilization in Jordan," *South Bend Tribune Michiana Magazine*, March 20, 1977, pp. 3-6.

6. *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, pp. 64, 65; *Review*, January 2, 1969, pp. 2-5; January 9, 1969, pp. 5-7; January 16, 1969, pp. 6-8; January 23, 1969, pp. 5-7; January 30, 1969, pp. 4-6; *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXXII (May 1969), pp. 26-41; *Ministry Magazine*, January 1974, pp. 12-14; January 1975, pp. 20-22; February 1975, pp. 20-23; May 1977, pp. 39-42; *Review*, March 28, 1974, pp. 8-10; September 25, 1975, pp. 4-6.

7. *Review*, July 18, 1950, pp. 148, 149; June 27, 1958, pp. 166, 172; *The Ministry*, April 1969, pp. 24-27; *Testimony Countdown: A Progress Report*, (n.d.); Spirit of Prophecy Committee, *Testimony Countdown II: A Guidebook*. . . (1976); *S.D.A. Encyclopedia*, p. 1413.

8. R. Pierson, *We Still Believe* (1975), *passim*, especially pp. 5, 254.

CHAPTER 38

What of the Future?

When Joseph Bates, James White, J. N. Loughborough, J. N. Andrews, and the other advent pioneers organized the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863, they did so in order that the work they felt commissioned to do might be more quickly accomplished. Similar motives lay behind the development of the complex system of publishing houses, schools, and medical institutions their spiritual descendants built in the years that followed.

Convinced through diligent study of Scripture that they were prophetically described by the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12, Adventists threw their energies into proclaiming the onset of God's judgment hour, the fall of spiritual Babylon, and the need to keep the commandments of God rather than worship the "beast and his image."

By 1975 the 3500 Seventh-day Adventists of 1863 had multiplied to more than 2,510,000. Another half million attended Adventist Sabbath Schools. With this growth in size had come a host of problems—social, economic, theological. There had also come increased temptations to settle into comfortable middle-class status, to view with pride the accomplishments of a Seventh-day Adventist educational system which produced for the church in the United States three times the number of college graduates found in the rest of the population. This condition, Adventists also realized, was that described in Revelation 3 as characteristic of Laodicea.

Approximately a century after the heyday of the Millerite movement, Adventist historian and educator A. W. Spalding sounded a warning that it is well to consider today. "Our success is not measured by numbers nor wealth nor influence," Spalding wrote. "Whether we can count our

thousands or our billions of adherents matters nothing. Whether our per capita gifts rise above those of other organizations, and whether we are a seventh wonder in missionary enterprise, all these are vainglory and vanity. It is liable to be ignorance of others' history that leads us to take prideful notice of our own."¹

And yet in thirty-seven chapters stretching over hundreds of pages we have encouraged the reader to consider the rise and development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. For what purpose? To increase spiritual pride or encourage a Laodicean spirit? Hardly.

Rather the goal has been to help the reader to come to grips with certain far-reaching questions: How is the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its growth best explained? What is my relationship to this church and its message? Why the delay in the second advent confidently expected as imminent more than a century ago? Is the church somehow responsible for this delay? Does my involvement in church activities, or lack of it, contribute to a swelling of the three angels' messages into the "Loud Cry" of Revelation 18? Is my eagerness for Jesus to come as intense as that felt by Adventists in 1844? Why or why not?

All these questions, and more like them, need consideration from the reader of these pages. Not casual, but thoughtful, prayerful consideration. The issues involved are major ones. Time is involved—not a year or a decade, but eternity.

1. A. W. Spalding, *Who Is the Greatest?* (1941), p. 135.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

- 1826 The first of the Albury Conferences, discussing the second coming of Christ.
- 1827 Ellen G. Harmon is born in Portland, Maine.
- 1831 William Miller begins to preach.
- 1839 Joshua Himes begins to proclaim the Advent imminent.
- 1840 *The Signs of the Times* begins publication.
The first General Conference of Advent believers.
- 1842 James White begins to preach.
- 1844 The Great Disappointment.
Rachel Preston introduces the Sabbath truth.
Hiram Edson introduces sanctuary truth.
- 1845 Ellen Harmon presents her first vision.
Joseph Bates begins to keep the Sabbath.
- 1848 First general meeting of Sabbath keepers held in Rocky Hill, Connecticut.
- 1849 *Present Truth* first published.
First issue of *Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*.
Death of William Miller.
Issue of first advent hymnbook.
- 1852 Washington hand press used in Rochester, New York.
First number of *The Youth's Instructor*.
- 1853 First regular Sabbath Schools organized.
Martha Byington starts first Adventist church school.
- 1854 Loughborough and Cornell conduct first tent meeting in Battle Creek.
First sale of denominational literature.

- 1859 "Systematic benevolence" plan of funding adopted.
- 1860 The name "Seventh-day Adventist" adopted.
- 1861 Churches first formally organized. Michigan Conference, the first conference organized.
- 1863 Organization of General Conference with 20 delegates from 6 conferences.
- 1865 First health publication, *How to Live*.
- 1866 Publication of journal, *Health Reformer*.
Health Reform Institute opened in Battle Creek.
- 1868 First local tract and missionary society organized in South Lancaster, Massachusetts.
First general camp meeting held at Wright, Michigan.
- 1872 First denominational school opened under G. H. Bell.
First foreign periodical issued, *Advent Tidende*.
- 1874 Battle Creek College established.
First number of *Signs of the Times* issued, Oakland, California.
J. N. Andrews, first foreign missionary, sent out.
- 1875 Pacific Press Publishing Association incorporated.
- 1878 Battle Creek tabernacle built.
- 1879 First local Young People's Society, Hazelton, Michigan.
- 1881 Death of James White.
First canvassing work begun.
- 1882 First subscription book sold by George A. King.
- 1883 Death of J. N. Andrews, Switzerland.
First denominational *Yearbook* issued.
- 1884 First denominational training school for nurses at Battle Creek.
- 1885 Haskell and Corliss and others sail to Australia.
Ellen White goes to Europe.
- 1887 First missionaries sent to Africa.
Abram La Rue, self-supporting missionary to China.
- 1888 Jones and Waggoner present "righteousness by faith" at General Conference.
- 1889 National Religious Liberty Association organized.
- 1890 The sailing of the *Pitcarin*.
- 1891 Ellen White and company visit Australia.
- 1894 Avondale School established, Australia.
First union conference organized, Australia.
- 1896 American Medical Missionary College opened.
Oakwood Manual Training School opened.
- 1899 Christian Record Braille Foundation opened.
- 1901 A world network of union conferences founded.
Budget financing instituted.
Southern Publishing Association established.
- 1902 Sanitarium and *Review* buildings burned in Battle Creek.
Battle Creek College moved to Berrien Springs.

- 1903 World headquarters moved to Washington, D.C.
Jasper Wayne begins Ingathering work.
- 1905 Loma Linda Sanitarium established.
- 1906 Pacific Press building burns.
- 1908 Yearly Morning Watch Calendar first issued.
- 1910 College of Medical Evangelists (now L.L.U.) opens.
General Conference establishes sustentation fund.
- 1911 Sabbath School offerings reach one million dollars.
- 1913 General Conference adopts world divisions system.
- 1915 Ellen White dies, age 87.
- 1919 Birthday offerings system for opening new work.
- 1924 Death of J. N. Loughborough, last of the early pioneers.
- 1934 S.D.A. Theological Seminary opens.
- 1935 Loma Linda Foods established.
- 1942 First "Voice of Prophecy" nationwide broadcast.
- 1945 First regional conferences formed.
- 1950 "Faith for Today" telecast.
- 1957 Potomac University (now A.U.) organized.
- 1961 Loma Linda University formed (previously C.M.E. and La Sierra College).

General Conference Presidents

John Byington, 1863-1865; James White, 1865-1867, 1869-1871, 1874-1880; J. N. Andrews, 1867-1869; G. I. Butler, 1871-1874, 1880-1888; O. A. Olsen, 1888-1897; G. A. Irwin, 1897-1901; A. G. Daniells, 1901-1922; W. A. Spicer, 1922-1930; C. H. Watson, 1930-1936; J. L. McElhany, 1936-1950; W. H. Branson, 1950-1954; R. R. Fighur, 1954-1966; R. H. Pierson, 1966-1978; N. C. Wilson, 1979-

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