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## Adventist Heritage - Vol. 01, No. 1

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# *The Adventist* **Heritage**

A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY



COVER PHOTO:



William Miller, leading preacher of the Advent movement in the 1830's and 1840's.



# Adventist Heritage





## P R E F A C E .

THE Harp, in its present form, embraces nearly all the hymns contained in our well-known works,—the “Millennial Harp,” “Musings,” and “Melodies,”—(those only having been omitted which are rarely, if ever, sung,) and is designed to furnish a more complete and convenient selection, to be used in our Advent meetings. The hurry with which the above-named works were got through the press, necessarily made them, in many respects, defective; though, with all their defects, they have been the means of accomplishing a vast amount of good, by conveying the truth to the mind of those who were in the dark, and awakening the careless; by inspiring new hope in the fainting soul, quickening the languid, and giving utterance to the burning desires and sublime expectations of those who are longing for the appearing of Jesus Christ.

We are aware of the difficulty of suiting the taste of all classes in musical and devotional compositions; the greatest possible diversity for this purpose, which is consistent with the nature of the work in which we are engaged, must therefore be allowed. Some of our hymns, which might be objected to by the more grave and intellectual, and to which we ourselves have never felt any great partiality, have been the means of reaching, for good, the hearts of those who, probably, would not otherwise have been affected; and, as our object, like that of the Apostle, is to *save men*, we should not hesitate to use all means lawful, that may promise to “save some.”

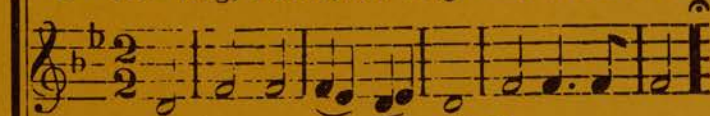
The general expression of approbation which our former works have called forth, assures us that this effort to improve our *Advent Harp* will be appreciated by all the true friends of the Advent cause.

*Boston, October 23, 1843.*

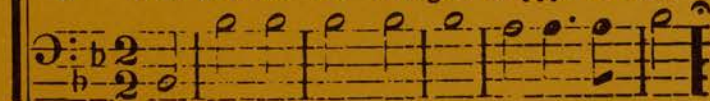
## How long, O Lord. 3



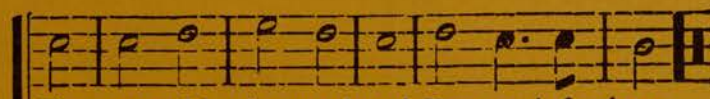
1. “How long, O Lord, how long?”—It was in heav’n



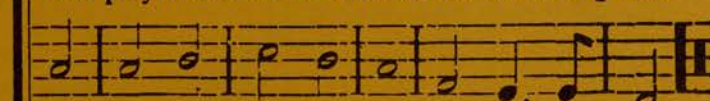
2. Was heav-en not enough? Happy, se-cure,



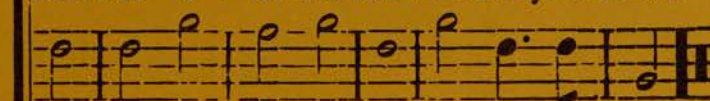
3. Jesus! they would have more—Even in bliss,



That prayerful voice was heard, From souls forgiven.



Robed in e - ter - nal bliss Would they have more.



The souls ex - pec - tant wait More hap - pi - ness.

4  
They wait, even in heaven,  
Impatiently,  
To see this troubled world  
At peace with thee.

6  
Jesus! they would behold  
Thy work complete,  
And misery and sin  
Beneath thy feet.

5  
They would behold their King,  
Once crucified,  
Mistrusted still, disowned,  
And still denied,—

7  
And may not we, too, join  
In heaven’s song?  
Should we alone not ask,  
“How long, how long?”



# Adventist Heritage

A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY

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Millerites sang of joy and confidence, of longing and alarm. Singing together brought emotional support and a vital sense of unity. Songs were first published in the *Signs of the Times* and the *Midnight Cry*. These were collected into songbooks which were circulated widely. The preface and first number in the 1843 edition of the *Millennial Harp* show an underlying tension between certainty of expectation and uncertainty in waiting, a prevailing tension throughout the centuries among advent believers. Expectation of their Lord's return prompted their haste in publishing the *Millennial Harp*, yet His coming seemed long overdue. With wondrous dismay they looked at their troubled world. Why hadn't He come already?

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# EDITORS THE STUMP

Looking toward the world's end Adventists have not always given the attention to their history that it deserves. Yet history is important, even for an apocalyptic group, for it contributes to self-identity. And even a cursory examination of Adventism's relatively short history reveals that it is a rich and interesting one indeed.

Beginning with this issue, *Adventist Heritage* seeks to nourish an interest in Adventist history. While we want to adhere to the highest standards of historical scholarship, we also desire to appeal to the general reader. Our history is too important to be confined to Adventist historians alone.

The articles, pictures, and reviews in this issue illustrate something of what we wish to achieve. Spanning in time from the early period of Adventism until well into the twentieth century, and covering both Seventh-day and other Adventist groups, they indicate the length and breadth of Adventist history. Our authors include professional historians and freelance writers, Adventists and non-Adventists.

Although the validity of history as a subject worthy of study is under attack generally, *Adventist Heritage* appears at a time when interest in Adventist history seems to be increasing. Seventh-day Adventist church administrators are seriously studying the possibility of producing a college-level denominational history textbook. A group of Adventist scholars are contributing to a collective project titled *Studies in Adventist History*. Finally, during the past academic year the Seventh-day Adventist Church at Loma Linda University sponsored a series of lectures by noted historians on the social roots of Adventism. The series was so well received that the church is this year sponsoring a series on Seventh-day Adventist church history by SDA historians.

Those who have participated in these projects have discovered the fascination of the Adventist past. *Adventist Heritage* seeks to communicate this fascination to you.

Gary Land

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### FORTHCOMING IN *Adventist Heritage*

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THE LAST DAYS OF JOSHUA V. HIMES

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SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS  
CHOOSE A NAME

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WHITTIER ATTENDS  
A MILLERITE CAMP-MEETING

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THE GREAT EVOLUTION DEBATE

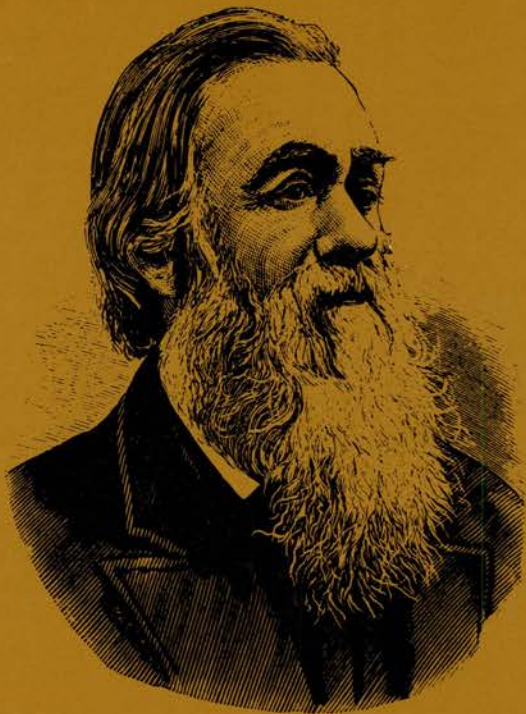
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# After the Great Disappointment

To Albany and Beyond

David T. Arthur



Joshua V. Himes led the opposition against Millerite extremists who proposed such ideas as the seventh day sabbath and spiritual wifery.

THE presses were silent. There was no *Advent Herald*, no *Midnight Cry*. There were no meetings to attend. In their loneliness few desired to speak, for they were still in the world, there had been no deliverance—their Lord had not come. Luther Boutelle, one of the minor Adventist lecturers, wrote: “The 22nd of October passed, making unspeakably sad the faithful and longing ones; but causing the unbelieving and wicked to rejoice. All was still.” No words could express the true Adventist’s feelings of disappointment. Only for those who experienced it could it have full meaning: “It was a humiliating thing, and we all felt it alike. All were silent, save to inquire, ‘Where are we?’ and ‘What next?’”

This was the Great Disappointment. The Millerites, following the lead of Samuel S. Snow, had fixed on October 22, 1844, as the day of Christ’s return. William Miller, Joshua V. Himes, and others of the original leadership had been slow to accept this date but finally had been swept along in the ever mounting excitement. All hopes were fixed on that day. Thought for the future was unnecessary, as life’s ultimate goal was soon to be attained. But October 22 and the expectations of thousands of Millerites had passed. All that remained was the absolute disappointment, the all pervading feeling of emptiness and the experience itself—an experience whose magnitude, of necessity, would produce far-reaching and widely divergent effects.

Sylvester Bliss, office editor of the *Advent Herald*, stated that the impact of this experience divided the Adventists into three principal groups. One group, ascribing the entire movement to human fallibility or some satanic influence, gave up their belief in Christ’s second advent, and returned to their churches or gave up religion altogether. A second group, taking the position that while the exact date had been an error of human judgment the doctrine of the nearness of the second advent was still true, continued to be numbered among the Millerites and continued to spread the message. The third group contended that the entire movement had been ordained and ordered of God, and there could be no error, not even on the time. Adopting new and more extreme views to rationalize and justify their position, many eventually burned themselves out in extremism.

Conflict arose between these last two groups (those who remained in the movement), the former comprising most of the prominent Millerite lecturers and leaders, and the latter, feeling betrayed, looking to new men for leadership attempted to rally their followers around the old ideas and positions. Reviewing their arguments and evidence, they concluded that their original position was essentially sound. The time had been an error, but the message of Christ’s near return together with a definite time for this event were taught in the scrip-

---

*Author of a dissertation on Millerite separatism and denomination-  
alism, DAVID T. ARTHUR teaches history at Aurora College.*



tures and were therefore true. Evidence proved that Christ's return "is at the very door, that it cannot be long delayed, and that the events are of those for which we look."

While the leaders were as confused and disappointed as other Millerites they urged their people to hold fast and be patient, offering as their only solace the assurance that Christ must be near. They had no other explanation: "We cannot doubt that God has brought us into our present position, and he will deliver us. Be not in haste, nor over-anxious to learn what is to come!" Some sought and found comfort in discovering supposed errors in chronology, correcting them and setting new times for Christ's return. The years 1845, 1846, 1847, and others further in the future, were fixed on by individuals and groups. For some, the search for the right time was an obligation owed to God; for others, it seemed the only way to hold the movement together. Those who failed to search were accused of falling into the "indefinite time" error.

Most of these original leaders, however, refused to fix on new dates or time periods. A few concluded that the exact time could not be determined, that the scriptures taught time generally, not specifically. Most (without giving up their belief in definite time) took the pragmatic position that repeated time-setting and disappointment would destroy the movement, and that Millerites must content themselves with the belief that Christ's return was near, and be ever-prepared and waiting. While human chronology contained error, no one could deny the end was near.

Disappointed as we are in the result which we expected, we are nevertheless fully persuaded that God has been in it, and that He has wise ends respecting it. He has wrought a great, a glorious work in the hearts of his children; and it will not be in vain. He has prepared his people for some great end; just what it may prove to be, is not now manifest: but the Advent must be at the door.

In the meantime, Adventists were to continue as before. They were exhorted neither to return to their old ways, nor to give up. Christ's work was not done, and his followers were to occupy themselves with it until his return. Newspapers were published once again, meetings were held, and tours arranged. The task of warning the world of impending judgment, and preparing the faithful for the reign of Christ, remained the duty of all Adventists.

Those Millerites who sought new leadership were actually a collection of various parties and factions, each with its own peculiar beliefs and practices, held together by a common belief in the correctness of their time calculation. This belief forced them into making new explanations, some plausible, some fanciful, of their disappointment. These, in turn, inaugurated a series of disputes and divisions within the movement. New leaders arose, new publications were issued, new ideas were advanced. The disputes became bitter and acrimonious, frequently degenerating to the level of name-calling and personal invective. For the leaders

of original Millerism, these groups provided a very special problem. They did not leave the movement, but continued, for a time, to number themselves among Miller's followers. In fact, they considered themselves the true and only Millerites, all others having apostatized.

The most popular and persistent position advanced by the new leadership was the "shut door" theory. First presented by Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale, using the biblical parable of the ten virgins, this theory suggested that while Christ had not come as king, he had come as bridegroom, and the nature of his work had changed. Christ was now within the veil, readying His kingdom, and preparing for His coming as King of glory. His work with mankind was finished. There could be no further laboring to convert sinners and prepare the sleeping church. The door of mercy was shut. The present duty of the true believer was now simply to wait and keep himself ready for Christ's appearing.

Initially, the most important advocate of the "shut door" was Joseph Turner, who spread the theory through the pages of the *Hope of Israel*, and traveled throughout New England and New York winning converts through pulpit oratory and individual contact. His influence and activity caused separations in Millerite congregations wherever he went, those accepting his views often calling themselves the "wise virgins," and calling those whom they left behind, the "foolish virgins."

Others joined Joseph Turner in advocacy. S. S. Snow found in it the answer to his dilemma, and displayed a harshness not found in Turner. Enoch Jacobs, editor of the principal Millerite publication in Ohio (Cincinnati), came to this view, as did J. D. Pickands in Cleveland and J. B. Cook in New York. The Millerites' two principal women, Mrs. Clorinda S. Minor of Philadelphia and Miss Emily C. Clemons of New York and Maine, wrote widely in support of the shut door theory, and were joined by the leaders of the budding sabbatarian Adventists, Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen G. Harmon, in its promotion. Most supporters made acceptance of the theory a test of salvation, consigning those who rejected it to damnation.

For a brief time, Willam Miller looked with sympathy on the shut door explanation, but was weaned from it by Joshua V. Himes and others. The influence and arguments of Himes, Sylvester Bliss, N. N. Whiting, the *Advent Herald*, and the *Morning Watch* (renamed from *Midnight Cry*), were all used against this position. Himes argued strongly that the shut door theory was an error, a pernicious one, and the Adventists must acknowledge their mistake as to both the time and the event. Their work had not been completed; rather, it must be continued.

There were other more fanciful notions put forward by members of the new leadership. J. D. Pickands and his followers in Cleveland adopted a position based on Revelation 14:14-16, and held that Christ was sitting on a white cloud, having a golden crown on his head



and a sharp sickle in his hand, waiting for the harvest. But the harvest would not come until the saints cried out for it constantly and loudly. This was the last duty of the true Christian. Within a year Pickands had adopted another theory, to which he converted Enoch Jacobs, holding that Christ's second advent was a spiritual rather than an actual event. Christians should appropriate to themselves the promise of eternal life; in other words, the true Christian was already immortal. Jacobs wrote: "The kingdom is here, and I have found it. Hallelujah!". Christ was in the process of gathering his immortal elect. Still another group in Utica, New York, led by Orlando Squires, argued that since Christ was in heaven, and Christians were in Christ, that Christians were thus in the kingdom of heaven.

In addition to these new theories, several new practices also arose, which proved nearly as disruptive. The

### A MUTUAL CONFERENCE.

In view of the present state of the Advent cause, and the vast responsibilities resting upon us all at this crisis, it has been thought advisable, by BRN. MILLER, LITCH, WHITING, JONES, COLE, HUTCHINSON, and others, to call a Conference of the Second Advent lecturers, and brethren, who still adhere to the original Advent faith, as proclaimed by us to the world, for the last few years.

The object of this meeting will not be for controversy on points of doctrine, or on questions of doubtful disputation, but to strengthen one another in the faith of the Advent at the door, and to consult on the best mode of unitedly carrying forward our work, in comforting, and preparing the Advent congregations among us for the speedy coming of the Lord; and also to unite our efforts, for the conversion and salvation of sinners. Our time is precious, and should be employed to the best advantage, so that we may give account to our Judge, at his appearing.

We cordially invite all the Advent lecturers, who approve of the object of the proposed Conference, to unite with us in its deliberations. Each of the Advent congregations, also, are invited to send one or two brethren, to consult with us. The meeting will be a voluntary one, and all who unite in it will feel the importance of unity of action, in all that concerns our spiritual welfare.

The Conference will commence, if time continue, and Providence permit, the last Tuesday in April, in Albany, N. Y., or its vicinity, as that will be the most convenient location for all to attend. Due notice, however, will be given of the place.

Addresses are expected from BRN. Miller, Galusha, Whiting, and others.

Amid the confusion following the "Great Disappointment," Millerite leaders announced in the *Morning Watch* a conference to establish unity.

keeping of the seventh-day sabbath was advocated by T. M. Preble and J. B. Cook (each of whom later renounced it), Joseph Bates, James White, Ellen Harmon, and others. The washing of one another's feet was a practice adopted as part of the worship experience by groups in western New York, Maine and Ohio. The "holy salutation" or "holy kiss" found favor in some congregations in these same areas. Again, "spiritual wifery" was practiced among Ohio Millerites, led by Jacobs and Pickands. Believing they were immortal, many, including Jacobs himself, put aside their wives and families and formed "spiritual couples" or what was called "spiritual matrimony without sexual connection." Pickands himself did not practice this but defended, in court, those who did.

These new theories and novel practices were strongly opposed. Led, as usual, by Himes, and supported by Miller, Bliss, Whiting, Josiah Litch, Elon Galusha and others, the *Advent Herald* and the *Morning Watch* cried out against them. Joseph Marsh, editor of *Voice of Truth* (Rochester, N. Y.), the leading Millerite periodical in the West of that day, vacillated, but finally rejected the new views and practices. These attacks only brought fourth counterattacks: the moderates were denounced as backsliders and apostates. The Millerite movement was rapidly losing its coherence and momentum. With hopes and expectations in ruins, many could not hold fast to the original Millerite faith and practice as counseled by their leaders. As they cast about for something to assuage the hurt and give them new direction, once-strong Adventism moved toward disintegration.

Amid this confusion and dissension, the leaders of original Millerism decided to call a conference for the purpose of defining true Adventism and combatting what they perceived as pernicious errors. The announcement of the conference, called for Albany, New York, April 29, 1845, appeared in the *Advent Herald*, the *Morning Watch*, and, in briefer form, in the *Voice of Truth*. Only those who still adhered to "the original Advent faith, as proclaimed by us to the world, for the last two years," were invited to attend, and the object of the meeting was "to strengthen one another in the faith of the Advent at the door, and to consult on the best mode of unitedly carrying forward our work, in comforting, and preparing the Advent congregations among us for the speedy coming of the Lord; and also to unite our efforts, for the conversion and salvation of sinners."

This call excluded those who followed the new theories and practices, who believed the time right and the event wrong, and who believed their work finished. Joseph Marsh wrote: "The present conflicting views among us, and the high state of excitement on certain points, render it rather hazardous for large bodies to meet at this time. A formidable division will unavoidably be the result, if any other than the counsel of God, his word, shall guide and bring to maturity our deliberations." Marsh wished to treat all who called themselves Adventists with love and kindness, while



holding firm against extremists, in order to avoid permanent disunion. Himes, while not wishing to unnecessarily offend any, wanted to dissociate Adventism from those new ideas and rites which he believed were no part of it and which he believed were destroying the movement.

Most of the conferees came from the eastern coastal states, including eastern Pennsylvania and eastern New York. Few from western New York and none from Ohio or Maine attended. These latter, more remote, geographic areas were of recent settlement and more susceptible to extreme religious ferment. These were the areas within Adventism dominated by the new, more radical views and practices.

The Albany Conference was not, in truth, a union

conference, if by that is meant a conference designed to embrace all who called themselves Adventists regardless of views. It was an exclusive conference, designed to hold Millerism to its original course, except for the time calculation, and to stem the rising tide of radicalism. One of the most important conferences of Adventists ever held, it was a turning point in the fortunes of the movement.

At the outset the conference appointed a committee of twelve, chaired by William Miller, to prepare a declaration of principles and a plan of future operations, and to consult respecting future association. After two days of deliberation, the conference unanimously adopted the report of the committee. The report opened with a statement of ten "important truths" or "great

## THE MORNING WATCH.

VOL. VIII.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

*To the Conference in session now at Albany :*

Your Committee appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration the great principles upon which we can unite and act in advancing the cause of truth, for the edification of the body of Christ, the salvation of souls, and the preparation of man for the near Advent of the Savior, submit the following report :

In view of the many conflicting opinions, unscriptural views leading to unseemly practices, and the sad divisions which have been thereby caused by some professing to be Adventists, we deem it incumbent on us to declare to the world our belief that the Scriptures teach, among others, the following

#### IMPORTANT TRUTHS.

1st. That the heavens and earth which are now, by the word of God, are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. That the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burned up. That the Lord will create new heavens and a new earth, wherein righteousness—that is, the righteous—will for ever dwell.<sup>1</sup> And that the kingdom and the dominion under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most-High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. 3: 7, 10, 13, <sup>2</sup> Dan. 7: 27.]

2d. That there are but two Advents or appearances of the Savior to this earth.<sup>1</sup> That both are personal and visible.<sup>2</sup> That the first took place in the days of Herod,<sup>3</sup> when He was conceived of the Holy Ghost,<sup>4</sup> born of the Virgin Mary,<sup>5</sup> went about doing good,<sup>6</sup> suffered on the cross, the just for the unjust,<sup>7</sup> died,<sup>8</sup> was buried,<sup>9</sup> arose again the third day, the first fruits of them that slept,<sup>10</sup> and ascended into the heavens,<sup>11</sup> which must receive him until the times of the restitution of all things, spoken of by the mouth of all the holy prophets.<sup>12</sup> That the second coming or appearing will take place when he shall descend from heaven at the sounding of the last trumpet, to give his people rest,<sup>13</sup> being revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and obey not the gospel.<sup>14</sup> And that he will judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and kingdom.<sup>15</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Heb. 9: 28. <sup>2</sup> Acts 1: 9, 11. <sup>3</sup> Mat. 2: 1. <sup>4</sup> Mat. 1: 18. <sup>5</sup> Mat. 1: 25. <sup>6</sup> Mat. 11: 5. <sup>7</sup> 1 Pet. 3: 18. <sup>8</sup> Luke 23: 46. <sup>9</sup> Luke 23: 53. <sup>10</sup> 1 Cor. 15: 4. <sup>11</sup> Luke 24: 51. <sup>12</sup> Acts 3: 21. <sup>13</sup> 1 Thess. 4: 16, 17; 1 Cor. 15: 52. <sup>14</sup> 2 Thess. 1: 7, 8. <sup>15</sup> 2 Tim. 4: 1.

3d. That the second coming or appearing is indicated to be now emphatically nigh, even at the doors,<sup>1</sup> by the chronology of the prophetic periods,<sup>2</sup> the fulfilment of prophecy,<sup>3</sup> and the signs of the times.<sup>4</sup> And that this truth should be preached both to saints and sinners, that the first may rejoice knowing their redemption draweth nigh,<sup>5</sup> and the last be warned to flee from the wrath to come,<sup>6</sup> before the Master of the house shall rise up and shut to the door.<sup>7</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Mat. 24: 33. <sup>2</sup> Dan. 7: 25; 8: 14; 9: 24; 12: 7, 11, 12; Rev. 9: 10, 15; 11: 2, 3; 12: 6, 14; 13: 5. <sup>3</sup> Dan. 2d, 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th chaps. Rev. 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 17th chaps. <sup>4</sup> Mat. 24: 29; Luke 21: 25, 26. <sup>5</sup> Luke 21: 28; 1 Thess. 4: 18. <sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. 5: 11. <sup>7</sup> Luke 13: 24, 25.]

4th. That the condition of salvation is repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> And that those who have repentance and faith, will live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Acts 20: 21; Mark 1: 15. <sup>2</sup> Titus 2: 11—13.]

5th. That there will be a resurrection of the bodies of all the dead,<sup>1</sup> both of the just and the unjust.<sup>2</sup> That those who are Christ's will be raised at his coming.<sup>3</sup> That the rest of the dead will not live again until after a thousand years.<sup>4</sup> And that the saints shall not all sleep, but shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye at the last trumpet.<sup>5</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> John 5: 28, 29. <sup>2</sup> Acts 24: 15. <sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. 15: 23. <sup>4</sup> Rev. 20: 5. <sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. 15: 51, 52.]

6. That the only Millennium taught in the word of God is the thousand years which are to intervene between the first resurrection and that of the rest of the dead, as inculcated in the 20th of Revelation.<sup>1</sup> And that the various portions of Scripture which refer to the Millennial state, are to have their fulfilment after the resurrection of all the saints who sleep in Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Rev. 20: 2—7. <sup>2</sup> Isa. 11th; 35: 1, 2, 5—10; 65: 17—25.]

7th. That the promises that Abraham should be the heir of the world was not to him, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.<sup>1</sup> That they are not all Israel which are of Israel.<sup>2</sup> That there is no difference under the Gospel dispensation between Jew and Gentile.<sup>3</sup> That the middle wall of partition that was between them is broken down, no more to be rebuilt.<sup>4</sup> That God will render to every man according to his deeds.<sup>5</sup> That if we are Christ's, then are we Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.<sup>6</sup> And that the only restoration of Israel, yet future, is the restoration of

the saints to the earth, created anew, when God shall open the graves of those descendants of Abraham who died in faith, without receiving the promise, with the believing Gentiles, who have been grafted in with them into the same olive tree—and shall cause them to come up out of their graves, and bring them, with the living, who are changed, into the land of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Rom. 4: 13. <sup>2</sup> Rom. 9: 6. <sup>3</sup> Rom. 10: 12. <sup>4</sup> Eph. 2: 14, 15. <sup>5</sup> Rom. 2: 6. <sup>6</sup> Gal. 3: 29. <sup>7</sup> Ezek. 37: 12; Heb. 11: 12, 13; Rom. 11: 17; John 5: 28, 29.]

8th. That there is no promise of this world's conversion.<sup>1</sup> That the Horn of Papacy will war with the saints, and prevail against them, until the Ancient of Days shall come, and judgment be given to the saints of the Most High, and the time come that the saints possess the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> That the children of the kingdom, and the children of the wicked one, will continue together until the end of the world, when all things that offend shall be gathered out of the kingdom, and the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.<sup>3</sup> That the Man of Sin will only be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming.<sup>4</sup> And that the nations of those which are saved, and redeemed to God by the blood of Christ, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, will be made kings and priests unto God, to reign for ever on the earth.<sup>5</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Mat. 24: 14. <sup>2</sup> Dan. 7: 21, 22. <sup>3</sup> Mat. 13: 37—43. <sup>4</sup> Thes. 2: 8. <sup>5</sup> Rev. 5: 9, 10; 21: 24.]

9th. That it is the duty of the ministers of the Word, to continue in the work of preaching the Gospel to every creature, even unto the end,<sup>1</sup>—calling upon them to repent, in view of the fact, that the kingdom of heaven is at hand,<sup>2</sup>—that their sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Mat. 28: 19, 20. <sup>2</sup> Rev. 14: 7. <sup>3</sup> Acts 3: 19, 20.]

And 10. That the departed saints do not enter their inheritance, or receive their crowns at death.<sup>1</sup> That they without us cannot be made perfect.<sup>2</sup> That their inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, is reserved in heaven, ready to be revealed in the last time.<sup>3</sup> That there are laid up for them and for us crowns of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give at the day of Christ, to all that love his appearing.<sup>4</sup> That they will only be satisfied when they awake in Christ's likeness.<sup>5</sup> And that when the Son of Man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, the King will say to those on his right hand, come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.<sup>6</sup> Then they will be equal to the angels, being the children of God and of the resurrection.<sup>7</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Dan. 12: 13; Rev. 6: 9—11; Rom. 8: 22, 23. <sup>2</sup> Heb. 11: 40. <sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. 1: 4, 5. <sup>4</sup> 2 Tim. 4: 8. <sup>5</sup> Psa. 17: 15. <sup>6</sup> Mat. 25: 34. <sup>7</sup> Luke 20: 36.]

The Albany Conference adopted ten "important truths" to unify the Advent movement, published in the *Morning Watch*.



principles upon which we can unite and act in advancing the cause of truth, for the edification of the body of Christ, the salvation of souls, and the preparation of man for the near Advent of the Saviour." These ten truths, similar to those established by earlier conferences, sustained the positions of original Millerism except for the time feature. Included were such well-recognized beliefs as (1) the two advents of Christ to this earth, both visible and personal, (2) Christ's second coming nigh, even at the door, (3) a single millennium, intervening the first resurrection of the unjust, (4) the present earth and heaven destroyed and replaced by a new earth and heaven, (5) Christ's second coming preached to saints and sinners unto the end, calling for repentance, and (6) the inheritance of departed saints not entered into at death, but rather reserved for them to receive at Christ's return.

Having set forth these "important truths," the report turned to the question of "associated action" and the development of a "plan of operations." Here the conference moved cautiously, knowing that this issue was more widely controversial than doctrine, since many Adventists opposed ecclesiastical organization as a manifestation of Antichrist. Nevertheless, stating that "order is heaven's first law," the conference declared: "The New Testament rules for the government of the church, we regard as binding on the whole brotherhood of Christ. No circumstances can justify us in departing from the usages established by Christ and his Apostles. Any congregation of believers who habitually assembled for the worship of God, and the due observance of the gospel ordinances, was to be regarded as a church. Each church was an independent body, "accountable only to the great Head of the Church," and each was to examine the scriptures and adopt such principles of association and order as it believed accorded therewith. Adventism could not be allowed to remain in organizational disarray.

In response to the question, "What is our work?", the conference declared that their primary responsibility was to encourage and build up the Adventist household; yet they were also to continue in obedience to the great commission to preach the gospel to every creature. Adventists were not yet released from their obligation to work for the salvation of sinners. To implement this, the conference recommended visiting villages and towns, holding conferences and presenting lectures, as the means of best utilizing resources, human and material, and reaching the largest number of people. A wider circulation of books and periodicals was recommended as an efficient means of reaching a larger public, and the establishment of sabbath schools and Bible classes was suggested for purposes of instruction.

The conference concluded by passing several resolutions, some emphasizing doctrinal positions stated earlier, and others more directly confronting practical problems. Referring to some who had risen up, "me... of corrupt minds and reprobate concerning the faith,"

who subverted their hearers and brought the cause into disrepute by teaching false doctrines and practices, the conference resolved: "We can have no sympathy or fellowship with those things which have only a show of wisdom in will-worship and neglecting of the body, after the commandments and doctrines of men . . . We have no fellowship with any of the *new tests* as conditions of salvation, in addition to repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a looking for and loving his appearing." The seventh-day sabbath was condemned indirectly, while the practice of foot-washing and the salutation kiss were condemned by name. Adventists were to turn from these new teachers, and encourage "those men only who give evidence that they are called of God to the work, who are of good behavior, who abstain from all appearance of evil, who are vigilant, sober, apt to teach, not greedy of filthy lucre, no brawlers, not covetous, men who will teach the unadulterated word of God, and by manifestation of the truth, commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

The same committee, headed by Miller, drafted the "Address to the Brethren Scattered Abroad," which sought to analyze and explain the causes of their present difficulties. "No cause, be it ever so holy, can exist in this present world, without its attendant evils," and Adventism was no exception. Therefore it was necessary to exercise great charity. Adventism had always exhorted men to read and determine for themselves, and this very right and privilege of liberty had become a stumbling-block and a means of causing contention: "Our present difficulties arise more from the multiplicity of masters and leaders among us . . . than from any want of light. . . . Among the thousand and one expositions of Scripture, which are every day being palmed upon us, some of them, at least, must be wrong. Many of them are so weak and silly, that they bring a stigma on the blessed Book, confuse the mind of the



Elon Galusha, president of the conference, urged conciliation.



enquirer after truth, and divide the children of God." This was strong language, but the committee counseled patience, while again stating the original Adventist position: "Our Disappointment as to the time, should have no effect on our hope. We know that Christ has not yet been revealed, and the object of our hope is yet in the future."

In his closing remarks to the conference, President Elon Galusha spoke of the harmonious and unanimous results. The various extravagances found in some places, he believed, could be accounted for by the disappointed expectations, the excitement of those days, and the desire to determine where the error lay. He urged the use of conciliatory language, "soft words, and hard arguments." "If we think others wrong in doctrine and practice," he said, "speak *freely* and *definitely* of that wrong, by pointing out the particular evils, and endeavoring to correct them, without indulging in sweeping denunciations."

The Albany leaders decided to follow up their work by holding further conferences during May in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. A few of the leaders attended each of the conferences to promote the "original Advent faith," and to dissociate Adventism from what they believed to be the extravagances of a few misguided persons. At each conference the Albany proceedings were presented for consideration, and adopted.

The effects of the Albany Conference and the succeeding supportive conferences were widely felt. The moderate element within Adventism was clearly identified and strengthened. As Himes told the Boston conference, they had learned who those were with whom they could act together on the basis of the "original Advent faith," and who those were with whom they could no longer work. The convention secretaries wrote that many had come together and become acquainted, overcome prejudices, renewed their confidence, and returned to their fields of labor. William Miller "rejoiced that so goodly a number had thus united in making known to the world who and what *we* were."

Several who had been for a time sympathetic to the new doctrines and practices, rejected them and returned to the moderate position. Apollos Hale gave up his shut door speculations, and W. S. Campbell and F. G. Brown returned to what they called "safe ground," after following Joseph Turner. O. R. Fassett, one of the conference secretaries, reported that he had given up his new position and returned to the old. With the passing of time, others followed: J. B. Cook retracted his seventh-day position and his shut door views, and finally, even Joseph Turner, John Pearson, Jr., and Emily C. Clemons abandoned the shut door position.

Albany effected the development and strengthening of an elitist tendency among the Adventists. Supporters were often referred to as the "tried friends of the Cause," their leaders sometimes called the "wisest and best," or "the most holy among us." Judging from the written

word, both in style and content, those who had claim to education, and who possessed the strongest leadership qualities, were most often found among the moderate element, while those who followed the new paths were generally men of less ability and few attainments. The Albany men were increasingly resented and attacked as trying to "lord it over" the Adventists, dictate the course of action, and establish the faith.

Albany further hardened many of the divisions which had been formed. This was what Joseph Marsh had feared. The moderates, by defining Adventism in terms of the "original Advent faith," had permanently cut off all others, unless they returned to that position. Some did return, as has been seen, but most did not, and rejoiced in calling themselves "outcasts." Among the "outcasts," some eventually gave up Adventism altogether. J. D. Pickands renounced Millerism. Enoch Jacobs led his followers into a Shaker colony. S. S. Snow decided that he was the prophet who was to appear before Christ's second advent, and claimed that to reject Snow was to reject Christ. He soon disappeared from the scene. So it was with other lesser figures and their followers.

From among the shut door Adventists, there emerged one group of permanence—the Seventh-day Adventists. This group adopted the seventh-day sabbath, holding that the keeping of all of God's commandments was necessary and binding upon true Christians. Further, they believed in the latter day manifestation of the "spirit of prophecy" in the person of Ellen G. (Harmon) White, whose visions were accepted as being a gift from God, and her word taken as coming from the Holy Spirit. Seventh-day Adventists adhered to a modified version of the shut door, eventually abandoning the idea that the door of mercy had been shut, but maintaining that the door of access to the people had been closed, and that on October 22, 1844, Christ's final ministry of cleansing the heavenly sanctuary had begun. All such ideas had been condemned by Albany and rejected by Adventist's moderates.

One final effect of these conferences remains. Among those who adhered to the "original Advent faith," these conferences eventually became a point of contention. Led by Joseph Marsh and the *Voice of Truth*, Albany was attacked as an attempt at church-building. Marsh objected to the use of the name "Adventist," saying that he could adopt no name other than "church of God." The declaration of principles was condemned as an attempt at creed-making, and a violation of the "perfect law of liberty." The passing of resolutions was mocked as proving nothing. Marsh objected "to the doings of the Albany conference because the proceedings as a whole, look like forming a new church, instead of *coming to the order* of the New Testament under the name there given to the true church," and he condemned the laying of plans for the future as being improper among those who looked for the immediate coming of the Lord. These objections found support

*Continued on Page 58*





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# DR. JACKSON'S WATER CURE

*And Its Influence on Adventist Health Reform*

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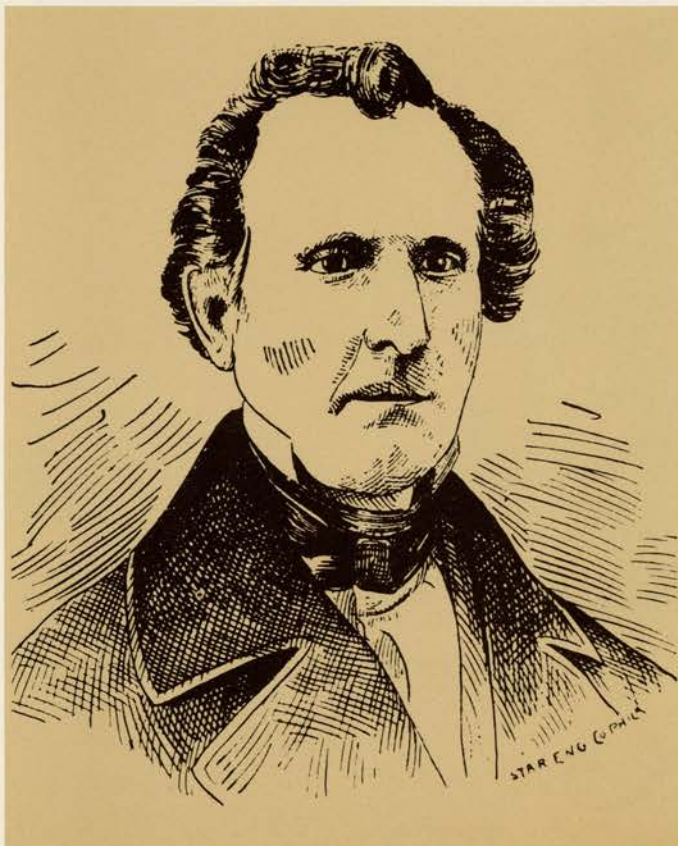
Ronald L. Numbers

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IT was the winter of 1863, and diphtheria was once again raging through the land, leaving death and suffering in its wake. In their Battle Creek home James and Ellen White watched fearfully as first one and then another of their boys began complaining of a sore throat and running a high fever. In the days before the discovery of diphtheria antitoxin there was little the concerned parents could do besides hope and pray for recovery. But in their hour of crisis they stumbled across a clipping from a rural New York newspaper, the *Yates Country Chronicle*, in which a Dr. James Caleb Jackson of Dansville described a simple way to cure diphtheria with water. Having nothing to lose, Ellen followed the doctor's instructions and happily met "with perfect success."

Although the Whites probably were unacquainted with Dr. Jackson prior to this incident, he ranked among the leading health reformers in the country. The movement that he represented had begun in the early 1830's with a Presbyterian evangelist named Sylvester Graham (of cracker fame), who traveled from city to city proclaiming the virtues of a stimulant-free meatless diet and the benefits of frequent bathing, fresh air, sunlight, rest, and exercise. Graham's crusade attracted widespread attention and won numerous converts. Among his disciples were the Millerite minister Charles Fitch and the Adventist physician-preacher Larkin B. Coles, whose book *Philosophy of Health: Natural Principles of Health and Cure* reportedly sold 35,000 copies during its first five years in print.





Sylvester Graham's teaching and flour stirred the early American health reform movement.

During the 1840's the Grahamites, lacking a well-defined therapeutic system, joined forces with the American followers of a Silesian peasant, Vincent Priessnitz, who had devised a method of treating the sick with water, later known as hydropathy. The first American "water cures" appeared in New York City in 1844 and before long hydropathic establishments dotted the landscape from Maine to Georgia. Most of these institutions did not survive the Civil War, but a few proved to be uncommonly successful. Perhaps the most prosperous of all was the one in Dansville, New York, owned and operated by Dr. James C. Jackson.

In the fall of 1858 Jackson and a woman associate, Dr. Harriet N. Austin, had purchased a defunct water cure about fifty miles south of Rochester, just outside the town of Dansville, and renamed it "Our Home on the Hillside." Their physical facilities were comfortable but far from luxurious. Narrow corridors wound through the rambling main building leading to small, uncurtained rooms, heated in winter by wood-burning "box stoves."

Days at Our Home began promptly at six o'clock with the ritual beating of a Chinese gong and, for the hearty, a cold plunge in sometimes icy water. A half-hour after rising all residents gathered in the large parlor for

"Father" Jackson's daily exhortation on the laws of life. Then it was on to the dining hall for a vegetarian breakfast around long, common tables, where seats were assigned by lot each week to ensure a properly democratic mix. The Dansville water cure was one of the few that served only two meals a day — breakfast at eight, dinner at two thirty. Food, plentiful but plain, consisted principally of a variety of Graham dishes (made with unbolted wheat flour), vegetables, and piles of fresh fruit. Meat, butter, white-flour bread, tea, and coffee were taboo. A miscellany of water treatments, simple exercises and amusements filled the remaining hours of the day. By eight-thirty all lamps were extinguished, and weary patients tumbled into hard beds of sea-grass mattresses on wooden slats.

Treatments at Our Home were "limited chiefly to half-baths, packs, sitz baths, plunges and dripping sheets." Under no circumstances would Jackson prescribe drugs. "In my entire practice," he once boasted, "I have never given a dose of medicine; not so much as I should have administered had I taken a homeopathic pellet of the seven-millionth dilution, and dissolving it in Lake Superior, given my patients of its waters." His medical faith rested securely on ten natural remedies: "First, air; second, food; third, water; fourth, sunlight; fifth, dress; sixth, exercise; seventh, sleep; eighth, rest; ninth, social influence; tenth, mental and moral forces."

From its earliest years Jackson's water cure was a favorite retreat for ailing Adventists. Daniel T. Taylor, a Sunday-keeping Adventist hymnist and minister, resided at Our Home for an entire year while undergoing the water treatment — "Mostly hot or warm externally & internally perpetually." He in turn influenced Joshua V. Himes, formerly William Miller's top assistant, to join him when Himes' health broke in 1861. Elder and Mrs. Himes had been friends of the Jacksons for some time, but it was Joshua's remarkable cure at Our Home that finally made wholehearted health reformers out of them. Favorable notices of Jackson's books and institution appeared in Himes' *Voice of the Prophets*; and its successor, *Voice of the West*, featured a "Health Department" to which Jackson occasionally contributed.

The sabbatarian wing of Adventism, led by James and Ellen White, also included several individuals interested in health reform, among them Joseph Bates, John Loughborough, and J. P. Kellogg. But it was not until 1863 that Seventh-day Adventists as a group awakened to the need for reform. One of the first notable signs of interest in the health reform movement was the reprinting of Jackson's essay "Diphtheria" on the front page of the *Review and Herald* for February 17. This was the article from the *Yates County Chronicle* that Mrs. White had recently found so helpful, and it was accompanied by a note from the pen of Elder White expressing "a good degree of confidence" in the hydropathic approach to treating diseases.



More significant, however, was an event that occurred on the evening of June 6 near the village of Otsego, Michigan. That Friday the Whites had driven up from Battle Creek to lend their support to a series of tent meetings being held in the area. At sundown they gathered with friends in the Aaron Hilliard home to usher in the Sabbath with prayer. Ellen, the first to speak, began by asking the Lord for strength and encouragement. Lately, neither she nor James had been at all well. She suffered from fainting spells as frequently as once or twice a day, while excessive cares and responsibilities had brought James to the verge of a physical and mental collapse.

Continuing her prayer, Ellen slipped to her husband's side and rested her hands on his bowed shoulders. Then, without warning, she was "taken off in vision" to receive heaven-sent instructions on the preservation and restoration of health. She and James were directed not to assume such a heavy burden in the Adventist cause. She was to curtail her sewing and entertaining; James was to quit dwelling on "the dark, gloomy side" of life. Less personally, she saw that it was a religious duty for God's people to care for their health and not violate the laws of life. The Lord wanted them "to come out against intemperance of every kind, — intemperance in working, in eating, in drinking, and in drugging." They were to be His instruments in directing the world "to God's great medicine, water, pure soft water, for diseases, for health, for cleanliness, and for luxury."

Soon after this vision James White, now eager to learn more about the practice of health reform, sent off to Dansville "for an assortment of their works, that might cost from ten to twenty-five dollars." For some time his wife would say little about what she had seen. Then one day while riding in a carriage with Horatio S. Lay, a self-made Adventist physician from Allegan, Michigan, she gathered the courage to mention her experience in Otsego. Her brief comments whetted the doctor's curiosity, and when the Whites visited Allegan a few days later, he invited them home for dinner and immediately after the meal began pumping the prophetess for more details.

As Ellen's son Willie later recalled, his mother at first demurred, saying "that she was not familiar with medical language, and that much of the matter presented to her was so different from the commonly accepted views that she feared she could not relate it so that it could be understood." Lay's persistence, however, eventually overcame her hesitance, and for two hours she related what she had witnessed. According to Willie,

She said that pain and sickness were not ordinarily, as was commonly supposed, due to a foreign influence, attacking the body, but that they were in most cases an effort of nature to overcome unnatural conditions resulting from the transgression of some of nature's laws. She said that by the use of poisonous drugs many bring upon themselves lifelong illness, and that it had been revealed to her that more deaths had resulted from drug taking than from any other cause.

At this point Lay interrupted to say that certain "wise and eminent physicians" were currently teaching exactly what she had been shown. Thus encouraged, she went on to condemn the use of all stimulants and narcotics, to caution against meat eating, and to emphasize "the remedial value of water treatments, pure air, and sunshine."

Ellen's first written account of her June 6 vision, a short thirty-two page sketch tucked into the fourth volume of *Spiritual Gifts*, did not appear until about a year after the event. She had hoped to provide a fuller report, but poor health made that impossible. For the past year she had been at her desk almost constantly, often writing twelve hours a day. Her head continually ached, and she seldom got more than two hours of sleep. In her essay on "Health" in *Spiritual Gifts* she recited the current principles of health reform. Willful violations of the laws of health—particularly "Intemperance in eating and drinking, and the indulgence of base passions" — were the great cause of human degeneracy since the days in Eden. Tobacco, tea, and coffee depraved the appetite, prostrated the system, and blunted the spiritual sensibilities. Meat-eating led to untold diseases; swine's flesh alone produced "scrofula, leprosy and cancerous humors."

Her strongest language was reserved for the medical profession: "I was shown that more deaths have been caused by drug-taking than from all other causes combined. If there was in the land one physician in the place of thousands, a vast amount of premature mortality would be prevented." All drugs, vegetable as well as mineral, were proscribed. The Lord specifically and graphically forbade the use of opium, mercury, calomel, quinine, and strychnine. "A branch was presented before me bearing flat seeds," she recalled. "Upon it was written, *Nux vomica, strychnine*. Beneath was written, *No antidote*." Since medicines were so dangerous and had "no power to cure," the only safe course was to rely on the natural remedies recommended by the health reformers: pure soft water, sunshine, fresh air, and simple food — preferably eaten only twice a day.

As a result of Mrs. White's advocacy of health reform, many Seventh-day Adventists gave up drugs and stimulants and adopted the twice-a-day vegetarian diet. Ellen's own experience was no doubt typical. Having been a self-confessed "great meat-eater," she at first found the reform diet intolerable. But by 1864 she was able to write that her "plain food, eaten twice a day, is enjoyed with a keen relish." In the White household, she said, "We have no meat, cake, or any rich food upon our table. We use no lard, but in its place, milk, cream, and some butter. We have our food prepared with but little salt, and have dispensed with spices of all kinds. We breakfast at seven, and take our dinner at one."

Like their Sunday-keeping brethren, the Seventh-day Adventists displayed a singular fondness for the



Dansville water cure. The man apparently most responsible for establishing this relationship was John N. Andrews, an itinerant preacher — later General Conference president and pioneer missionary — who in the early sixties was pitching his evangelistic tent in the towns and villages of western New York. It is not clear how or when he first learned of Our Home, but he possibly heard of it through Daniel T. Taylor, whom he had come to know while writing his *History of the Sabbath* and whose brother Charles was a colleague of his in the ministry.

The unpublished diary of Mrs. Andrews reveals that she and her husband were routinely using water treatments in their home by the spring of 1863, and that in January, 1864, John's co-workers offered to send him to Our Home for a few weeks of rest and treatment. John, "loath to quit" his preaching, declined the invitation, but a few months later sent his badly crippled six-year-old son Mellie (Charles Melville) for a fifteen-week stay. After several weeks Mrs. Andrews joined her boy at Dansville, and although she at first felt "like a stranger in a strange land," she eventually came to respect the place and its dedicated physicians. Mellie's leg improved remarkably at the water cure, and by July he was able to return home nearly normal. Meanwhile, both his parents had become zealous health reformers, and as his father was preaching throughout the state he was also soliciting subscriptions for the Dansville periodical *Laws of Life* in order to win a free copy of the *Hydropathic Encyclopedia*.

Perhaps encouraged by the Andrew's family, James and Ellen White decided in late autumn, 1864, that the time was right for a firsthand look at the Dansville facilities. They had been contemplating such a visit since shortly after Ellen's June 6 vision, when James had written Dr. Jackson inquiring about a ministerial discount. But the trip had been postponed until Ellen had sketched out most of her vision, apparently to avoid insinuations that she had been influenced by the Dansville reformers.

On Monday, September 5, following a weekend stopover in Rochester with the Andrew family, the Whites arrived at Our Home, and within a few days were joined by their sons Edson and Willie and their chaperone, Adelia Patten. Although the local press ignored the presence of the Adventist leaders, Dr. Jackson welcomed them warmly and even invited Ellen to address a health reform convention then in progress. Unlike Mrs. Andrews only a few months earlier, she had little reason to feel like a stranger, for already a colony of Sabbath-keepers was forming at the water cure. Besides her family and Miss Patten, at least seven other Adventists were there, including Dr. and Mrs. Lay, John Andrews, and Hiram Edson.

For three weeks the Whites remained as guests of Our Home, gleaning all the information they could from Jackson's frequent lectures and from daily observations of hydrotherapy. Of some interest to Ellen was the

"American costume" worn by Dr. Harriet Austin and the other women of Our Home. The outfit, a "short" skirt over pants, did strike her as being a trifle on the mannish side, but she thought slight modifications could easily remedy that difficulty. "They have all styles of dress here," she wrote from Dansville.

Some are very becoming, if not so short. We shall get patterns from this place, and I think we can get out a style of dress more healthful than we now wear, and yet not be bloomer or the American costume. Our dresses according to my idea, should be from four to six inches shorter than now worn, and should in no case reach lower than the top of the heel of the shoe, and could be a little shorter even than this with all modesty. I am going to get up a style of dress on my own hook which will accord perfectly with that which has been shown me [in vision]. Health demands it. Our feeble women must dispense with heavy skirts and tight waists if they value health.



"[D]on't groan now," she told her correspondent. "I am not going to extremes, but conscience and health requires a reform."

So impressed was Mrs. White by the overall program at Dansville, she began toying with the idea of setting up a similar institution in Battle Creek, "to which our Sabbath keeping invalids can resort." At their own water cure Adventists could avoid some of the temptations encountered at Our Home. Dr. Jackson, Ellen reported regretfully, allowed his patients to "have pleasurable excitement to keep their spirits up. They play cards for amusement, have a dance once a week





and seem to mix these things up with religion." While such activities might be appropriate for those who had "no hope for a better life," they surely could not be condoned by Christians looking for the soon coming of Christ.

Following three profitable weeks at Dansville, the Whites headed home to Battle Creek, brimming with enthusiasm for sitz baths, short skirts, and Graham mush. For the next eleven months, while Sherman marched through Georgia and Grant pursued Lee in Virginia, James and Ellen campaigned throughout the northern states proclaiming the gospel of health.

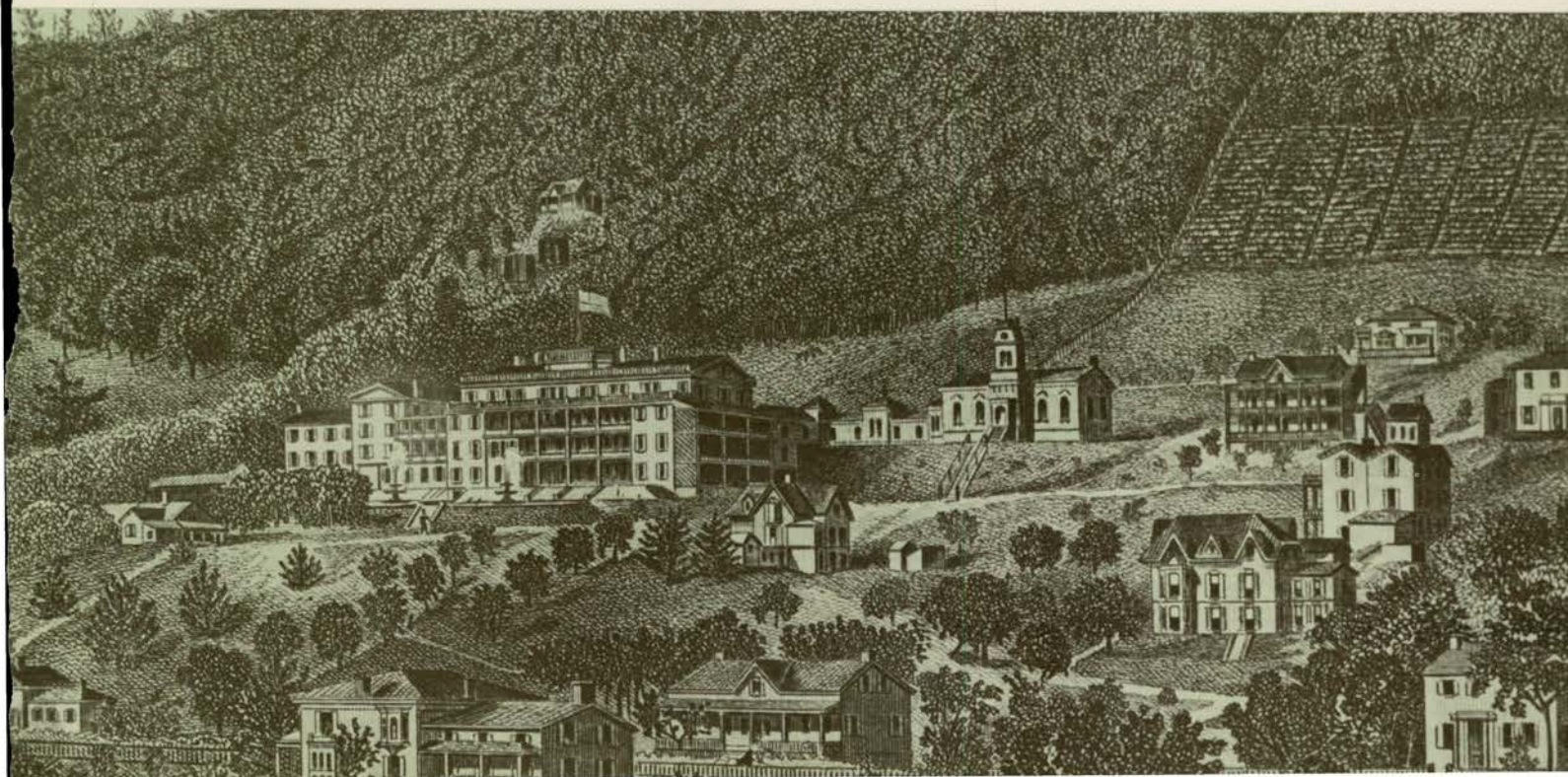
In addition to her many speaking engagements, Ellen found time to assemble six pamphlets on health reform, which were then bound together into a little volume called *How to Live*. Each pamphlet focused on a single aspect of healthful living — diet, hydropathy, drugs, fresh air and sunlight, clothing, and exercise — and included material written both by herself and by other reformers. All the big names were represented: Graham, Jackson, L. B. Coles, Russell T. Trall, Dio Lewis, Horace Mann, and many more. The inclusion of these selections was intended to show the harmony of her views with what she regarded as the most enlightened medical opinion of her day. "[A]fter I had written my six articles for *How to Live*," she stated, "I then searched the various works on Hygiene and was surprised to find them so nearly in harmony with what the Lord has revealed to me. And to show the harmony . . . I determined to publish *How to Live*, in which I largely extracted from the works referred to." Her own contribution, a six-part essay on "Disease and

Ellen White developed the "reform dress," believing it to be more healthful than the popular fashions.

Ellen White photo courtesy Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.

Dr. Jackson's "Our Home" in Dansville, New York, attracted many sickly Adventists, even though they did not like the dancing and card playing.

Dansville photographs courtesy of Mr. William D. Conklin of Dansville, New York.







Ellen White thought that Harriet Austin's "American Costume" was too "mannish."

Its Causes," dealt with "health, happiness and [the] miseries of domestic life, and the bearing which these have upon the prospects of obtaining the life to come."

Despite her best efforts, many Adventists continued to suffer from poor health. Physically speaking, the church reached its nadir in the summer of 1865, when a wave of sickness prostrated many of the leaders and brought activities at headquarters to a virtual standstill. James White and John Loughborough were both forced to their beds, causing the three-man General Conference Committee to suspend meetings indefinitely. At the same time sickness prevented the Michigan State Conference Committee from carrying on its business and compelled Uriah Smith temporarily to relinquish his duties as editor of the *Review and Herald*.

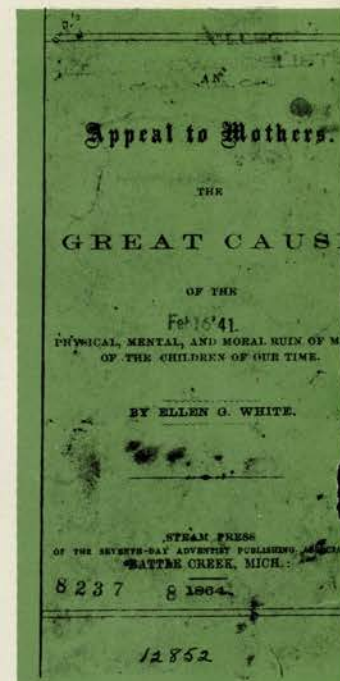
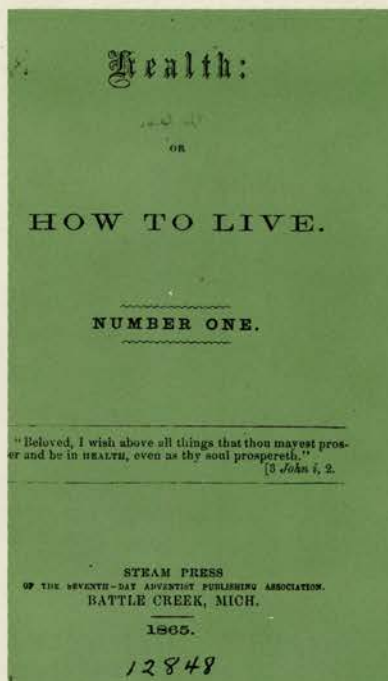
Elder White was the most critically ill of all. During the past year he had exhausted himself helping Ellen

prepare the pamphlets on *How to Live*, assisting Adventist boys drafted into the Union army, making arrangements for a General Conference in May, and attempting to put out the fires of rebellion in Iowa, where dissidents were splintering off to form a rival sect, the Church of God (Adventist). The strain of these additional duties severely taxed his already weakened system and literally drove him to the brink of death.

Early in the morning of August 16, while he and Ellen were out walking in a neighbor's garden, a sudden "stroke of paralysis" passed through the right side of his body, leaving him practically helpless. Somehow Ellen managed to get him into the house, where she heard him mutter the words "Pray, pray." Her prayers seemed to help a little, but still his right arm remained partially paralyzed, his nervous system shattered, and his brain "somewhat disturbed." Electric shock treatments were tried for a while; but this seemed like such a denial of faith in God's healing power, Ellen resolved to rely solely on the simple hydropathic techniques she had recently learned. For nearly five weeks she tenderly nursed James at home, until she was too weak to continue the effort herself and could find no one in Battle Creek willing to assume responsibility for her husband's life. After much prayer she finally decided to take him back to Dansville and place him under the care of the skilled hydropaths at Our Home.

Sympathetic friends and relatives waved sadly from the platform as the "Seventh-day invalid party" pulled slowly out of Battle Creek station on the morning of September 14. Accompanying the Whites on the trip

*Continued on Page 58*



After a few weeks at Dansville, Ellen White wrote six pamphlets on health reform, bound together as *How to Live*.

Courtesy Vernier Radcliffe Memorial Library, Loma Linda University.



— — — Glimpses of — — —

# EARLY BATTLE CREEK

by  
Gerald G. Herdman

Associate Professor of History at Andrews University, GERALD G. HERDMAN recently completed a dissertation on the Battle Creek area during the Civil War.

WHAT Seventh-day Adventist living in the space age of the twentieth century, has not wished that it were possible to journey back through approximately one century of time to visit the headquarters of the fledgling "Advent" church at Battle Creek Michigan? Let us join such an imaginary visitor, for it would be fascinating to record the impressions our "time-machine" man would receive as he trudged along the streets of this bustling mid-western city.

A rapidly growing city of nearly six thousand in 1875 (approaching 16,000 by 1895), Battle Creek had been settled where the tributary Battle Creek joined the Kalamazoo River as it flowed westward through the state. The neighboring "prairie" countryside was ideal



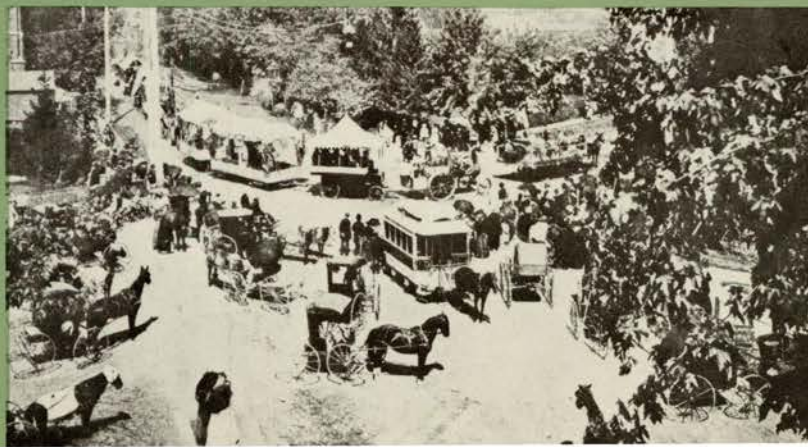
Main Street, looking east about 1880

for grain and animal production, and Battle Creek became the locus of flour and feed milling industries with power supplied by the Kalamazoo River, and the Michigan Central Railroad providing the transportation which connected the city with both Chicago and Detroit.

One of the most vivid and pungent impressions our 20th century visitor would receive would be related to the number of horses on the streets. Horses, it seemed, were omnipresent. Some pulled carriages filled with well-dressed men and women on their business and social calls. Wagons loaded with grain for the mills, delivery wagons and fire wagons were dragged by the ubiquitous horse. The horse provided the principal



Battle Creek in 1873



First Labor Day celebration in Battle Creek, 1888



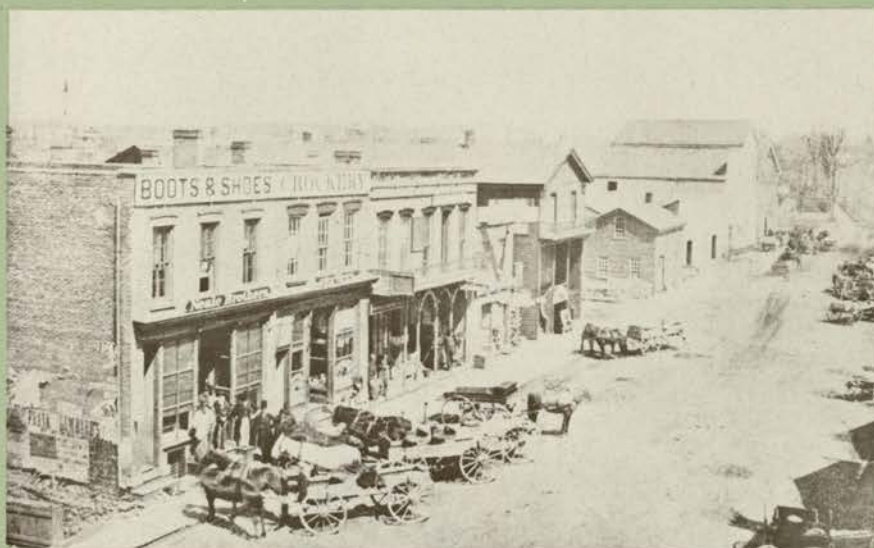


Battle Creek trotting park

transportation, be it hitched to a buckboard or carrying a rider.

Industries directly connected with the use of the horse were also in abundance—livery stables, harness and saddle shops, blacksmith shops and feed mills, to name but a few. Trotting and racing was fashionable, and owners of fine stock demonstrated the qualities of grace and speed of their horses at a specially built trotting park. Horsepower reigned supreme, and every street provided abundant evidence of that fact—dusty and marked by innumerable wagon wheels during a dry spell; muddy, rutty and foul-smelling during rainy weather. Little wonder then that Mrs. Ellen White cautioned against the long and full “street-sweeping” ladies attire so fashionable in that day!

BELOW: Goguac Lake excursion boat



ABOVE: North Jefferson Street (now Capital Avenue) as it appeared in 1869

The significance of the water resources available to the city would be apparent to our visitor. The Kalamazoo River provided an important power source which was utilized by numerous kinds of industrial operations—from flour and saw milling to wool processing. Indeed, the mill race would be, until later in the nineteenth century, the chief source of industrial power for the city.

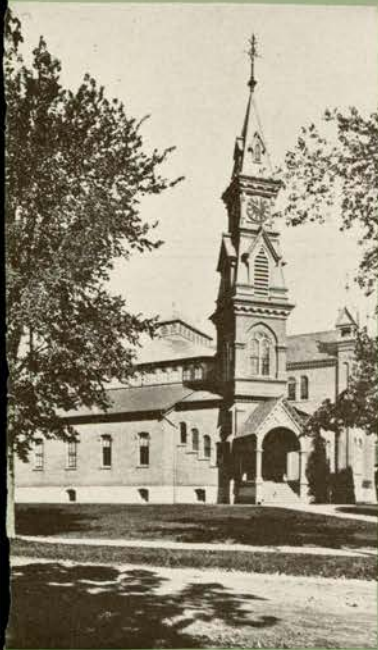
The river also provided the essential ingredient for the local laundries and public baths. Moreover, nearby Goguac Lake was a well-patronized playground for those desiring boat trips or picnic excursions during the summer months. During colder weather the mill pond provided an unexcelled area for ice skating, a wintry diversion enjoyed by hundreds of the townspeople. Occasionally, however, the river proved a bane instead of a blessing, as the great floods of 1904 and 1908 demonstrated, when large areas of downtown Battle Creek were inundated and buildings collapsed.

Our visitor might have been pleasantly surprised to observe the numerous fine churches scattered through-

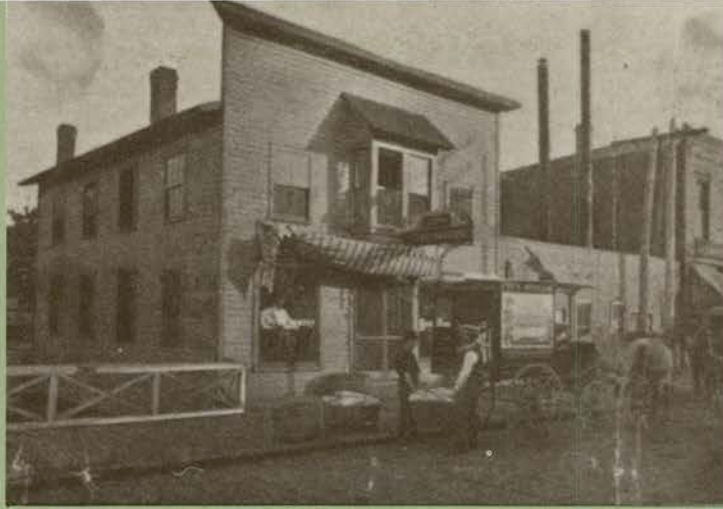


ABOVE: Flood times





ABOVE:  
Battle Creek ("Dime") Tabernacle



Battle Creek Steam Laundry

BELOW: First horse-drawn street car in Battle Creek, about 1882



LEFT: Bridge weighted with rocks to prevent it from floating away in the flood

out the city. Graceful and substantial, these edifices gave evidence of the deep religious concern which large numbers of the early pioneers from New England and western New York had brought with them to southern Michigan. Certainly one of the most imposing church structures was that of the Seventh-day Adventists, the Battle Creek "Dime" Tabernacle (built by dimes given by the faithful), dedicated in 1879. It was the church home to the rapidly growing group of believers in Battle Creek, and with its one hundred foot spire and its accommodations for three thousand worshippers (the largest auditorium in the city), it dominated the west end landscape.

Excellent public school buildings would have attracted our visitor's eye, for the Battle Creek school



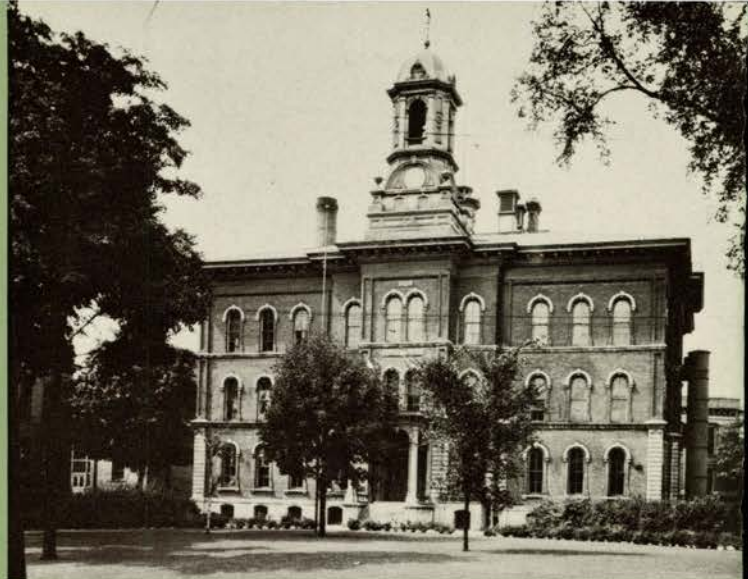
Church collage



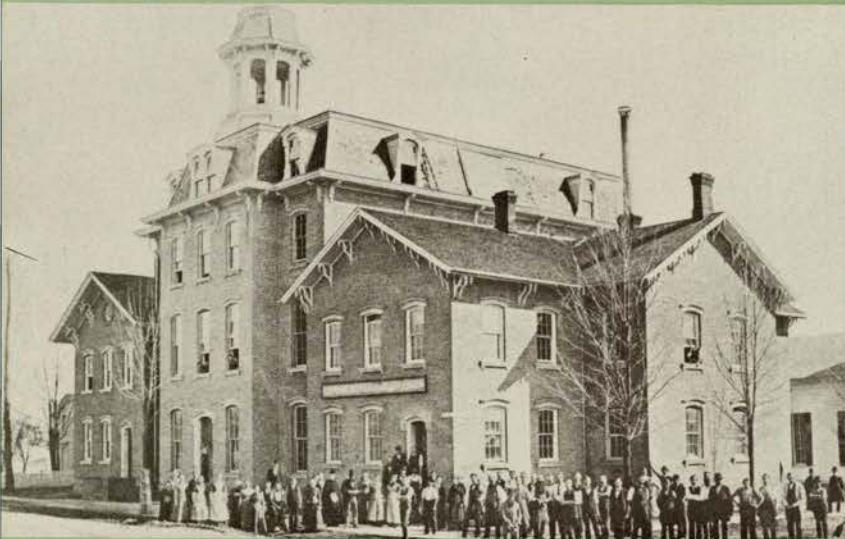
system took a back seat to no other. Moreover, a close examination of the schools would have revealed that they were well-staffed and financed.

While touring the west side of Battle Creek our visitor would have become aware of the imprint of Seventh-day Adventism on the young city. Within the space of a few blocks he would have caught sight of the Review and Herald Publishing Association, the Battle Creek Tabernacle, the Battle Creek Sanitarium and Battle Creek College, institutions that had been established to help fulfill the mission which the growing denomination believed it was divinely ordained to accomplish.

Officially organized into a General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists as recently as 1863, the young



ABOVE: Battle Creek Public High School #1, opened in 1871



LEFT: Review and Herald, about 1876

BELOW: Battle Creek College, 1880's

company of believers had spearheaded its efforts by embarking on a threefold program of publishing, educating and healing. The *Review and Herald*, begun despite awesome obstacles, was, by the last decades of the nineteenth century, a thriving institution producing masses of printed materials—both religious and secular. Relocated in a suburb of Washington, D. C., in the early twentieth century, the *Review and Herald* has continued to grow and expand its work in a world market.

Missionary-minded students came from many parts of the world to attend Battle Creek College, and having prepared themselves, departed to serve. Despite various vicissitudes the College served its purpose and today, its direct descendent, Andrews University located at Berrien Springs, Michigan, carries on the greatly enlarged task of training workers.

The Western Health Reform Institute, renamed the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1877 by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, its chief physician, brought the message of healthful living to men and women from all walks of life and from many parts of the world. Many workers received their training at the Sanitarium and went out to further the gospel of vibrant and healthful living,



PICTORIAL REVIEW

# GLIMPSES OF EARLY BATTLE CREEK



Battle Creek Sanitarium — Main building, 1890's



LEFT: Review and Herald, about 1895



BELOW: Artist's conception of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, shortly before fire destroyed it in 1902







ABOVE: Western Health Reform Institute — late 1870's. James and Ellen White may be seen just to the right of the two trees in the center, and Dr. Kellogg is immediately to the left of the two trees.

free from the use of tea, coffee, alcohol and meat. It would also be Dr. Kellogg whose fertile mind conceived of a nutritious, prepared breakfast food, and whose brother, W. K. Kellogg, eventually launched the breakfast food industry in Battle Creek.

Having completed his brief tour of Battle Creek, our twentieth century visitor would undoubtedly have been impressed with the hard-working qualities and purposefulness of the town's residents. There was an air of activity and quiet confidence about these Battle Creek folk. Our space-age visitor would also have become aware of the vigorous, bustling and optimistic spirit that characterized the people of Battle Creek — qualities which characterized the members of the Seventh-day Adventist church as well. He would have been impressed by the sense of divine mission of the small company of believers. Their dedication to the task of spreading the gospel and their three-fold emphasis on education, publication and medical instruction and healing was commendable. Returning to the present, our time-traveler would be confident that the little church could be successful in its efforts to prepare the world for the Second Coming of the Lord. □



ABOVE: Sanitarium nursing graduates, class of 1908, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, center, back row

Picture Credits: The French and the Roberts Collections, Williard Library, Battle Creek, Michigan.



# The Problem of the WHEN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS FIRST FACED WAR CIVIL WAR

*Peter Brock*

[*Seventh-day Adventists did not have to define their attitude toward the Civil War until the summer of 1862. With conscription threatening, James White, editor of the REVIEW AND HERALD, wrote that "many of our brethren were greatly excited, and trembled over the prospect of a draft." Peter Brock, professor of history at the University of Toronto and a leading authority on pacifism in both America and Europe, analyzes the young church's attempt to define its position on war. Eds.]*

DISCUSSION began in August in the *REVIEW AND HERALD* with a leading article entitled "The Nation," written by White. The article drew attention to the seeming contradiction between their strongly antislavery position and the fact that until then they had stood aside from the war. But "the requirements of war" conflicted with both the fourth commandment ("Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy") and the sixth ("Thou shalt not kill"). Nevertheless, White went on, if a brother were drafted, "the government assumes the responsibility of the violation of the law of God, and it would be madness to resist." Refusal to obey might end in the resister being shot by the military: this "goes too far, we think, in taking the responsibility of suicide."

Two points are worth pointing out in connection with White's arguments. In the first place, he gives prominence to the sabbatarian objection to military service that became of primary importance to the sect in the wars of the twentieth century. Once in the army, it was feared, the Seventh-Day Adventist would not be allowed to observe Saturday as his day of rest and

prayer. (Were he permitted to do so, and were this to become the only grounds of his objection, the reasons for refusing to serve would naturally disappear.) Secondly, White implied not only that the disproportionately heavy cost of a refusal to fight, together with any guilt involved in breaking God's laws resting on the shoulders of the government, made it inexpedient to resist the draft but that the strength of the government's case in the midst of a struggle against "the most hellish rebellion since that of Satan and his angels" was a factor to be taken into consideration in reaching a decision on how to act.

From August until the end of October, week after week, the controversy over White's article filled many columns of the *Review and Herald*, and a large amount of further correspondence remained unpublished. Leading brethren wrote in their opinions. The immediacy of the issue facing brethren of draft age gave an added urgency to the discussion which White's advocacy of compromise had generated. His views aroused the opposition, in particular, of a group of pacifist militants: "those who have been most highly tintured with the fanaticism growing out of extreme non-resistance," wrote White, "are generally the most clamorous against our article." He had never given any encouragement

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*Selections from Peter Brock, PACIFISM IN THE UNITED STATES: FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR (copyright (c) 1968 by Princeton University Press) pp. 852-861. Omission of footnotes. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.*



to voluntary enlistment, he explained to his readers: Seventh-Day Adventists "would make poor soldiers, unless they first lost the spirit of truth." His article was aimed primarily at checking the extreme antidraft position which had been growing among them.

The general impression created by White's conclusions seems to have been one of confusion, and even of dismay among some brethren. Brother White's views carried weight but, of course, did not have final authority among them. Besides, it was not quite clear from his article precisely what course he did advise drafted Adventists to take, although those who interpreted him as recommending submission even to the point of bearing arms would appear to have been correct. Tempers at times began to get frayed, so that we find one writer, R. F. Cottrell, commencing his contribution on "Non-resistance" with the words: "There is no necessity for brethren to go to war with each other on *peace principles*." For him, "the only question was whether it was [our] duty to decline serving in the army at all hazards, even of life itself. It is by no means certain that a man's life would be taken because he declined fighting for conscience sake." If death were the only alternative to submission, however, he thought that he, too, would opt with Brother White for the latter, at least until God should grant further guidance. For Brother Henry E. Carver, on the other hand, such conduct smacked of apostasy: "untenable and dangerous ground," he called it. Despite his abomination of the Southern slaveholders' rebellion, he had "for years had a deeply-settled conviction (whether wrong or not) that under no circumstances was it justifiable in a follower of the Lamb to use carnal weapons to take the lives of his fellowmen." If an act was wrong, should it not be shunned at all cost, even that of martyrdom? Surely the individual was not entitled to transfer to the government responsibility before God for his own actions? J. M. Waggoner, a leading minister in Burlington (Mich.), was another brother who, though respectful toward White's views (while confessing himself rather startled by them at first), nevertheless supported the pacifist position. He opposed the idea of paying commutation money in lieu of personal service, preferring to "trust in God for the consequences" of a refusal to fight. Exemption on such terms was "not only doubtful in principle, but inefficient as a practical measure of relief. Not over one in one hundred, if as many, could avail themselves of its provisions, while the poor, the great mass of our brethren, whose consciences are as tender and as valuable as those of the rich, stand precisely there they would stand with it." Thus it would create a rift in the brotherhood between the well-to-do minority and the rest.

Many contributors, however, expressed in varying degrees their approval of participation in the struggle that was being waged in their earthly homeland. There was the enthusiastic pro-war position of Joseph Clarke, who, pleading with the editor that Seventh-Day Adventists should be allowed to become combatants, con-

tributed two articles with the titles "The War! The War!" and "The Sword *vs.* Fanaticism," and who wanted "to see treason receive its just deserts." "I have had my fancy full of Gideons and Jephthahs, and fighting Davids, and loyal Barzillais," he writes; "I have thought of brave Joshua, and the mighty men of war that arose to deliver the Israel of God, from time to time." He had dreamed, his mind full of heroes of Old Testament times, of the day "when a regiment of Sabbath-keepers would strike this rebellion a staggering blow." He itched to be able to get at the Southern traitors and had only scorn for those many brethren who were "whining lest they might be drafted." Were not "the military powers of earthly governments" instituted by God for our protection? Was not the time to refuse their summons when they were acting unrighteously, and not in the present crusade against Confederate wickedness?

Several prominent ministers supported a pro-war position, though in more restrained terms than the excitable Clarke, who had evidently been deeply stirred by seeming parallels between the apocalyptic happenings related in scripture and the events of his own day. J. N. Loughborough (1832-1924), who had joined the Adventist movement back in the forties and was now among the most respected leaders of its sabbatarian wing, implied that even in an unjust cause the guilt lay with the state and not with the conscript, quoting as his authority John the Baptist's admonition to the Roman soldiers, instruments of an alien domination, to be content with their wages. D. T. Bourdeau could not understand why "civilized warfare, or capital punishment, are against the sixth commandment," since God had clearly given his sanction to war in the Old Testament as well as to the extirpation of the wicked. Brethren, however, should avoid being drafted, if possible, he said, because of the obstacles to a strict observance of the Sabbath that existed in the army. A brother from New York state, likewise an ardent believer in the righteousness of the Union cause who was unconvinced that Seventh-Day Adventists must become conscientious objectors from a belief that war as such was incompatible with their calling as Christians, nevertheless went into considerable detail in describing the moral dangers for his people of life in an army camp. They would, he was convinced, be forced to work, drill, and fight on the Sabbath. Although it might be "rash and uncalled for" in the circumstances to resist the draft "to the last extremity," he felt it best to stand aside as long as possible, so that time might be given them to wait for God to reveal his will for them in the matter. Brother B. F. Snook in an article on "The War and Our Duty," confessing his conversion from long-held nonresistant views ("an untenable extreme") to belief in the compatibility of a just war, such as the present one, with Christian principles, believed that God had already spoken. "Dear brethren," he wrote, "let us be united and not resist our government in its struggle for existence. Our neighbors and



friends have nearly all gone; and if God allows the lot to fall upon us, let us go and fight in his name.”

Toward the end of the discussion, after he had published selected opinions both pro and con from the correspondence and articles which flowed in to him, James White restated his views on the attitude his church should adopt toward the coming draft. This was, in fact, not merely a restatement but a slight modification of the position taken in his “Nation” article, although it was still not without considerable ambiguity. He reproved what he designated extreme points of view

by the North. She was, then, no neutral. But, at the same time, she saw the end of kingdoms of this world at hand. “Prophecy shows us that the great day of God is right upon us,” she wrote in 1863. God’s people, her people, must — in spite of their hatred of the satanic iniquity of slavery — hold themselves apart from the armed struggle and wait quietly and peacefully for the second coming.

After the indecisive debate in the *Review and Herald*, that we have dealt with above, and before conscription actually touched any of the brethren directly, Mrs.

The fourth precept of that law says, “Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;” the sixth says, “Thou shalt not kill.” But in the case of drafting, the government assumes the responsibility of the violation of the law of God, and it would be madness to resist.

James White, *REVIEW AND HERALD*, August 12, 1862

on either side: both those who wished to give unqualified support to the war effort and the brethren who called for unconditional non-resistance. “We cannot see how God can be glorified by his loyal people taking up arms” was, however, his final summing up. If the whole nation had followed God’s will, some other path than war would have been found to resolve the country’s problems. Seventh-Day Adventists he called upon to wage a war whose weapons were not carnal.

We did say in case of a military draft, it would be madness to resist. And certainly, no true disciple of non-resistance would resist a military draft . . . We have advised no man to go to war. We have struck at that fanaticism which grows out of extreme non-resistance, and have labored to lead our people to seek the Lord and trust in him for deliverance. How this can and will come, we have no light at present.

And so the debate petered out in this way rather inconclusively. Behind the editorial desk of James White, however, we may detect the figure of his wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White. She had not participated in the discussions in the *Review and Herald*, perhaps because it would not have appeared seemly to the Brethren for a woman to do so. More important was the fact of Ellen White’s prophetic role in the sect: a prophetess does not confide her utterances to the columns of a newspaper even when it is edited by her husband. Several months before the attack on Fort Sumter, Mrs. White had had a vision of the coming bloody conflict between the states. The war, when it came, she viewed as a judgment of God on wickedness on both sides; yet her intense hatred of slavery, offspring of the abolitionist connections of her circle in earlier days, aroused in her warm sympathy for the struggle being waged

White, it seems, reached certainty on the stand that the brotherhood should collectively take in reply to the army’s call whenever it should come. “I was shown,” she wrote, “that God’s people, who are His peculiar treasure, cannot engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of their faith.” In the armed forces it would be impossible for them to follow the voice of conscience if, as would inevitably happen, the commands of the officers directed them otherwise. “There would be a continual violation of conscience.” However, she went on to criticize those who had acted impetuously in proclaiming their willingness to suffer prison and death rather than submit to the draft. Instead, “those who feel that in the fear of God they cannot conscientiously engage in this war, will be very quiet, and when interrogated will simply state what they are obliged to say in order to answer the inquirer.” They must make quite clear, too, their abhorrence of the rebellion.

Thus the Seventh-Day Adventists, even those who at first appeared to hesitate or rejected outright the nonresistant viewpoint, closed their ranks. Through a human agency God had spoken, dissipating their doubts. True, there was little likelihood of universal peace ever being established among the nations of this world; but in the short space before the establishment of a new dispensation on earth, God’s children, it was now clear, must refrain from shedding human blood and desecrating the Sabbath. To court martyrdom was wrong. To avoid martyrdom, on the other hand, action was needed; the government must be informed of the reasons for their refusal to bear arms, and advantage



taken of the legal provision for exemption provided by successive federal conscription acts.

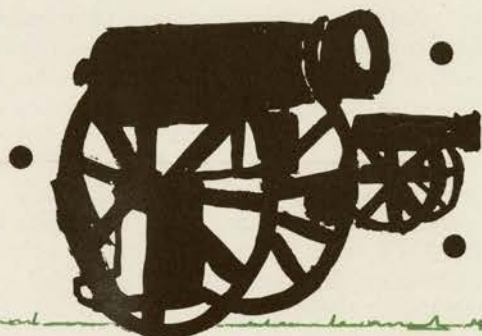
Although membership in a peace church . . . was not a requirement of the act of March 1863, the act of February 1864 demanded such membership from applicants as a prerequisite for exemption as conscientious objectors. However, opting out of service still remained possible even after February for those prepared to pay, although only enrollment as a conscientious objector brought the privilege of having the money devoted to humanitarian purposes or of choosing, as an alternative, the army medical service or work with freedmen. Content that, simply by paying, their scruples concerning the taking of human life and work on their Sabbath were respected, Seventh-Day Adventists, with their eye more on the letter than on the spirit of the law, did not at first insist on their recognition as a noncombatant denomination within the meaning of the act. Poorer members were helped out with the necessary money by the church as a whole, while some evidently accepted induction into the army, when drafted, hoping nevertheless to be able to take advantage of the recent act and be assigned noncombatant duties. But on 4 July Congress passed an amending act which, although it did not alter in any way the provisions made in February for conscientious objectors, did abolish the general privilege of escaping military service through commutation.

The brotherhood now became alarmed that their men, since they did not belong to a recognized nonresistant denomination, would be drafted into combatant service in the army, where they would find themselves forced to break both the fourth and the sixth commandments. As one of them wrote: "Not having had a long existence as a distinct people, and our organization having but recently been perfected, our sentiments are not yet extensively known." So it came about that on 2 August the three members of their general conference executive committee drew up a "Statement of principles" for presentation to the government of Michigan, in whose state the church's headquarters at Battle Creek was located. There is no trace in the document, the first public statement of the group's noncombatancy, of any of the doubts or hesitations or divergencies in view that had revealed themselves only two years earlier in the debates in the *Review and Herald*. One of the three authors was,

indeed, none other than J. N. Loughborough, who in those discussions had championed the case for full participation in the present contest. But now, according to the "Statement," the church was "unanimous in their views" that war is contrary to Christian teachings; in fact, "they have ever been conscientiously opposed to bearing arms." For the performance of military duties, the "Statement" went on, would prevent them from an exact observance of the fourth and the sixth commandments; neither would their Saturdays be free from labor nor their hands from the stain of blood. "Our practice," the authors continued, "has uniformly been consistent with these principles. Hence our people have not felt free to enlist into the service. In none of our denominational publications have we advocated or encouraged the practice of bearing arms."

Similar statements were presented soon afterward to the governors of the other states where Seventh-Day Adventists were to be found in any numbers: Wisconsin, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. The object of these approaches to the state authorities was to gain confirmation at the highest level locally — that is, in their home states where their views and practices ought to have been best known — that they were, in truth, a people whose principles forbade them to fight, who were therefore entitled to the exemption granted several such denominations in the act of the previous February. All but the governor of Illinois, who does not appear to have given an answer, replied that they believed that members of the church were, indeed, covered by the recent legislation. And even from Illinois a certain Colonel Thomas J. Turner could be quoted as having said that, in his view, the Seventh-Day Adventists were "as truly noncombatants as the Society of Friends."

And so, armed with the "Statement of Principles" of 2 August and the supporting letter of the governor of Michigan, which had been printed as a pamphlet under the title of *The Draft* together with several other documents, a leading minister, John N. Andrews, was sent from Battle Creek to Washington around the end of August to plead his church's claims to noncombatant status. In the capital Andrews had a friendly talk with the provost marshal general, Brigadier-General James B. Fry, who assured him that the act intended exemption to apply not merely to Quakers or members of the older peace sects but to all denominations whose





members were precluded from bearing arms, and that he would issue orders to that effect. Andrews was further advised that, in addition to producing confirmation of membership in good standing and, preferably, too, of consistency of conduct from neighbors, conscripted Adventists should present a copy of *The Draft* to the district marshal "as showing the position of our people."

Andrews had succeeded in his mission. Henceforward, until conscription ended, there was no major conflict between Seventh-Day Adventists and the military authorities. Some continued to pay the commutation fee. But attempts to create a fund from which to pay the fines of poorer members broke down — perhaps because the sect at that time did not possess enough well-to-do members to make this a practicable plan. Anyhow, we find most of their draftees entering the army and opting there for hospital or freedman work, according to the provisions of the February act. Trouble occasionally resulted, however, from unsympathetic officers attempting to make the men perform duties which went against their conscience. At the end of the war, at their third annual session in May 1865, the church once again confirmed its noncombatant stand. "While we . . . cheerfully render to Caesar the things which the Scriptures show to be his," the conference stated, "we are compelled to decline all participation in acts of war and bloodshed as being inconsistent with the duties enjoined upon us by our divine Master toward our enemies and toward all mankind."

The noncombatancy which the Seventh-Day Adventists had achieved, not without much soul-searching and spiritual travail, was a doctrine of multiple roots. In the first place, these Adventists shared with the other pacifist groups . . . the belief that participation in war, the shedding of human blood for whatever cause, was contrary to the Christian faith. Loving one's enemies and killing them in battle seemed to them a contradiction impossible to resolve. The gospels forbade the use of any weapon but the sword of the spirit. Resist not evil, turn the other cheek — these were Christ's clear command. "Could this scripture be obeyed on the battlefield?" asked a writer in the *Review and Herald*. Even here, however, the Adventists put much greater emphasis on the Old Testament commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," than most of the other peace

sects of that day did. Moreover, in general, their discussions of the war issue and the draft were heavily interlaced not only with Biblical citations but with fantastic interpretations of them based on prophecy. Secondly, refusal to bear arms stemmed in the case of these Adventists from a deeply ingrained otherworldliness, a desire for nonconformity to this world even more intensely felt than that which underlay, for instance, the pacifism of the Mennonites. What, indeed, had God's people to do with the fighting of this world that was about to be destroyed and replaced by another where they would come into their own? And, thirdly, we get the sabbatarian objection, an element that had basically nothing in common with pacifism. Unwillingness to risk the desecration of their Sabbath as a result of military orders was not, of course, their sole reason for refusing army service: Seventh-Day Adventist conscientious objectors insisted on their status as nonresistants even after induction into the army. Still, especially among some of their leaders, as we have seen, the question of Sabbath-keeping figured prominently in their thought. □

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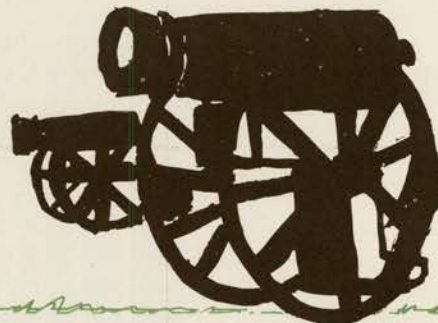
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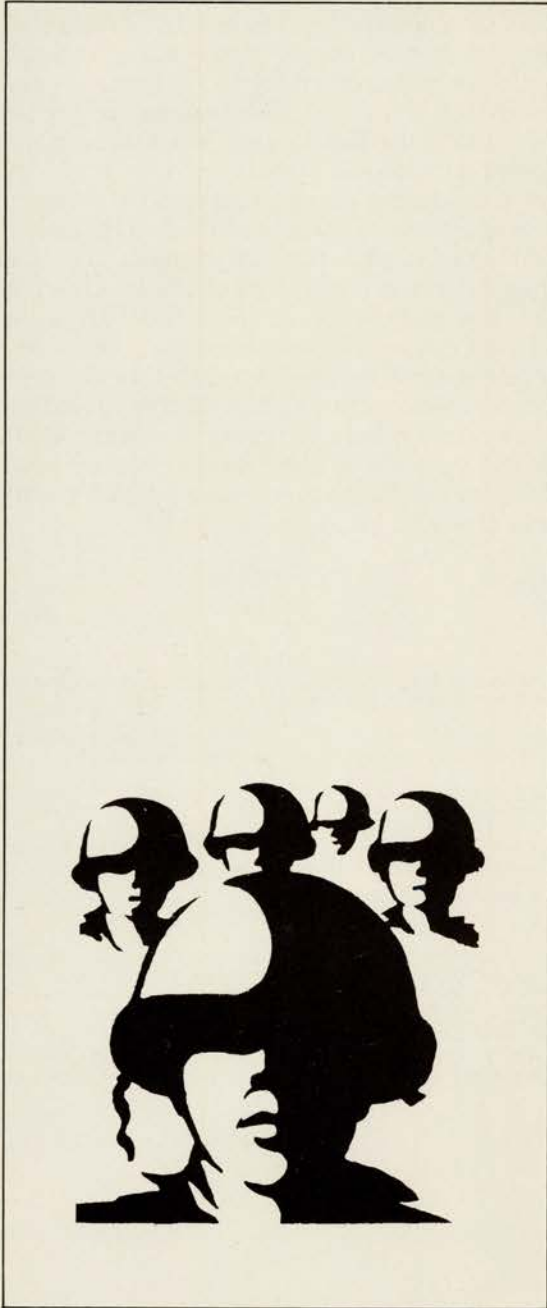
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Gary Land

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AS the guns of August boomed on the continent of Europe in 1914 people everywhere rushed to the lecture platform and press proclaiming the meaning of the catastrophe. With the war spreading during the next few months the word "Armageddon" appeared with increasing frequency. To most of those using it, Armageddon meant the last great war out of which would issue everlasting peace. This was both a frightening and awe-inspiring belief.

For Seventh-day Adventists, the war and the increasingly popular belief that it was Armageddon issued a challenge. From their very beginning, Adventists had regarded themselves as a people of prophecy, a last day movement destined to proclaim the prophetic mysteries to an unbelieving world. Since the publication of Uriah Smith's studies of the books of Daniel and Revelation in the late nineteenth century they had taken a very definite stand on the fate of Turkey and the battle of Armageddon. They now sprang to the opportunity for explaining current events as revealed in "the sure word of prophecy."

Although Adventists had been interested in "the Eastern Question" (the fate of the Ottoman Empire or Turkey) for some time, attention increased in 1912 and 1913 when Turkey suffered a series of shattering defeats at the hands of the Balkan League armies. The apparent crumbling of "the sick man of Europe" and the accelerating pattern of hostilities in the East convinced the apocalyptic-minded Adventists that important events were afoot. Drawing mostly upon Daniel 11 and Revelation 16, the *Review and Herald*, official church paper, published a number of articles interpreting the prophecies of the end. These articles presented the basic position the church took during the war years.

Basically, Adventists believed Turkey to be the "king of the North" of Daniel 11. Looking primarily at verses 40 to 45, the *Review* stated that Turkey would be driven from Europe and would plant its capital temporarily at Jerusalem ("the Holy Mountain"). Turning then to Revelation 16, Adventists said that after Turkey's final overthrow at Jerusalem there would be a great time of trouble for the nations, ending in the sixth plague and the battle of Armageddon. The time between the removal of Turkey's capital from Constantinople to Jerusalem, Turkey's destruction, and the final battle of all nations (centering on Mt. Megiddo) at Armageddon was unknown, but "we have . . . reason to believe," Francis Wilcox, editor of the *Review* stated, "it will

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS INTERPRET  
WORLD WAR  
ONE **THE PERILS**



ENTER THE TURK, EXIT THE TURK - p. 14.  
THE NEUTRAL ATTITUDE OF TURKEY - p. 26.

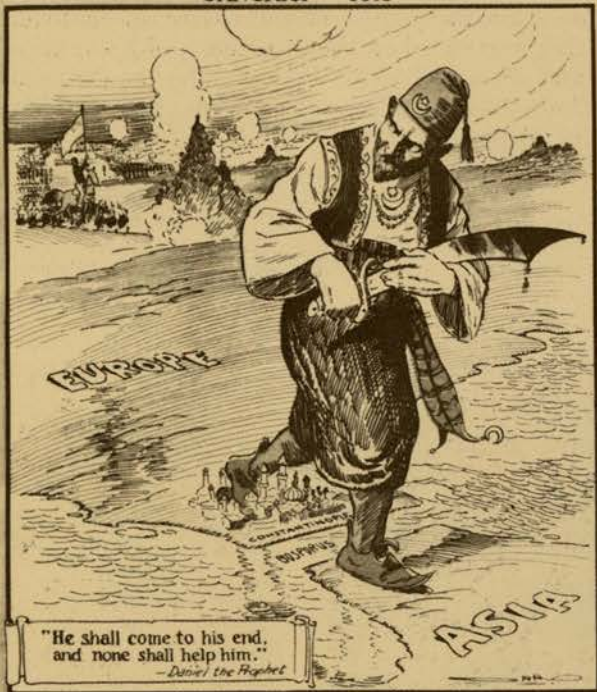
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# THE WATCHMAN

JANUARY • 1915 •



Early in the war the evangelistic magazines declared the soon demise of Turkey.

be but a very short period. When that time is reached, the world's probation will have closed."

Because of this interpretation Adventists firmly believed that Turkey would not become a world power again, and any indication of its weakness was further confirmation to them that the end was drawing nigh. With but few exceptions, however, the *Review* refrained from predicting what would take place in the immediate future. Although evangelist Jean Vuilleumier, who had recently come from Europe to work in Quebec, argued that the end of Turkey could not be deferred much longer, Wilcox more typically stated in December, 1913,

that "No wisdom of man can forecast the immediate future. We know not how soon the dogs of war will be let loose. It is only as the restraining power of God has held in check the passions of men that the world to-day is enjoying a reign of political peace."

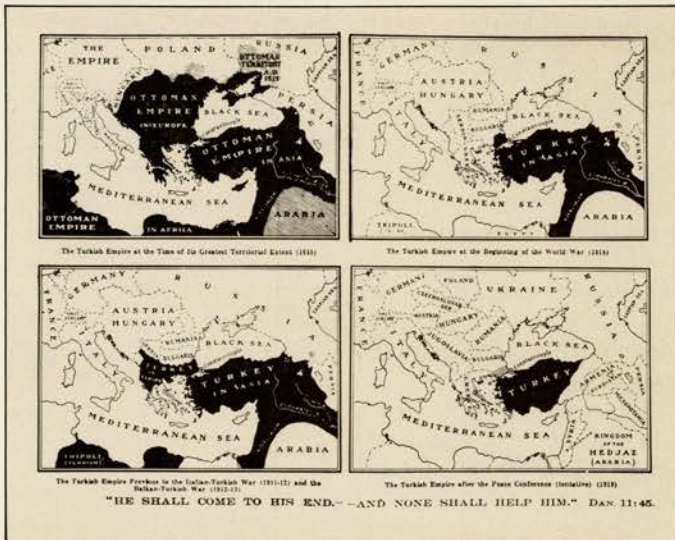
The evangelistic magazines were not so cautious. Printing articles written by evangelists who of course were interested in converts, and desiring to increase their sales, the *Signs of the Times*, a weekly edited by A. O. Tait, the *Signs of the Times Magazine*, a monthly edited by L. A. Reed who also served as associate editor of the weekly *Signs*, and *The Watchman Magazine*, a monthly edited by L. A. Smith, boldly stepped in where the *Review* feared to tread. Proclaiming the basic interpretation set forth in the *Review*, the evangelistic magazines filled in details and made applications that flirted with the sensational. Every increase in armaments, the *Signs of the Times* editorialized, was "a real and effectual gathering of the nations for Armageddon." It also hinted darkly that the Roman Catholic Church would in some way become involved. Commenting on the Balkan wars of 1913, the *Signs of the Times Magazine* saw events moving toward Armageddon. "This present war is but a warning to all the world of what is coming. There will be a little time of peace, and then the final war." Likewise, an author for the October issue of *The Watchman Magazine* wrote that "the intense preparations for war, which now constitutes the chief rivalry of the nations, are a prelude of Armageddon."

Adventists were therefore intellectually prepared for the outbreak of war. Events moved swiftly. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28. Germany declared war on Russia four days later, on France on the morning of August 4, and then informed Belgium that it was invading for security purposes. At midnight, August 4, Britain joined the conflict on the side of France and Russia. Many believed Armageddon had come.

Responding quickly, but not sensationally, the Adventist evangelistic magazines that had been predicting the soon occurrence of Armageddon declared that the present war could not be that great battle. The *Signs of the Times* took this position in its August 18, 1914, edition, arguing that the plagues, a necessary prelude to Armageddon, had not yet fallen. The war would subside, it said, giving one last opportunity for God's message to be preached. A month later it interpreted the war as a forerunner of Armageddon, saying

# OF PROPHECYING





The steadily shrinking map of Turkey convinced Adventists that their prophetic interpretations were coming true.

that the nations were marshaling for that great event. "These are the days," wrote I. H. Evans, president of the North American Division, "When God is warning the world of a greater war than this, even the final great battle of Armageddon, in which all the nations of the earth will have a part. It is the Christian's privilege to understand and to escape the day of God's wrath."

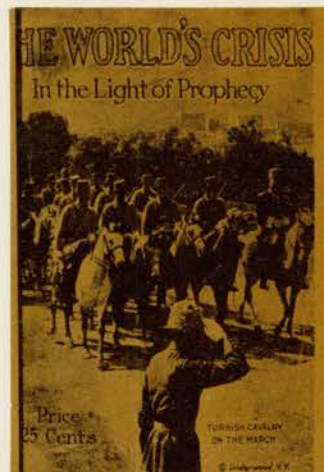
The *Review and Herald*, as the leading church paper, counseled caution in interpreting events. Its editor, Francis Wilcox, consistently argued that although the present conflict contributed to the movement toward Armageddon, "we know not what a day may bring forth. We know not what may be the outcome of the war which has begun." Week by week he warned that because Adventists could not foresee the outcome they should not make sensational statements. Instead, they should place their faith in God.

Other writers for the *Review* took a similar position. The question and answer section of September 10, 1914, restated the basic interpretation of Daniel 11 and Revelation 16 but counseled not to read special meanings into the prophecies. I. H. Evans saw prophecy as only a outline of events, without details. "It is not for us to theorize and declare how God will work," he wrote. The closest the *Review* came to predicting events appeared in an article by S. M. Butler. He saw nationalism and commercial rivalry as the principal causes of the war and believed Russia would be given control of the Balkan peninsula. If this took place, he said, "Russia would not be long in disposing of the Turkish question. When the Turk comes to his end, Michael is to stand up, or take his kingdom."

The *Review* was cautioning mainly the evangelists, who took advantage of the war to preach the nearness of the Armageddon battle. They held tent efforts and other special meetings and had portions of their ser-

mons printed in the newspapers. What they were saying began to be reflected in the evangelistic magazines later in the year. An editorial in the *Signs of the Times Magazine* for December, 1914, declared that all nations except Turkey would unite under the Papacy. Turkey would move its capital to Jerusalem and Russia would be chosen to lead the united armies against the Turks. An article in the same magazine added that Japan and China would be the last nations to join the confederacy. All this was based on the prophecies of Revelation 16, 17, and 19 and Ezekiel 38. Still, the magazine made no claim that the present war was Armageddon. As one of its authors wrote,

the field of operation is not located in the right continent, neither are the combatants those mentioned in that great prophetic battle. The antagonists upon the Field of Armageddon are 'the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet,' and the field is the northern portion of Palestine.



*The World's Crisis* was the first of several Adventist books explaining the war in the light of prophecy.

In addition to the magazines, the church publishing houses took advantage of the outbreak of hostilities to issue the first of many tracts and books dealing with the war issue. "Have we come to Armageddon?" asked a tract written by the former editor of the *Signs of the Times*, Milton C. Wilcox. He answered no, but asserted Armageddon would not be long in coming. Immediately upon the opening of war the *Review and Herald Publishing Association* published a *War Extra* that sold 50,000 copies a day during its first week, 1,450,000 copies by May 4, 1915, and an *Eastern Question Extra*, selling 1,275,000 copies also by May 4. The success of these extras prompted the publishing house, on the suggestion of a young lady colporteur, to call a meeting and, within one hour after receiving the suggestion, fully plan a book on *The World's Crisis in the Light of Prophecy*. Thirty days later the twenty-five cent book appeared; between January 1, 1915 and April 1, 1915, the public purchased 150,000 copies.



**Turkey Will Be Driven From Europe  
Followed by the Battle of Armageddon**

Momentous Things Are About to Happen. The Bible Tells All About Them.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION?**

**HE SHALL COME TO HIS END AND NONE SHALL HELP HIM.**

**FREE LECTURE TOMORROW NIGHT—7:30**

**By Archer V. Cotton**  
Recently of Boston and New York.

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Hundreds are Being Benefited

You Cannot Afford to Miss This Important Lecture

Adventist evangelists drew large crowds by "lecturing" on the war.  
Courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.

*The World's Crisis* saw the world moving straight toward Armageddon.

No man may foresee exactly how events will turn in detail. But the great truth rings in our ears like a trumpet peal: the Eastern Question is hastening on to its final solution, and its solution brings the end of the world. The prophecy declares that the fall of Turkish power ushers in the end. And everywhere the newspapers can see nothing but the hastening of Turkey's end in the turn events have taken.

Turkey's entrance into the war and its many military defeats seemed to indicate that the prophecies were fulfilling. The temptation to spell out the details of what would happen, despite the continual warnings of the *Review* against sensationalism, proved too great. Between 1915 and 1917 the evangelistic magazines published a great number of articles explaining to the world the meaning of current events.

*The Watchman Magazine* saw the Eastern Question, the elimination of Turkey from Europe, as the basic

issue of the war. "Turkey occupies the leading place in political events as foretold for the latter days;" it stated, "and it is the Gordian knot of the world's diplomats, and the center of political unrest." Because of prophecy, the magazine declared, Turkey probably could not get out of the war. And the war "is definitely shaping the world for the battle of Armageddon."

Turkey's fate was the most popular subject for the magazines during these years. *The Watchman Magazine* firmly believed that Turkey would meet its end in this war. The loss of Arabia, the fall of Baghdad, and the entrance of the British army into Palestine, it declared in 1917, all pointed toward the end of Turkey. Percy T. Magan, a college administrator and medical doctor advertized as a leading authority on the Eastern Question, asserted that "'Mene, Mene' is written across the lintel of the Turkish house."

Similarly, the *Signs of the Times* and the *Signs of the Times Magazine* believed the end of Turkey to be very near. The means by which the various writers reached that conclusion were not always the same, however. For example, the President of the Pacific Union Conference, Elmer E. Andross, believed England had arranged to hand Turkish territory over to Russia and that Turkey could expect no real help from Germany. On the other hand, the editors of the *Signs of the Times Magazine* saw Germany as advocating restoration of Islamic Power, a situation England could not tolerate. In either case, Turkey would suffer destruction.

Believing Turkey about to fall, Adventists watched for signs of its demise. E. L. Cardey, a popular evangelist, stated that "the central powers are Turkey's last supporters. Something will happen in diplomatic circles to withdraw this support. . . . It will mark the beginning of the last events which hover around the close of probation, and which prepare the way for the battle of Armageddon." Daniel 11:44 may be about fulfilled, wrote another Adventist, "we now wait immediate developments which will force the Turk to move his seat of Empire to Jerusalem."

The *Review* did not give so much emphasis to the fall of Turkey in this war. Yet despite the warnings of its editor against sensationalism, the belief in Turkey's immediate end sometimes appeared. One of the associate editors wrote that "the present war promises to eliminate the power now controlling the Euphrates Valley and symbolized in the Scriptures as that river." Another writer saw the war as "the doing of the last things among the nations." Even editor Francis Wilcox was caught up in the excitement of seeing the apparent fulfillment of prophecy. "From whatever angle the Turkish question is viewed," he wrote, "whether in its relation to the side of the entente Allies or that of the central empires, publicists are forced to the conclusion . . . that 'the Turk must go.'"

With the evangelists, evangelistic magazines, and the official church paper proclaiming the soon demise of Turkey and the coming of Armageddon, it was no



surprise that the president of the General Conference, A. G. Daniells, made a contribution of his own. A few years previously, after considerable urging from Ellen G. White, Daniells had actively entered into evangelism and with the coming of the war began putting greater emphasis on current events, achieving considerable success at attracting large crowds.

In 1917 Daniells published a book, *The World War: Its Relation to the Eastern Question and Armageddon*, probably based upon his evangelistic lectures. He believed that Turkey was about to lose Constantinople and the war would spread into Palestine. However,

It is not here claimed that the war now devastating Europe and staggering the whole world is the entire fulfilment of the prediction of that deceptive work of demons by which rulers and people will be blinded and crazed, and led into wanton, devastating war. But if ever warring nations seemed to be under the control of satanic powers, getting ready for Armageddon, it is at this time.

The war might cease for a time, he said, but then will come the war of Armageddon, "a war that will sweep away all the kingdoms of the world." The church pushed the book strongly, selling several hundred thousand copies.

Although the immediate fate of Turkey was their most popular subject, the writers and evangelists gave some attention to other aspects of the movement toward Armageddon. As early as 1914 Adventists had hinted that somehow the Papacy would attempt to take advantage of the situation. As the war dragged on comment on the Papacy occasionally cropped up in church papers. In 1915 W. W. Prescott, former editor of the *Review*, wrote in that paper that the Roman Catholic Church was claiming the war to be divine judgment upon the world for not following the one true church. Peace would be restored only when the nations returned to the Catholic fold. Prescott appealed to his readers "to make an earnest effort to save as many as possible from the snare that is being set for them."

Other writers also advanced Prescott's argument that the Roman Catholic Church would try to increase its power through acting as a peace-making agency. Shortly before American involvement in the war, the *Signs of the Times Magazine* asserted that United States entry "would open the way more than ever for the Vatican, unentangled as it is with the present international imbroglio, to offer its services as the sole qualified mediator." In December, 1917 the same magazine editorialized that through peace efforts the Papacy would try to restore its prestige and power.

The major statement on this question came from Percy T. Magan, who published *The Vatican and the War* about 1916 or 1917. Like other Adventist writers he believed that the Papacy was maneuvering to gain a dominant position among the nations. As evidence he claimed that the Vatican had called Kaiser Wilhelm "a man of God," saw sinister meaning in Sir Henry Howard's appointment as ambassador to the Vatican

and in the Pope's attempt to reopen diplomatic relations with France, and finally called attention to Rome's attempt to act as arbitrator and mediator for the belligerents. "If Rome can only exalt herself to this role," Magan wrote, "she will have cleared for herself a path to that high pinnacle of fame and power to which she longs to exalt herself. World-empire over princes and potentates, and the souls and bodies of men and women, will be hers." Magan's statements were not typical anti-Catholic propaganda, however. On the basis of Revelation 18:1-10, 21 he predicted that the Papacy would fail in its power quest.

Another secondary theme in Adventist interpretation of the war appeared most often on the editorial page of the *Review*. Recognizing many of those involved in the peace movements as idealistic and honest, Francis Wilcox nevertheless declared them to be "harbingers of the great catastrophe which is soon to envelop the world." Whether they expected World War I to lead directly to Armageddon or expected a period of peace between the end of the present war and the final great conflict, Adventists warned against false hopes of permanent peace. "The cry of peace will ring through the world again;" said another *Review* editorial, "but that cry will be hushed in the fearful tumult of earth's last great war." The *Signs of the Times* likewise warned its readers to prepare their souls during the peace that would follow the war, for "beyond that respite which God will give, comes the fiercest storm of all, when the rains will descend, and the floods will beat, and the houses that are on the sand will be swept away."

But talk of the Papacy and warnings against peace hopes were always minor themes. It was the fate of Turkey, particularly the expected movement of its capital from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and the approach of Armageddon that most engrossed Adventists. A. G. Daniells spoke for most of them when in 1916 he pre-



## Turkey "Packing Up"

The Ottoman Government Preparing to Move Across the Bosphorus into Asia

Adventists believed Turkey would transfer its capitol from Constantinople to Jerusalem.



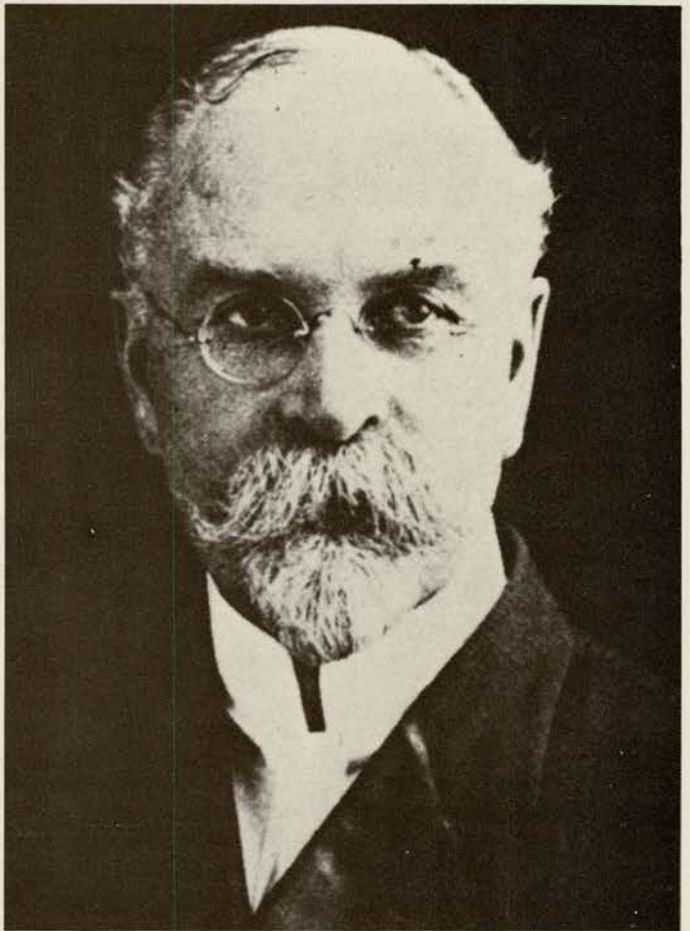
dicted the final outcome: "Turkey driven from Europe, the division of the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor among the great powers, and then another more terrible war over the spoils. That will be Armageddon."

In 1917, however, a new tone began to appear, growing stronger in 1918. Because they were claiming to tell the meaning behind the newspaper headlines, Adventists had to adjust to the developments of the war. First of all, on April 6 the United States joined the war. For Adventists this was not entirely unexpected. They believed all nations would fight at Armageddon and since this was preparing the way for that great battle it was unlikely that America could stand aloof. As E. L. Cardey had put it in 1916, "we occupy that peculiar position—main-way as it were—between impoverished Europe and the awakening Orient. . . . By the very nature of our position, we will be plunged into the heart of that calamitous struggle."

Their apocalyptic vision, therefore, made place for American entry into the war. But the fact of United States involvement prompted a spirit of caution. Meeting in April, 1917, the spring council of the North American Division Executive Committee of the church passed a resolution urging "against the harboring of a spirit of unchristian partisanship." Advising a guarded tongue and pen, the *Review* stated, "It should be the burden of our hearts to pour oil on the troubled waters, and exert no influence directly or remotely which will accentuate the troubled conditions which exist."

The church leaders, rather than emphasizing Adventist "separateness" as some evangelists were doing, asked church members to fulfill their civic responsibilities. After President Woodrow Wilson's appeal for the suffering people of Armenia and Syria, Adventist churches took up a special collection on January 12, 1918, and in May urged support for the Red Cross. And as for President Wilson, "We would remember at the throne of grace our nation's Chief Executive," the *Review* stated. "He needs prayer more than censure or criticism. . . . A heartbroken, sobbing world is calling for help, and we should do all we can to minister to the needy and suffering."

American entrance into the war was not nearly as important in shifting Adventist emphasis, though, as the fact that events overtook Adventist predictions. Expecting the fall of Turkey and removal of its capital from Constantinople to Jerusalem, Adventist evangelists had no explanation for British victory over the Turks at Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, and Turkey's retreat back to Europe during the next several months. Under the harassment of British cavalry and T. E. Lawrence's Arab army, the Turks abandoned one city after another as their army fell into disarray. Finally, on October 30, 1918, the British and Turks signed an armistice and the British fleet steamed past Constantinople into the Black Sea thirteen days later. Instead of leaving Europe and moving its center to



General Conference President A. G. Daniells proclaimed Turkey's rapidly approaching destruction.

Courtesy *Review* and Herald Publishing Assoc.

Palestine, as Adventists had expected, Turkey had lost Palestine and was now confined to Asia Minor and a small part of Europe, although the details were not to be worked out until the Lausanne treaty of 1923. The Adventists had been wrong.

The *Review and Herald* had little difficulty adjusting to the situation. All along it had been counseling the church to avoid sensationalism and now it had an object lesson to support its warnings. Eleven days after the fall of Jerusalem the *Review* commented, "Some of our brethren have raised the question as to what significance the possession of Jerusalem will have in the fulfillment of the prophecy of Daniel 11 . . . These are days in which we do well not to hazard too much speculation regarding the trend of events in this world." A few months later editor Francis Wilcox listed six dangers facing the church. Numbers two, three, and four included "the temptation to make wild statements and indulge in idle speculation, regarding the details of fulfilling prophecy," the danger of sensational preaching, and the danger of emphasizing questions of current interest—particularly with reference to

*Continued on Page 55*



# The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern BLACK ADVENTISTS

*Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl*

“United Sabbath Day Adventists. An offshoot led by J. K. Humphrey, pastor of a large Negro SDA congregation in the Harlem section of New York City.”

*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*





**E**VEN before Seventh-day Adventists existed as a group, there were blacks in the Advent movement. Early Adventists were strongly anti-slavery, and some of them had actively worked for abolition. But following the end of the Civil War, the church was slow in starting work among black people. By 1894 there were only about fifty black Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, with five organized churches, all in the south.

The first Adventist work among blacks in the east began in New York City in 1902. A black layman named J. H. Carroll, a recent convert from Catholicism, began to hold meetings in a home. He made contacts among Methodist and Baptist churches, and several baptisms resulted.

One of his first converts was James K. Humphrey, an ordained Baptist minister. A native of Jamaica, Humphrey was a natural leader with considerable charisma. He was both a musician and a scholar, with a special talent for organizing people and getting things done. When Carroll's group was formed into a church, Humphrey was chosen to be the pastor.

Under his direction, the work spread rapidly. Humphrey worked in both Manhattan and Brooklyn and founded the First Harlem SDA Church. By 1920 its membership was about 600, and he had also started three other congregations.

Because of his prominence, Humphrey was invited to speak at the 1922 General Conference in San Francisco. He spoke on suffering the evening of May 23. Said Humphrey: "Every man who has ever made up his mind to please God has to suffer. This is God's program."

He went on to tell the story of a man who had encouraged him to break loose from the denomination in 1905. In telling the story, he did not explain the arguments this brother had used. But he did state his answer unequivocally: "I flatly refused to do it . . . I refused then to do it, and I refuse now to do it." Those words would return to haunt him.

Humphrey continued his ministry in New York, baptizing about fifty persons each year. In December, 1924, the Second Harlem Church was officially formed. The future looked bright.

But things were not as ideal as they seemed. Humphrey had become somewhat unhappy working in New York City, and at both the 1918 and 1922 General Conference sessions he had asked to be transferred. Both times he was turned down. Because of his success, the conference wanted him to stay where he was.

At the same time, a change had begun in Humphrey's mind. He had always been concerned about the situation of blacks within the church; his sermon on suffering had made that plain. But thus far he had solidly affirmed his loyalty to the organized church, and made up his mind to accept whatever came. But as time passed and things did not change, his frustration began to build.

The only Seventh-day Adventist institution for blacks in the United States at this time was the Oakwood school, which had become a junior college in April,

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*J. K. Humphrey is white haired man in center of picture.*





1917. There were no other schools where blacks were normally admitted. They were not allowed in any Adventist sanitariums or treatment rooms — even as laborers. Blacks had given their tithes and offerings to support these institutions, yet they could not take advantage of the benefits.

In early 1929 the Spring Council met in Washington, D. C. One major item on the agenda was the question of how the work among blacks should be organized. Elder W. H. Green, the Secretary of the Negro Department, had died suddenly the previous October, and his position had remained unfilled.

Humphrey attended the council, along with other black leaders. A majority told the brethren they believed that the best way to work among blacks would be to organize black conferences. In these conferences, they could handle their own money, employ workers, develop institutions, and generally promote the work along their own cultural lines. These conferences would have the same relationship to the General Conference as the white conferences.

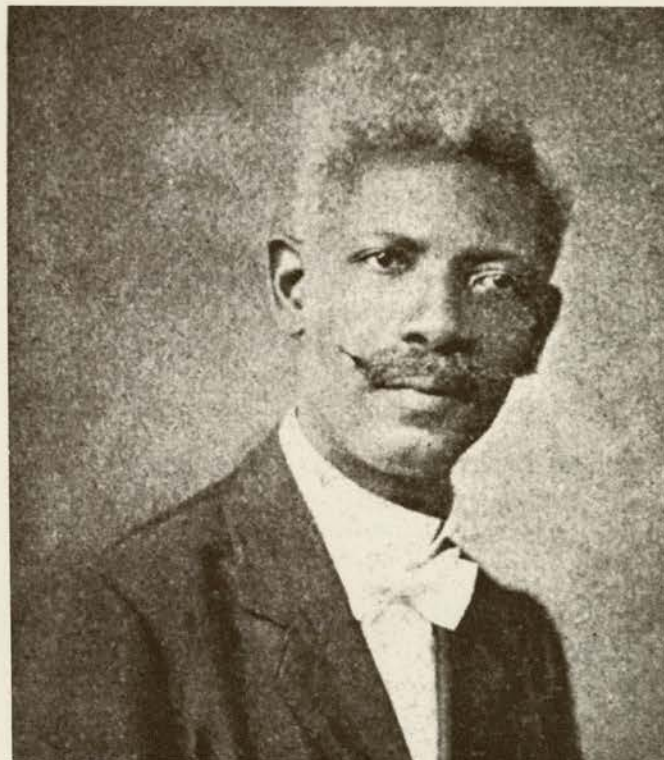
The General Conference Committee did not accept the proposal, but neither did they reject it outright. Instead, they appointed a Negro Commission to make a survey of the black constituency and to study the subject of black conferences, and then make a recommendation to the Fall Council. Of the sixteen members on the commission, eleven were white and five were black. Humphrey was appointed as a member.

Fall Council was scheduled for October in Columbus, Ohio. A meeting of the Negro Commission was called just prior to the Council. During the interim, Humphrey had not been asked to confer about the situation, although some of the other commissioners met with the presidents of the various conferences that would be affected. When announcements of the commission meeting were sent out, Humphrey sent word that he was sick and would not attend. Speaking later of the incident, Elder Louis K. Dickson, President of the Greater New York Conference, remarked: "So far as could be found out, his sickness consisted of promoting his own scheme."

That "scheme" was what became known as the Utopia Health Benevolent Association. It was to become the concrete cause of the split and was to bring to the surface the tensions that had long been hidden.

Humphrey had returned from Spring Council with the feeling that the General Conference had "absolutely refused" to accept the recommendation of the black ministers. (He was substantially correct; the Fall Council decided to continue the previous system.) He felt that the only way the needs of the blacks could be met was to start their own program. He began to do precisely that.

His idea was to establish a place owned and operated by blacks, where they could develop their own institutions. He wanted to include an orphanage, a home for



James K. Humphrey protested the subordination of blacks in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Courtesy Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.

the aged, a training school, an industrial area, plus private residences with recreation and health-care facilities. It would be called Utopia Park.

The first plan proposed that Utopia Park would be in Wappingers Falls, N. Y., a resort area south of Poughkeepsie. But when that property was unavailable, they decided to buy the Hosford Estate at Atlantic Highlands, N. J., a small town on the Jersey shore about forty-five miles south of New York City by road.

Humphrey felt certain that if he told the conference what he planned, they would not allow him to do it. He believed that the attitude and the decision of the church at Spring Council had closed the door on separate institutions for blacks, and that if this idea were to become a reality, he would have to do it alone.

So he began to actively promote Utopia Park — without conference knowledge or support. He issued a promotional brochure, calling Utopia Park "The Fortune Spot of America for Colored People." It was to be "absolutely non-sectarian," but would be exclusively for blacks.

The aim, according to the brochure, was to "provide healthful recreation for thousands of colored people who are interested in the care of their bodies and the betterment of their minds." Among the sports advertised were boating, tennis, handball, archery, ice boating, skating, and baseball. Swimming was to be a major attraction, using any of Utopia Park's three lakes — "three beauti-



ful sheets of water that shine like silver cloths in the summer sun. In the large lake there is room for bathing for five thousand people, if necessary."

To finance the project, the estate would be subdivided, and lots sold. To be eligible, a person was required to be "of good moral standing." Lots were 25 by 100 feet, and there would be electricity, gas, and septic tanks. Residence lots were priced at \$600, with corners going for \$650.

The primary need was money, so Humphrey and his congregation began to work. They solicited in the streets, signed up interested people, and sponsored fund-raising events. On October 21, they had a benefit dinner and an "intellectual review," and sold tickets for \$12.50 each. By November, they had raised \$8000, which was deposited in Humphrey's name in the Harlem Branch of the Chelsea Exchange Bank.

But prior to this, the conference president, Elder Dickson, had heard rumors that questionable activities were going on at First Harlem. He was uneasy, because it was not the first problem he had had with the church. Some months earlier, five leaders — not including Elder Humphrey — had come to talk with him about the feelings of the members at First Harlem. They told him that the reason for their decline in financial support was not Humphrey's doing, but an increasing unwillingness on the part of blacks to support institutions that discriminated against them. Dickson, however, still blamed Humphrey, and in anticipation of trouble, a new pastor, Matthew C. Strachan, was brought in to build up the Second Harlem Church.

To find out what was happening, Dickson wrote to Humphrey on August 13.

The report has come that you and the officers of your church are promoting this project among your members, with the object of finally establishing a colored colony, sanitarium, and old people's home. Of course, these are merely reports and I must come to you for facts. . . I am totally in the dark regarding the facts. I would be glad to have you drop me a line, setting me straight on this matter, and giving me any other information which you think will be helpful in explaining what may be going on.

Humphrey replied one week later.

It is true that some of us are interested in this effort to help the colored people realize these institutions which we so sorely need.

It is not a denominational effort, inasmuch as our people are unable to maintain one. I thank you very much for your expressions of kindly interest and your desire to cooperate in this good work, but it is absolutely a problem for the colored people.

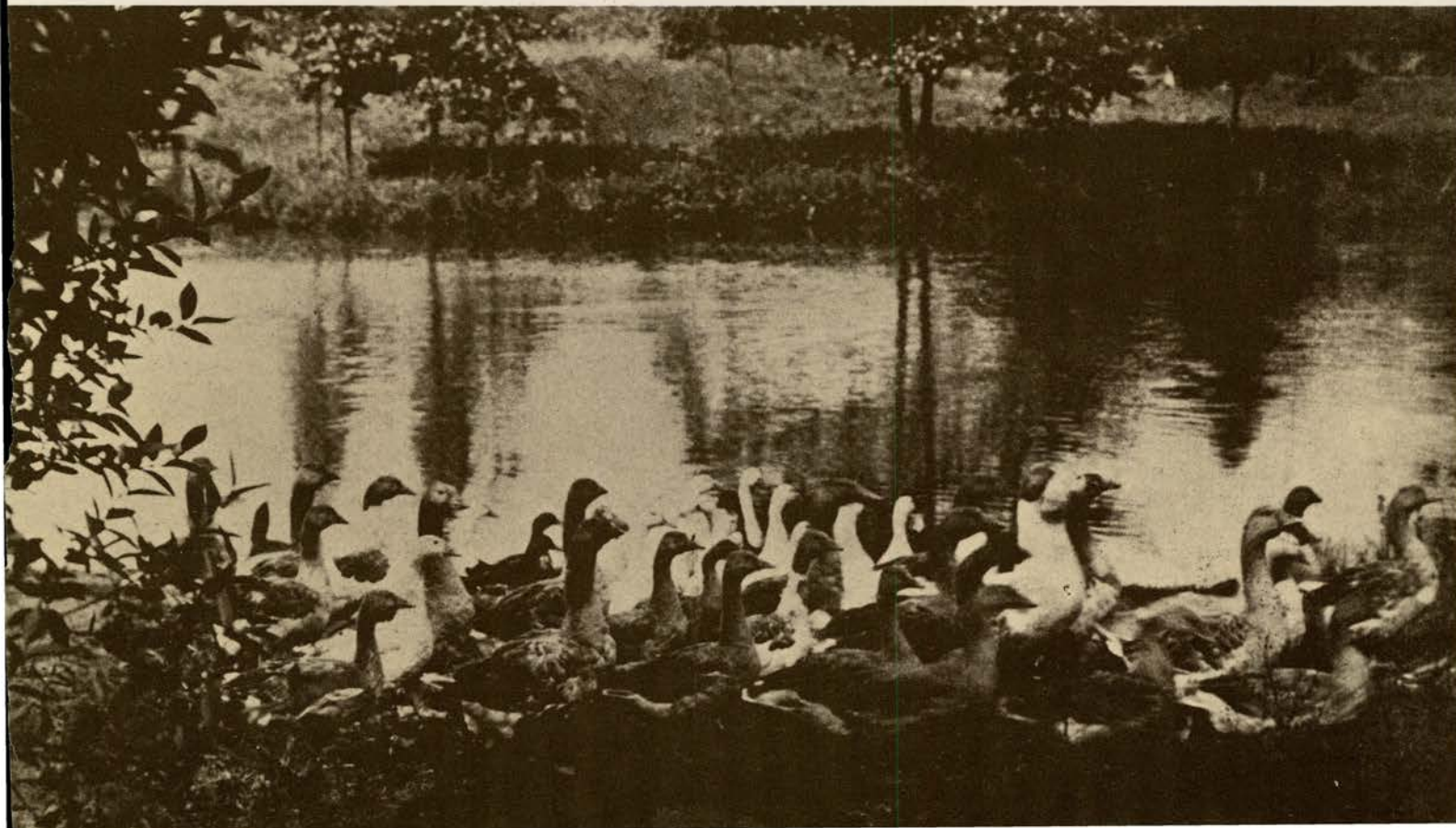
Dickson was very much upset by this answer, and he responded immediately.

I cannot think that you are ignorant or unmindful of your obligations as an employee of the conference to counsel upon such important projects as planning for institutions for our people before such plans are launched in the church of which you are appointed pastor.

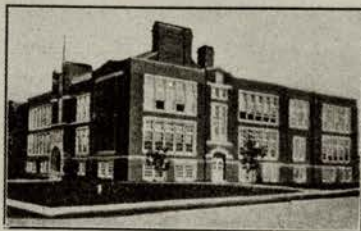
I think it is obvious to you from the foregoing that your answer to my letter was entirely unsatisfactory and disappointing. I am, therefore, now repeating my request to you for an explanation of this project which you are launching, as you say, in behalf of the colored people.

Humphrey did not reply. Consequently, Dickson decided to bring the matter up at the conference committee meeting on September 5. Humphrey was present, and according to Dickson, was "given the privilege of asking counsel of his associates in the ministry, but no such request came. A few statements regarding the

The dream of Utopia Park never materialized. Courtesy Ellen G. White Estate, Inc.







New Boulevard and  
High School  
Leonardo, N. J.

### Aims and Purposes

UTOPIA PARK is being designed to provide healthful recreation for thousands of colored people who are interested in the care of their bodies and the betterment of their minds.

To provide a social intercourse that will bring out the best in their natures, thereby creating happiness and contentment.

To allow the creating of an ideal rustic community - - by the provision made for the selling of lots for bungalow and cottage sites. A real country home.

### Climatic Conditions

DUE to the elevation of this property and its close proximity to the Ocean, it is continually fanned by breezes during the entire summer.

The health giving Ocean breezes act as a clarifying tonic to those jaded in body and spirit.

It is a well known fact that homes, bordering or near the Ocean have a climate 5 to 10 degrees warmer in winter.

When this Estate was originally laid out by the Hosfords everything was taken into consideration that might tend to ideal living conditions.

THE ridge upon which Utopia Park is situated is the high point in healthful locations of Monmouth County.

project were made, but such a meager statement it was that we were as much in the dark as to the real status of the situation as we were before." After some discussion, they decided to refer the matter to the Atlantic Union Conference Committee, of which Humphrey was also a member. The meeting was to be held on October 27.

Some time before then, the situation became even more troublesome in the eyes of the Greater New York Conference. In order to carry on its regular street solicitation during the Christmas holidays, the conference was required to obtain a permit from the Commissioner of Public Welfare. When one of the employees went down to get the permit, the Commissioner called him

in and asked if he knew James K. Humphrey, and whether or not Humphrey was a Seventh-day Adventist minister. When the man answered yes to both questions, the Commissioner asked him for more information about Humphrey. Reluctant to answer, the man instead made an appointment for Elder Dickson to meet with the Commissioner the next day.

At the meeting, the Commissioner showed Dickson twenty-seven typewritten pages of material that he had collected in a hearing on the Utopia Health Benevolent Association. He said he was surprised that the denomination had not taken any action about one of its representatives being involved in a scheme such as this one. The conference president was embarrassed and felt compromised in the eyes of the Commissioner.

Humphrey did not attend the Union committee meeting on the 27th, but he was the main subject under discussion. After talking over the situation, the committee decided "that we hereby acquaint Elder Humphrey of our disapproval of his course of action in connection with this enterprise, and further that we counsel the Greater New York Conference Committee 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. The vote was unanimous. The action also stated that "we hereby place our unqualified disapproval upon this whole enterprise and solemnly warn our church members to beware of this and all other such projects."

Four days later, on Thursday afternoon, the Greater New York Conference Committee met again, with Elder Humphrey present. They discussed the matter further, and appealed to Humphrey to reconsider, but his mind was made up. So they announced their decision. He was informed that he was no longer a Seventh-day Adventist pastor or a member of the Union and Conference Committees.

The next major step was to explain the decision to the members of the First Harlem Church. At Humphrey's request, a meeting was set for the following Saturday evening, November 2. Elder Dickson was the main speaker, but he brought along plenty of support. The General Conference President, Elder W. A. Spicer, was called up from Washington to attend, along with Elder C. K. Meyers, the Secretary of the General Conference. Elder E. K. Slade, President of the Atlantic Union Conference, was also present.

In his address to the church, Dickson recounted the events leading up to their action regarding Elder Humphrey. He placed the emphasis, not on any specific wrongdoing associated with Utopia Park, but on the attitude of Humphrey and where it was leading. Said he: "We wish to emphasize to you that we are not arguing the merits or demerits of any real estate enterprise, but must insist that the conference cannot allow any of its representatives to commit it to an enterprise which has never been considered by the conference . . .". He contended that Humphrey had used his position and the church's name to promote his own project.



Dickson's strongest appeal was on the subject of church unity.

Throughout all the history of the church, the cause has prospered in direct proportion to the perfection of the organization, and the loyalty of God's people to the same . . . . To disregard the most fundamental principles of the organization is to open the gate wide to the assaults of Satan. To trample under foot the body of Christ is to crucify Him afresh and put Him to open shame. This we cannot do and be blessed of heaven.

In his speech, Dickson also sought to refute Humphrey's contention that he had acted because the denomination had not cared for blacks. He pointed out that Humphrey had not waited for the Fall Council to take action on the various recommendations, and rather than joining "in the study of this problem, he has chosen rather to launch an enterprise independent of conference and General Conference counsel." He urged the church members "not to be moved from the truth, and from the relationship which acceptance of the third angel's message involved."

The five-hour meeting was an extremely stormy one. Church officials reported that "conference representatives were constantly interrupted," "strong and loud denunciations of the entire denomination were made," and "a majority of the audience present kept up the wild confusion and uproar in disrespect of the presence, counsel and advice of the leaders of the denomination."

From any viewpoint it was a wild scene. The New York News reported that "the meeting soon became uncontrollable and bid fair to develop into a riot, which was prevented by the quick action of the pastor himself."

One thing, however, was perfectly clear. The church was solidly behind Humphrey. Even the conference men agreed. "It was made very clear by the apparently unanimous vote of the people that the entire church was opposed to the conference . . . . The former pastor was upheld and sustained in all his activities and attitude by the membership of the First Harlem Church."

After this meeting, the conference officials decided that they would have to take action on the whole church. On January 14, 1930, there was an Executive Committee meeting of the Greater New York Conference. A resolution was adopted unanimously that they drop "the First Harlem Church from its sisterhood of churches, and that the former First Harlem Church no longer be recognized as a Seventh-day Adventist Church." They also voted that any members who made "public profession of their loyalty to the denomination and of their desire to continue therein" would be organized into a new church.

The committee also voted to send a copy of the resolution to the members of the First Harlem Church. They invited representatives from the church to come to the Biennial Conference starting on January 27 "to present such facts in its defense as it may desire or think

proper." No delegates from First Harlem came to the conference.

Meanwhile, the legal difficulties of the Utopia Park enterprise were being resolved. After completing its investigation, the Welfare Department asked the District Attorney's office to investigate the matter further. On November 16, 1929, the New York World reported on the situation. "Assistant District Attorney Lehman began yesterday an investigation for possible graft in the operation of the Utopia Health Benevolent Association which has been planning a Negro health resort at Wappingers Falls, N. Y."

The investigation continued for about two weeks, and ended on December 3. The reason Lehman closed the investigation, said the New York Times, was because "no complaints of alleged wrongdoings had been brought to him." The World added that "no charges were pending against the promoters or anyone else connected with the association."

UTOPIA  
(Tune—"MY MARYLAND")

*Utopia, Utopia  
Sweet land of Ethiopia  
I look away across the sea,  
A mansion there now waits for me.*

CHORUS

*View that golden, sunny shore,  
My dream, my home, that I adore.  
Utopia, Utopia,  
Sweet land of Ethiopia.*

II

*Utopia, Utopia,  
Sweet land of Ethiopia,  
I'm waiting for thy great command  
To go to the promised land.*

CHORUS

*View that golden sunny shore  
My dream, my home, that I adore.  
Utopia, Utopia,  
Sweet land of Ethiopia.*



Humphrey felt that this was a vindication of his efforts and tried to get the Utopia Park project going again. But there were other difficulties, and the adverse publicity proved to be too much. The remaining money was returned to the investors, and the project was dropped.

Shortly after the incident, both parties issued defenses for their actions. The General Conference was first, publishing a pamphlet entitled "Statement Regarding the Present Standing of Elder J. K. Humphrey." It was signed by J. L. McElhany, Vice-president of the General Conference for North America.

The pamphlet opened with a lengthy quote from Humphrey's sermon at the 1922 General Conference, in which he had stated that he had "never seen in the Word of God a precedent for any man, under any circumstances whatever — of hardships and trials and troubles, of wrong treatment by his brethren — to turn aside from God's organized plan of work, and succeed." It then went on to recount the SDA view of the events from August, 1929, through January, 1930, that had led to Humphrey's dismissal and the separation of the First Harlem Church.

The statement alleged that one of the reasons that Humphrey had broken away was because he had personal ambitions for himself. He was said to have desired the position of secretary of the General Conference Negro Department, and was "greatly" disappointed when this seemed unlikely. They added that Humphrey "likened himself to Moses, who would lead the colored people of the denomination out of the slavery of white domination into a 'land of promise.'"

In response, Humphrey's supporters issued a pamphlet called "Attitude of the Church." In it, they stated their belief that church leaders felt "that Negroes are incapable of leading and governing themselves in any respect." They claimed that conference officials had gone about trying to ruin Humphrey's reputation because of his attitude. They justified his actions on the grounds that it was the only way anything would be done for blacks within the church.

They strongly denied that Humphrey had any ambitions to be the secretary of the Negro Department. It could not be true, they argued, because he had opposed the idea of continuing the department and had voted instead for black conferences.

Because one of the major issues was the use of funds, the Humphreyites cited conference reports showing how much their church had contributed in tithes and offerings to the work of the church. They felt they had been treated unfairly.

It is very evident that during all these years in which the colored people have been associated in conference relationship with the white people, their funds have been drained and depleted without disposition on the part of the white presidents to give them an equal chance in developing talent along all cultural lines in this denomination. These funds should have been used to develop the work among colored people.

The General Conference had anticipated this charge, since it had been one of the sore points all along. And shortly after he had lost his credentials, Humphrey had declared in a newspaper article that the Seventh-day Adventists were doing nothing for colored people. It was a charge that needed to be answered.

To refute this accusation, the General Conference statement contained an article by Elder R. A. Ogden, president of the Antillian Union Conference. Ogden spoke at length of the support and help the church had given to the work for black people outside the United States, but made no reference at all to the contributions for blacks in North America. He, too, emphasized the unity theme: "We cannot think that you will allow yourselves to be deceived and led to follow any man who leads out on the pathway of rebellion and opposition to this great movement."

In closing, the statement included a listing of the actions taken at the 1929 Autumn Council affecting the North American Negro Department. There were a large number of recommendations, but the basic structure remained unchanged. There would be no black conferences, and black officials would continue to be under the control of white conference leadership.

Some of the other recommendations of the Autumn Council were particularly interesting. One provided for study to be given to establish a school for training colored youth. The stated purpose was so that they could "receive a Christian education without embarrassment to anyone." With regard to medical training, it was asked that "where possible" our sanitariums accept colored young people into the nurses training course. There was no mention of medical school.

No doubt Humphrey would have been amused by this last recommendation. The last part of his defense contained two letters that blacks had received refusing them admission to Adventist institutions.

One was written by Martha Borg, director of the School of Nursing at the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University). In the letter, dated January 8, 1929, she informed Mrs. Beryl Holness, a black, that

we do not see our way clear to accept you to the nurses course because of your nationality. We have had some difficulty in training students of your nationality before. While they may have done very excellent work in many ways, yet many complications have arisen in connection with their training which, we feel, would not have arisen in institutions and schools of nursing further north.

The other letter was from Harvey A. Morrison, president of Union College. Writing to a Mr. J. E. Jervis, on August 22, 1919, he stated: "It is not our policy generally to receive colored students outside our own territory unless there is some very special reason why this should be done." Then he further clarified their position: "Ordinarily we do not have colored students in our school, even from our own territory."

The letters alone were eloquent arguments, but by



this time most of the controversy had been played out. After the church was dropped from the conference, they formed a new organization. The First Harlem Church became the United Sabbath Day Adventist Church, with J. K. Humphrey as bishop. For a time there was strong support for Humphrey among black Adventists, but much of it gradually died out. George E. Peters, who had been chosen as the new secretary of the Negro Department, was sent to Harlem to help stabilize the situation. Under his direction, the Second Harlem Church became the Ephesus Church and grew rapidly.

The last act of the drama centered around the former First Harlem Church building at 141 West 131st Street. The church went to court, trying to get the deed to the property, since they had paid for most of it. A lower court ruled in their favor, but the State Supreme Court overruled the decision. They were told that the only way they could keep the building would be to return to the conference. Forced to choose once again between the church and their pastor, they opted for the latter.

Shortly afterwards, the conference sold the church to a Baptist congregation. Meanwhile, the Sabbath Day Adventists were looking for a place to meet. Ironically, their first regular place of meeting after the split was their old home church. They rented it on Sabbaths from the Baptists.

With the conclusion of the law suit over the church property, Humphrey's formal dealings with the church came to an end. The effect of his actions, however, had a wide-ranging influence on the main Adventist body in its efforts to minister to America's blacks.

For one thing, the Utopia Park controversy dramatically underlined the point that the problem of church race relations was national in scope. No one solution could apply to every local situation.

Humphrey's departure drew attention to the difficulties facing blacks in the North. In turn, the dispute surrounding his church was a clear indication that the "Negro work" could no longer be regarded largely in Southern terms.

This view, forged during the 1880's and '90's, was an understandable one. At that time most blacks lived in the Southern states. The church naturally concentrated its missionary efforts for black people in the area below the Mason-Dixon line.

The Southern Missionary Society, formed by James Edson White in 1895, was the first organization set up by the church to promote the gospel among the nation's blacks. The Society's journal, the *Gospel Herald*, graphically described the economic and spiritual needs of blacks in the Mississippi Delta. Edson White recruited Northerners to move South to help operate mission schools throughout the Black Belt. So completely were efforts for the black man identified with the Southern setting that Ellen White's thin volume on the subject was entitled *The Southern Work*.

The beginning of the Adventist work in the South virtually coincided with the passage of the famous Jim Crow laws. These laws sharply reduced the black man's social and political rights and enforced a system of rigid race segregation. The fact that the church's first sustained ministry for black people began in the South in the 1890's meant that the pattern of Adventist race relations was set in an area and at a time of great hostility and conflict.

This conflict severely hindered the work of the fledgling Southern Missionary Society. Its leaders tried to avoid confrontation on the race issue to preserve the fragile beginnings they had made among the black population. Gradually a system of separate churches developed in the South.

The Society faced other problems. Most serious among them was a lack of general support among white Adventists in the North. A number of white leaders, notably Ellen White, urged that the work for blacks be given greater attention, but this was not done.

In 1891, she wrote: "Sin rests upon us as a church because we have not made greater effort for the salvation of souls among the colored people." Over a decade later, she noted that the money spent for this purpose was still inadequate.

The work to be done for the colored race is a large work, and calls for a large outlay of means. My heart aches as I look over the matter that has already been printed on this subject, but which upon many minds has no more weight than a straw. Like the priest and the Levite, men have looked indifferently on the most pitiful picture, and have passed by on the other side.

In 1915, at the time of Ellen White's death, the work among blacks in the South was still meeting opposition in many quarters. Throughout the early 1900's, the "Southern field" always existed on a tenuous basis, never quite moving to the center of the church's missionary concern.

The organization of the Negro Department in 1909 was an attempt to remedy this situation. It was to oversee the opening of new territory, publish reports on the progress of the Negro work, and in general represent the needs of black Adventists at the General Conference level. A white man, John W. Christian, was chosen as the department's first secretary. An executive committee, including J. K. Humphrey, was formed, and an initial appropriation of \$40,000 was granted.

Until 1918, when W. H. Green was appointed secretary, the Negro Department was administered by white men. This same pattern held true on the local conference level as well. In the South a bi-racial Negro committee handled the affairs of the black membership. In practice, however, this group merely ratified decisions reached previously by the all-white conference committee.

In the North, a few black ministers like Humphrey sat on conference and union committees. These men

*Continued on Page 53*



\* Hampton March 12<sup>th</sup> 1828

Dear Brother

Since you was here we have experienced a variety of the providences of God. The next Sunday evening after the dissolution of our Prayers, our conference meeting was held in a private house in our vicinity neighborhood at the opening of the meeting the 30<sup>th</sup> chapt of Deut. was read. (The house where we were being well filled with spiritual) some observations were made by the brethren on the night when it appeared that the whole assembly were apparently in tears, on labouring under solemn conviction for sin. One young woman that had a few years since obtained a hope and had had her light come forward and publicly acknowledged her sin and a coupled her baptizing 2 or 3 young men and a number of young women were struck under conviction, and some of them have since obtained hopes some are yet groaning by reason of the burden of sin - since which time we have had meetings 2 or 3 times in the week - our meetings are full, and every meeting we learn of new cases of conviction - one young man came to my house last night - after I asked to request he said he had been 8 years under conviction - now on his knees to use his own expression he had tried to make himself a Christian but grew worse he appeared to be almost in despair for fear the Lord would leave him before he became a Christian. I thought I could say to him as did say the Lord to his disciples "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world: take on 14 rose up and requested prayers last Sunday evening - it is only the works of God, and I acknowledge that I began to could have reached him case - I was in need in a reformation so general, so solemn, and so little sin.

dearly my Dear. Let us have reason to rejoice and to glory the Lord has remembered the low estate of his people and hath come down to deliver two of my children Mrs & Pellosa I have a good degree of hope are subjects of grace - Pray for us in sending the report of March our meeting was was consumed by fire. We should have almost thought of our rebuilding again had not the Lord visited us by his grace. and likewise opened the hearts of our benevolent & Christian friends from abroad. Your kindred Dollars has been subscribed from the adjoining towns, there is now some prospect that we shall in a year or two be able to pay the remainder - of my subscription at the present for I must have my whole force to gain the above mentioned object. We shall have great reason to remember your goodness with gratitude. and I hope I shall be grateful for you permit to write to me if your usual avocations will permit except in the mean time the warmest wishes of myself and family for your prosperity - Yours respectfully

Wm Miller

Dear Brother



## A MILLER LETTER

by Vern Carner

To: Rev. N. Kendrick  
From: William Miller  
(Original in the O. R. Jenks  
Adventual Collection,  
Aurora College, Aurora, Illinois.)

Just a few hundred yards west of the peaceful little Vermont village of Fairhaven, in fact on the same road that William Miller's great-great-granddaughter now lives, is the home of Father Miller (1792-1849), in what was once known as Low Hampton, N.Y. He moved here shortly after his father's death in 1812, to care for his elderly mother.

In whose house this particular meeting took place is not known. But what was read and discussed, and what helped to spark the beginning of what William Miller calls a "reformation so general, so solemn, and (with) so little noise," is stated. This passage, Deuteronomy 30, is part of Moses' last exhortation to the Israelites while they were still in the land of Moab, but preparing to go over Jordan. He exhorts them to remember God who blesses and curses, who can restore and have compassion on those who remember his commandments. He reminds them that to obey

# Heirlooms

God's commandments is within their strength, that it delineates "life and good, death and evil." The admonition ends, "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live: that thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him; for he is thy life, and the length of thy days. . ." (19, 20)

There is no record of a general revival sweeping through this area in 1828, but it was not uncommon for local churches to experience them. In a letter four years earlier, Rev. Edward M. Martin, then pastor of the Lansing, N.Y. Baptist Church and former pastor of the Low Hampton Church, wrote that "there is quite a reformation in several towns in this region. There have been appearances that were favourable with us of late. But I fear the cloud will pass without much rain." (Letter, December 30, 1824)

In a letter nine months earlier,

Hampton  
March 12th, 1828

Dear Brother

Since you was here we have experienced a variety of the providences of God, the next Sunday evening after the ordination of our Deacons, our conference meeting was held in a private house in our neighborhood. at the opening of the meeting the 30th chapt. of Deut. was read. (the house where we were being well fitted with spectators) some observations were made by the Bretherin on the Chapt. when it appeared that the whole assembly were apparently in tears, or labouring under solemn conviction for sin One you woman that had a few years since obtained a hope and had hid her light, came forward and publicly acknowledged her saviour & confessed her backslidings 2 or 3 young men and a number of young women were struck under conviction, and some of them have since obtained hopes some are yet growing by reason of the burden of sin-since which time we have held meetings 2 or 3 times in the week-our meetings are full- and every meeting we learn of new cases of conviction-one young man came to my house last night after 9 o'clock to request prayers he said he had been 8 years under conviction-more or less & to use his own expression "he had tried to make himself a christian but grew worse" he appeared to be almost in despair for fear the Lord would leave him before he became a christian I thought I could say to him as did John the Baptist to his disciples "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" twelve or 14 rose up and requested prayers last Sunday evening - it is surely the work of God - and all acknowledge that it's grace that could have reached their case - I never lived in a reformation so general, so solemn, and so little noise. surely my Dear Eldr we have reason to rejoice and be glad the Lord has remembered the low estate of his people and hath come down to deliver. two of my children Wm & Bellona I have a good degree of hope are subject of grace - pray for us on saturday the 1st day of March our meeting house was consumed by fire.-We should have almost despaired of ever rebuilding again had not the Lord visited us by his grace - and likewise opened the hearts of our benevolent & christian friends from abroad. Four hundred dollars has been subscribed from the adjoining towns. there is now some prospect that we shall build you know we are weak in numbers. We are really so in resources I shall not be able to pay the remainder of my subscription at the present, for I must bend my whole force to gain the above mentioned object. We shall have great reason to remember your sermon with gratitude-and I hope I shall be grateful for your visit-do write to me if your usual avocations will permit-accept in the mean time the warmest wishes of myself and family for your prosperity.

Yours respectfully  
Wm Miller

Rev. N. Hendrick

Rev. Martin had expressed his regrets upon hearing "that there are some who trouble you. Perhaps it would be too much to say I would that those who trouble you were cut off, but I will venture to say, that I would that they would put away childishness and act as men, whose senses are exercised to discern between good and evil. But you must be patient and be as harmless as doves, and wise as serpents. I do hope that you may prosper and be at peace among yourselves. the prosperity of the church does claim a peculiar (sic) interest in my feelings, and nothing gives me greater joy, than to hear that the children walk in the truth." (Letter, March 24, 1824)

Perhaps not until the meeting described in this letter, did this group find "peace among (themselves)." Whatever the circumstances were, one thing is clear, it was a very decorous reformation, not with a great deal of "noise" and emotional display, as was quite typical, especially further south.

The meeting house that had burned twelve days before had been built by William Miller's uncle Elisha Miller in 1812. Before William moved to Low Hampton in 1815, Elisha Miller had become pastor of this small branch of the Orwell, Vt. Baptist Church. This branch organized after William's maternal grandfather Elder Elnathan Phelps, Pastor of the Orwell Church, had, through occasional sermons in his son-in-law's home, excited interest in the Low Hampton area. William's mother Paulina Phelps Miller was converted at one of these meetings as she listened to her father preach.

William's own conversion took place one Sunday morning in September, 1816. That morning the pastor was absent from the Low Hampton Church. William had been asked to read the sermon and while reading, he was overcome with such emotion that he could not continue. However, years passed before he would preach of Christ's soon coming. Not until three and a half years after writing this letter to Rev. Kendrick, did he stand before a congregation and speak with strong conviction about the immanent return of Christ.



# BOOK MARKS



## A TRIBUTE TO EVERETT DICK

Wilbur R. Jacobs

Ray Allen Billington ed. (with the assistance of Vern Carner), *PEOPLE OF THE PLAINS AND MOUNTAINS, ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE WEST DEDICATED TO EVERETT DICK*, Contributions in American History, No. 25, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973, pp. 227. \$12.50.

**H**ISTORIANS as well as the general reader have long been indebted to Everett Dick for his significant contributions to American frontier history. These essays, written by a group of working scholars in the field and edited by Ray Billington, a most eminent historian of western history, are a tribute to Everett Dick who established a reputation as a leading historian, teaching for many years at Union College, Nebraska.

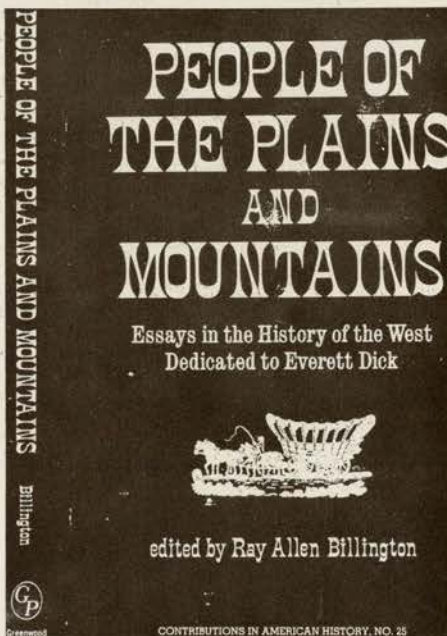
It is fitting that the first of these essays is a readable short biography of Everett Dick by one of his former instructors, the late John D. Hicks. Born in 1898 in Kansas, Dick had an extraordinary struggle to complete his college and graduate education. He was fortunate to meet Hicks at the University of Nebraska under whose guidance he completed his M.A. thesis, *The Long Drive*, which was published in 1928 by the Kansas State Historical Society. At the University of Wisconsin in 1929-30 he fell under the spell of Frederic L. Paxson, who saw in his pupil the kind of talent and objectivity which would allow him to write on the history of his own Seventh-day Adventist Church for a doctoral dissertation. Soon after, when a vacancy

for one year occurred at Union College, his undergraduate alma mater, Dick accepted the invitation. His one-year term lasted for 40 years! Here he had a productive career, not only in authoring fine books, such as the *Sod-House Frontier*, *Vanguards of the Frontier* and the *Dixie Frontier*, but in writing dozens of articles for scholarly journals, encyclopedias, and church publications.

Everett Dick's interest in Adventist church history led him into the problem faced by Adventist youths in World War II. Though pacifists, they were willing to serve their country as medical noncombatants. It was largely through Everett Dick's remarkable organizational skill that a Medical Cadet Corps was set up in the church, beginning as early as 1934. So successful was the program



TOP PHOTO: Everett Dick receives festschrift, *People of the Plains and Mountains*, from Robert H. Brown, college president, at the eighty-second annual commencement exercises of Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska, May 13, 1973. Having taught at the College for forty-three years, Dick remarked in his acceptance, "I want to rededicate myself to our denominational school system and to Union College in particular." Courtesy Lincoln Journal.



*WILBUR R. JACOBS* is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His most recent book is *DISPOSSESSING THE AMERICAN INDIAN*.



that it was reactivated in 1950 during the Korean War. The details of this unusual work by a history professor are spelled out in John Hicks's biographical sketch, the first chapter of this book.

The other essays cover a spectrum of subjects dealing with the people of the plains and mountains of the old west. Thomas Clark, for instance, shows the significance of the early pioneering movement through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, where "the nameless settler" made important contributions to community development. Clark, one of the most skilled social historians of the west, discusses such fascinating subjects as frontier dietary traditions, and first efforts in newspaper publishing. Merrill J. Mattes, writing on

other minorities. Hollon's essay is worth reading and rereading, for he has completed exhaustive research on the history of frontier violence. Philip D. Jordan's reappraisal of the town marshal shows that besides keeping gunmen under control, law enforcement involved dull, everyday police work such as controlling gambling, prostitution, vancy, and peddlers.

Three more essays are also of key interest to those who follow revisionism in frontier history scholarship. Father Francis Paul Prucha's sensitive, understanding essay on the impact of evangelical Protestantism upon mid-nineteenth century Indian policy, clearly explains why these people were harassed and the law was used to stamp out their religion and cultural heritage and to deprive them of their lands. In those days Protestantism meant Americanism, and this meant turning Indians into white, Protestant farmers.

If one is repelled by the injustice of our past Indian policy, he need only read Paul Wallace Gates's essay on how the big California land companies, exemplified by the Kern County Land Company, intrigued with railroad, real estate, oil and commercial interests to cheat their fellow Americans year after year. It is a sad story, but one that needs to be told again and again if we are to understand the antisocial forces that worked to undermine the fabric of frontier democracy. As Gates shows, the same evil lobbies corrupt California state government today.

The book concludes with a perceptive essay by James B. Rhoads, one of Everett Dick's former students, who is now Archivist of the United States and an historian. James Rhoads probes the vast archival collections of military records under his care and finds a rich vein of social history. Army records have an unexpected wealth of material on Indian affairs including the Sioux uprising of 1862 and the California Modoc War of 1871-72. More than that, Army manuscripts detail individual contacts with Indians, as for instance when they were given food, tools, or clothing. Individual military posts

## THE MORNING NEWSPAPER AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Jonathan Butler

Howard Weeks, *ADVENTIST EVANGELISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY*, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969, pp. 320. \$7.95.

**I**N the 1870's when Dwight Moody's evangelistic career was on the ascent, Seventh-day Adventists were succeeding in rural and small-town evangelism. The denomination nearly tripled in size between 1870 and 1880 from 5,440 to 15,570 members. But as the United States shifted from an agrarian to an urban, industrial society, the Seventh-day Adventists—unlike Moody — neglected city evangelism. By 1900 the membership gains of the 70's had plunged from 12 percent annually to scarcely 2 percent. Thus, Howard Weeks quite properly concentrated his story on *Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth century*.

After 1900 Ellen White, the prophetess, clamored for an Adventist evangelism in the cities that would restore the earlier rural bonanza. But A. G. Daniells, elected president of the Genral Conference in 1901, turned an ear of brass as he involved himself in bureaucratic innovations.

were almost small cities in themselves. And some became cities, as Dr. Rhoads shows in describing the rich treasure of photographs at the National Archives. Indeed, through old pictures one can practically see the town evolve, from a military post to a small city and then to a large metropolitan community. Certainly Dr. Rhoads's contribution to this volume is a fitting memorial to his distinguished teacher, Everett Dick. The same can be said for the other articles in this book. Though this reviewer has seen many books of essays honoring eminent historians, in scholarly achievement these essays rank with the best. □



ABOVE: Major Everett N. Dick stands at the far left as a leader in the early days of the Medical Cadet Corps.

the Oregon Trail, has revealing commentary on what women travelers put into their journals; and W. Turrentine Jackson, comparing the pioneer life on the plains and in the mines, points to the ecological destructiveness of the frontier. Jackson's penetrating comments on the "environmental butchery" by miners gives us pause for thought. He also has criticisms of the farmers though they were not, he finds, willful exploiters.

More revisionism in frontier history is set forth by other writers in this extremely important book. W. Eugene Hollon, in a brilliant essay, depicts the racism behind incidents of western mayhem which resulted in the brutal killings and outrages suffered by Chinese, Indians, and

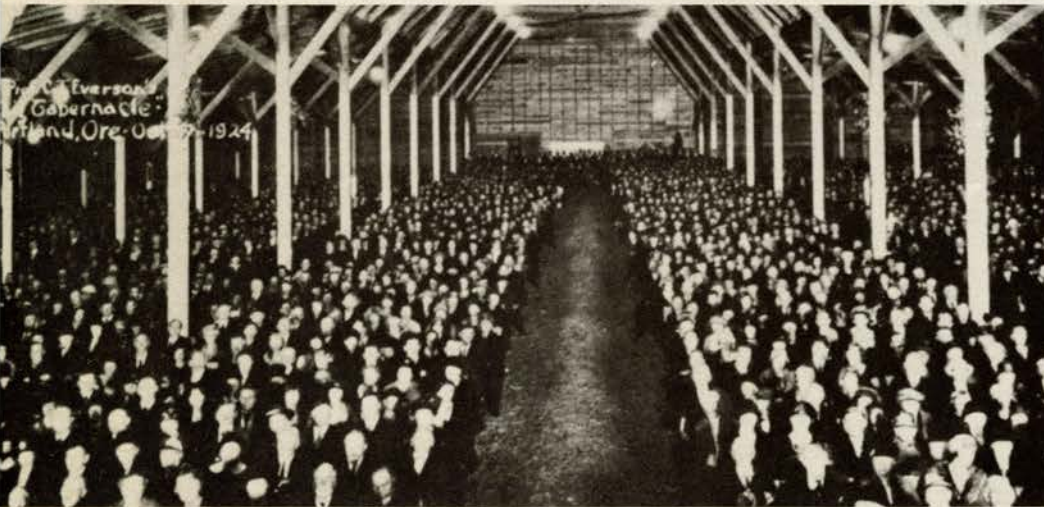


Mrs. White countered in 1909, by ordering W. W. Prescott, as editor of the denomination's *Review and Herald*, to abandon his editorial office and enter the field as an evangelist. She chided Daniells: "When the president of the General Conference is converted, he will know what to do with the messages God has sent him." Daniells travelled to Mrs. White's St. Helena, California home hoping to placate her, and she refused to see him.

He was getting the message. In 1910 Daniells cancelled appointments for a full year to devote himself to evangelism. William W. Simpson already had won success in southern California cities from 1902 to 1904 where he displayed three dimen-



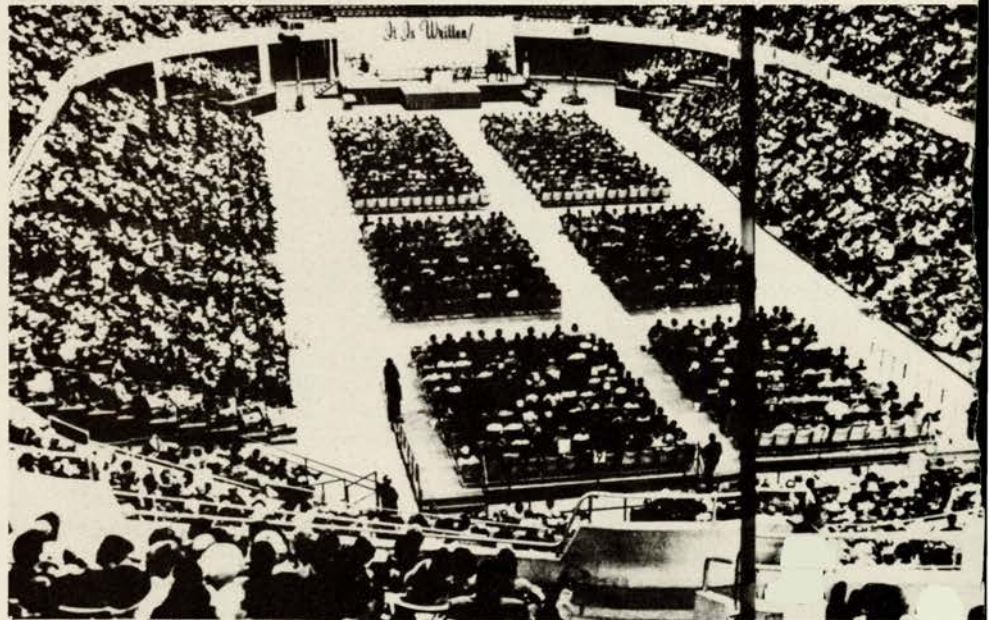
ABOVE: By using innovative visual arts, William W. Simpson made a "hit" in Southern California in 1904. Courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.



Charles T. Everson popularized the use of "tabernacles" in the Northwest in the 1920's. Courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.

sional paper mache models of the beasts of Daniel and Revelations. Daniells now established ministerial institutes to train evangelists in the style of Moody rather than their sensational contemporary Billy Sunday. The turnabout brought results! While in 1910 the North American membership had taken a 1.5 percent loss, it had risen in 1911 to plus 2.5 percent, and by 1913 to nearly 5 percent.

At the outbreak of the Great War, Seventh-day Adventists expected their premillennial dreams to be soon fulfilled. Styling themselves as prophetic lecturers, the evangelists commented on the "changing map of Europe." Turkey, an early protagonist in the international drama, was identified as the "king of the north"



BELOW: After a television series, George E. Vandeman attracted large crowds in Los Angeles in 1963. Courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.



## BOOK MARKS

(Daniel 11, 45) that ultimately would be driven out of Europe, lose its territorial possessions in Africa, and locate its capital in Jerusalem, thereupon bringing down the curtain on the world. The war was nothing less than Armageddon as revealed in countless sermons and tracts on "Preparedness and Armageddon: or, The Last Great Battle of the Nations," "Is It Armageddon?" or the "Eastern Question Extra."

In 1915, the year Ellen White died, the *Christian Advocate* observed that Adventists had enjoyed a 10 percent increase due to "those evangelists who are reading the morning paper with one eye on the book of Daniel!" Throughout the war years the denomination grew nearly 7 percent annually.

But the statistics proved mercurial. In 1920, no longer in the heat

placed securely within the evangelical fold. The "new gospel" of Adventism did not produce the numerous conversions of wartime evangelism, but neither did it suffer the high rate of apostasies. Adventist evangelists contributed to a more stable membership as well as social and economic upward mobility by their endeavors to reach the classes as well as the masses.

The Great Depression showed Adventists had not lost their appetite for apocalypticism, however Francis D. Nichol, denominational writer and editor, declared their messages more apt in adversity than pros-

spiritual infidelity or any of the other things that have been accused. It is simply the fact that the world is coming to an end.

Again, Adventist evangelism prospered in the depression as it had during World War I. Between 1931 and 1935 membership jumped nearly 6 percent annually, better than twice the average of the 20's. And again, as the depression eased, the growth rate plummeted and apostasies soared.

Tempering the sensationalism of World War II evangelism, a striking, outsized handbill of a southeastern California evangelist was destroyed by conference officials. Shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack, he had advertised his sermon on the Second Coming as "THE UNITED STATES SOON TO BE CONQUERED BY ANOTHER POWER!" The only predictive faux pas of Adventism in the 40's was the claim that Jews would never establish the nation of Israel. Nevertheless, the familiar statistical pattern recurred. From 1940 to 1943 membership rose annually in Europe and North America to nearly 7 percent, and then abruptly fell off. During the draft years the number of licensed ministers grew phenomenally, but remained high after the war.

John L. Shuler, Roy Allan Anderson, Robert L. Boothby, John E. Ford and Fordyce W. Detamore were prominent among the Adventist evangelists of the 1940's. H.M.S. Richards aired nationwide his Voice of Prophecy radio broadcast in 1942. Within two years the program was carried on 363 stations in North America and 105 overseas. These evangelists, like their predecessors, usually presented themselves as lecturers without a denominational affiliation, at least at the outset. Shuler for many years advertised himself as a representative of the American Bible Institute. When the newspapers uncovered Shuler's Seventh-day Adventist sponsorship at a Des Moines, Iowa campaign in 1945, he remained evasive. "These truths are for the people of every denomination," he insisted. "This is why I feel so badly that a few people

of the crisis, the number of new converts dropped to nearly zero, with a 60 percent apostasy rate among converts of the previous year. The failed predictions of the war seemed the obvious reason. Converts brought in on the "blood-dimmed tide" (Yeats) had been washed out again, and would not return, in numbers, for another decade.

Shy about predictions, a new generation of Adventist evangelists studied salvationism above millennialism. Charles T. Everson, Taylor G. Bunch, H. M. S. Richards and Carlyle B. Haynes wanted Adventism

perity. H. L. Mencken lent his satire to the same conclusion:

The Seventh-day Adventist brethren, alone among the divines of the country, have something to say officially about the depression, and what they have to say is singularly clear and simple. They laugh at all the current diagnoses . . . and reject every projected cure as vain and preposterous. It is not Hoover who must be blamed, they say, nor is it the tariff war, . . . nor is it the French or the Japanese, nor is it overproduction, nor is it the foreign bond swindle, nor is it the war debts, nor is it sun spots or witchcraft or marital and



in Des Moines want to brand these meetings along narrow denominational lines, in an attempt to keep people from hearing . . .”.

In the years of the postwar evangelical revival, Adventist evangelism was incorporated more fully into the institutional structure of the denomination. Despite resistance from the peppery Detamore, the sectarian label was used by the mid 50's, and even capitalized on at the Voice of Prophecy. The denomination invested much in the New York-based television show, "Faith for Today", featuring William A. Fagal in the dramatic presentation of basic Adventist beliefs. George Vandeman developed a colorful television series called "It Is Written" that embroidered theology with astronomy, and he released the program in cities prior to conducting evangelistic campaigns. His most notable campaign culminated in a series at the Los Angeles Sport's Arena in 1963.

Adventist evangelism now experiences an "identity crisis." What next? Howard Weeks, whose study results from a Ph.D dissertation in the Speech Department at Michigan State University, is clearly an evangelistic partisan, though he knows that the "good old days" of evangelism are not necessarily good for today. He finds Detamore's "lightning campaign" of the 50's, or short-term, church-oriented evangelism, a constructive departure from the earlier protracted meetings. Interestingly enough, his surveys show young ministers and seminarians more optimistic about the use of evangelism than the older ministers, though it is the pastoral, congregational type that appeals to the young. For an evangelistic boom in the 1970's, Weeks must look to the third world, from South Pasadena to South America, from Jamaica to Africa, the Phillippines and Korea. Only here among the young, the poor, and the non-white is Seventh-day Adventism growing. □

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JONATHAN BUTLER is completing graduate work in American religious history at the Divinity School, University of Chicago.

## ADVENTISM MOVES WEST

Percy W. Christian

Harold O. McCumber, *THE ADVENT MESSAGE IN THE GOLDEN WEST*, Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1968, pp. 184. Paper, \$1.95.

THE story of the growth of the Seventh-day Adventist church in California from the proverbial "grain of mustard seed" to its present status of recognized importance is typical of many other activities that have taken place in the Golden State. This volume tells the story in such a way as to catch the reader's attention in the first chapter and hold it to the very end. It was no small feat for author and editors to take a well-documented doctoral dissertation (McCumber, *Beginnings of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in California*. University of California. Berkeley. 1934.) and transform it into a popular account which would entice the reader of today.

To meet a real need, Dr. McCumber, one of the better-known history teachers in Seventh-day Adventist colleges a generation ago, adapted his dissertation into a popular account published by the Pacific Press in 1946 under the title *Pioneering the Message in the Golden West*. In a personal letter to the present reviewer under date of 8 December 1947 he wrote, "I had a much larger book, but the M. V. Department forced the consideration . . . The book had to be cut down due to the cost and price to be charged the young people." As the centennial of the arrival of the first credentialed Seventh-day Adventist clergymen to California approached, the Pacific Press brought out a revised paperback edition in 1968 under the slightly-changed title of *The Advent Message in the Golden West* which was widely promoted in connection with the Adventist centennial program throughout California. In content, exclusive of some up-dating, it is largely the 1946 account. It has a better appeal to the general public, although the more serious reader will regret the omission of the

author's two-page "preface" and eighteen valuable pages of "notes" including comments, footnotes, and bibliography. Of course, those who want to pursue the topic further may turn to the original doctoral dissertation.

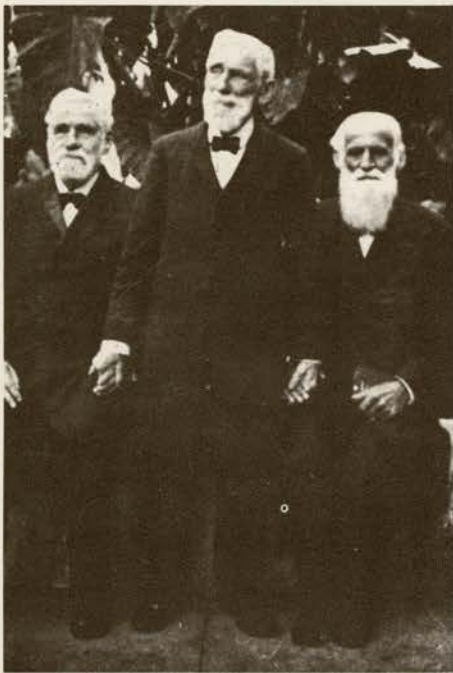
A very sketchy first chapter of ten pages on the development of California to about 1850 is followed by a truly exciting story of the transcontinental trip of Merritt G. Kellogg and his family from Michigan to "the Promised Land" of California in 1859 replete with accounts of unforeseen travel difficulties, accidents, weather problems from searing deserts to swirling snowstorms and hailstorms, encounters with Indians, wolves, bears and snakes, lack of food and water, and the personnel problems so common among emigrant groups.



A recent picture of Harold McCumber at his home in Loma Linda. Photo by Richard Weismeyer.



## BOOK MARKS



ABOVE: Stephen N. Haskell, J. N. Loughborough and G. I. Butler pioneered the work in California.

Courtesy Review and Herald Publishing Assoc.

BELOW: The original Loma Linda Sanitarium

Soon after arriving in California, Kellogg found a few Seventh-day Adventists and won some of his neighbors to his faith, and in 1868 Elders J. N. Loughborough and D. T. Bourdeau were sent by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists to California via the Panama route to begin evangelistic work. If the account of the Kellogg transcontinental trip is thrilling reading, the story of the beginnings of both public and personal efforts to advance the Adventist cause in northern California (including the work of James and Ellen White) carries the reader with even greater interest.

The latter part of the book (approximately three-fourths of it) chronicles the expansion of Seventh-day Adventist activities (including the first "tent meetings" and the organization of the first churches) at vari-

ous points in the Bay area, north to the Sonoma, Napa, and Sacramento valleys, south to the Santa Clara and San Joaquin valleys, then crossing the Tehachapi mountains to open new centers in southern California, and ever onward into Arizona, Nevada, the Pacific Northwest, Hawaii, and the islands of the South Pacific Ocean. It deals also with the establishment and development of institutions—publishing (such as the Pacific Press), educational (such as Healdsburg College, Pacific Union College, and associated schools), and medical (such as several well-known sanitariums and the College of Medical Evangelists, now widened into Loma Linda University) which have done so much to advance the interests of the church.

Readers will find it scarcely possible to put this book aside once they have begun to read it, for in the most unexpected places they will find thrilling accounts of remarkable confrontations with those who held divergent religious opinions, miraculous healings and protections from danger, sacrificial liberality just at the right moment to save many an important project apparently doomed to failure (such as a gift of \$500 from a "stranger" just when it seemed that the Pacific Press must close), dedicated individuals willing to work for unbelievable low wages (sanitarium managers receiving \$7 per week "when paid"), real estate prices (such as the purchase of the Loma Linda property for \$40,000 and the Paradise Valley property for \$4,000) and rentals which can be drooled over today, and many other items—often quoted in lively and fascinating style from original sources.

However, this book was not written merely to entertain, or to chronicle, but to remind today's Seventh-day Adventists how God has led in the past, assure them of the eventual triumph of His plans, and challenge them to find and fill the place He has for them individually in this great movement. □

*After many years as a college administrator and most recently Professor of History at Pacific Union College, PERCY W. CHRISTIAN retired at the end of the past academic year.*



## AFFECTIONATELY KNOWN AS P. T.

Wm. Fredrick Norwood

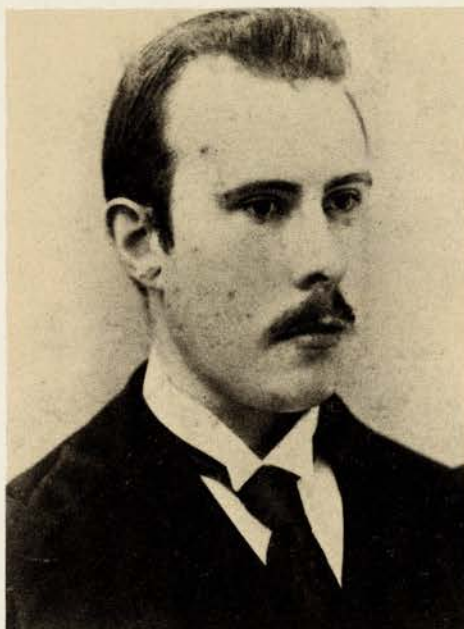
Merlin L. Neff, *INVINCIBLE IRISHMAN*, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., n.d., pp. 172, abridged paperback. \$1.95.

**H**ORATIO Alger, an American novelist, in 1867 began publishing his popular success stories based on the principle that a sincere struggle against poverty and temptation inevitably leads a boy to wealth and fame. In the same year, on November 13, Percy Tilson Magan was born the son of an Irish gentleman whose estate, then much smaller than the land originally bequeathed to the Magan family, was near the village of Gorey in County Wexford on the southeastern tip of Erin.

To many who worked with or were acquainted with the genial Percy T. Magan, his career was not unlike that of a Horatio Alger hero. That is, within the economy of the Seventh-day Adventists with whom he ultimately cast his lot, he gained a certain sanctified fame but no wealth.

In his boyhood author Merlin Neff had a passing acquaintance with Percy Magan which lingered until years later when he became managing editor for *Health*, a west coast journal that Magan edited for the laity. Neff's close working relationship with Magan made Neff the logical author when a full dress biography of the preacher-teacher-doctor seemed to be in demand.

This reviewer recalls that not long after Dr. Magan's death in 1947, the Alumni Association of the School of Medicine of the College of Medical Evangelists appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of publishing a biography of Magan to preserve the memory of his ideals and devoted service to the college. An inquiry directed to the Pacific Press Publishing Association was forwarded to higher authority for advice. Word eventually reached the committee that the mission of the press was to glorify the message of



Percy T. Magan at age 21.

the church and not its messengers. Hence, biographies of its leaders were not in order.

After a few years, the editorial policy governing the press metamorphosed to the point that its book committee was free to encourage a more or less definitive life of P. T. Magan. In 1964 the press published Neff's *For God and C.M.E.*, now issued in an abridged paperback edition under the title *Invincible Irishman*.

Exercising his unusual skill as a writer-editor Neff pictured a shy, Irish lad, loving his mother, but respecting more than loving his sometimes severe father. A few years in English boys' schools where discipline was severe tended to further chill filial obedience.

Rotchford Edwards, an Irish farmer from Red Cloud, Nebraska, while recruiting cheap labor, by chance met Percy Magan, Sr. in Dublin. The latter was persuaded to enter into a sort of contract to place his willful sixteen-year-old Percy under Edward's control, in exchange for a promise to make him a great cattle rancher. After about a year in

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W. F. NORWOOD taught the history of medicine at the School of Medicine, Loma Linda University and is now retired. He is the author of *MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR*.

Red Cloud, the disillusioned, lonesome lad managed to have the contract between his father and Edwards terminated. Consequently disowned by his father, Percy Tilson Magan was strictly on his own. Although memories of his sorrowful farewell to his mother, sisters, and a little brother flooded his mind, he broke with his old-world past and faced life courageously in a land where success was said to be the rightful inheritance of every hard-working youth.

Through a series of circumstances, Percy came under the influence of two Seventh-day Adventist ministers, L. A. Hoopes and G. E. Langdon, who conducted a series of tent meetings in Red Cloud. The homeless youth was an eager convert. A *Review and Herald* news item of October 5, 1886 reporting the series, declared: "A young man also accepted the message. . . . He has decided to give his time wholly to the cause of the Master." When the Irishman attended the Nebraska camp meeting at Lincoln, he heard stirring sermons by Elders S. N. Haskell and D. M. Canright.

It was soon apparent to Percy that he needed more education. He went to Battle Creek College in Michigan, the Mecca of ambitious Adventist youth. Magan's British preparatory school Latin and Greek were much to his advantage in college. His talent as a student leader was noted by the faculty. During his days in Battle Creek, he lived most of a year in the home of Ellen White, whom he came to call "mother" because of her loving kindness and her patience in unfolding the Scripture to his eager mind. When the General Conference decided to send Elder Haskell around the world to seek out strategic areas for mission activity, Mrs. White suggested that Percy Magan would make an excellent aid and secretary. She also visualized him visiting his family in Ireland to establish better relations with his father. Later in Ireland, he found his mother still loving but his father coldly polite. However, the long trip with Elder Haskell was highly educational for Magan. His published reports



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stimulated readers of the *Review*. The experience brought to the twenty-two-year-old Irishman the assistant secretaryship of the General Conference Foreign Mission Board and a lasting friendship with the secretary W. C. White.

An educator by nature, Magan soon became a faculty member at Battle Creek College with interests in history and religion. Later, as dean, he and President Ed Sutherland, moved the college to Berrien Springs where it became known as Emmanuel Missionary College, now Andrews University. The move with all its ramifications was traumatic for those who were deeply concerned. The Sutherland-Magan team at times found themselves in confrontations with church leaders. Any policy differences within the church at this time were almost certain to be inter-

woven with issues in the A. G. Danniells-J. H. Kellogg feud over the operation of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and the alleged heresy of the latter.

Magan was adjusting slowly but wisely to the vicissitudes of leadership. He was happily married in 1892. However, the strenuous life Percy was forced to lead took its toll on Ida, his wife. Critically ill she grieved over sharp criticisms and finally after a long illness died, leaving Percy with two young sons, Wellesly and Shaen. After a happy vacation with the Magans in Ireland, his broken family was mended when

Percy married Lillian Eschleman, M.D., an American Medical Missionary College graduate, and brought home his sons who had been living with their grandmother in California.

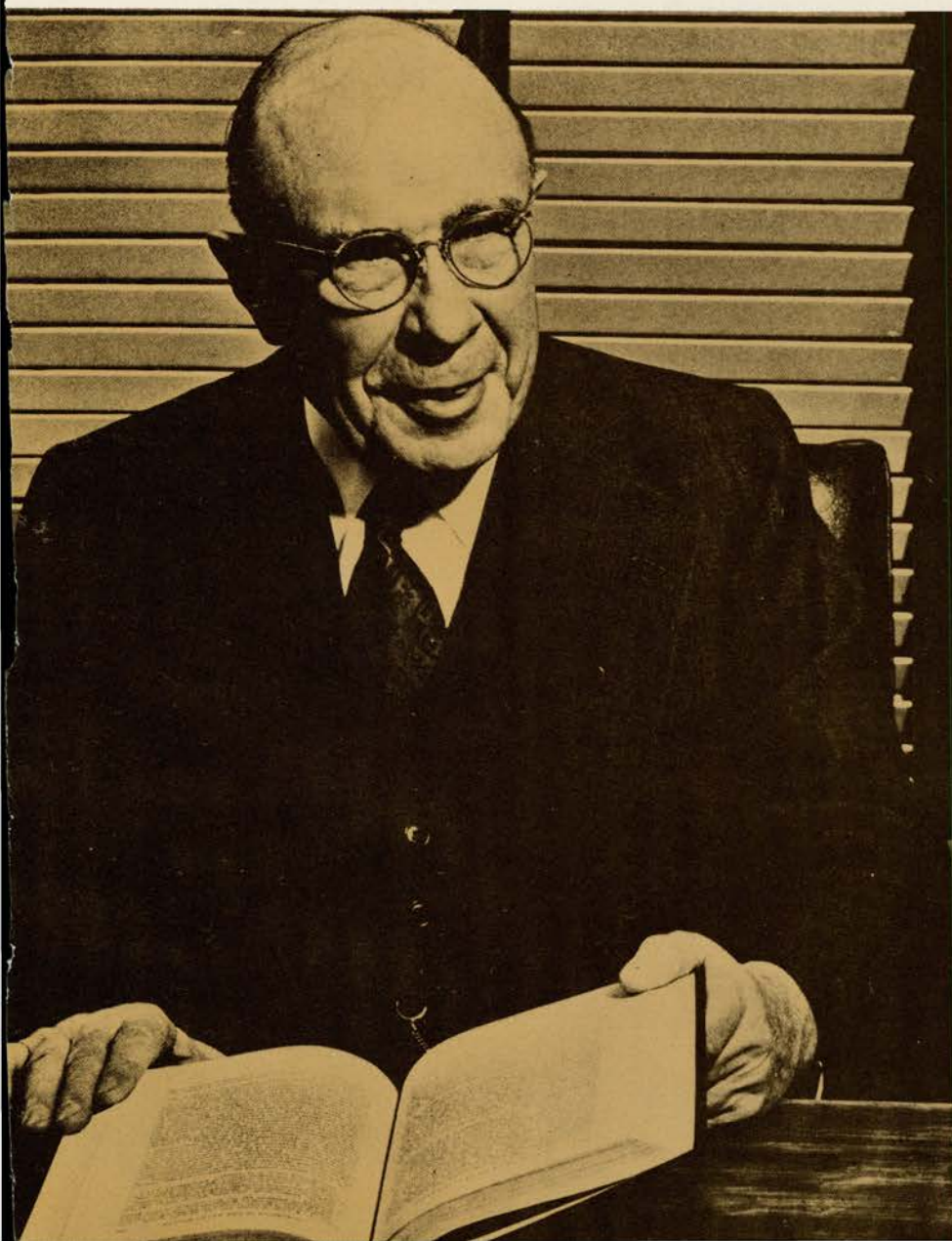
Meanwhile, with E.M.C. well established, Sutherland and Magan moved to Tennessee to establish an institution with the assistance of Mrs. N. H. Druillard and M. Bessie deGraw, according to the ideology derived from Ellen White and some educational experiments then in progress in the Middle West. Their educational, vocational, and medical approach matured after some years into Madison College and Sanitarium. Doctors Newton G. Evans, a Cornell Medical College graduate, and Lillian Magan were first to operate the Sanitarium while Ed and Percy began studying medicine at Vanderbilt University in Nashville.

In 1914 Dr. Newton Evans became president of a small, struggling medical institution in Loma Linda, California. Keeping alive a class "C" medical school when medical education authorities were attempting to squeeze out of existence all third-rate schools was a most difficult assignment. By 1916 Evans had recruited P. T. Magan, M.D. to be dean, with instruction to develop a Los Angeles campus to provide adequate clinical facilities. The individual steps in achieving this goal, including lifting the School of Medicine to a grade "A" level, are too numerous to mention. Half of Neff's book is devoted to the C.M.E. saga in which Magan played a leading role.

When in 1927 Dr. Evans resigned as president, it was generally expected that "P. T.", as Magan was affectionately known, would succeed to the presidency — but not so. The chair was given to Edward Risley, professor of biochemistry, who reluctantly accepted. Magan supported

Percy T. Magan, President of the College of Medical Evangelists, developed an excellent medical school.

Courtesy, Heritage Room, Vernier Radcliffe Memorial Library, Loma Linda University.





him heartily, but Risley resigned after one year. Magan was elected.

Why the delay in electing Magan president? Neff knew, but the answer was among the sub-rosa bits of history which his mandate from the publisher ruled out or if written was stricken from his manuscript before being set in type. All who knew Magan personally had to face the fact that he was an Irishman with experience in English schools. He retained British mannerisms, verbalisms, and idioms even though he had become a loyal American. To him a person who was slow to accept his logic or reasoning, or was stubborn and uncooperative like a donkey or mule was in his language, an "ass." Magan had many pungent expressions, and some sounded rather sharp to the uninitiated. This was one. When, probably in the mid-twenties, the Pacific Union Conference Committee took an action which seem calculated to delay or disrupt his objectives for the college, Magan flippantly referred to the committee as a "bunch of asses." A decade later, Magan chose to cite this episode to this reviewer as the reason he "cooled his heels for one year." Confirmation came to the same person a decade later from a church official who could not forget Magan's *faux pas*. Said he: "We have Dr. Magan's number; we know [what] he called the Pacific Union Conference Committee. . . ."

A simple incident, but it was highly irritating to dignified churchmen.

In spite of his satire and witticisms, Magan respected his church and loved his brethren. His forthright frankness mixed with clever diplomacy characterized much of his public life in dealing with medical education officials as well as church officers. He could twist arms. Neff notes many incidents in support of this thesis, but the stories are all too long to include here.

Magan also had deep religious feelings and sensed the awareness of God when he was in need. He knew how to humble himself. After a perplexing day of conferences at Loma Linda, he confided to his diary: "In the evening walked around the hill to my favorite seat and prayed for a long time. God strengthened me and many things began to clear up in my mind. A sense of security in God came over me, and I knew that He was my Helper." P. T. drew great inspiration from the scripture and presented it challengingly in sermons and studies. Students and faculty came to love him for his insight into their problems and the counsel he offered.

As a biography, *Invincible Irishman* is above reproach. Should one read it as a history of C.M.E. during Magan's era, he would find much omitted, such as the scientific leader-

## Beards & Mustaches in 1857

If a person is fully assured that shaving is incompatible with health, we would not of course have him do anything to injure his constitution; and if he thinks that the sympathy between his eyes and his upper lip is such that he cannot shave the latter without injuring the former, we see no other way but that a mustache must develop itself. . . .

As to its looks, and the plea that has been advanced, that to shave was to mar the divine beauty of the human visage as God designed it, we must remember that all have not the same ideas of beauty, and that in the eyes of many a projecting mustache and flowing beard, are as apt to make a man look like a rough goat as a venerable patriarch . . . We only say, let everyone endeavor to form correct views of propriety and abide by them.

*Advent Review* June 25, 1857

ship of Newton Evans. But this is a biography and must be read to be appreciated. □

## MARGINAL NOTES

### To Our Readers

IN future issues of *Adventist Heritage*, we want to publish your letters. While we are interested in your general reaction to our magazine, the letters considered for this department will be those that contribute to an understanding of Adventist history. This means that we want you to point out errors,

criticize interpretations, and provide additional information to the articles and reviews we publish. Perhaps you have an anecdote or photograph you are willing to share. But please try to keep your correspondence within five hundred words.

From the more ambitious among you, we are interested in articles and photographic essays. Personalities, institutions, crucial decisions and events, theological developments, mores and customs—these are only a few of the subjects we would like to present in *Adventist Heritage*. Although we will not publish footnotes, we desire all articles other

than memoirs to be fully documented. If you have photographs or other illustrations to accompany your contribution, please include them. Articles should be no longer than six thousand words. You will not get rich writing for us but we do pay a small amount for articles accepted for publication. If you have any questions regarding writing for *Adventist Heritage*, please send us a query.

Both the editors and your fellow readers will be grateful for your contributions, whether they be letters, articles, photographs, or documents. □



had a somewhat greater opportunity to influence actions taken concerning their churches. Humphrey's pamphlet leaves little doubt that in his mind, at least, this arrangement did not satisfactorily meet the needs of black congregations.

This, then, was the organizational background against which the events of 1929 occurred. Despite the dedicated service of many whites, the black work in the Adventist church was generally regarded as an area of secondary importance. Its main focus was in the South. Its organizational structure was based on the Southern experience. Beyond the local church level, it was rarely administered by blacks themselves.

Humphrey wanted to reverse these trends. As early as 1909, he had appealed for funds for Harlem in the pages of the *Review and Herald*. He also had repeatedly urged that blacks be provided with a greater share of the church's funding and personnel. His proposal for the formation of black conferences was designed to bring about these changes. In addition, the black conferences would insure indigenous leadership for black institutions.

It is likely that Humphrey's desire for greater autonomy for black churches was reinforced by the trends within the black community at large. The 1920's brought a resurgence of black nationalist feeling in Harlem, most vividly seen in Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement. In his pamphlet Humphrey concluded with a passage from a Claude McKay poem, calling his people to stand "like a strong tree against a thousand storms." McKay was one of the leading figures in the black literary revival known as the Harlem Renaissance.

In turn, the actions of the First Harlem Church received considerable publicity in the black community. In the black press the church's split from the Greater New York Conference was pictured as part of the black man's larger crusade against white injustice.

Within the church, the influence of Humphrey's ideas continued long after the First Harlem Church was disfellowshipped. Because of Humphrey's successful ministerial career and his prominence in the denomination, his arguments could not be dismissed out of hand. The leadership, as we have seen, took great care in preparing its response to questions concerning the affair.

The impact of the schism was even more powerful for black Adventists. The charges of discrimination raised by Humphrey could not be ignored. His plan for black conferences, once it was separated from the Utopia Park incident, gained support among black clergy and laymen.

F. L. Bland, E. E. Cleveland, and W. W. Fordham, black ministers currently associated with the General Conference, have stated that Humphrey's break with

the church was the catalyst that sparked demands for the regional conference system. Humphrey's struggle left blacks with a single concrete goal around which to organize.

Despite their efforts, the change did not come until 1944. It was precipitated by a concrete instance of discrimination. In the previous year, a black woman was refused admission to the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital. Spurred by this incident, a group of black laymen, led by Joseph Dodson and Addison Pinkney, issued a pamphlet containing a list of grievances. This *ad hoc* committee proposed sweeping changes in church policy.

Their recommendations included many of Humphrey's earlier concerns. For example, the black laymen urged fairness in church hiring practices, and in the admission policies of Adventist schools and hospitals. They pressed the question of black conferences with arguments reminiscent of 1929. Going even further, they requested an end to segregated facilities at the General Conference Headquarters.

Because of the pressure exerted for these changes, the General Conference scheduled a special series of meetings to discuss the whole issue. These sessions were held in conjunction with the Spring Council of 1944.

At that time, the black conference idea was thoroughly debated. Some whites opposed the plan, desiring to retain the status quo. A number of blacks agreed with them. Some of these men favored integration at all levels and suggested that separate conferences would defeat that goal.

In the end, the influence of the General Conference President, J. L. McElhany, proved decisive. McElhany, who had compiled the church's defense against Humphrey, now became the most effective white spokesman for the plan. He argued forcefully that blacks who pastored large churches supervised a bigger membership than some white conferences. With McElhany's support, the black conference resolution passed. Later in that year, after local approval was obtained, the first black conferences were organized.

The blacks in the Atlantic Union, Humphrey's old territory, were united into the Northeastern Conference. In the mid-fifties, some of the officers of the conference made an attempt to bring the Sabbath Day Adventist Church back into the main organization. William Samuels, Humphrey's successor as bishop, invited the conference president to present the idea to his congregation. The appeal was made in a Sabbath sermon that emphasized the need to forget old differences. Nevertheless the church voted overwhelmingly against the merger.

In part, this rejection stemmed from a feeling that the black conferences were not nearly so independent as Humphrey envisioned. In particular, the limits placed on local conference financial policy by the General Conference were unacceptable to the Sabbath



Day group. An even bigger obstacle was the fact that in the intervening years Humphrey's followers had rejected Ellen White as a divinely inspired messenger.

Despite the acceptance of many of their ideas by the larger church, the Sabbath Day Adventists have not been concerned with influencing the church from outside. Instead they have been consistently occupied with the survival and growth of their own church.

They encountered problems almost immediately after the split. One faction within the church soon broke off over personal difficulties with Bishop Humphrey. A small remnant of this group with nearly identical beliefs still meets on 138th Street in Harlem.

After renting from the Baptists at their old location for some time, the Sabbath Day Adventists acquired a home of their own on 135th Street. This building allowed the members a greater range of services and activities. They remained there until after Humphrey's death in 1952. When the City of New York bought the building for \$135,000, the group was forced to move again.

At this point there was much disagreement about the proper course of action for the church. Most of the members, led by Samuels, favored buying property with the money from the recent sale and building a new church from the ground up. A sizable minority opposed this plan and also Samuels' proposal to use tithe money for the construction of the church. Rather, they wanted to purchase an apartment building and remodel it into a small worship hall. Failing to persuade the rest of the membership, this smaller group split off and relocated in the Bronx. This group still exists, although they have had to borrow money from Samuels' church in order to survive.

Bishop Samuels and the main congregation bought land on 110th Street and built on it their present church for \$144,000. It was completed in 1955. A low stone structure facing Central Park, it is the only black Adventist church in New York constructed and financed by its own membership.

In 1956 this congregation united with another small Adventist company to form the Unification Association of Christian Sabbath-keepers. The Association now has members in Trinidad, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Antigua, and Nigeria.

Bishop Samuels, a native of Antigua himself, is still a vigorous pastor at 81 years of age. It was our privilege to hear him preach on the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Unification Association. It was a powerful sermon full of Christian hope, faith in the Scriptures, and an urgent sense of mission. It was a sermon that any Seventh-day Adventist preacher would have been proud to deliver.

In this way and many others the services at 110th Street are similar to those one might attend a few blocks farther north at the Ephesus Church. There are, of

course, differences. Sabbath School classes, for example, are conducted with the aid of the Unification Tutor. This small pamphlet is a kind of stripped-down Sabbath School Quarterly, done in question and answer style, without the Ellen White quotations.

On one of the Sabbaths that we visited, a young man walked into the church off the street. After being greeted by the deacons, he left briefly and returned with his wife and small child. At the end of the service a deacon appealed to the congregation for money to help the young man and his small family through difficult times. The deacon prayed for the couple and then handed them the special offering just collected. The young man could barely express his thanks when he was surrounded by members wishing him well and asking him to return. Whether he did or not, the spontaneous gift was a moving moment that is hard to forget.

This incident reveals a good deal about the Sabbath Day Adventists today. Most of the members are not really concerned about the church's tumultuous past. Few of them, in fact, are aware of the events of 1929. Rather they seem determined to improve the church's quality of life in 1973. □

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prophecy—and neglecting the saving truths of the gospel. The *Review* had not abandoned its beliefs regarding Turkey, though, for as it stated in January 1919,

We have seen no new interpretation which in our judgment is superior to the old. We believe that the conclusions held by us from the beginning of this movement, that Turkey is represented by the term "king of the north" in the prophecy is correct. And because just at this present juncture in the affairs of this world there seems to be no prospect that Turkey will plant her palaces at Jerusalem, is no reason why we should change our view of the question. If we cannot see, then it is best to wait and bide God's time for fuller light, and watch him work things around us as we believe his Word reveals that he will.

The evangelistic magazines, which had spelled out Adventist expectations in greatest detail (though platform evangelists who did not break into print may have gone even farther) did not adjust to events so easily. In February, 1918, the *Signs of the Times Magazine* counseled its readers to keep their eyes on Turkey. Ottoman territory was rapidly decreasing it said, and "Armageddon is not far away." In August of the same year, George Enoch, who was carrying out evangelistic work in India, wrote in the *Signs of the Times* that the rival ambitions of Great Britain and Germany would decide the fate of the Eastern question. "We are seeing the drying up of the river Euphrates," he declared.

We are also noting the preparation of the way of the kings of the East, in the wonderful awakening of the Orient. But this final act in the great drama takes place under the sixth plague. None of the plagues fall until human probation has closed.

Nevertheless, the plagues were fast approaching.

But the note of confidence that they knew just what would happen disappeared. Now the evangelistic magazines seemed to be groping for a subject that would catch the public interest. Hardly any articles appeared in 1918 and 1919 in the three magazines dealing with the eastern question, and articles on Armageddon were now very general with little direct application to current events, except the assertion that the end was fast approaching.

With the growth of the Zionist movement and talk of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine, the magazines found a possible topic of interest. Their response was categorical. "Neither in Scripture nor in the logic of present-day events," *The Watchman Magazine* declared, "can we find warrant for the belief in a rehabilitated Jewish nation." The *Signs of the Times* agreed, although one of its writers did admit the possibility of a temporary resurrection of Israel. But the dying away of Zionist hopes exhausted the possibilities of this topic. The writers turned to more spiritual subjects and to the issue of prohibition.

Yet although the Adventists moved away from sensa-

Is This Armageddon?

The people of this world, in spite of the "peace and safety" cry, have a sort of vague and shadowy idea of a great battle that is to be the last battle of this world, and they have been taught to believe that when it has been fought, there will be no more war; but that the kingdom of God will be quietly established in the world,



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THE OLD AND THE NEW  
America's first battleship the "Constitution," and two modern submarines in Charleston Navy Yard.

and tranquillity and peace will rule supreme. Of the battle of Armageddon the Bible speaks thus:—

"And I saw coming out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits, as it were frogs; for they are spirits of demons, working signs; which go forth unto the kings of the whole world, to gather them together unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty. . . . And they gathered them together unto the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon." Rev. 16:13-16, A. R. V.

The spirits of demons are, according to God's Word, the actuating agencies in stirring up the awful spirit of strife which culminates in the battle of the great day of God, the Almighty—Armageddon. The evil agencies from beneath are busy, and are gathering in the nations one by one to the great swirling vortex of mutual ruin.

When Turkey decided to fling herself into this fray,



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it brought even more clearly to view the possibility that this terrible grapple of the nations of the world is leading straight on toward Armageddon. While Turkey kept out and the war was confined to Europe, Armageddon did not seem so near. That old battle ground of the ancient nations is located in Palestine, at the foot of Mt. Megiddo, in the plain of Esdraelon, north of Jerusalem, accessible from north and south and from the sea. This region of the Near East is to be the storm

The books of Daniel and Revelation served as sources for Adventist interpretations of the war.



tional prediction they maintained the general expectation of impending disaster. The *Review* thoroughly discussed the possibilities of the League of Nations and the peace. The continued apocalyptic emphasis appeared in Francis Wilcox's belief that although the League would be good for political purposes "religious reformers" would seek to use it. On the basis of prophecy, he said, warning against false hopes of permanent peace, "we may conclude that the last great war will excel the one just closed in magnitude and in frightfulness." As J. K. Jones put it in *The Signs of the Times*, there would be no peace until Armageddon, only wars and rumors of wars. Arthur Maxwell identified the possibilities more specifically: "it may be connected in some way with the spread of Bolshevism; or it may be a westerly move on the part of the Mohammedan nations of the east."

The books the church published during 1918 and 1919 also revealed the shift in emphasis. In his *A World in Perplexity*, which appeared in 1918, A. G. Daniells was much more restrained in his discussion of the Eastern question than in his previous book. He still believed that Turkey would be forced out of Europe. After that the Sick Man of the East could

go to his Asiatic territory and nowhere else. And once there, the most likely city, and the most cherished city for his capital is Jerusalem . . . This is Turkey's destiny, and he is on the road with rapid strides. How soon he may cross into Asia none can say. How soon he will reach Jerusalem after leaving Europe, no man can tell. How long he will remain in Jerusalem before coming to his end, we do not know. The prophecy does not enter into these details. But it does give the two great outstanding events—removal to Jerusalem and the end.

A book put together by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, *World Peace in the Light of Bible Prophecy*, published in 1919, envisioned the possibility of Mohammedan hordes initiating a crusade to rescue Jerusalem from infidel hands, thus bringing all nations to the scene of Armageddon. As for Turkey, it declared its future to be in the East rather than West, that "in Asia he comes to his end with none to help him. Just when this occurs no man knows. But this we may know,—the prophecy cannot fail." Perhaps even more revealing of the change in emphasis, a book written by evangelist Carlyle B. Haynes and published in the same year, *Bible Prophecies Unfolding*, did not emphasize the Eastern Question and Armageddon at all.

As the peace treaties were signed, revised, and signed again, as Mustapha Kemal strengthened the Turkish state—now shorn of its empire, Adventist interest in Turkey continued to flicker for the next several years. At times, the evangelistic magazines published articles arguing that Turkey's end was very near. But for the most part caution prevailed. Adventists continued to believe for some time that Turkey would be driven out of Europe and would establish its capital at Jerusalem, with Armageddon following some time thereafter. But they no longer applied the prophecies to current events as categorically as they had during the war.

In the tension between the sensationalist approach of the evangelistic magazines and the caution of *Review and Herald*, the *Review and Herald's* position had been validated. The world war had taken the church through a course in prophetic interpretation and presentation. Only time would tell how much Adventists had learned.

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## GOD'S LOVELAND

Hariette A. Yergin

*Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, LXXXVI  
(December 16, 1909), p. 11.

Have you seen the overflowing  
Of the fruits of faith and love?  
Have you tasted of the sweetness  
Of the blessings of God's love?

It is yours to gather richly,  
Counting each one as they're stored  
In the chambers of your garner,  
From the Loveland of the Lord.

Count your blessings, they are many,  
Though the day seems hard and  
long;  
Gather where the fields are thickest  
With the fruits of joy and song.



# SECOND ADVENT REVIEW, AND SABBATH HERALD.

"HERE IS THE PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS; HERE ARE THEY THAT KEEP THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD AND THE FAITH OF JESUS."

Vol. I.

PARIS, ME., NOVEMBER, 1850.

No. 1.

JOSEPH BATES, S. W. RHODES, J. N. ANDREWS, and  
JAMES WHITE, Publishing Committee—  
G. L. MELLER

TERMS—  
All contributions should be a dd

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us against which might have p of time from the creation, by postacy from the true worship of God. Had the true Sabbath been lost, it was certainly restored; and the day then known as the seventh day received the divine sanction. The same remark is applicable to the subject during the succeed-



among a number of moderate Adventists, and were to play an important role in delaying the development of a church identity and ecclesiastical organization among those holding to the "original Advent faith."

Such was the Albany Conference and its effects. It was both an ending and a beginning. It marked the closing of the first phase of the Millerite movement, when believers had submerged all differences in the great task of spreading the news of God's impending judgment and Christ's coming kingdom. After October 22, 1844, old differences emerged and new ones arose, and together they outweighed the common bonds that had held Adventists together. The Albany Conference was called to declare once again the "original Advent faith," and to chart its future course. In this it was successful. Yet its declarations and actions made permanent the existing divisions among Adventists, and were to be the cause of future dissension among its moderate supporters. □

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to New York were Loughborough, Smith, Sister M. F. Maxson, and Dr. Horatio Lay, who had come from Dansville to escort the Adventists to Our Home. After an arduous week-long journey the pathetic little band, apparently no worse for the wear, arrived at their destination, where Dr. Jackson greeted them. The day after arrival the doctor carefully examined his new patients and issued the long-awaited prognoses, which Uriah Smith reported in the *Review and Herald*. James White, clearly the most critical case, would have to remain at the water cure for six to eight months, during which time Ellen would also take treatments. Loughborough might recover in five or six months. "But the Editor of the *Review*, unfortunately for its readers, is to be let off in five or six weeks."

The Whites soon settled into the Dansville routine as best they could. Small rooms were found close by the institution where Ellen could set up housekeeping and nursing operations. Daily she made the beds and tidied the rooms, not only for her husband and herself, but also for the other Battle Creek ministers who occupied an adjoining room. She insisted on spending as little time indoors as possible. When not taking water treatments, she and James strolled about the grounds basking in the sunlight and fresh autumn air. Three times each day they met with their brethren — including Elder D. T. Bourdeau from Vermont — for special seasons of prayer in James' behalf. Nights were the worst. Constant pain made sleep almost impossible for James, and Ellen sacrificed hours of her own much-needed rest rubbing his shoulders and arms to provide temporary relief. Often prayer proved to be the only effective therapy in bringing sleep to the weary preacher.

Early in October James' colleagues on the General Conference Committee called on Seventh-day Adventists everywhere to set aside Sabbath, October 14, as a day of fasting and prayer for their fallen leader. At Dansville the Whites retreated a short distance from Our Home to a beautiful grove, where they spent the afternoon united in prayer with Elders Loughborough, Bourdeau, and Smith. The experience filled James with renewed hope, and the following day he appeared to be on the road to recovery. By mid-November, however, he had again slipped to a critical condition, and friends despaired for his very life. When he grew so weak he could no longer walk the short distance up the hill to the dining hall, Loughborough kindly volunteered to bring baskets of food to his room.

By this time Ellen was beginning to show signs of strain and left Dansville for a few days to be with her two boys, who had recently arrived in Rochester from Michigan. But even away from the water cure she could not get her mind off her suffering husband or the physicians caring for him. Her first night in Rochester she dreamed of being back at Dansville "exalting God and our Saviour as the great Physician and the Deliverer



of His afflicted, suffering children." Apparently friction was already developing between her and the staff of Our Home, for in this dream, she wrote James, "Dr. Jackson was near me, afraid that his patients would hear me, and wished to lay his hand upon me and hinder me, but he was awed and dared not move; he seemed held by the power of God. I awoke very happy." Her diet, she went on to say, was about the same as at Dansville: "Mornings I eat mush, gems, whole wheat muffins and uncooked apples. At dinner baked potatoes, raw apples, and gems." She closed by expressing her confidence that James would "astonish the whole [medical] fraternity by a speedy recovery to health."

Ellen remained in Rochester only briefly before returning to her husband's side. Shortly thereafter she became impressed with the advantages of removing him to Battle Creek, where he could recover in the more congenial atmosphere of his own home. Besides, several aspects of Dansville life were causing her deep concern. First, the inactivity prescribed for James was obviously not working. What he needed, she thought, was "exercise and moderate, useful labor." Second, James' mind was being "confused" by the religious teachings of Dr. Jackson, which did not conform with what she had "received from higher and unerring authority." Third, the amusements encouraged by the management, especially dancing and card-playing, seemed out of harmony with true Christianity. Although Jackson always exempted his Adventist patients from these activities, Ellen still felt uneasy around such manifestations of worldliness. She was particularly offended one day when mistakenly approached in the bathroom for a donation to pay the fiddler at the weekly dance.

By early December Ellen's own strength was rapidly slipping away. And when James suffered through an especially bad night on the 4th, she abruptly decided the time had come to leave. The doctors were notified, trunks were packed, and early the next morning in the driving sleet she departed with a bundled-up James for Rochester. For three weeks the Whites stayed in that city enjoying the hospitality of Adventist friends. At James' request, other believers were summoned from surrounding churches to come to Rochester and join with his family in prayer for his recovery.

While in prayer on Christmas evening Ellen was "wrapped in a vision of God's glory." To her immense relief, she saw that her husband would eventually recover. She also received a message of lasting importance: Seventh-day Adventists should open their own home for the sick, so that they would no longer have "to go to popular water-cure institutions for the recovery of health, where there is not sympathy for our faith." Adventists were to have an institution of their own, under their own control, for the benefit of the diseased and suffering among us, who wish to have health and strength that they may glorify God in their bodies and spirits which are his." Although she appreciated "the kind attention and respect" she had received from the

staff at Our Home, she wanted no more sad treks to Dansville, where "the sophistry of the devil" prevailed.

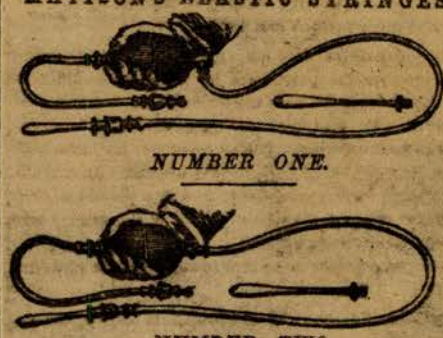
New Year's Day the Whites boarded the train in Rochester and departed for home and friends in Michigan. Aided by his wife and sustained by mush and gems, James survived the difficult trip to Battle Creek and arrived in good spirits. He was now fifty pounds below his normal weight, but fresh air, moderate exercise, and Ellen's gentle prodding soon had him up and about again. Still, his health remained below par; so in the spring of 1867 he and his wife purchased a small farm in Greenville, Michigan, where she could more effectively implement her philosophy of useful labor for the sick. Although she was fairly successful at getting James to do simple chores about the garden, he rebelled at the prospect of bringing in the hay, hoping instead to rely on the goodwill of nearby friends. Ellen, however, outwitted him by getting to the neighbors first and persuading them not to help her husband when he came calling on them. Thus by hook or by crook she made sure James obtained the exercise she thought he needed.

While Elder White recuperated on his Greenville farm, a major decision was being made in Battle Creek. There, in response to Mrs. White's Christmas vision, church leaders were laying plans to open the Western Health Reform Institute, a water cure modeled after Our Home and the first link in what was to become a worldwide chain of Seventh-day Adventist medical institutions.

#### SOURCES

*This article is based on the author's forthcoming book on Ellen G. White as a health reformer. Full documentation will appear in this volume.*

**MATTSON'S ELASTIC SYRINGES.**



**NUMBER ONE.**

**NUMBER TWO.**

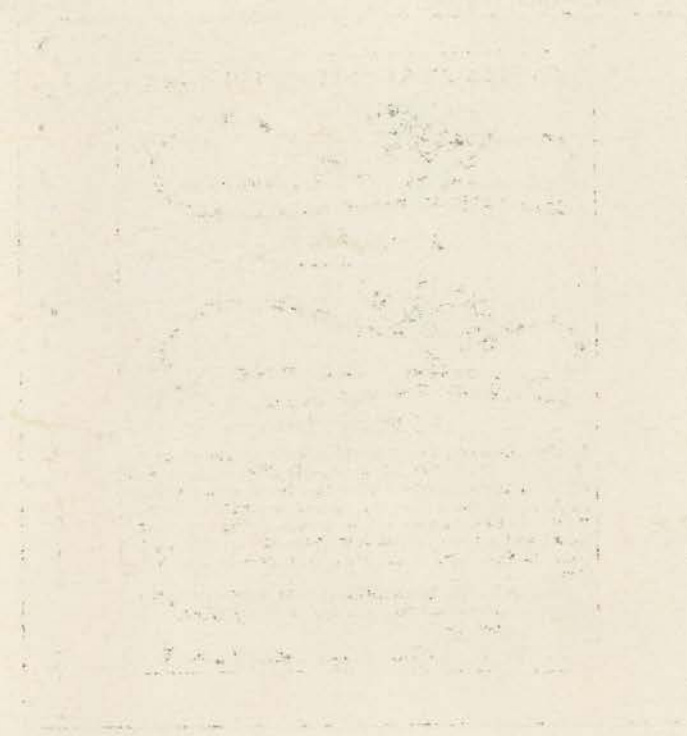
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na-tions, Gog and Ma-gog to the fray; Hark! what  
 soundeth? is cre - ation Groaning for its latter day?

- 2 Will ye play, then, will ye dally,  
 With your music and your wine?  
 Up! it is Jehovah's rally!  
 God's own arm hath need of thine.  
 Hark! the onset! will ye fold your  
 Faith-clad arms in lazy lock?  
 Up, O up, thou drowsy soldier;  
 Worlds are charging to the shock.
- 3 Worlds are charging—heaven beholding;  
 Thou hast but an hour to fight;  
 Now the blazoned cross unfolding,  
 On—right onward, for the right.  
 On! let all the soul within you  
 For the truth's sake go abroad!  
 Strike! let every nerve and sinew  
 Tell on ages—tell for God!

*Slow.*

1. We are liv - ing, we are dwelling, In a  
 grand and aw-ful time; In an age on a - ges telling,

*Lively.*

To be liv - ing is sublime. Hark! the waking up of



