

of Adventist **Heritage**

A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY Vol.2No.1





COVER PHOTO:

This painting of Hamlet's Ophelia by Annie Smith is believed to be a self portrait.

Courtesy: Samuel A. Smith, Jr

Adventist Heritage



Autumn. 8s & 7s. Double.

Blessed Jesus, meek and lowly, With us here take thine abode;

We would fain like thee be holy, Humbly walking with our God.
D. S. Lest without thine aid we perish, Oh! abide with us, we pray.

We would thy sweet Spirit cherish, Welcome in our hearts thy stay;

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8s & 7s. Double.

- 1 BLESSED Jesus, meek and lowly,
With us here take thine abode;
We would fain like thee be holy,
Humbly walking with our God.
We would thy sweet Spirit cherish,
Welcome in our hearts thy stay;
Lest without thine aid we perish,
Oh! abide with us, we pray.

- 2 Guide us in the path to Heaven,
Rugged though that path may be;
Let each bitter cup that's given,
Serve to draw us nearer thee.
In thy footsteps traced before us,
There we see earth's scorn and frown;
There is suffering ere the glory,
There's a cross before the crown.

- 3 In thy vineyard let us labor,
Of thy goodness let us tell;
All is ill without thy favor—
With thy presence all is well.
While the evening shadows gather,
Through this dreary night of tears,
Tarry with us, O our Saviour,
Till the morning light appears.

- 4 Then with thee may we forever
Reign with all the good and blest,
Where no sin from thee can sever,
Where the weary are at rest;
There to praise the matchless Giver,
There with angels to adore
Him who did through grace deliver
Us from death for evermore.

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S. M.

- 1 ONCE more before we part,
We'll bless the Saviour's name.
Record his mercies, every heart;
Sing, every tongue, the same.
- 2 May we receive his word,
And feed thereon, and grow;
Go on to seek and know the Lord,
And practice what we know.

Adventist Heritage

A MAGAZINE of ADVENTIST HISTORY

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"Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly" is a hymn written by Annie R. Smith for the worship services of early Adventists. This copy is taken from **Hymns and Tunes for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus** published by the Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association in 1876 in Battle Creek, Michigan.

courtesy: Loma Linda University Library Heritage Room

EDITORS STUMP



This issue of *Adventist Heritage* presents two firsts: the first publication of art by Annie Smith and the first student articles to appear in this magazine.

The cover portrait — one that we feel is rather striking — is a painting that Annie Smith made of Hamlet's Ophelia. According to family tradition, however, this Ophelia is really Annie's self-portrait. Samuel A. Smith, Jr., of West Wilton, Massachusetts, went to great efforts to supply the painting for our use. And Mark L. Bovee of Battle Creek, Michigan, whose mother, Uriah Smith's only daughter, was named after Annie, made it possible through a generous gift for the cover portrait to appear in color. Accompanying Ron Graybill's article is another work of Annie Smith's, an engraving of a cat. Paul and Jane Bonyngé, also of West Wilton (Mrs. Bonyngé is a Smith descendant) loaned the print of the engraving. We appreciate the efforts, which included both time and money, that these families expended in making these pictures available to us. Tom Dybdahl and Ron Graybill brought the

pictures to our attention and made the arrangements for obtaining and photographing them.

Also in this issue are three articles that originated as student papers. Madeline Warner wrote her paper on the Millerites and the Massachusetts press this past academic year while a student at Westfield College in Massachusetts. "Ascension Robes and Other Millerite Fables" is based upon a graduate research project that James Ehrlich completed two years ago for the history department at Andrews University. Taken together these two articles reveal the interplay between the images portrayed by the newspapers of the period and those appearing in imaginative literature. The accompanying illustrations reveal another dimension of public opinion. Michael McGuckin's article on the beginnings of Seventh-day Adventist work in Lincoln, Nebraska, originated as a senior research project under Professor Everett Dick about six years ago at Union College. We look forward to future student contributions.

Gary Land

A Note From the Publisher

Beginning with this issue, **Adventist Heritage** will be published by the Department of Archives and Research of Loma Linda University. The Department, which also operates the Heritage Rooms in the libraries on both campuses of the University, views this as another opportunity to further interest in the study of Adventist history.

Some personnel changes have occurred during this period of transition. However, the original concept of the magazine is unaltered. We wish to give a word of thanks to those who have done so much to bring **Adventist Heritage** into existence and have worked to maintain it.

We also wish to thank you, our readers, for your overwhelming support of the magazine.

Department of Archives and Research
Loma Linda University Libraries

Forthcoming in *Adventist Heritage*

THE GREAT EVOLUTION DEBATE

*THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION AND
SUNDAY LAW FIGHT OF 1893*

*THE BIRTH OF
SABBATARIAN ADVENTISM*



THE CHANGING IMAGE OF THE MILLERITES In The Western Massachusetts Press

Madeline Warner

Madeline Warner is a student at Westfield College, Massachusetts.

In sharp contrast to the mockery and animosity inflicted on faithful Millerites in the days surrounding the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844, the early development of the movement was singularly unmarked by controversy. In the 1830's William Miller was a welcome visiting preacher in churches of many Protestant denominations, with the exception of the Universalists, whose doctrine of universal salvation he so vigorously debated with his brother-in-law.

As the popularity of Miller's theory of Christ's second Advent grew, organized religions began to close ranks against the movement, and public opinion underwent a marked change. This change appears clearly in the newspapers of the 1840's. Unlike the press of today, many weekly papers of the period were written, edited, and published by one man, who editorialized openly as he presented the news, often changing his stands in response to the pressures exerted by prominent people in his community. Two weekly newspapers published in western Massachusetts during the height of the Millerite movement, the *Westfield News Letter* and the *Springfield Republican*, provide evidence of these changing viewpoints. Although both were staunchly Whig papers and were published only ten miles apart, the hearty rivalry between the two as well as their violent disagreement on the temperance question, kept them from following a widespread practice of the day: that of copying items from one another while giving only minimal acknowledgement of the source. Although the *News Letter* and the *Republican* borrowed freely from many other publications, each pointedly ignored

the other, so that their viewpoints on regional issues were thus expressed independently of each other.

Neither paper made more than passing reference to William Miller before 1841 despite his ties by birth to the western Massachusetts region. The religious news of the area concerned the great upsurge of evangelical fervor manifest in almost every church, a widespread phenomenon in 1840. Local ministers frequently submitted inspirational messages for publication, and the periodic Fast Day sermons were printed in their entirety. An early sign of Miller's growing influence appeared in 1841 when these messages began for the first time to discuss the doctrine of premillennialism. For example, the April Fast Day sermon of Westfield's Reverend Davis described the nature of the end of the



This woodcut depicts the "last day tokens" that were to herald the coming of Christ.

credit: American Heritage Publishing Company

world. Reverend Davis discussed Miller's theories and analyzed his Scriptural proofs, concluding that Millerism differed from orthodox views only in stating "that the Beast and False Prophet will be destroyed in 1843." When the *Chronicle of Providence*, Rhode Island, described Miller as "either a fool or a crazy man," it prompted the *News Letter's* first editorial comment on Miller. Editor Porter retorted to the *Chronicle's* charge that he personally held Miller "to be neither. He makes plenty of \$ by his speculation on the future. That we hold to be the surest test of good sense & sanity. Of all millers we know of no miller who brings more grists to his mill than Miller the prophet."

By August, 1842, western Massachusetts Millerites were preparing for the arrival of the Great Tent in Cabotville (now Chicopee Falls). An Elder Beach spoke at the Westfield Baptist Church for several evenings to prepare the local populace for the imminent tent meeting. His vivid description of the destruction by fire of the world in 1843 aroused local interest. Although impressed by Beach's deep piety, the Westfield editor expressed reservations that the Lord should have revealed the exact time for the end of the world to "such a poor driveler as William Miller."

In early September the Cabotville *Chronicle* reported quite thoroughly the largest tent meeting the writer had ever witnessed. Over 2000 people a day attended to hear Brothers Himes and Fitch conducting the meetings until William Miller was able to arrive to bring the proceedings to an even more exuberant pitch. The enthusiasm engendered at this meeting was manifest in the nearby small town of Montgomery, where a hurriedly arranged camp meeting converted over twenty people.

Area ministers remained silent in the press on the question of the coming advent, and local editors could only offer their personal assumptions that the "inflated bubble of Millerism would produce a season of great wickedness and a reckless contempt of all religion." Despite such editorial comments, local Protestant denominations apparently were benefiting from the Millerite spirit in the form of increased church attendance and activity. The Methodist revival had attained such proportions that they were able to build a new church, and Brothers Hastings and Hawkes, traveling Millerite preachers, were given the use of the old church for a series of well-attended lectures.

A brief summary of Millerite beliefs was published several days before the scheduled lectures, and the *News Letter* editor noted that although he remained "personally an infidel on the Second Coming in 1843" despite attending three meetings, he knew of "a number of influential citizens who had embraced the doctrine."

With this observation, the floodgates were broached for an active flow of correspondence from

interested readers, and the editor was forced to tread a treacherous path between the opposing factions. One irate reader, writing as "Anti-Millerite," demanded the names of any respected citizens who had adopted Millerism, fearing "the sentiment to go out from this town that the Westfieldians are composed of fools or dupes, as I conceive the Millerites to be." The editor appended the observation that local citizens are "probably composed of flesh and blood like other men. How far their heads may be cracked we have no means of knowing, but one thing is certain: Millerism has not yet made them crazy."

An unnamed local Millerite wrote describing his new-found sense of peace in looking "for the blessed hope of our Savior Jesus Christ near at hand," and the editor offered the opinion that the adoption of Millerism "by a few in Westfield will not tend to bring disgrace upon our community," although he maintained it was presumptuous to set a date.

During this period the rival Springfield *Republican* printed no mention of local Millerite activity, although lengthy analyses of William Miller's Scriptural chronology were a recurrent feature as well as reports from Boston newspapers of eastern tent meetings and the construction of the Boston Tabernacle.

A distinct change in press attitude, however, can be seen in 1843. Reverend Amasa Holcomb of the Westfield Methodist Church delivered a lengthy refutation of Miller's prophetic chronology; this was published in its entirety, dominating the front pages of two consecutive issues of the *News Letter*. At this point, Reverend Holcomb, speaking for all the local Protestant ministers, disassociated himself from the teachings of William Miller. Brothers Hastings and Scott challenged Holcomb's charges, but their rebuttals were dismissed as "roundabout" by the *News Letter* editor, who declared that he no

GRAND ASCENSION OF THE MILLER TABERNACLE!

Miller in his Glory, Saints and Sinners in one great CONGLOMERATION!



In this 1844 cartoon Miller sits on his chart atop the tabernacle and a man looks into the heavens with a telescope while Joshua V. Himes is held on the earth by the devil who cries, "Joshua V. you must stay with me." The saints are all clad in ascension robes.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

longer could have any "sympathy with a doctrine which is so totally absurd and nonsensical." A second set of Millerite lectures by H. A. Chittenden of Hartford, Connecticut, was dismissed patronizingly as a case of "zeal ahead of judgement."

This loss of support from established religions was evident in the Springfield *Republican's* speculation about how "a poor country parson, as distinguished for his ignorance as anything else, should succeed in playing on the credulity of a considerable portion of the Earthly tabernacle." Its readers were then regaled with the analogy of Jeremiah Crossman, of Vermont, who had predicted the end of the world on June 4, 1812, and when "the earth continued, he fell into a consumption and died a martyr to his own credulity."

No longer could the hitherto unquestioned piety and sincerity of William Miller shield the movement from mocking and cruel attacks in the secular press. The *News Letter* reported from a Crescent City paper that a kitten had been born with 1843 tails. It was named "Miller" as "the phenomenon refers to the end of the world." Not to be outdone, the Springfield *Republican* reprinted the reputed confirmation of the truth of Millerism that appeared in a Maine newspaper, the *Portland Bulletin*: "We saw a dog with his tail curled up to form the figure 3 and



▲The "Patent Fire Proof Chest" lithographed in 1844 satirizes Millerism, vegetarianism, and temperance. The caption stated, "Now let it come. I'm ready." credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association



**THE
HIGH PRIEST
Of Millerism Unmasked,**
Or a brief account of a Millerite Camp Meeting, held in East Kingston, N. H., from June 28th to July 5th, 1842.

inasmuch as he was going on 4 legs, making 43, and looked to be 18 years old . . . the wonderful coincidence in the matter producing the prophetic period of 1843."

The *Republican* also published a letter from "Puritan," a Springfield man traveling in Europe who wrote that in Genoa he had come upon a penniless Millerite from Worcester, Massachusetts, who was seeking an audience with the Pope, whereupon he would leave for a forty day fast outside Jerusalem, at the end of which he expected Christ to take him into heaven.

Ever loyal politically to the Whigs, the Westfield *News Letter* admitted to "one delusion worse than Millerism: that of thinking of John Tyler as a great public benefactor," but the editor found more satisfaction in recounting a report from Buffalo, New York, that an Ethiopian there was predicting the end of the world April 10, 1844, "with the restoration of the colored race to regal power . . . he is to be king and his wife queen." This claim was felt to have arisen from Millerite teachings, and no story seemed too bizarre to be credited to the Millerites.

Few local references were made in either the *News Letter* or the *Republican* in 1844; many of the widely-circulated claims of Millerite excesses, or murders, suicides, and insanity while under the Miller influence, were reprinted without attribution or corroboration.

The only reported local Millerite activity in 1844 was a lecture by Brother Hastings the Sunday before October 22 in which he expressed his assurance that he would meet his Lord by the next week. His faith was dismissed as "humbug . . . the worst scourge of the western world."

The Great Disappointment did not bring about a softening of tone; unspecified excesses in unnamed towns were charged to Millerism by the Springfield *Republican* but subsequent issues neither clarified these charges nor dealt again with Miller and his followers. The *News Letter* reprinted some of the more lurid stories from the Philadelphia papers, and noted that "the Miller day has passed and yet the sun continues his circuit."

While William Miller and his doctrines were treated with a courteous interest, if not total acceptance, by Protestant denominations, western Massachusetts newspapers presented his theories in a clear and balanced manner. But once Millerism was disavowed by the local churches, Miller and his followers became the target for japes, innuendoes, and distortion. The Millerites made good copy, and the local press took full advantage of it at the expense of journalistic integrity.

SOURCES

Springfield [Massachusetts] *Republican*, February 11, 1843 — October 26, 1844.

Westfield [Massachusetts] *News Letter*, April 22, 1842 — October 30, 1844.

◀ Poets often used doggerel to attack the Millerites.
credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

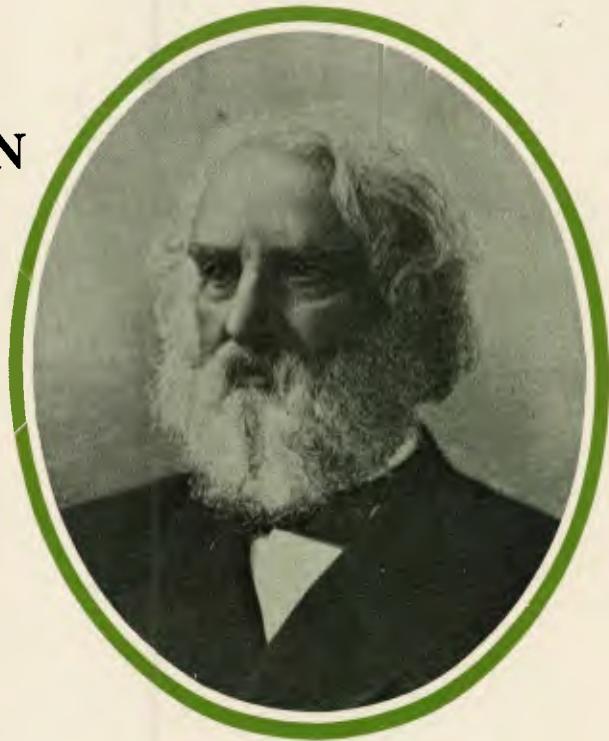
Ascension (Robes and Other Millerite Fables:

THE MILLERITES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

James Ehrlich

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's
1849 story "Kavanaugh" was the
first fictional instance of the
ascension robe stories.

credit: Houghton, Mifflin



Early in the nineteenth century James Fenimore Cooper complained that in America "there are no annals for the historian; no follies (beyond the most vulgar and commonplace) for the satirist; no manners for the dramatists; no obscure fictions for the writer of romance; no gross and hardy offenses against decorum for the moralist; nor any of the rich artificial auxiliaries of poetry."

By the 1830's and 1840's all this had changed, however. Not only had American writers — largely with Cooper's help — discovered the Indian, frontiersman, and American nature as themes for their literature, but the "freedom's ferment" of the Jacksonian period had created some of the social diversity that Cooper had felt necessary for great literature. Along with the utopians, abolitionists, and feminists who caught the attention of writers both great and common, the Millerites stimulated a reaction of humor and sympathy.

The Millerites, of course, were followers of William Miller, the New York Baptist farmer who interpreted the Biblical book of Daniel to mean that Christ would return sometime between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. Miller preached these ideas widely in the 1830's and 1840's, attracting perhaps as many as 50,000 believers. After Miller's predictions failed to come to pass, Samuel S. Snow, one of his followers, re-examined Daniel, determined that Miller had made a mistake, and announced that Christ would come on October 22, 1844. This prophecy rekindled the hopes of the Millerites, hopes that were dashed as October 22 came and passed without special event. As a result the movement began to break apart amidst a flood of scorn and abuse.

Not surprisingly, the Millerite prediction of a date for Christ's coming caught the fancy of the fiction writers. In the fictional view, time setting gained acceptance among the credulous by its impressive mathematical calculations. Edward Eggleston, a former Methodist minister, portrayed Millerism in *The End of the World* as an exciting diversion for bored village folk. As Eggleston told it, since there are no circuses or murders to divert the people's attention they flock to hear Elder Hankins when he comes into Sugar Grove announcing that the world will end at midnight, August 11, 1843. It is his calculation that makes Hankins's prediction incontrovertible, at least to most people, for he argues that "figgers won't lie noways, and it's figgers that shows this yet to be the last yer of the world, and that the final end of all things is approachin'." He does not ask people to listen to any of his own impressions or reasonings, only that they just "listen to the voice of the man in the linen-coat what spoke to Dan'el, and then listen to the voice of the 'rithmetic, and to a sum in simple addition, the simplest sort of addition."

Everyone seems to believe Hankins, however, except Jonas, a new hired hand on one of the local farms. One night at Elder Hankins's meeting at the church, Jonas comments to a friend,

Looky thar, won't you? He'll cipher the world into nothin' in no time. He's like the feller that tried to find out the valoo of a fat shoat when wood was two dollars a cord. "Ef I can't do it by subtraction I'll do it by long-division," say he. And ef this 'rithmetic preacher can't make a finishment of this sublunary speer by addition, he'll do it by multiplyin'. They's only one answer in his book. Gin him any sum you please, and it all comes out 1843!

Jonas complains that July fourths are all over along with shooting firecrackers and the star-spangled banner because Hankins "ciphers and ciphers and then spits on his slate and wipes us all out. Whenever Gabr'el blows I'll believe it, but I won't take none o' Hankins's tootin' in place of it." *

The calculating aspect also appeared in Mary E. Wilkens's story of "A New England Prophet." Again, a skeptic comments that the Millerite has to "twist passages hindmost foremost, and bottomsides up, an' add, an' subtract, an' divide, an' multiply, an' hammer, an' saw, an' bile down, an' take to a grist-mill" before he gets the desired meaning. These two stories were written toward the end of the nineteenth century, but specific dates also appeared in Asmodeus's *The Millerite Humbug* and C. A. P.'s "A Millerite Miracle" that were contemporary with the Millerite movement. So strong was the date-setting image of Millerism in fiction that it occurred as late as 1972 when Henry Carlisle mentioned it in *Voyage to the First of December*.

James Ehrlich teaches history and mathematics at Minneapolis Junior Academy.

THE
MILLERITE HUMBUG;

OR THE
Raising of the Wind!!

A Comedy
IN FIVE ACTS,
AS PERFORMED WITH UNBOUNDED
APPLAUSE IN BOSTON AND OTH-
ER PARTS OF THE UNION!

—
COMPILED AND ARRANGED
BY ASMODEUS IN AMERICA,
"OR THE DEVIL ON TWO STICKS."
—

BOSTON:
PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER.
1845.

This satirical Millerite play ironically may have been performed in the Boston Tabernacle erected by the Millerites in 1843 and sold in 1845 to an organization for theatrical productions.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Time setting had a basis in historical fact, but the ascension robes that many authors brought into their stories seem to be mostly fictional. Not that they were originally regarded that way, however. After October 22, 1844, several newspapers carried the story that the Millerites had worn ascension robes on that fateful night while awaiting the coming of their Lord. As far as can be determined, though, little of this sort happened.

Nevertheless, the reports of ascension robes first made their way into fiction in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's short story "Kavanaugh," in 1849. The story refers to Millerites as a fanatical group that "had prepared their ascension robes to be lifted up in clouds of glory while the worn-out, weary world was to burn with fire," and then renewed. Edward Eggleston also briefly noted that "some made ascension robes" as the religious excitement reached its climax on August 11, 1843. Similarly, Mary E. Wilkens's Millerite prophet, Solomon, admonishes his followers to "Repent, Repent! Prepare your ascension robes. Renounce the world, and all the lust and the vanity thereof." As the Millerites head for the hill to "ascend," their neighbors peep through their curtains "to see the white-robed figures move

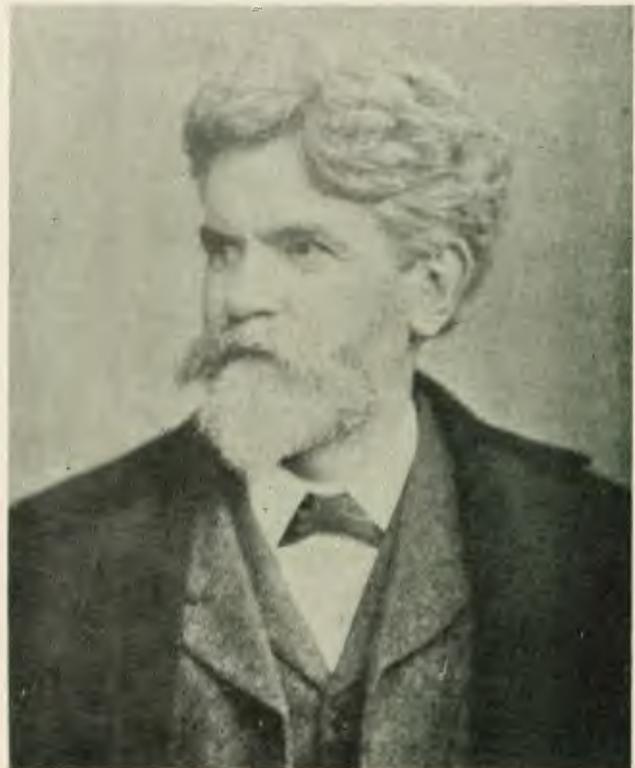
along the road. Every now and then little children would shriek in terror at the sight of them."

In her story "The Last Day" Marietta Holley imaginatively described how the robes were made and worn. Patterned after nightgowns and made of white book muslin, the robe was full around the neck with sleeves hanging down like wings. At a quarter to four on June 30, 1843, two of Holley's characters, Pelek and Miss Coon, put on their robes and wait for their ascension at 4:00 p.m., the appointed hour. As the great moment draws near, Pelek climbs on a high tree stump and Miss Coon stands on a chair, both eager to be nearer heaven. Then at 4:00 everyone shouts and screams while Pelek and Miss Coon wave their arms. With their two great white wings "a flutterin'," they "sprung upwards, expectin' the hull world, livin' and dead would foller . . . and go right up into heaven singing,

Farewell my friends,
Farewell my foes;
Up to heaven
Peal Jackson goes."

Alas, what goes up comes down; since Miss Coon jumps from a chair she receives only bruises, whereas Pelek is laid up for several days with broken bones.

Underneath the date setting and ascension robes, however, lay the fact that fiction writers portrayed the Millerites, in the words of John Greenleaf Whit-



Edward Eggleston used the popular ascension robe stories to embellish his writings.

credit: Saalfeld Publishing Company .

tier, as "a class of uncultivated, and in some cases, gross minds." This belief that the Millerites were uneducated apparently prompted the extensive use of dialect in the stories. Some writers also distinguished the leaders and followers, picturing unscrupulous preachers taking advantage of their uncultivated listeners. For example, a play titled *The Millerite Humbug; or the Raising of the Wind* clearly presented Millerism as a fraud perpetrated upon the ignorant masses. The author, writing under the pseudonym "Asmodeus in America" in 1845, stated that he wrote the play because of his "conviction that many have been deluded and finally ruined by this popular frenzy." He hoped his work "might awaken some who are still slumbering in this Humbug." His prologue begins:

You've often heard, my friend, no doubt of me,
Of my grand plan and scheme of '43 —
This is the modern way to Raise the Wind,
To gull the folks and humbug all mankind!
Be not severe and do not quick condemn —
I've many friends, that rank with honest men.
My name is known in ev'ry Town and State,
And with the World, for humbug can compete.
But as the order of the day is gain,
I trust you will not my great plot disdain.
If it should merit your applause, once more
I'd try and gull them with year '44!

In the play, "The Great Leader's" prediction having failed for 1843 he moves the date ahead to 1844, meanwhile encouraging the believers to bring their money and jewelry to fill the treasury. Their wealth is unnecessary to them, he argues, since they will be "going up." Furthermore, they cannot ascend unless they give their money to the "Great Leader." "As You Say," a fellow humbugger, observes, "It is surprising that people can be duped in this way." If the Advent did not occur in 1844 then the "Great Leader" plans to move the date ahead to 1846, for this gives two more years to fill the treasury and run away. But the Millerites finally discover the plan to delude them and demand their property and money back. Thus "such a band of jobbers and a gang of robbers" can no longer raise the wind. Similarly, the anonymous author of "A Millerite Miracle" called William Miller "the arch deceiver . . . and humbug."

But whatever the motivation of the Millerite leaders, the people who followed them impressed the fiction writers with their credulity. In "A Millerite Miracle" the women grow pale from fasting and praying in preparation for the Coming after the *Morning Howl* and *Noonday Yell*, fictional Millerite papers, circulate through their villages. As the author continues his story this gullibility provides the opportunity for a practical joke. On April 3, 1844, a group of Millerites meet on the outskirts of a small town in the state of Hoosierana for the "[grand] and lofty tumbling" or Second Coming. Among those assembled is Sam, a free Negro, who had managed to sneak into the meeting against the

wishes of the leader. Cabe Newham, a local prankster, and his friends are also there, but for mischief rather than religious reasons. That morning, Cabe had thrown a half-inch rope over a tree branch that hung directly over the meeting place. Now with the excitement "getting about 'eighty pounds to the inch,'" Cabe slips into the crowd, grabs the end of the rope and ties it to Sam's belt as best he can. All of a sudden, in the dim light of the evening, Sam exclaims, "Gor Almighty! I'se a goin' up! Who-o-oh!" And sure enough, Sam is seen "mounting into the 'ethereal blue.'" Some faint, others pray, and "not a few dropped their robes and 'slid.'" "



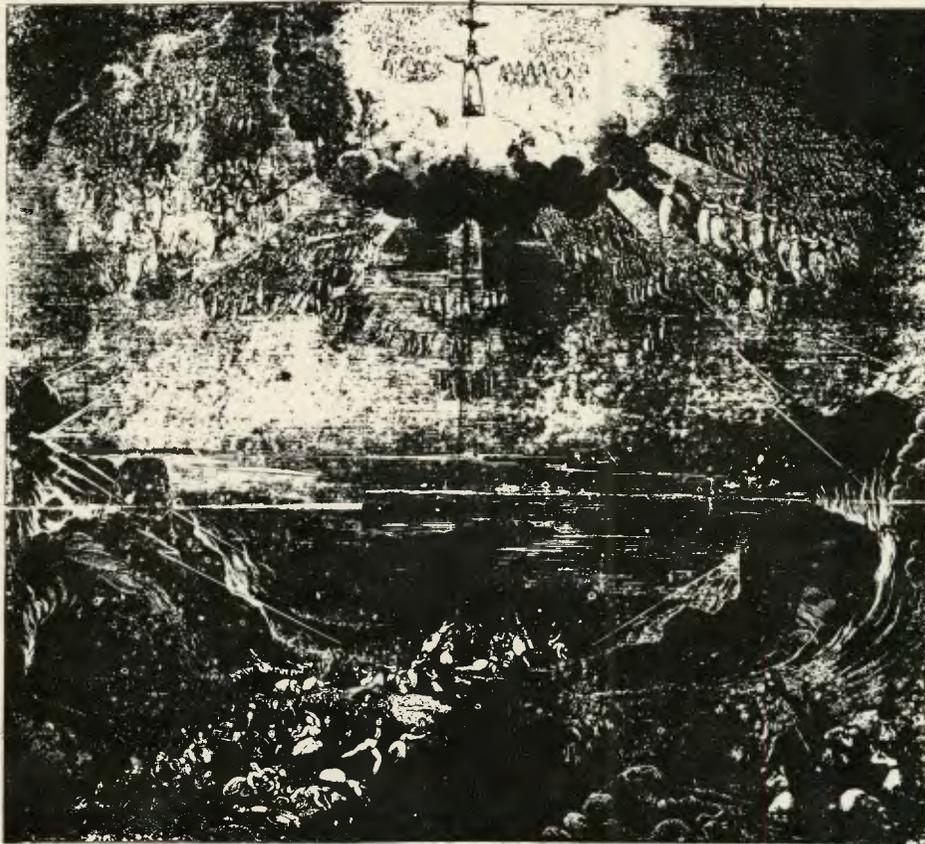
The literary response to the Millerites belied James Fenimore Cooper's complaint that America had "no follies . . . for the satirist."
credit: Barnes & Noble

Another example of this Millerite credulity was the element of superstition that appeared in Eggleston's *End of the World* where a Millerite farmer, Samuel Anderson, plants his crops "in the 'light' of the moon and his potatoes in the 'dark' of the orb" and kills "his hogs when the moon was on the increase lest the meat should go to gravy." He also guards carefully "against the carrying of a hoe through the house, for fear 'somebody might die.' "

The naivete of the Millerites appeared most fully, however, in their actions during the last days, particularly in their neglect of worldly affairs as they prepare for the ascension. In Wilkens's "A New

ILLUSTRATIONS OF MILLER'S VIEWS
OF THE
END OF THE WORLD
IS
1843.

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. *Matt. xxiv. 30.*



credit - Andrews University

This engraving of the Second Coming pictures saints in ascension robes ascending while others are being devoured by the fires of hell. It was apparently popular, for it was used in both 1843 and 1844.

England Prophet," the Millerites become slack in following their daily routines. One finds that "kitchen tables [were] piled high with unwashed dishes, the hearths unswept and the fires low, the pantry shelves were bare and often the children went to bed with only the terrors of the judgment for sustenance." Farmers do not feed their cattle, leaving them to stand near the fences lowing piteously. Worldly delights lose their appeal in the light of eternity when Simeon, a skeptic, asks Mrs. Solomon for a piece of mince pie. She answers shrieking, "I shall make no more pies in this world, Simeon Lennox . . . Woe be unto you if you think of such things in the face of death and eternal condemnation!"

Doubting that his brother Solomon believes in the Second Coming Simeon says, "Tell you what I'll do. I'll put ye to the test." Since Solomon has been predicting the end of the world to happen next

Thursday, earthly goods are unnecessary. Therefore, Simeon challenges, "S'pose — you give me a deed of this 'ere farm? . . . Me to take possession by daylight next Friday mornin', if the world don't come to an end Thursday night." Solomon just glares at his brother, wondering what to do. Finally, with a look of hostility and bitterness, he agrees. They hire a lawyer to draw up the papers and all is set — until the Second Coming next Thursday. But on Friday the sun rises bright as ever, and Simeon is a property owner. Later on Simeon deeds the land back to Solomon, but meanwhile as the "morning shone broadly into the room over them all," Solomon mopes around unattentive to anyone, just "sitting sadly within himself: a prophet brooding over the ashes of his own prophetic fire."

Miss Newman Coon, true to her character in "The Last Day," finds fault with Josiah and his wife, the non-Millerite friends with whom she is staying, for going about their daily work on the last day. Josiah

repairs his planting bag and his wife works in the kitchen. "I should think *respect*, respect for the great and fearful thought of meetin' the Lord, would scare you out of the idea of goin' on with your work," Miss Coon grouses. Very calmly Josiah's wife replies that she believes "in layin' holt of the duty next to [a person] and doin' *some* of the things He has commanded." She likes "the most solid practical parts of religion, than the ornamental . . ." or "the power they sometimes have at camp, and other meetings."

Mr. and Mrs. Anderson in Eggleston's *End of the World* dismiss their employees and pay their accounts in preparation. They also want to sell their land, but to whom? Andrew Anderson, Samuel Anderson's brother, and Bob Walker are bidding on the land, but Mrs. Anderson will not let Andrew buy it because he is a skeptic (and because he had once courted her but would not give in to her strong will). Also, when Sam's father had died the land was to be divided between the two brothers; Mrs. Anderson had contested the will and now fears retaliation. So they sell the land to Bob Walker for fifty dollars. Unknown to Sam and his wife, Bob immediately deeds the land over to Andrew!

On the eleventh of August, the sun rises in its glory. People point at it and say that "it would rise no more." As the day grows older and hotter, men believe it is the "scorching heat . . . that [is] to melt the elements!" That evening every "shooting-star" was a new sign of the end . . . and the simple-hearted countryfolk were convinced that the stars were falling out of the sky." As the Millerites head

toward the ascension hill they pass two unbelievers on their way to be married and say, "See! marrying and giving in marriage, as in the days of Noah!" But the next day dawns, crushing Millerite hopes, leaving Eggleston's characters "sunk in despondency," turning to "blankest atheism and boldest immorality," or "sitting about the house in a dumb and shiftless attitude."

Such were the endings of most Millerite stories, the uncritical credulity of the people crashing bitterly against the hard wall of reality. To many of the writers the "Great Disappointment" only underlined the ridiculousness of the original prediction, thus providing an additional source for humor. But for the sensitive observers, the humor was mixed with pathos and tragedy as they attempted to understand the Millerite experience.

Although these stories are fictional, they are nevertheless significant. Since most of them were written during or within a few years of the Millerite movement, they reveal elements of the popular reaction — the ridicule, the humor, and the charges of dishonesty. More important, the stories, especially those of the better known authors such as Eggleston and Wilkens, appeared at a time when American writers were beginning to explore the life of the common folk of the United States. For them Millerism was one more feature on the diverse and often bizarre American landscape.

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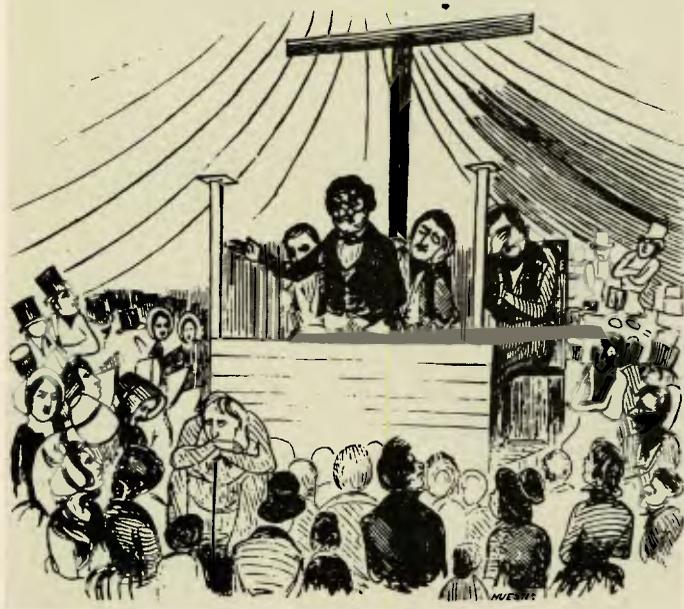
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MILLER PREACHING IN THE GREAT TENT.



On November 3, 1842, the "Great Tent" was pitched in Newark, New Jersey, for a camp meeting. James Gordon Bennet, publisher of the New York *Herald*, sent a staff writer to report the happenings. He illustrated his articles with several sketches. This one of Miller preaching is none too complimentary.

credit: Andrews University

*Let none this humble work assail,
Its failings to expose to view,
Which sprung within Misfortune's vale
And 'neath the dews of Sorrow grew.*

Thus does Annie Rebekah Smith, the early Adventist hymnist, beg indulgent tolerance of the little book of poems she completed on her deathbed in 1855. Her wishes will be honored here in favor of a modest effort to tell the simple story of her short, sad life.

Most of what is known about her comes from a little sketch of her life included in another book of poems published by her mother, Rebekah Smith, in 1871. From this we learn that Annie was born in West Wilton, New Hampshire, on March 16, 1828, the only daughter of Samuel and Rebekah Smith. She was four years older than her better-known brother, Uriah, and just four months younger than the best-known of Adventist women, Ellen G. White.

At ten, Annie was converted and joined the Baptist Church. With her mother, she left that communion in 1844 to throw her youthful energies into preparation for the Second Advent of Christ.

When the clouds of October 22 carried only another drab New England morning instead of a host of angels, Annie turned her attention to study and teaching. For the next six years she alternated between teaching in seven different district schools and pursuing her own intellectual enrichment.

She spent six terms at the Charlestown Female Seminary in Charlestown, Massachusetts, next door to Boston. The Seminary, chartered in 1833, offered courses in English, philosophy, Romance

The Life and Love of Annie Smith

Ron Graybill

A research assistant at the Ellen G. White Estate and a graduate student in American religious history at Johns Hopkins University, Ron Graybill has been studying early Adventist hymnody.

languages, Latin, Hebrew, music and art. There were also free lectures in anatomy, physiology, and chemistry.

The school year was divided into three terms — a

twelve-week fall session and winter and spring terms of sixteen and seventeen weeks. Most likely Annie taught in the grammar schools near her home during the winter and then, while the youngsters went to work on the farms, she would go to Charlestown in mid-April to attend the spring term at the Seminary.

Although her mother only mentions that she studied French and Oil Painting, it seems probable that she might have delved into other subjects as well during the course of her six terms at the school. She was not, however, a regular student, and was not listed with the other students in any of the school's catalogues during the years she attended.

The Seminary was ostensibly non-denominational, but it was far from irreligious. There were regular weekly Bible lessons, and each young lady was expected to come equipped with her own Bible, whatever commentary she may have had, plus other books "Containing moral and religious instruction, suitable for Sabbath reading." The students were required to attend church twice each Sunday at some stated place. Just where Annie may have chosen to attend is unknown, but if, after her Millerite adventure, she reverted to her former denominational affiliation, she would have found things in Charlestown nicely arranged: her school was located on the corner of Union and Lawrence Streets with the First Baptist Church at the other end of the block.

During what was probably her first term at the Seminary in 1845, the Reverend Edward Beecher, pastor of Boston's Salem Church, addressed the students and faculty in a lecture titled "Faith Essential

to a Complete Education." This philosophy was pervasive not only at the Charlestown Female Seminary, but throughout the American public school system of the time.

During Annie's last term at the Seminary in 1850, she was definitely enrolled in an art course. One day, while sketching a picture of Boston from Prospect Hill in Somerville, she strained her eyes and for eight months could hardly use them. This brought her to another disappointment in life. She was unable to accept a coveted position in a school at Hancock, New Hampshire.

To alleviate her unhappiness, she became an agent and, according to her mother, a frequent contributor to *The Ladies' Wreath*, an elegant literary magazine published in New York. Four poems from her pen appeared in this publication within two years. She is also said to have contributed a few pieces to *The Odd Fellow*, but so far her contributions to the paper have not been located.

Thinking the salt-air of Charlestown would be good for her eyes, Annie remained there with friends. She must not have been too blind, because during her stay she ventured north to Portland, Maine, and on to Nova Scotia.

Meanwhile, her mother was becoming more and more concerned about Annie's avid pursuit of secular success in literature and art. When Joseph Bates, the sea captain who became an Adventist preacher, visited the Smith home in West Wilton, Mrs. Smith shared her burden with him. Since he was to be in Boston in a few days, he urged the mother to write Annie inviting her to his meetings. Contrary to J. N. Loughborough's account, the services were to be held at Elizabeth Temple's home in Boston, not at the Folsom residence in Somerville.

The night before the first meeting, Bates had a



Annie's brother, Uriah, sketched their home town, West Wilton, when he was fifteen.

courtesy: Ellen G. White Estate

dream. In it every seat in the room was filled except one next to the door. The first hymn was sung, prayer was offered, another hymn sung, and then, just as he opened his Bible to preach, the door

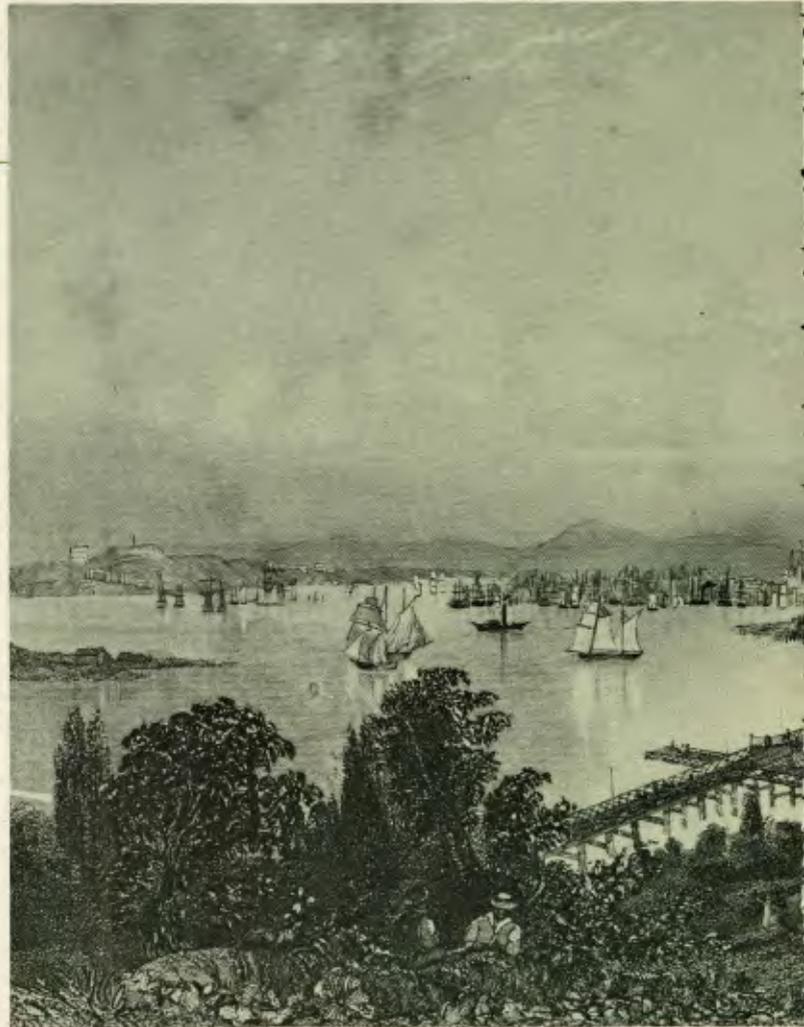
opened and a young lady entered, taking the last vacant chair.

The same night, Annie had virtually the same dream. The next evening, she started for the meeting in ample time, but lost her way. She entered just at the moment the dream had specified. Bates had been planning to talk on another subject, but remembering his dream he switched to a sermon on the Adventist view of the Hebrew sanctuary.

At the close of the meeting, he stepped up to Annie and said: "I believe this is Sister Smith's daughter, of West Wilton. I never saw you before, but your countenance looks familiar. I dreamed of seeing you last night." Annie related her own dream, and naturally was deeply impressed with the turn of events.

Joseph Bates, in his letter to the *Review and Herald* reporting this visit to Boston, merely says: "We spent the Sabbath and first-day July 26 and 27, in meeting with about twenty believers, at No. 67 Warren Place, Boston, where the meetings are to be held every Sabbath. . . . Here two, that had formerly believed the advent doctrine, embraced the last message."

A month after she attended Bates's meetings, Annie sent a poem, "Fear Not, Little Flock," to the *Review*, along with a letter: "It is with much reluctance that I send you these verses, on a subject which a few weeks since was so foreign to my thoughts. Being as it were a child in this glorious

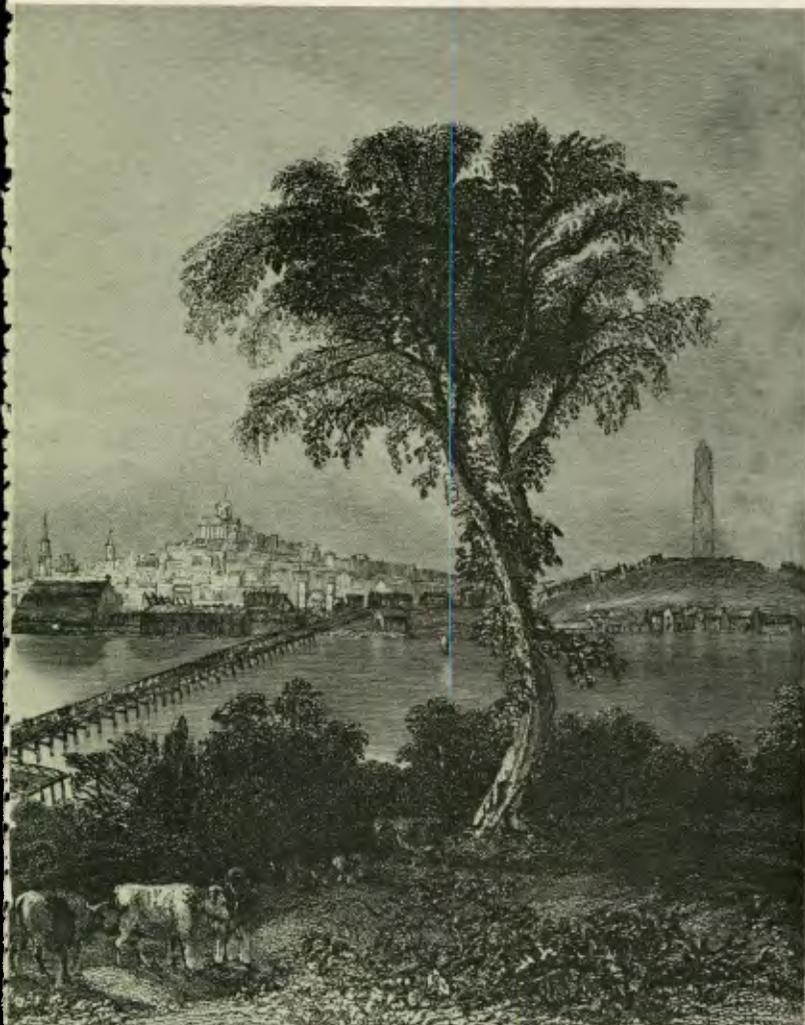


▲While sketching a scene similar to this one, Annie injured her eyes. This etching, taken from the *Ladies' Wreath*, shows Boston and Bunker Hill from Chelsea.



◀Annie spent six terms at the Charlestown Female Seminary studying French and oil painting. In the background is the Baptist church that she probably attended.

courtesy: Library of Congress



courtesy: Library of Congress

cause, I feel unworthy and unable to approach a subject of such *moment*, but as I've written for the world, and wish to make a full sacrifice, I am induced to send."

Both the letter and the poem appeared in the *Review*, and the latter indicated Annie's interest in hymns. The last stanza read:

Hallelujah's we'll raise,
Our Redeemer to praise
With the pure and the blest,
In the Eden of Love be forever at Rest.

The phrase, "Eden of Love," used in the last line of the poem is the title of an infectiously beautiful folk-hymn that was carried over from the Millerite movement into Adventist hymnody.

James White, editor of the *Review and Herald*, impressed with Annie's poem and doubtless familiar with her talents through her mother, immediately wrote asking her to come to Saratoga Springs, New York, to assist him as a copy editor. She hesitated, pleading her eye trouble as a reason she could not accept. He told her to come anyway, and upon her arrival, she was quickly healed after

anointing and prayer. Ellen White took note of Annie's coming in a letter to a friend: "Annie Smith is with us. She is just the help we need, and takes right hold with James and helps him much. We can

leave her now to get off the papers and can go out more among the flock."

Although most of Annie's time was spent in the drudgery of copy editing, she was occasionally given full responsibility for the *Review* while the Whites were away on preaching tours. She continued to write hymns and poetry as well, contributing a total of forty-five pieces to the *Review* and the *Youth's Instructor* before her death three and a half years later. Ten of her hymns survive in the current Seventh-day Adventist *Church Hymnal*.

Annie had lived with the Whites in Saratoga Springs for only a few months when they moved to Rochester. Shortly before the move, she turned twenty-four. Times were hard for the little group of workers in Rochester. Ellen White tells how they had to use turnips for potatoes. Annie's work was not always easy, either. James White, driving hard in these difficult early days, could be a demanding task master. Most of Annie's poetry was deeply and seriously religious, but she did venture one light-hearted rhyme that may reflect something of James White's eagerness that the *Review* be a perfect paper. The poem was titled "The Proof-Reader's Lament":

What news is this falls on my ear?
What next will to my sight appear?
My brain doth whirl, my heart doth quake —
Oh, that egregious mistake!

"Too bad! too bad!!" I hear them cry,
"You might have seen with half an eye!
Strange! passing strange!! how could you make
So plain, so blunderous a mistake!"

♦ ♦ ♦

Guilty, condemned, I trembling stand,
With pressing cares on every hand,
Without one single plea to make,
For leaving such a *bad mistake*.

♦ ♦ ♦

If right, no meed of praise is won,
No more than *duty* then is done;
If wrong, then censure I partake,
Deserving such a gross mistake.

How long shall I o'er this bewail?
"The best," 'tis said, "will sometimes fail,"
Must it then *peace* forever break —
Summed up, 'tis only a *mistake*.

In spite of whatever difficulties may have arisen, the Whites must have appreciated Annie and her work. James sent her a gift of \$75 during her last illness, and Annie's mother, writing of the bond of affection between her daughter and the Whites, said, "Annie loved them."

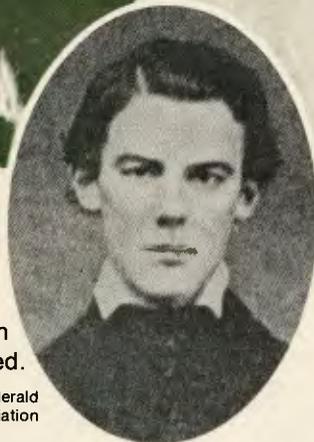
There was someone else whom Annie loved: the handsome young preacher, John Nevins Andrews. John lived in Rochester during the time Annie was



J. N. Andrews eventually married Angeline Stevens. They are shown here with their children, Mary and Charles.
courtesy: Ellen G. White Estate

J. N. Andrews was living in Rochester when Annie arrived.

courtesy: Review and Herald Publishing Association



there. They were about the same age, and both were bright and intellectually ambitious. There are indications that Annie had high hopes for her future with John, but he disappointed her, turning his affections to Angeline Stevens, a girl from his hometown of Paris, Maine.

The evidence for Annie's love and subsequent heartbreak lies half-buried in a letter Ellen White wrote to John just one month after Annie's death: "I saw that you could do no better now than to marry Angeline; that after you had gone thus far it would be wronging Angeline to have it stop here. The best course you can now take is to move on, get married, and do what you can in the cause of God. Annie's disappointment cost her her life."

Ellen White appears to be saying: Don't do the same thing to Angeline that you did to Annie. Now that you've raised her expectations, go ahead and marry her. Judgments based on a single piece of evidence may seem a bit hazardous, but when Ellen White's comments are linked with certain passages in Annie's own poetry, it is more certain that Annie was jilted by John.

In the spring of 1854 she wrote two religious poems which may reflect something of this experience:

If other's joys [Angeline's] seem more than thine,
Pause, ere thou at this repine;
Life hath full enough of woe,
For the sunniest path below.

And in a poem titled "Resignation," she wrote:

Thou art the refuge of my soul,
My hope when earthly comforts flee,
My strength while life's rough billows roll,
My joy through all eternity.

But Annie's most personal feelings on this subject would hardly be found in her religious poetry, printed as it was in the *Review* for J. N. Andrews and everyone else to read. Her mother's book, published in 1871, includes a good selection of Annie's secular verse. One of these was a poem which Annie addressed to her mother:

My lot has been to learn
Of friendship false, that bright will burn
When fortune spreads her wing of light,
But fades away when cometh night.

"Dear Annie," her mother wrote in her "Response":

What though thy lot has been to bear
Much adverse fate, 'mid toil and care
Raised expectations crushed and dead
And hope's triumphant visions fled?

♦ ♦ ♦

Does not thy heart begin to feel
The claims of Him who wounds to heal?

Were it not that Mrs. Smith's "Response" specifies that Annie's crushed expectations came "mid toil and care," the mention of "friendship false" in Annie's own poem might have referred to some disappointment she suffered during her school

days in Charlestown. Of the four poems she wrote for *The Ladies' Wreath* during the time just before she became an Adventist, two speak of blighted love. If nothing else, these secular poems indicate

something which her sober hymns do not: that she was capable of feeling the whole range of emotions connected with youthful love. In "Trust Not—Love Not," she wrote:

Love's sweet strain, like music flowing,
 Drink not deep its melting tone:
 Eyes that now so gently glowing,
 Beaming fondly in thine own —
 Lips will smile, but too deceive thee,
 Tender glances, heed them not:
 For their coldness soon may grieve thee,
 Soon thou mayest be forgot.

Witness also these lines from a ballad-like poem, "The Unchanged":

The morn of youth was on her cheek when love her bosom thrilled,
 With golden dreams of future bliss her gentle soul was filled —

♦ ♦ ♦

His dark eyes woke the flame within of soul lit,
 lustrous hue,
 To be unquenched — the holy light of pure devotion true.

♦ ♦ ♦

And oft she gazed with rapture on that bright angelic face,
 So radiant and beautiful with eloquence and grace:

His voice, like tones of music sweet, bound with a magic spell,
 As gems of wisdom from his lips in heavenly accents fell.

♦ ♦ ♦

I saw her in the moonlit vale, a lovely maiden's form,
 Her spirit in illusions wrapped, her cheek with vigor warm;
 Untouched by sorrow's withering hand, so pale, for hers were dreams
 Of other years — that for the night had cast their halo beams.

The possibility that Annie may have been in love with J. N. Andrews adds a new dimension to the controversy over her hymn, "I Saw One Weary, Sad, and Torn." Each verse of the hymn is thought to be an ode to one of the Adventist pioneers contemporary to her. The first two stanzas are assigned respectively to Joseph Bates and James White. Bates is identified by the "many a line of grief and care" which on his brow were "furrowed there." He was much older than any of the other pioneers. James White is almost certainly the one who "boldly

Uncertainty has shrouded this musical ode to the advent pioneers. Who was Annie writing about in the third stanza?

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MISCELLANEOUS.

BLESSED HOPE. L. M. double,

1. I saw one weary, sad and torn, With eager steps press on the way, Who long the hallowed cross had borne, Still looking for the promised day; While many a line of grief and care Upon his brow was furrowed there—I asked what buoyed his spir-its up, O, this, said he—the Bles-sed Hope!

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Blessed Hope. L. M. Double.

283

1 I saw one weary, sad and torn,
 With eager steps press on the way,
 Who long the hallowed cross had borne,
 Still looking for the promised day;
 While many a line of grief and care
 Upon his brow was furrowed there—
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 O, this, said he—the Blessed Hope!

2 And one, I saw, with sword and shield,
 Who boldly braved the world's cold frown,
 And fought unyielding on the field,
 To win an everlasting crown,
 Though worn with toil, oppressed by foes,
 No murmur from his heart arose;
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 O, this, said he—the Blessed Hope!

3 And there was one who left behind,
 The cherished friends of early years,
 And honor, pleasure, wealth resigned,
 To tread the path bedewed with tears,
 Through trials deep, and conflicts sore,
 Yet still a smile of joy he wore;
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 O, this, said he—the Blessed Hope!

4 While pilgrims here we journey on,
 In this dark vale of sin and gloom,
 Through tribulation, hate, and scorn,
 Or through the portals of the tomb,
 Till our returning King shall come,
 To take his exiled captives home,
 O, what can buoy the spirits up?
 'Tis this alone—the Blessed Hope!

braved the world's cold frown" and was "worn by toil, oppressed by foes." But who was the Adventist who

. . . left behind
The cherished friends of early years,
And honor, pleasure, wealth resigned,
To tread the path bedewed with tears.
Through trials deep and conflicts sore,
Yet still a smile of joy he wore:
I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
"O this!" said he — "the blessed hope."

Three possible candidates have been suggested for this stanza: Uriah Smith, Andrews, and Annie Smith herself disguised in masculine pronouns. Uriah is eliminated on chronological grounds. He had not yet accepted the "third angel's message" at the time Annie wrote the hymn. The hymn was published August 19, 1852, about a year after Annie's conversion, five months after her arrival in Rochester, and just enough time for a friendship with John to blossom.

But Annie herself cannot be ruled out as a candidate. She certainly felt that she had renounced "honor, pleasure, and wealth" to become an Adventist. In the same poem in which she makes the allusion to "friendship false," she says:

My lot has been to pore
Learning's classic pages o'er:
Seeking for hidden pearls to wear,
Fame's golden wreath, the victors bear.

She had been on the brink of fame, or at least she thought so, and for her to turn her back on it was a special trial. Naturally, if she was writing about herself in the hymn, she could not reveal it, but all the details of the third stanza fit Annie perfectly. The problem is that they also fit John. The question of whether the stanza refers to John or Annie may never be resolved, and perhaps it is fitting that they are linked in this mystery.

It is no wonder that many of Annie's hymns were so somber. Not only was she an Adventist in a day when Adventists were scorned and despised, not only did she give up her hope of worldly fame, not only was she thwarted in love, but death itself was stalking her. She had been with the *Review* for barely a year when she was called home for the death of her father, Samuel Smith. When she returned to the office in Rochester late in December, 1852, she found that James White's brother Nathaniel and his sister Anna had arrived, both suffering from tuberculosis.

Anna White soon took over the editorship of the newly launched *Youth's Instructor* to which Annie contributed an occasional poem. But Nathaniel lived only till May of 1853. Annie commemorated his death with a poem. About a year later, Luman V.

Masten, another of the young workers in the office, died of tuberculosis. Again Annie wrote a poem, a portion of which read:

Then mourn not the loss of our dear, absent brother
Bright angels shall watch o'er the dust where he's laid
To rest by the side of his fondly-loved mother,
Who for his salvation so fervently prayed.

In November of that same year, 1854, Annie returned to her home in West Wilton, suffering from the first stages of tuberculosis herself. She had just arrived when word came that Anna White had died of the disease. The poem she wrote for Anna became a hymn which would be sung at her own funeral:

She hath passed Death's chilling billow,
And gone to rest:
Jesus smoothed her dying pillow—
Her slumbers blest.

Annie arrived home November 7. A month later she was coughing blood. Her mother says that since she had "confidence in water treatment, she went where she could receive such." Perhaps she traveled to nearby New Ipswich where, according to the *Water-Cure Journal* of June, 1853, a Mr. Amos Hatch operated a hydropathic institution.

But the treatment did not help, and Annie returned home in February, just in time for a visit from Joseph Bates. "At the commencement of the Sabbath, the 16th," her mother wrote, "the spirit and power of God descended upon her, and she praised God with a loud voice. . . . Bro. B. then said

This collection of Annie's poetry was finished ten days before her death. Knowing that the peony was her favorite flower, Uriah engraved one for the title page.
courtesy: Ellen G. White Estate

HOME HERE,
AND
HOME IN HEAVEN;

WITH OTHER POEMS.

BY ANNIE R. SMITH.



ROCHESTER, N. Y.
PUBLISHED AT THE ADVENT REVIEW OFFICE.
1855.

to Annie, 'You needed this blessing, and now if the Lord sees that it is best for you to be laid away in the grave, he will go with you.'

alone with her if she died. Through the night the mother and her semi-invalid brother John watched. It seemed that each moment must be her last.

But Annie prayed for just one more privilege before she died. She wanted to be able to finish her long poem, "Home Here and Home in Heaven," and publish the little book of poetry she had been planning. Her brother Uriah came home in May, and helped her to copy and arrange her poetry for publication. As soon as the flowers blossomed that spring, he sketched and engraved a peony, her favorite, to go on the title page of her book.

Annie told her mother that she believed there would be a change in her condition once the book was done. Either she would be healed, or she would die. She lived less than ten days after she finished her work.

Her mother chronicled the last days of her twenty-seven-year-old daughter in great detail. On the eighteenth of July, she wrote a poem titled "Our Duty":

Never from the future borrow
Burdens that no good repay,
Strength required for to-morrow,
May be lost on us today.

At three o'clock the next afternoon she said: "Mother, some change has taken place. I don't think I shall live through the day." "I saw that there was a change," her mother wrote, "and stayed by her. Night drew on. No one happened in. She said, 'It seems to me I could not breathe to have many in the room.'" Her mother told her she was not afraid to be

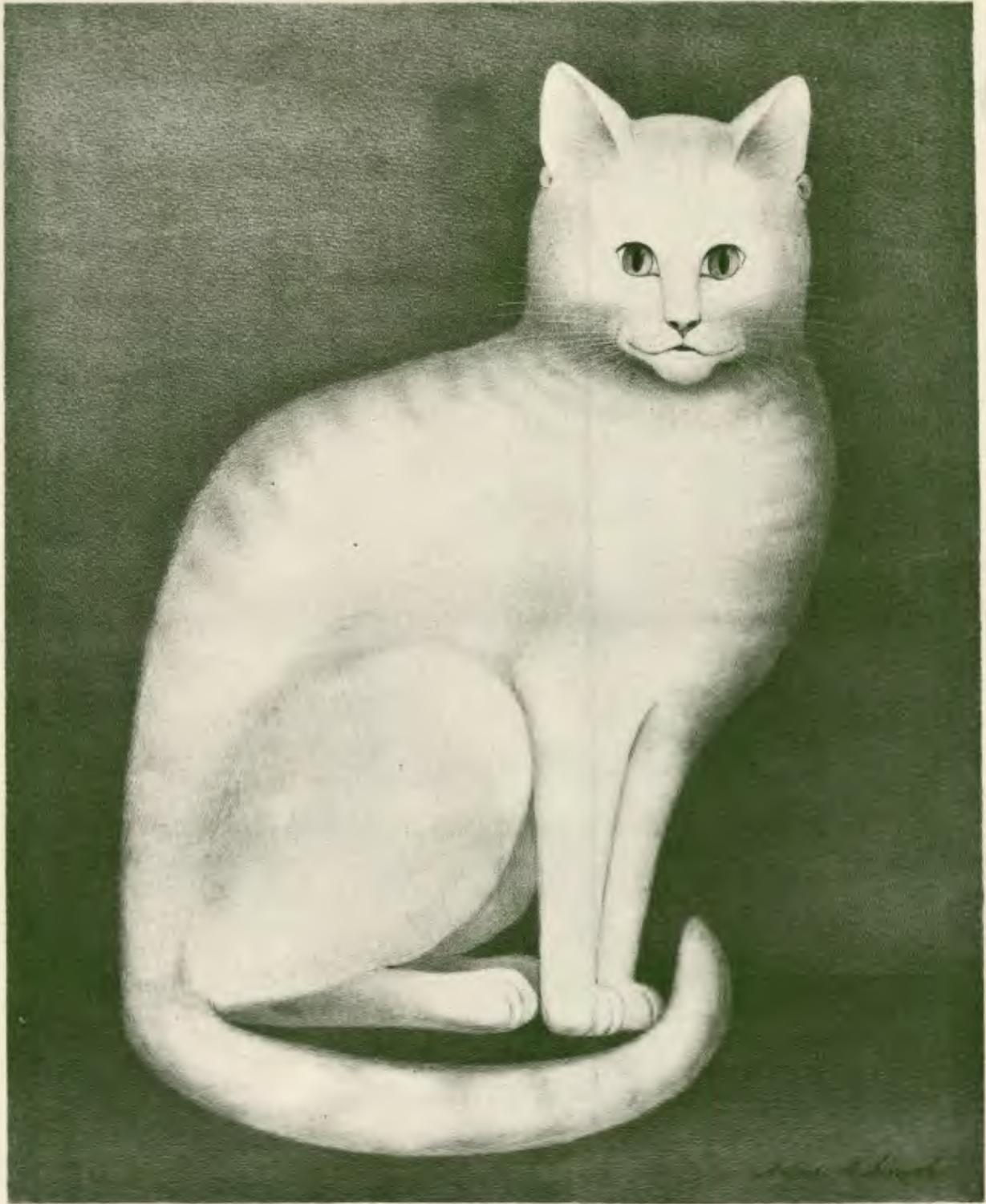
About two in the morning she rallied some, and looked very happy. "Annie is being blessed," Mrs. Smith said to John. Soon Annie exclaimed, "Glory to God," a number of times, louder than she had spoken for a long while. "Heaven is opened," she said. "I shall come forth at the first resurrection."

Uriah had returned to Rochester by now, hoping he could get the type for Annie's book and let her see the proof sheets before she died. Mrs. Smith wanted to write him and urge him to come home at once, but Annie said: "It will make no difference, I think I am dying; don't leave me, mother, while I live."

The fact that Mrs. Smith would write a vivid day by day account of Annie's decline reflects the Victorian tendency to romanticize illness and death. Nineteenth-century Americans, Adventists included, were far less inclined to disguise or avoid death than we are today. Annie and her mother talked freely about her death long before it occurred. Her mother did not look back on those last days as some hideous shame to be expunged from memory, but as something worth preserving in every detail.

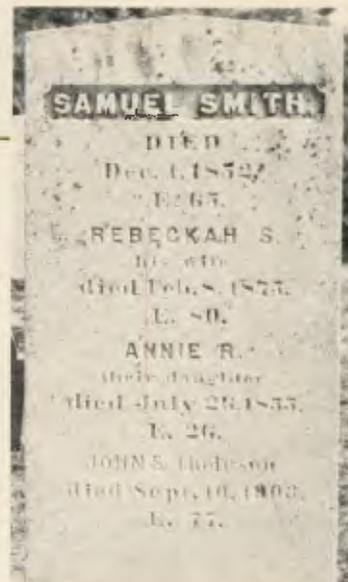
At age twenty-seven Annie died of tuberculosis at her mother's home.
courtesy: Tom Dybdahl





THE CAT.

This engraving of a cat reveals another of Annie Smith's talents.



courtesy: Tom Dybdahl

Annie's marker is to the left of the Smith headstone in the family plot.



On Tuesday morning, July 24, Annie composed her last poem:

Oh! shed not a tear o'er the spot where I sleep;
For the living and not for the dead ye may weep;
Why mourn for the weary who sweetly repose,
Free in the grave from life's burden and woes?

No recasting can improve the poignant forcefulness of her mother's account of her last hours:

Tuesday night was a solemn and interesting night. I stayed with her alone through the night. Neither of us slept. She was very happy, and talked much with me. She said in her former familiar way, "My mother, I've been afraid I should wear you all out. I've called after you by night and by day." She felt bad to have me kept up as I was on her account. But she said, "I am here now, your dying girl. I think this is the last night, and you must be sure to rest when I am gone. O, my blessed mother, I shall bless you in Heaven for taking such care of me. No sorrow or suffering there. We shall all be free there. Yes, we shall all be free when we arrive at home, and we shall live forever. Yes, and I can smile upon you now through all my sufferings." It was her last suffering night. Wednesday, the 25th, a death coldness was upon her. In the afternoon she became more free from pain and distress. While speaking in the evening of taking care of her, she said, "I shall not want any one to sit up; you can lie on the lounge." At 1 o'clock I called Samuel [another brother]. She talked with him, called for what she wanted as usual, and told him he might lie down. About three o'clock she called him to wet her head with water, and said she felt sleepy. She was indeed going into her last sleep. Samuel wet her head, and soon after spoke to me and said, "I don't know but Annie is dying." I spoke to her.

She took no notice, breathed a few times, and died apparently as easy as any one going into a natural sleep. Her sufferings were over. She was gone. It was 4 o'clock in the morning, July 26, 1855. □

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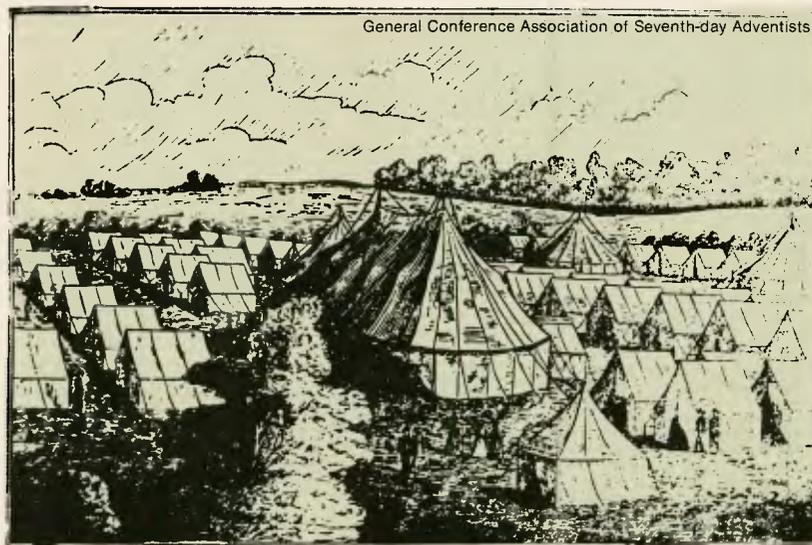
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The Lincoln City Mission:

A. J. CUDNEY AND SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST BEGINNINGS IN LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

Michael McGuckin



The first Seventh-day Adventist camp meeting in Nebraska held in 1877 at Fremont may have looked much like this one.

When J. V. Weeks and his wife moved from Wisconsin to Olatha, Nebraska, in 1858 they became the state's first Seventh-day Adventists. Although more Adventists moved into the state during the ensuing years, the lives of the church members continued to be lonely until the first statewide camp-meeting, held at Fremont in 1877. Out of discussions held at that time grew the Nebraska conference, organized a year later with a total membership of about three hundred and fifty. During the next seven years, advancement of the church de-

pendent upon laymen, for ministers were in short supply. But the laymen were successful; by 1885 the Nebraska conference had increased its membership to about fifteen hundred.

Despite the denomination's general growth in the state no one had preached Seventh-day Adventism in Nebraska's leading cities, Lincoln and Omaha. This neglect of the cities was typical of Adventism throughout the country, however, for the rural-oriented Adventists had a strong distaste for city

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life. Ellen White, the denomination's chief spiritual leader, shared this distaste but at the same time recognized the city's need for Christ's gospel and strongly urged the General Conference leadership to promote city evangelism.

At its 1885 session, the General Conference recommended that each state conference establish at least one city mission in its territory. After counseling with the church leaders, A. J. Cudney, the Nebraska Conference president, and H. Shultz decided to open a small mission in Lincoln, the state capital, in order to train laymen and to preach the gospel to the people of Lincoln and Lancaster County.

Officially, the work in Lincoln began with a sentence written by A. J. Cudney in the September 8, 1885, issue of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*: "We expect to hold meetings at Lincoln two or three weeks before the campmeeting commences." Although Cudney wanted ultimately to establish a city mission, he first needed to proselyte a congregation. To do this, he planned to field Bible workers and cover the city with tracts. An evangelistic series would follow and then merge with the annual Nebraska Campmeeting, which was to be held at Lincoln that year. Afterwards, Cudney hoped to baptize a congregation large enough to care for the city mission which the conference wished to sponsor.

About the middle of September, Cudney arrived in Lincoln from his home in Fremont. While a number of Bible teachers and others walked from door to door inviting the people of Lincoln to the evangelistic meetings, he rented a lot on the corner of 9th and E Streets and, with the help of several conference men, pitched a large tent for the meetings. On Thursday evening, September 24, 1885, he preached the first sermon before an audience of ministers, agents, colporteurs, missionaries, and other Seventh-day Adventists who had joined Cudney to make the opening a success. A number of non-Adventists attended as well.

The Adventist meetings made quite a daily news story for Lincoln. The religious editor of the *Daily State Journal* attended every meeting and the *Journal* covered the series well. There were meetings at 3:00 every afternoon — Bible readings on weekdays, a sermon on Sunday — as well as the preaching service every evening at 7:30. The theology was all good Seventh-day Adventist doctrine and must have been singular to the Adventist belief. The reporter from the *Daily State Journal* commented: "There is much that is attractive in the primitive beliefs and earnest practices of these honest and well-meaning people."

On Sunday evening, September 27, Cudney preached from Matthew 24 on the signs and nearness of the second coming of Christ. Monday evening, September 28, another minister, George Les-

senger, spoke on the Millenium. The sermons that followed — the 2300 days (Thursday), and the sanctuary and the atonement (Friday) — were strong theology. Earlier in the week, Cudney announced that he had put a question box at the front door of the tent and asked those who questioned or did not understand the doctrines being taught to write out their inquiries and drop them into the box. Cudney promised to answer each query during the question and answer period immediately following the next evening's service. By Tuesday a reporter commented that the questions put in the box showed that many were searching the Bible to see if Cudney's theology was scriptural.

Because Cudney taught a belief that was somewhat akin to most Protestant creeds, there was little opposition. The doctrine of the Sabbath, however, broke the peace. On Saturday, October 3, an auspicious day, Cudney opened his Bible and preached about the relationship of Christ to the law of God, arguing from the Scriptures that Christ not only ordained the Sabbath at creation, but was also the One who gave the Sabbath embodied in the law



A. J. Cudney started the first city mission and training school in Lincoln in the 1880's.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

to Israel at Sinai. Consequently, he argued, the ten commandments, including the fourth, are binding on all Christians today. During his second Sabbath sermon on Monday evening, Cudney described the transfer of the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. After paraphrasing the text of the sermon for the *Journal*, the reporter concluded:

It would seem that no one, whatever his former ideas might have been, could fail to be satisfied with the conclusions which he reached from prophecy, from history, and from the confession of the party, that it was the papacy who did it; and that without the least scriptural authority, but directly in opposition to Scripture, and to the will of God. The papacy not only confesses to this, but boasts of it as evidence of its power, which even Protestants allow of by observing the false Sabbath and violating the time.

After a sermon on the Sabbath restored, Cudney clinched his argument with two sermons (October 8 and 9) on the mark of the beast. He warned the people in the tent that by keeping Sunday holy, the Christian had yielded to the beast and would eventually receive its mark.

After the *Journal* reporter's conclusions and the sermons on the mark of the beast, the Protestant ministers answered back. One, J. B. Johnson, delivered a rebuttal at the City Hall, October 18, 1885. Reasoning that the authority of the law — the Old Covenant — had ended on the cross and citing the Mosaic law, he accused the Adventists of teaching not just a spurious doctrine but of breaking their own Sabbath. He then begged for proof that Christ had ever commanded the apostles to teach a seventh-day Sabbath.

The Sabbath sermons also upset the State Evangelist for the Christian Church, R. C. Barrows, who proceeded to bombard the *Journal* with a series of letters denouncing the Sabbath doctrine and the Adventists. Barrows tried to prove that the Sabbath was a local and peculiarly Jewish institution, and that Sunday was the Lord's day and had been observed by the early Apostolic church. For proof he quoted extensively from the early church fathers and Nehemiah 9:14, 15. Barrows finished his first letter with Colossians 2:16 and stated: "Keep the Sabbath if you wish, but do not presume to 'judge' others in this matter."

Meanwhile, Seventh-day Adventists filtered in from all over the state. On October 6 a worker's meeting began, and seven days later the brethren began arriving for the fall campmeeting by wagon and railway. The campmeeting did not put an end to the evangelistic meetings which were merged with the evening services of the encampment.

The campmeeting was located on the grounds of

the evangelistic tent at 9th and E Streets. During the previous week, Adventist boys that Cudney had recruited earlier from around the state, had put up about seventy-five tents. Besides the big evangelistic tent for the English services, the Germans and Scandinavians occupied two smaller tents and listened to ministers preaching in their own languages. There was a reception tent where Lincolnites were greeted "and made to feel at home," as well as the Book and Bible Tent where Bibles, tracts, stationery, and doctrinal books were stored and sold.

The leaders attempted to create a godly atmosphere throughout the camp in order to attract only those people of Lincoln who wished to truly study



Review and Herald Publishing Association

O. A. Olsen, then superintendent of the Scandinavian Mission in America, was one of the speakers at the 1885 camp meeting at Lincoln.

the Word of God. This meant the self-discipline and cooperation of all the Advent people. The reporter of the *Daily State Journal* noted how hard they worked:

The whole camp being under as strict discipline as a military camp, the difference being that in the camp everybody cooperates heartily in maintaining discipline instead of discipline being enforced.

Not all the Lincolnites, however, had yet discovered the elevated atmosphere of the encampment, because several lucrative-minded youth applied with

Cudney to sell taffy at the front gate and were promptly turned down.

The daily schedule was as arduous as the discipline was strict. The rising bell awoke the campers at 5:00 a.m., and at half past there was a prayer and social meeting — testimonial service, that is — in the evangelistic tent or tabernacle as it was usually called. The women served breakfast about seven o'clock, and the families met in their individual tents at eight. The conference men met in business sessions at nine o'clock, and everyone gathered in the tabernacle at ten-thirty for the preaching or Bible reading. Dinner was served at one, another Bible reading or sermon began at two-thirty, and an afternoon business session was held at five o'clock.

LINCOLN, NEB., MISSION.

I RECENTLY had the privilege of spending a few days at this mission, where I was cordially welcomed, and my stay was both pleasant and profitable to me. It is evident that this mission was established none too soon. Surely the Lord has led out in the work at Lincoln. The truth seems to be working like leaven all through the city, and new ones are constantly inquiring after these things. The workers find plenty to do.

Though Sabbath was a very stormy day, quite a congregation attended the meetings. The Sabbath-school was very interesting, and the social meeting was more encouraging than any I had attended for a long time. To see so many who have just embraced the message, and to hear them express their joy of heart for having heard this "plain truth," caused me to rejoice anew with them. I am sure that if our brethren in Nebraska knew what openings there are for the spread of the truth in this the most important city of our State, and what a willingness is shown by the people to investigate, their interest in this mission would greatly increase, and they would all be anxious to assist it. I now have more faith in city missions than ever before.

The workers have labored at great disadvantage, for want of means to secure a suitable building, etc. If there ever was a time when we all here in Nebraska needed the real spirit of sacrifice and devotion to the cause, it is now. May the Lord help us to realize the importance of the work, and to take hold and lift as never before.

W. N. HYATT.

W. N. Hyatt reported on his visit to Lincoln in the March 30, 1886, issue of the *Review and Herald*.

courtesy: Loma Linda University Heritage Room

The evangelistic service began promptly at eight o'clock with a song service, and the bell was rung at nine o'clock for retirement. Everybody on the grounds was expected to be perfectly quiet at nine-thirty. The program differed only for the Sabbath services, the children's meetings on Saturday and Sunday, and the big weekend revival meeting. On Sabbath, the camp looked much the same as on other days, except that the people were quieter, and all regular activity was suspended. The supply tent was closed Friday evening and nothing was bought or sold until after sundown Saturday.

Campmeeting 1885 was quite a special event for the Nebraska Adventists. George Butler, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, O. A. Olson, superintendent of the Scandinavian Mission in America, and E. W. Farnsworth of New England were guests. On Sabbath, October 17, Olson took the podium at the eleven o'clock hour, announcing his belief that this hour was to be the most important of the 1885 campmeeting. He based his sermon on Matthew 5:14-16 which outlines the steps necessary for salvation. Many Adventists, he felt, were legalists keeping the Sabbath rigidly from sunset to sunset, but not worshipping God with their hearts. At the close of his sermon, Elder Olson called for those who knew they had lost their love for the Saviour to come forward. Sixty or seventy responded, many of whom were crying, feeling their loss of Christ very deeply. Monday afternoon, October 19, twelve persons were baptized in a nearby creek while it rained. The campmeeting came to an end with a testimonial meeting at five-thirty Tuesday morning.

By November 1, campmeeting being over, the Lincoln Adventists found themselves alone. A few Lincolmites had accepted the Advent message at the close of the evangelistic meetings, and of these no small number were unsure of the doctrinal tenets other than that of the Sabbath. Cudney had asked to stay and had resigned his office as conference president in order to do so. He wanted to continue the evening meetings, and later to establish the City Mission. However, the immediate job was to buy or rent a church building.

Cudney and the men of the congregation looked for a medium-sized hall or church in which to meet and hold their public meetings but failed to find one at "reasonable rates." Notwithstanding, on Sabbath, November 7, 1885, the congregation organized a Sabbath School of more than thirty members, half of whom were adults. The services were held in rooms used by a select school on the corner of 12th and H Streets.

Having failed in finding a building, the members held Bible readings nightly in the parlors of Lincolmites who would open the doors of their homes for them. One newspaper reported:

Their mode of procedure is to read a few chapters of Scripture and then to explain them according to Advent belief. People who attend the meetings say they are interesting.

Mostly the Adventists worked quietly over the winter months, and by February, 1886, nineteen more adults had embraced their beliefs. Counting the children and a few who had been keeping the Sabbath previously, the total company numbered forty.

The Daily Nebraska State Journal.

DAILY STATE JOURNAL LINCOLN NEBRASKA FRIDAY JANUARY 22 1886

In January, the congregation tried to establish a church in Lincoln. The title of a lot on the corner of 16th and F Streets belonged to the state and was much coveted. Early in January, several parties applied to the Board of Public Lands for permission to build on the property. The Board denied all requests, including the last one which had been made by representatives of the Seventh-day Adventist church. However, the brethren wanted to build a house of worship on the lot and wanted to so earnestly that the Board's refusal did not dampen their zeal. Like Israel they intended to go in, possess the land of Canaan, and claim "squatter's rights." They even hauled lumber to the site and began to build a small shop for the workmen at the rear of the lot with the intentions of building a sanctuary on the forward portion.

A number of persons in the neighborhood did not appreciate the idea of a church being built in that particular location, however. Covertly they hauled in boards and materials the night of the twentieth. When the Adventists came out to labor the next morning, they found "a snug little house" where they had hoped to build the church. After the initial write-up in the *Journal*, nothing else was written about the squatting Adventists, although the editors told their readers to keep watch because the battle was not over yet.

Eager to organize the City Mission, Cudney quickly came to the conclusion that a mission could serve as a church and a lecture hall as well as a training school. Early in February, he rented rooms at 1817 M Street in a centrally located boarding house near the center of Lincoln. The Nebraska Conference Committee appointed Cudney director and sole instructor of the school and sisters E. A. Stuart of Nebraska City and Effie Rankin to the offices of matron and secretary-treasurer respectively.

The mission program was much like those used by city missions in other conferences. Primarily, it offered a curriculum composed of little more than a Bible doctrines class. This program attracted students from the pool of conference workers and the young men of the state who felt God had called them

GETTING THERE

Two Parties Contending for the Possession of a Lot That Belongs to the State.

The title to a lot at the corner of Sixteenth and F streets belongs to the state, and lately several parties have made application to the board of public lands for permission to put up buildings on the property. All such requests have been refused, and the last one, made at the last meeting of the board by representatives of the Seventh Day Adventist society, was also denied. These people wanted to erect a house for a place of worship on the lot, and wanted to do this so earnestly that the refusal of the board did not damp their ardor. Accordingly a day or so ago they hauled material and began to erect a shop for workmen on the rear of the lot with the evident attention of beginning a church on the front part as soon as possible.

This was the situation night before last when some of the citizens who live in that part of town and who did not like the idea of church going in at that particular place, bought and hauled material, and yesterday morning when the Adventist brethren came out to labor they found a snug little house on the spot where they had hoped to erect their temple.

Here matters rest, with the end not yet and two parties, both pretty strong, considerably worried as to what will be the final outcome.

The Lincoln congregation tried to "homestead" a disputed lot for their church building.

courtesy: Bennett Martin Public Library, Lincoln, Nebraska

to preach the Adventist message. Unfortunately, because of the small size of the Mission, only a few full-time students were boarded during a term. The term of instruction was short, lasting only a few months so that the old workers could return to the field quickly and the new workers gain experience as rapidly as possible.



This 1880 map of Lincoln, Nebraska, shows the locations of both mission buildings and the disputed land. College View, where Union College was later built, is southeast of town just off the map. courtesy: Nebraska State Historical Society

The one great problem of the mission was money, or rather the lack of it, for it was a self-supporting institution from the beginning. Not a penny of the tithes or the foreign missions offerings was used to meet its expenses. Thus it was dependent on charity, philanthropy, or just any respectable handout. Fortunately, Cudney was forward enough not to be embarrassed by asking other people, especially non-Adventists, to support his mission. He talked three of those who were rooming in the same boarding house where the school was located to pay more than half the rent, and he had high hopes that other Lincolnites would pay the rest. The board was to be managed by much the same method. Cudney persuaded several of the Adventist churches near Lincoln to promise to send food and produce and remarked in the *Review* that "this will make the board

expense very light." He revealed unbounded optimism when he asked his *Review* readers in Nebraska to shop for food only by the hundred weight.

As it might be expected, however, the rent was high, the matron found herself buying food, the furnishings were expensive, the bills came regularly, and the donations of food and money from friends came irregularly. The mission was rarely able to pay all its bills. By April it was eighteen dollars in arrears, and after receiving scarcely any donations during the next two months was short \$60 in June. During these months rarely did a *Review* pass by without one plea for financial help from Cudney or an assistant:

I am sure that if our brethren in Nebraska knew what openings there are for the spread of the truth in this most important city of our state, and what a will-

ingness is shown by the people to investigate, their interest in this mission would greatly increase, and they would all be anxious to assist it.

If Nebraska ever needed a real spirit of sacrifice and devotion to a cause, this assistant stated, "It is now." By June Cudney was saying, "To speak plainly, brethren, we need your help now."

Meanwhile, back home Cudney was doing his best to raise money. He fielded colporteurs throughout the city and reported not infrequently the success of his book salesmen. Sixteen copies of *Marvel of Nations* were sold in one block; ten orders were taken in less than ten minutes at the telegraph office; and six copies were sold in one of the carriage shops. One gentleman bought a copy of Uriah Smith's *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation* and liked it so well that he bought three copies for his friends. Later he purchased other Adventist books and sent Seventh-day Adventist publications to seventy-three friends throughout the States and Canada. Several new Adventists were so caught up with the project that they left their former jobs to join the colporteur work, one giving up one hundred dollars a month and another sixty-five in order to canvass.

Cudney was excited about the progress in Lincoln, comparing the truth of God's Word to that of "leaven" in the hearts of the people of Lincoln. Every day, he wrote, new Lincolmites were inquiring about the truth and were keeping both the students and the evangelistic-minded congregation very busy giving Bible studies. But there was opposition, too.

The dragon is becoming very much disturbed here in Lincoln. A few days ago the M. E. pastor warned his congregation to beware of the Seventh-day Advents that are holding Bible readings from house to house. There were about 2,500 people present when he warned them. He also said he would stand at the judgment bar of God, and swear the blood of those that were led away from his church, upon the heads of those who were conducting the Bible readings. The spirit he manifested in speaking against us was of such a bitter character that many of his own members were surprised and displeased. It is evident that he overdid the matter, and we hope that good will grow out of it.

During the spring as soon as the ice had melted, there were two baptisms, the end result of the parlor Bible studies, in the pond below Crabb's mill south of Lincoln. A total of eight adults were baptized, in most cases uniting whole families in the Seventh-day Adventist church.

During the summer Cudney and the congregation moved out-of-doors, pitched a fifty-foot tent at the corner of 17th and O Streets and held meetings until just before the fall campmeeting began in Lincoln. As a result of the mission work and the ten meetings, forty more individuals accepted the Adventist teachings, and on the Sabbath of the campmeeting, thirty-two were baptized.

During the 1886 campmeeting there was some question as to whether the Lincoln City Mission should continue to exist. It was badly in debt and the rooms that were now being rented were pinched for living room and teaching space. After a debate in the business session, the men rejected the idea of closing the mission and decided instead to hire a proper building to house the school. At the same time, they collected \$1,004 to liquidate the conference debt, including the unpaid bills of the Lincoln Mission. In harmony with the conference decision, the Conference Committee began looking for a fairly large house to rent. Again it failed to find one. This time with better judgment, the Committee decided to purchase a vacant lot and build their own structure.



The Committee purchased a plot of land at 1505 E Street, which was located two blocks south of the old capitol building and situated between the two most important horse-car lines in Lincoln. Construction began sometime in October after an architect had drawn up the building plan. On the fifteenth Cudney showed the blueprints to reporters of the *Daily Nebraska State Journal* who enthusiastically applied the title of "Theological Seminary" to the new school. From then on the Mission was commonly referred to as the "Seminary," or the "Theological School."

The architect had designed a wood-frame building two stories in height with a basement and a high attic. The dimensions were forty-three by twenty-two feet, and the building was broken up into four floors. A kitchen, dining room, two bathrooms, as well as a laundry and storeroom were located in the basement. A chapel, which seated about two hundred comfortably, and an office were on the ground floor. The second floor was divided into recitation rooms and women's dormitory bedrooms while the attic was reserved for the men. There were a total of thirty rooms in all, and the building was supplied throughout with gas and hot and cold

The second city mission building, sometimes called "Theological Seminary," is still standing today.



courtesy: Sally McCure

water. The mission could board twenty-two students at one time, a considerable increase over the few that had crowded into the old boarding house.

The completed building cost between seven and eight thousand dollars. The lot was purchased for twenty-five hundred dollars, and the building cost somewhat over five thousand dollars. Every piece of material which was used in the mission building was paid for in cash, saving about six hundred dollars, and every workman was paid immediately for his labor. This was quite a change from the old haphazard method of paying bills that had characterized the old city mission. The entire construction was financed by the Nebraska Conference, which meant that Cudney did not need to go to the public for funds. Already in October twenty-three hundred dollars had been raised by several members of the church, and the conference hoped to raise the balance by subscription before the project was finished.

Instruction for the fall term began immediately in the old quarters. Although the course work would always focus on theology and the preparation of denominational workers, Cudney was planning an expanded curriculum, or as one of his associates enumerated:

A real practical knowledge and experience in canvassing, Bible readings, Sabbath-School, Sunday-School, household, religious, and missionary work in general.

Along with the religion and applied theology, Cudney wanted to emphasize the modern languages. There were so many Americans of foreign birth in Nebraska, especially Germans and Scandinavians, that a rough knowledge of more than one language would be to the advantage of the worker. The school also offered such electives as music, bookkeeping, and shorthand — the only subjects for which tuition was charged.

The students were expected to pay their own tuition, but if a student was too poor, he could be sponsored by the conference. All the students were expected to sell books part time. Cudney estimated the weekly expenses of the student to be about one dollar and fifty cents, the main expense being the ticket to Lincoln and textbooks needed in the classes. After the close of the spring term (1887), the figure was placed more realistically at one dollar and seventy-five cents to two dollars a week. Collected from twenty-two students, the sum was just enough to pay for the extra provisions, fuel, and lights.

When the fall instruction began there were twenty-five students and three instructors, including Cudney. Since much of the training was applied theology, the class soon distinguished itself in the field work. The students themselves were instructing thirty-five classes of Bible studies in private homes. When the term ended, they added up their



The original clocktower building of Union College, begun in 1891 near Lincoln, was a prominent landmark for many decades.

good work: 355 home visits, 142 Bible readings, 36,470 pages of sold books as well as numerous free tracts and papers. "A very fair success," analyzed Cudney, "considering that all the students were gaining their experience in the work."

The winter term began January 20 in the probably unfinished new quarters. Only two teachers were employed, Cudney and an assistant, Percy T. Magan, "a young man of great devotion to his calling and well-qualified for the place. . ." The mission building was probably completed sometime in February. On April 25, Monday, the spring term began. There were thirty-five students. Simultaneously, Cudney conducted a canvassing school for the colporteurs. All the students were instructed to canvass *Good Health*, the *Marvel of Nations*, the *Great Controversy*, and *Thoughts on Daniel and Revelation*. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of the seminary students entered the literature ministry as well as the Bible work.

As of yet, the Lincoln congregation did not have their own house of worship, so they moved into the mission chapel as soon as it was finished. One last institution came to Lincoln during the year. The Tract Society, which had been located in the conference offices at Fremont, was moved into the Lincoln City Mission in February, 1887. The change was made primarily because of the literature work of the

Seminary, and Lincoln's central location on the railway lines which ran north and south, east and west.

Within two years, then, Seventh-day Adventists had firmly established themselves in Lincoln. Largely through the vision and dedicated work of A. J. Cudney, the church provided firm foundations for the institutions that would follow, most notable among them being Union College. Adventist experience in the small midwestern city gave an ample illustration in support of Ellen White's plea for city evangelism: "if we take up the work in the name of the Lord, barriers will be broken down, and decided victories will be ours." □

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HORACE GREELEY AND THE MILLERITES

HEIRLOOM by Vern Carner



The now deceased New York *Tribune* was not quite two years old in 1843 when its eccentric editor, Horace Greeley, published this Extra on Daniel's visions and the prophetic teachings of William Miller. Unusual items appeared frequently. The *Tribune's* advertising columns, for example, were filled with "quack nostrums" for everything from colds to cancer. Greeley believed that the best way to make a profit was to give the reader a sample of all that happened. Perhaps this explains why the paper welcomed, it seems, any and all reforms. In fact, the *Tribune*

Horace Greeley, the founder and publisher of the "Whiggish" New York *Tribune*, uncritically flirted with many and varied reform movements.

candidly listed in an early issue a number of reforms that it supported: "Anti-Slavery, Anti-War, Anti-Rum, Anti-Tobacco, Anti-Seduction, Anti-Grogshops, Brothels, Gambling Houses." It is not surprising, then, that since the preaching of William Miller was gaining considerable prominence by 1843, Greeley took an opportunity to give his readers a taste both of Miller and his refuters.

Both pages of the Extra's illustrations and explanatory text first appeared in the February 24, 1843 issue of the *Midnight Cry*, a Millerite paper published in New York state. Greeley borrowed these items and added a portion of the text from a recent rebuttal of Miller's theory by a leading Baptist minister, John Dowling, of Providence, Rhode Island.

Only a few years before, in 1832, John Dowling, his wife and two children had immigrated to the United States from England where Dowling had forsaken the established Anglican church of his childhood for the dissenting Baptist movement. He had taught and preached as a layman in and near London, but since the English universities did not accept dissenters, he obtained his education at Brown University after he came to



John Dowling, A.M., pastored several prominent Baptist congregations in Philadelphia, Providence and New York. He was Miller's leading critic.

courtesy: American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, New York

solved, that our pastor, Rev. John Dowling, be requested to publish the discourses." Dowling readily agreed. Before the end of 1840 an edition of 1,000 copies was published under the title *An Exposition of the Prophecies Supposed by William Miller to Predict the Second Coming of Christ, in 1843.*

The small volume contained 232 pages and was mainly distributed to the members of the Pine Street Church, but a few copies went astray into the surrounding area. Soon the demand exceeded the supply. Dowling's enterprising publisher urged him to allow a new, cheaper edition to be prepared that would sell for 12½ cents instead of the 50 cents of the original volume. It did not take much persuading in view of two communications that Dowling received inquiring as to the correctness of a rumor that he regretted having published his refutations! This second edition, which appeared in late 1842, contained all of the first edition with only a short note added. Several thousand were printed and bound in paper covers. This supply again was soon depleted, and in mid 1843 a third printing was made. Both the second and third editions were printed in New York City, and received rather extensive publicity by the publisher as the surviving broadside "Miller Used up for a Shilling" illustrates.

The effect of Dowling's work was thought by Himes to be very great. "I do not hesitate to say . . . that Mr. D.'s review of Miller has done more harm to the spiritual interests of the world, and closed more minds against the light, by putting an end to inquiry on their part, than all that has ever appeared besides, whether by Christians, Universalists or infidels." However, there were those not a part of the Miller movement who denounced Dowling's work as "shallow, absurd and worthless." One thing is certain: no other work of opposition received such wide circulation or exposure. By including a portion from the second "shilling" edition of Dowling's pamphlet in his *Extra*, Mr. Greeley saw to this. □

America. A man of considerable gifts, he was much in demand as a pastor and a speaker, and held pastorates in a number of leading Baptist churches of Philadelphia, Providence, New York City and some small communities.

It was while he served the Pine Street Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island, that Dowling felt it his duty to preach one Lord's Day on "the Prophecies supposed to predict the time of Christ's coming." Probably the January, 1840, enlarged edition of 5,000 copies of Miller's *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the year 1843* was influential in Dowling's choice of sermon topic. Though Miller's work had appeared in several previous editions, it had never been produced in so large a printing nor had it been distributed with the enthusiasm that Joshua V. Himes gave it. Miller had recently given his first large-city lecture in Boston and was beginning to gain attention from many city churches. Several Baptist ministers even invited him to lecture in their pulpits. It was undoubtedly this new prominence that prompted Dowling to give his lectures attempting to refute Miller's theories. Before the week was over a church meeting was called, and "It was unanimously re-

Although Miller wrote a short answer to Dowling, it was Josiah Litch's 90-page pamphlet that was circulated as the Millerite reply to Dowling.

**MILLER
USED UP
FOR A SHILLING!**

A Thorough REVIEW of MR. MILLER'S THEORY of the
**END OF THE WORLD
IN 1843.**

Showing his ERRORS in Calculation of TIME, &c. &c.
BY J. DOWLING, A. M.
Pastor of the Pine-Street Baptist Church, Providence, R. I.

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONAL REMARKS, ETC.
Published by J. R. BIGELOW,
130 NASSAU-ST.
PRICE ONE SHILLING.

FOR SALE at most of the Book Stores, Periodical Offices, &c. in this City.

For Sale Here,

This 18" x 24" broadside was used to advertize John Dowling's recently republished work in a cheap "shilling" edition.

courtesy: American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, New York

SECOND ADVENT LIBRARY.
NO. XI.
MARCH 12, 1842.

REFUTATION

"DOWLING'S REPLY TO MILLER;"

ON THE
SECOND COMING OF CHRIST
IN 1843.

BY JOSIAH LITCH.

WITH A PREFACE, BY JOSHUA V. HIMES.

“A FEW STERLING PIECES”

NINETEENTH CENTURY ADVENTIST TEMPERANCE SONGS

Grosvenor Fattic

Raging throughout most of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, America's own Hundred Years' War between traffickers in liquor and progressives heaven-bent on reform was more than a light skirmish or even a major campaign. It was a full-scale conflict in which opposing forces, locked in battle, engaged all the fearful engines of propaganda warfare — including music and song — in a desperate struggle to win. Passionately committed to the triumph of temperance in this major social conflict, Seventh-day Adventist composers fought valiantly until the end, never winning a permanent victory.

But the record of their action, the relics of battle, remain — preserved in hymnals and songbooks for us to examine from the perspective of nearly a century. And an investigation of their songs and the collections of hymns and tunes published or sold by Seventh-day Adventists during the past 125 years reveals the growth of the temperance cause within the Adventist church, the variety of issues that it covered, and the fluctuating importance of the temperance message as part of the church's evangelical

outreach. It also reveals that Seventh-day Adventist tunesmiths and versifiers, filled with fervor for the conquest of intemperance, were inspired to reach hitherto unscaled heights of musical and literary mediocrity along a wide ranging front.

The evidence from these books suggests that the cause of temperance was an insignificant part of the Advent message during the earliest years of the church. Following the Civil War, however, and particularly through the decades of the 1870's and 1880's, it grew to great prominence and then, in this century, subsided.

The first Adventist songbook ever published, *Hymns for God's Peculiar People, that Keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jesus*, was compiled by James White and printed by Richard Oliphant in Oswego, New York, in 1849. It was a small collection of hymns, long since fallen into disuse, concerning the direct doctrinal issues of the

Assistant Professor of English at Andrews University, Grosvenor Fattic is interested in American Popular music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

day — the seventh-day Sabbath, and Second Coming of Christ, the Three Angels' Messages, and the Battle of Armageddon. It contained no reference to any aspect of temperance, and neither did the next book, *Hymns for Second Advent Believers Who Observe the Sabbath of the Lord*, published by James White in Rochester, New York, in 1852. Nor did the third, *Hymns for Youth and Children*, compiled by Anna White and published by the Advent Library Office in Rochester in 1854. In fact, through at least nine more new collections or revisions published by Adventists in New York and in Battle Creek, Michigan, no temperance songs can be found. Early Seventh-day Adventist pioneers, it seems, devoted their creative energies entirely to the basic doctrines of the church, particularly the Sabbath and the Second Coming of Christ.

But the second generation of Seventh-day Adventists, now members of a well-organized and flourishing denomination, expanded this limited musical scope to include a much wider range of songs in their new books. The first of these was the *Song Anchor, A Choice Collection of Favorites for Sabbath School and Praise Service*. Similar in size and format to the still-familiar *Christ in Song*, it was compiled by Edson White and published in 1878 both in Oakland, California, by the Pacific Press and in Battle Creek by the Review and Herald. The *Song Anchor* was not only the first Seventh-day Adventist hymnal to include songs of temperance but also the first to include Christmas songs. However, only two selections from the *Song Anchor*, both composed by F. E. Belden and D. S. Hakes, promoted temperance. No. 150, "Temperance Rally," was, as its title implies, a call urging new members to join the movement:

Rally for the cause of temp'rance
Childhood, youth and age;

Let each name now seek an entrance
On the temp'rance page.
Sign the pledge, abstain from evil
In thy youthful days,
Lest thou walk so lone and feeble
In the drunkard's ways.

(Chorus) Sign the pledge and wear the ribbon,
Don the badge of blue;
Seek the tempted and the fallen,
God will strengthen you.

The second and third stanzas urge the listener to "Take the water, Shun the wine," "Bind the threads of hope now broken," and, always, "Sign the pledge." No. 152, "Look Not on the Wine," pleaded more passionately:

Look not upon the wine
That sparkles in its flow,
For death is slumb'ring there,
Beneath its ruddy glow.
No happiness it bringeth,
At last it only stingeth;
It biteth, and it wringeth
The heart with bitter woe.

(Chorus) Oh, look not on the wine,
Oh, shun the glowing cup;
A demon's arms entwine
The souls of those who sup.

In the decades following publication of the *Song Anchor*, new hymnals and songbooks for special purposes, particularly for use in the Sabbath School, issued regularly from SDA publishing houses: *Pearly Portals*, *Better Than Pearls*, *Joyful Greeting*, *The Gospel Song Sheaf*, and many others. Most of these collections contained up to half a dozen temperance hymns calling for unity, declaring war on alcohol, lauding the virtues of cold water, or urging strength in the face of temptation.

Edson White's book of temperance songs became popular with Adventist audiences in the 1880's, going through two editions.



courtesy: Andrews University

But since 1886 only three volumes have completely dominated the musical scene in Seventh-day Adventist churches. The first of these was *Hymns and Tunes*. Officially titled *The Seventh-day Adventist Hymn and Tune Book for Use in Divine Worship*, this collection was compiled between 1884 and 1886 by a special committee of the General Conference. A handsome volume approximately the same size, though not the same format (since many of the words were not included within the music), as the present *Church Hymnal, Hymns and Tunes* provided a large collection of over 1400 hymns, appealing to a wide variety of musical tastes and suitable for a full range of church-sponsored programs. For 65 years, until 1941, this work served as the official hymnal of the Seventh-day Adventist church.

Fourteen of the songs included in *Hymns and Tunes* dealt specifically with temperance and covered a broad spectrum of concerns within the temperance movement. Songs ranged from "Look Not Upon the Wine," which had been included in the previous *Song Anchor*, through several more moderate hymns still familiar today: "Sound the Battle Cry," "Yield Not to Temptation," "Dare To Be a Daniel," from Isaac J. Woodbury's musical arrangement of Proverbs 20:1 and 23:29-32, "Wine Is a Mocker," to the fervor of the "Key Note Song" by Dwight Williams and W. J. Bostwick:

Hail! Columbia, dare to be
 God's peculiar land and free;
 Brothers, let the key-note ring,
 Mothers, pray, and children, sing;
 Drive the traffic to the wall;
 Prohibition! shout it, all,
 Prohibition! shout it, all,
 Pray and vote! pray and vote, pray and vote,
 And ring out a grand keynote.

At the turn of the century, though, a new hymnal, *Christ in Song*, was compiled and published by the prolific composer F. E. Belden but sold by the Review and Herald. This work gained rapidly in popularity, particularly after the introduction of a revised and enlarged edition in 1908 soon eclipsed the old *Hymns and Tunes*, and was predominant in Adventist worship services through the Second World War. Of the nearly 1000 selections included in *Christ in Song*, only four in the first edition and five in the second dealt with temperance — no more than earlier Sabbath School songbooks with less than a quarter of as many songs.

Begun in 1936 and first published in 1941, *The Church Hymnal* was intended to replace both *Hymns and Tunes* and *Christ in Song* in all public services, and, with only a few scattered hold-overs, it has succeeded. But the trend away from temperance hymns in public worship begun in *Christ in Song* was continued in *The Church Hymnal*. Although six hymns are classified under "Temperance" in the index, only the old standby "Sleeping on Guard"

maintains the spirit of earlier songs, and only its second stanza still breathes the old temperance fire:

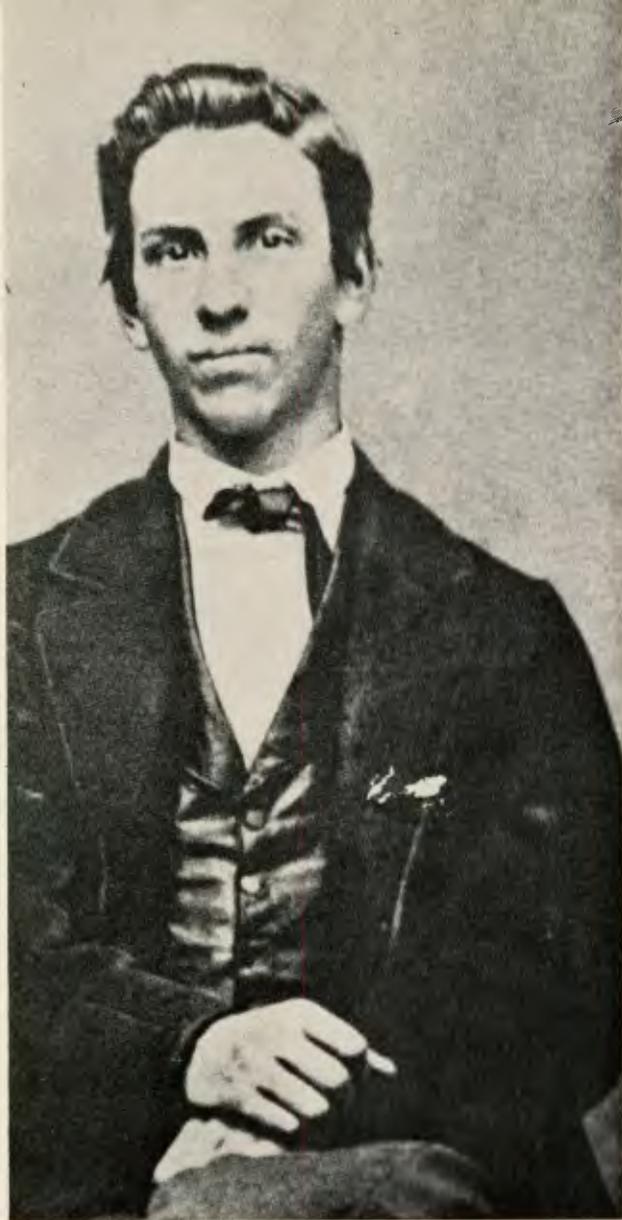
Yonder Rum's camp lights are burning;
 Hark to the revelry there!
 Waiting the conflict returning,
 Scouts are abroad everywhere.

A further volume-by-volume examination of other denominational songbooks published since the First World War is not necessary to demonstrate that the role of music and song in the temperance movement, and of that movement itself within the Seventh-day Adventist church, have declined dramatically in importance. Since 1909, only one new song of significance has been added to the Adventist temperance repertoire. Composed by Martha W. Howe, medical dietitian of the Washington Sanitarium, "True Temperance Boys and Girls" first appeared in *The Junior Song Book* in 1931. Perhaps, more than any other song, it indicates best the new direction the temperance movement was heading — away from a virulent attack on alcohol toward a more positive approach to balanced, healthful living, which may not, however, lend itself as well to lyrical treatment:

We wash our hands before we eat,
 Our fingernails keep short and neat;
 Our teeth we brush both morn and eve,
 And praise for gifts that we receive.
 We try to stand up straight and tall,
 And not let shoulders droop or fall,
 To walk on toes instead of heels,
 And not to eat between our meals.
 This last is hardest we all think;
 Instead of eating take a drink.
 The stomach must have time to rest,
 Then for us all 'twill do its best.

The single, most important work for any study of temperance songs in the Adventist church, however, is none of those already referred to, but a collection, prepared in 1880 by Edson White, of *Temperance and Gospel Songs, for the Use of Temperance Clubs and Gospel Temperance Meetings* and published by the American Health and Temperance Association in Battle Creek. The imminent appearance of *Temperance and Gospel Songs* was heralded in the April 29, 1880, issue of the *Review* with a letter from J. H. Kellogg in his role as president of the American Health and Temperance Association:

The friends of the health and temperance work will be pleased to learn that a collection of temperance hymns, songs, anthems, and music is being prepared expressly for the use of health and temperance clubs. Quite a collection of excellent pieces has been made already, several first-class composers having contributed liberally to the work, but there is still wanting a few sterling pieces on such subjects as true temperance, tea and coffee, tobacco, the teetotal pledge, etc. Good words that can be set to music are especially required. In order to interest our friends in this direction, we have decided to offer a prize of \$5 for the best words on any of the above subjects, and hereby do so with the stipulation that the words shall be sufficiently meritorious to be worthy of a place in the work referred



Edson White published and promoted temperance songs in the Seventh-day Adventist church.
courtesy: Ellen G. White Estate

to, the awarding of the prize to be left to the Executive Committee of the American Health and Temperance Association. This offer remains good for four weeks only.

We shall be exceedingly glad to receive good selections of words or music.

Apparently the new book, which appeared later that year, was well-received. In an enthusiastic testimonial printed in the January 4, 1881, *Review and Herald*, C. Henry Meade, Conductor of the Silver Lake, New York, Temperance Camp-Meeting, wrote,

Among the many things which made our meeting a glorious success throughout, was the inspiring singing by our grand choir from your new work, 'Temperance and Gospel Songs.' It is overflowing with good music and fine hymns.

And W. T. Giffe of Logansport, Indiana, agreed,

The music throughout is *musician-like* – a rare excellency in such books. The words, too, are fresh and have a meaning.

The publishers boasted at this same time that 4000 of the 30-cent copies had been sold within a few weeks after its introduction. An examination of the 108 songs in this compilation together with those found in other hymnals and songbooks of the same era provide our best insight into the subjects and styles composers of the age found most profitable and popular.

Predictably enough, musical arrows launched from temperance bows were aimed most often at alcohol. But the angles these archers took varied widely. Some, of course, simply attacked alcohol in general, if passionate, terms as E. P. and D. S. Hakes did in "Taste It Not," composed in 1880:

Touch not the foaming, tempting glass,
Nor look upon the wine;
A serpent vile is hid within
The liquid of the vine.
Its ruddy gleam invites you all
To taste the sparkling bowl,
And hides beneath the poison fangs,
Which smite into your soul.

(Chorus) Taste not, touch not,
Pass it quickly by!
Taste not, touch not;
Look for help on high.

Oh taste it not, for ruin comes
Fast fol'wing in its train,
And he who sups will surely fall —
Mad frenzy seize his brain;
In happy homes he'll find no place,
If wine his master be,
And loving hearts will anguish feel
And naught but sorrow see.

Touch not nor taste the seething ill,
Flee from the tempting foe;
Let not its hue profane your lips —
Twill bring you bitter woe;
Oh, pass it by with fleeting steps,
Heed not the shining light
That's held aloft by sinful hands
To draw you from the right.

A more popular and specific theme, however, exposed alcohol as the destroyer of home and family. "Dying Contrition," by Julia F. Lloyd and D. S. Hakes, is a fine example:

In this hour so faint and weary,
Gaze I in the wine-cup red,
See a mother's hot tears falling
On her first-born's youthful head.
Do you see the shame and madness
Lurking in the ruby glow?
Look again! see wife and children
Sink beneath dark waves of woe.

(Chorus) Oh, if tears could stay the rumtide,
Oh, if aching hearts had power,
Nevermore might such dark mem'ries
Haunt a soul's last dying hour!

TOUCH NOT THE WINE CUP.—Anthem.

1 Touch not the wine cup! be - ware! be-ware! 'Tis a might - y foe of all, a might - y foe of all!
 2 Wine is a mock - er! be - ware! be-ware! Sor - row slum - bers in its flow, death slumbers in its flow;

be-ware!

Touch not the wine cup, for death is there! Age and youth a - like may fall, a - like may fall.
 Wine is a mock - er! though bright and fair, In it lies a world of woe, a world of woe!

Bright as the mora though its spark - le be, Fresh as the dew though it seem to thee; Turn from the wine while thy
 Turn from the wine cup, for death is there! Turn from the wine cup and shun the snare! Wine is a mock - er! be -

soul is free—For death is there! For death is there! Touch not the wine cup! be - ware! be - ware! 'Tis a might - y
 ware! be - ware! For death is there! For death is there! Touch not the wine cup! be - ware! be - ware! 'Tis a might - y

Rit.

foe of thine; Touch not the wine cup, for death is there! Touch not the wine! Touch not the wine!
 foe of thine; Wine is a mock - er! be - ware! be - ware! Touch not the wine! Touch not the wine!

The almost military rhythm of many temperance songs appeared in "Touch not the Wine Cup."
 courtesy: Andrews University

Oh, what depths, what depths of misery,
 Sparkling, luring to destroy,
 Taking strength and glorious manhood,
 Gulping all of hope and joy.
 Lo! my eyes see radiant visions
 Of a Heaven sweet but lost!
 In that cup I madly plunged it,
 Plunged that Heav'n of richest cost!
 Oh, if tears could stay the rumtide,
 Oh, if loving hearts had power.
 Nevermore might such bright visions
 Mock a soul's sad dying hour!

Take the cup so filled with horror,
 Show its depths, and quickly tell
 All the youth blind and unthinking,
 That it leadeth down to hell.
 Tell the truth, say that it biteth
 Like a serpent, at the last,
 And with adder's sting it coil eth

Round the soul and holds it fast.
 Oh, let tears now stay the rumtide,
 Oh, let yearning hearts have power,
 Nevermore let blood-bought mortal
 Come to such dread dying hour!

Several warnings were addressed specifically to children, and "Little Drops," set to music by Edson White, supposedly charmed the younger temperance set:

Little drops of claret,
 Now and then, at first,
 Forms an awful habit,
 And a dreadful thirst.

Little drinks of lager,
 Little cups of ale,
 Make the biggest guzzler —
 Never knew it fail.

Little kegs of whiskey,
Often brought from town,
Make a man a monkey,
Or a silly clown.

Little drops of brandy,
Little drops of rye,
Make the mighty toper,
And the rummy eye.

But a surprising number of composers followed a more positive approach and hymned the virtues of pure water as an alternative. Belden and Hakes' "Water, Pure Water" is an example:

Water, pure water, that sparkles so bright,
Beautiful, fresh, and free!
Falling from heaven like jewels of light —
Falling for you and me!
Fresh from the bountiful Giver of all,
Nothing so pure can be!
This is the song of the showers that fall
Over the lake and lea:

(Chorus) Drink water, pure water,
Drink water, pure water,
Drink, drink, drink, drink,
Drink, drink, drink, drink,
Drink, drink, drink, drink,
Drink pure water.

Two more examples, also composed by Belden and Hakes, reveal that poets could be as abandoned in their praise of water as they had been in their condemnation of alcohol — "Beautiful Crystal Spring":

Down in the dell where daisies grow,
Down where the purling streamlets flow,
Under the boughs where robins sing,
Slumbers the cooling, crystal spring

And a prize-winning song "O Pure and Free":

O rain drops bright with liquid light!
O heaven-born, and pure!
O gems that shine with light divine,
Whose lustre shall endure!
Ye bring us health, ye bring us wealth,
The aching heart ye cure!
We'll drink of you, from heaven's blue,
And happiness is sure!

Nearly all of these anti-alcoholic anthems stirred the deepest passions — love, hate, guilt, shame; but those opposing tobacco often employed a light touch of humor to carry their message. Here are two examples — W. J. Bostwick's "Smoking and Chewing Song":

Chewing in the parlor,
Smoking in the street,
Choking with cigar smoke
Ev'ry one you meet;
Spitting on the pavement,
Spitting on the floor —
Is there such enslavement?
Is there such a bore?

(Chorus) Chewing! Chewing!
Smoking! Smoking!
Spitting! Spitting!
Choking! Choking!
Sending clouds a whirling
In everybody's face.
Chewing in the parlor,
Spitting on the floor,
Is there such enslavement?
Is there such a bore?

Puddles in the corners,
Swelling into one,
Forming lakes and rivers,
Drying in the sun. —
Maidens, never marry
Men who smoke or chew!
If they use tobacco,
They will never do.

Many carry spices,
Cinnamon and cloves —
Make use of your eyesight,
Make use of your nose;
For when you are married
Spice they throw away;
And your loving husband
Smokes and chews all day.

And a couple of stanzas from Lillie D. Avery and Edson White's "Tobacco":

What gives my breath an awful smell,
And hinders me from feeling well?
One single word the tale will tell!
Tobacco! Tobacco!

What keeps me spitting all the day
On fence and wall, till people say,
"I guess he'll spit his life away?"
Tobacco! Tobacco!

With the inclusion of additional hymns on the subjects of temptation, the pledge, strength in unity, loyalty to the cause, *Temperance and Gospel Songs* provided a surprising variety of songs for the cause of temperance, even though Dr. Kellogg's generous offer of a \$5 prize failed to inspire "a few sterling pieces" scourging the use of tea and coffee.

If any adjectives could be easily overworked in a description of temperance songs from the nineteenth century, those would be *militant* and *sentimental*. I have already noted that reformers of the day viewed their cause as a holy war, and a majority of their songs have a military rhythm and flavor. Here, for example, is W. J. Bostwick's "Temperance Battle Song":

I'm going to enlist, boys!
 I'm going to enlist!
 To battle with the enemy,
 His legions to resist,
 The conflict has begun, boys!
 Our banner's lifted high,
 We'll fight them till they die, boys!
 We'll fight them till they die!

(Chorus) There's Rum and Gin and Brandy,
 Tom Jerry and old Rye.
 There's fierce old Whisky Toddy,
 With Champagne standing by.
 There's Ale and Beer and Porter,
 Their hosts we will defy;
 For we'll fight them till they die, boys!
 We'll fight them till they die.

They're gath'ring up their clans, boys.
 Their plans are deeply laid.
 In halls of legislation, boys,
 They've made a barricade.
 They're sitting in our courts, boys,
 Our cause they have restrained,
 We'll shoot them with our ballots, boys,
 Until they all are slain.

Our foes are bold and strong, boys,
 Unscrupulous and rich;
 And if we do not master them,
 They'll drive us to the ditch;
 They're always wide awake, boys,
 Just waiting for a chance,
 But when we get all ready, boys,
 We'll make the demon dance.

They've crept into our homes, boys,
 They've killed our fathers dead;
 They've made us homeless orphans, boys,
 They've tak'n away our bread;
 But now the tide is turning,
 We're rising in our might,
 We've truth and virtue with us, boys,
 We're spoiling for a fight.

We're coming from the East, boys,
 We're coming from the West,
 We're gath'ring for the conflict, boys,
 We'll do our very best.
 Then courage! brother, courage!
 For this we all do know,
 Intemp'rance and his legions dark,
 Have surely got to go.

But the quality that may offend sophisticated late-twentieth-century listeners the most is rampant, unrestrained sentimentality in both music and verse. "Has Father Been Here?" by E. W. Locke is only typical:

Please, Mister Barkeeper, has father been here?
 He's not been at home for the day;
 'Tis now almost midnight, and mother's in fear
 Some accident keeps him away.
 No, no, little stranger, or yes, he's been here,
 Some officers took him away,
 He's gone to the lock-up; I'm sorry my dear,
 He's done something wicked, they say.

(Chorus) Oh! 'twas not my father who did the bad deed,
 'Twas drinking that maddened his brain;
 Oh! let him go home to dear mother, I plead,
 I'm sure he'll not touch it again;
 I'm sure, I'm sure, I'm sure,
 I'm sure he'll not touch it again.

Please, Mister Policeman, my father is lost,
 A man says you took him away;
 Oh, can't he go home, sir, and what will it cost,
 If mother will send you the pay?
 Oh, no, little pleader, your father can't go,
 We put him in prison today;
 Go home to your mother, and quick let her know
 What's keeping your father away.

Please, sir, Mister Jailer, please let me go in,
 They say that my father's inside;
 I scarcely can tell how unhappy we've been,
 We could not feel worse had he died.
 Please, sir, it was drinking that made him do wrong,
 I'm sure, sir, he will drink no more;
 Oh, just a few minutes, a minute's not long, —
 But no one would open the door.

All day the young watcher stood fast by the door,
 In vain with his father to speak;
 It creaked its great hinges twice ten times or more,
 As prison doors only can creak;
 Then speeding thro' darkness to home sad as death,
 A promise most solemn he bore,
 Dear mother, I'll shun it as long as I've breath,
 I'll taste it and touch it no more.

Continued on page 68

EDWARD CAROWELL. SONG OF THE RYE. W. J. BOSWICK, 1880.

1 I was made to be cut - en, And not to be drunk; To be threshed in a barn, Not soaked in a tank, I come as a bless - ing.
 2 Make me up in - to loss - es, And your children are fed; But, if in - to a drink, I'll starve them instead, In bread, I'm a serv - ant.

When put through a mill, As a blight and a curse When run through a still, As a blight and a curse When ran through a still,
 The cat - er - small rye, In drink, I am mas - ter, The drink - er a fool, In drink I am mas - ter The drink - er a fool.

Copyrighted 1880, by J. E. Warrick.

courtesy, Andrews University

Humor and moralism proved to be a popular combination.



Loma Linda Villa as it looked in 1905 when the Adventists bought it. Southern Pacific station in foreground.

EARLY DAYS OF LOMA LINDA

Loma Linda, "Beautiful Hill" in Spanish, is the name of a world-famed educational and medical center owned and operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church since 1905. It is also the name of the community that has grown up around the center. As a community its recorded history goes back to the early years of the nineteenth century, when there existed within its present boundaries a village Indians called Guachama, "The Place of Plenty to Eat" in their tongue.

On May 20, 1810, the venerable Fray Francisco Dumetz from the San Gabriel Mission, accompanied by a small band of Indian neophytes, conducted services for the first time at Guachama. This happened on the day dedicated to Saint Bernardino of Siena, accounting for the extensive use of the name in the East Valley.

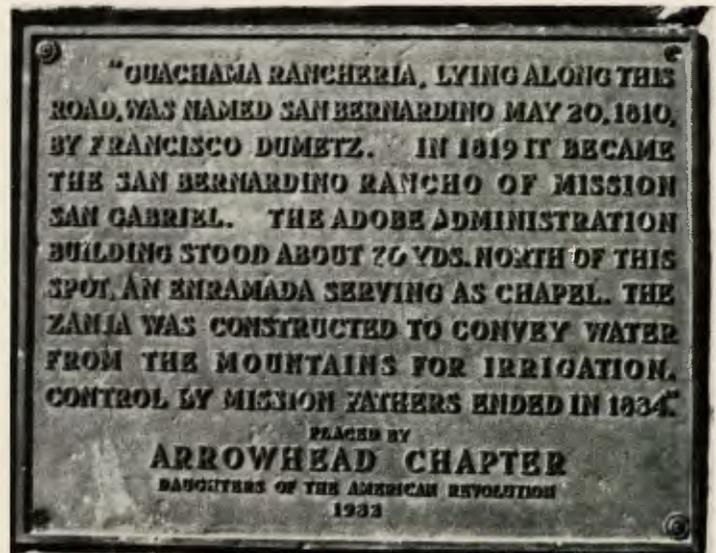
Following the secularization of the California missions the Mexican government in 1842 granted the San Bernardino and Yucaipa valleys to Don Antonia Maria Lugo for eight hundred dollars worth of hides and tallow, the legal tender among the California ranchers. Within a decade the Lugos sold half of their land to Mormon colonists for \$77,500 — \$25,000 down, and the remaining \$52,500 at two per cent per month interest on the unpaid balance, the going rate in those days. In time a farmer-fruit grower named H. E. Hill bought 260 acres including a conspicuous knoll on the south side of the valley.

An Adventist historian for many decades, Keld J. Reynolds is Emeritus Vice-President for Academic Affairs at Loma Linda University.

... And Even Before

Keld J. Reynolds

Marker showing location of Guachama on Mission Road, Loma Linda



Francisco Dumetz

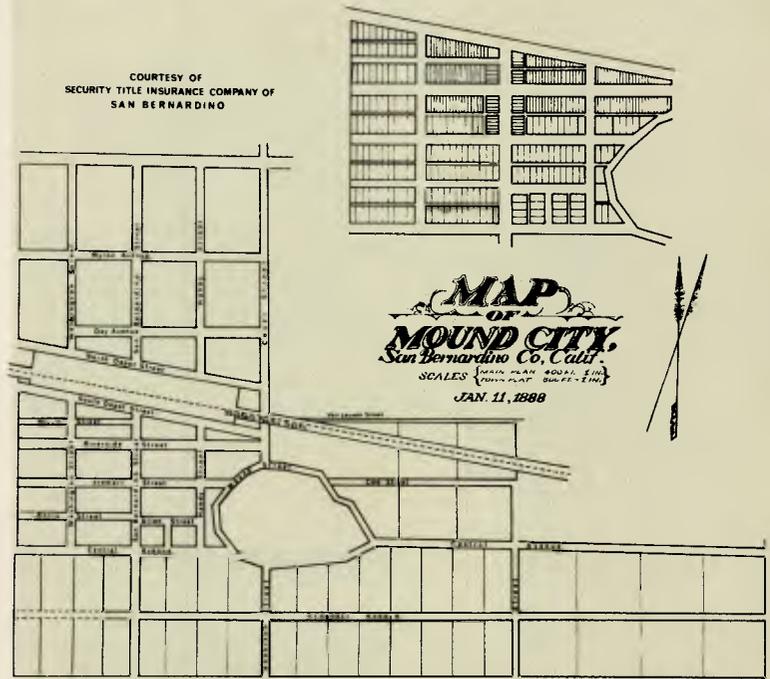


◀“Judge” Antonio Maria Lugo, first owner of the East Valley (including Loma Linda, 1842)

A company from Riverside bought Farmer Hill’s land in 1887 and organized the Mound City Land and Water Company, intending to found a town. An eighty-room hotel was built on the hill and Mound City was laid out to the west. Surprisingly, a map of modern Loma Linda laid on Mound City would show many streets in the same locations, some of them bearing the same names. But Mound City did not have a chance. The great Southern California boom of the 1880’s was grinding to a halt.

The Mound City property was bought in 1900 by the Loma Linda Association, a stock company that included a large number of physicians who hoped to develop the hotel into a health resort, but had no interest in founding a town. The hotel was furnished in opulent Victorian style — perhaps early Grand Rapids would be a more descriptive term — with sixty guest rooms, each with steam heat and mountain water flowing from the taps, according to the owners’ brochure. By this time the property had cost in excess of \$150,000. However, this venture also failed, and the neighbors began calling the hill “Lonesome Linda.”

Now came the Seventh-day Adventists, not the ecclesiastical body, but an intrepid woman, Ellen G. White, and her agent John Burden, whom she directed to look in the Riverside-Redlands area for a suitable site for a health center among the orange groves in the beautiful mountain-rimmed valley of San Bernardino. At this the Southern California church officials balked. New sanitariums, one near San Diego, the other in Glendale, plus a clinic in downtown Los Angeles, had placed heavy financial



Mound City map

Southern Pacific Company

Los Angeles to Redlands, Riverside and San Bernardino

READ DOWN							READ UP						
8	22	20	10	18	16	Mile	STATIONS						
Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily		15	17	9	19	21	7	
Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily		Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	
9.00am	5.20am	4.20am	12.10am	9.00am	8.00am	0	Lv. Los Angeles	Ar. 8.50am	9.30am	12.05am	4.45am	6.50am	10.00am
9.22	5.43	4.43	12.32	9.18	8.26	6	Lv. Longbeville	Ar. 8.32	9.34	12.23am	4.26	6.31	10.16
	5.49	4.49		9.21	8.29	7	Lv. Alhambra	Ar. 8.29	9.29		4.21	6.27	
	5.52	4.52		9.25	8.32	10	Lv. San Gabriel	Ar. 8.33	9.25		4.19	6.23	
	6.10	5.05		9.25	8.32	10	Lv. Hasnet	Ar. 8.05			4.05		9.57
	6.43			9.15	24		Lv. Covina	Ar. 7.50			3.47	5.55	
	6.29			9.04	24		Lv. San Dimas	Ar. 7.41			3.37	5.45	
	6.43			9.21	31		Lv. Lerdaburg	Ar. 7.38			3.33	5.41	
	6.58			9.31	34		Lv. Pomona	Ar. 7.30		11.28	3.22	5.38	
9.42		5.00am			17		Lv. Hasnet	Ar. 9.00am					9.57
		5.31		10.00am	30		Lv. Sadra	Ar. 8.47					9.57
10.20		5.40	1.21pm	10.13	37		Lv. Pomona	Ar. 8.41					9.57
	6.58			9.31am	34		Lv. Pomona	Ar. 7.30am			3.22am		9.57
	7.11			9.43	39		Lv. Chino	Ar. 7.7			3.28		9.57
	7.23			9.57	39		Lv. Ontario	Ar. 7.07			2.57		9.57
10.39				10.13am	34		Lv. Fontana	Ar. 7.00		11.28am	4.53am	6.30am	9.30
	7.24	5.53	1.39pm	10.25	39		Lv. Ontario	Ar. 7.07am	8.31am	11.13	2.07pm	5.22pm	9.15
11.14	7.50	6.24	2.10	10.55	41		Lv. Cucamonga	Ar. 7.02	8.34		2.50		
	6.27	2.16	2.03pm	10.32	52		Lv. Colton	Ar. 5.40	8.02	10.37	2.22	4.55	8.30am
	6.32	2.23	2.18	10.38	62		Lv. Colton	Ar. 7.55	10.32	2.16	4.55		
	6.50	2.41	2.25	10.55	67		Lv. Loma Linda	Ar. 7.47		3.10	4.48		
	7.18			11.10	70		Lv. Redlands	Ar. 7.38		10.00	1.54	4.35	
							Lv. Crafton	Ar. 7.26		1.45			
11.00am	6.27am	2.23pm	10.55am	10.37am	58		Lv. Colton	Ar. 6.34am	7.50am	10.23am	4.52am	7.50am	
8.21	6.52	2.50	11.15	10.56	65		Lv. Riverside	Ar. 6.20	7.30	10.07	1.50	4.28	7.25
8.00pm	6.27pm	2.14pm	10.50pm	10.37pm	58		Lv. Colton	Ar. 6.31pm	7.50pm	10.15pm	4.05pm	7.50pm	
8.12	6.40	2.30	12.14	10.48	62		Lv. San Bernardino	Ar. 6.30	7.38	10.05	1.45	4.35	7.40

Train service in 1905



Loma Linda Sanitarium Front, 1905

Loma Linda Sanitarium,

GUESTS WITHOUT BAGGAGE
ARE REQUESTED
TO PAY IN ADVANCE.

All Money, Jewels, Coats, Valises and other Valuations must
be left at the office, and checks received for them, other-
wise the Proprietor will not be responsible for any loss.

Loma Linda (Redlands), Cal.

Without Hotel Register No., Refused.

No.	NAME	RESIDENCE	Time	Room
13	Miss Marie Kueker	Chicago Ill	Ev.	14
-	Miss Hilta Belland	Los Angeles	"	17
23	Miss E. E. Bardsley	"	"	29
24	Miss May Dwyer	"	"	24
26	Miss Jessie Kingman	"	10:30	30
-	Miss L. Lytle	Yuma Cal	"	27



Guest Register, first entries,
October 12, 1905

Sanitarium Dining Room ▶





◀Sanitarium Sun Parlor

2 Patients Journal No. 1.
October, 1905.
Opening of the Loma Linda Sanitarium

Adm. No.	Initials	Names	Room	Board	Treatment
14	6/1	Miss Nilda Belland	105	2	1.50
24	1/1/1/1/1	27-03	65	75	3
28	1/1/1/1/1		100	2	3
4	1/1/1/1/1		100	2	3
14	6/1	Miss Marie Kueker	65	75	3
24	1/1/1/1/1	27-03	100	2	3
28	1/1/1/1/1		100	2	3
4	1/1/1/1/1		100	2	3
24	6/1	J. R. Briggs & Sister	50	6	4
28	1/1/1/1/1	27-03	50	6	4
4	1/1/1/1/1	27-03	50	6	4
28	6/1/1/1	Miss Mary Sawyer	85	250	1
4	1/1/1/1/1	27-03	85	250	1
4	6/1/1/1/1	Agnes J. Robinson	2	4	1
14	6/1/1/1/1		2	4	1
24	6/1/1/1/1		2	4	1
28	6/1/1/1/1		2	4	1
4	6/1/1/1/1		2	4	1
28	6/1/1/1/1	Miss Ellen E. Burden	115	250	2
4	1/1/1/1/1		2	4	1

▲Guest Charges in 1905: room, board, treatment for \$7.50 per week

▼The Chapel, first Adventist church building in Loma Linda



burdens on the 1,400 members in the Southern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. The conference president put his foot down, but he failed to reckon with the little woman in the black bonnet.

When John Burden found the Loma Linda property for sale early in 1905, the owners reduced the asking price from \$110,000 to \$40,000, hoping to sell to someone who could be expected to succeed in developing a health center where they had failed. Ellen White instructed Burden to take an option on the property on her personal responsibility. The contract was signed on May 26, 1905. Private donors responded and the note, discounted to \$38,900 plus a part of the taxes and interest for 1905, was paid off before the end of the first year. The conference accepted Loma Linda from the donors on June 20. On August 24 the sanitarium



George K. Abbott, M.D.



John A. Burden



Julia A. White, M.D.

Loma Linda Dedication, Sunday, April 15, 1906,
Ellen G. White speaking



PROSPECTUS
OF
Loma Linda
College of Evangelists

AT
Loma Linda, California

1906-1907

was incorporated, and on October 12 the official guest register was opened with the names of two patients.

John Burden was president of the corporation, chairman of the board, manager and chaplain of the sanitarium, and sometimes pastor of the local Adventist congregation (some of whom found his preaching a bit dull). Of his ability to manage and his dedication to Adventist principles there could be no doubt. The second Loma Linda in its beginnings was shaped by John Burden and his sponsor, Ellen White, the remarkable woman through whom the church received its basic instruction in the care of the sick and the education of medical personnel.

In taking possession of Loma Linda, church leaders thought they were only adding another in the chain of Adventist sanitariums. But Ellen White insisted that Loma Linda was to become a center for Adventist higher education in the West, with emphasis on medical care and health education.

Warren E. Howell, an experienced educational administrator, was appointed "president of the faculty." He and the small staff put together a pros-

The Medical Evangelist

Published by the College of Evangelists

VOL. 1

LOMA LINDA, CALIFORNIA, JUNE, 1908

NO. 1

The Medical Evangelist.



In sending forth this new EVANGELIST with no credentials except the truth that it carries, we are conscious that its need and mission may be questioned by many who love the Third Angel's Message, but who may not have had their attention called to the MEDICAL EVANGELISTIC setting that the Spirit of God is urging should be given to the Message at this time, just as Christ and His apostles gave the setting of the Gospel to their labors.

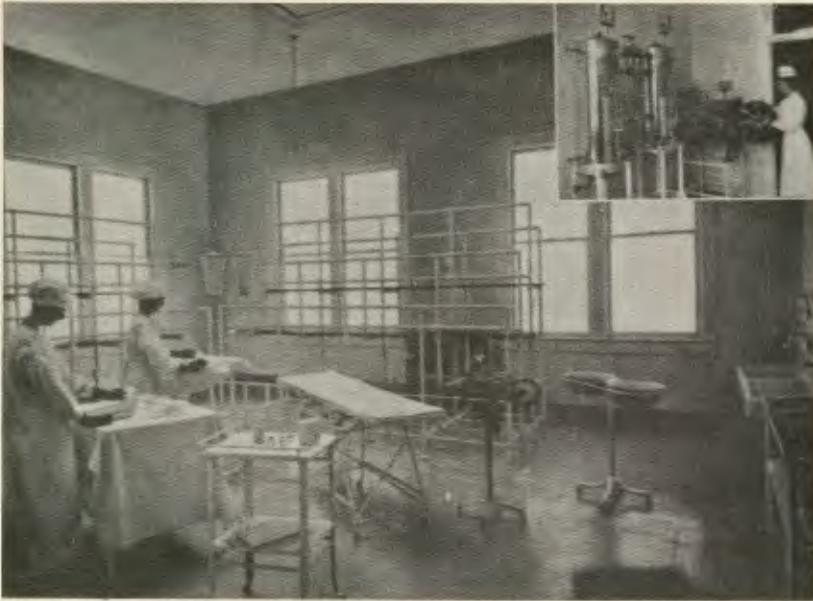
Medical missionary work is yet in its infancy. The meaning of genuine medical missionary work is known but by few. Why? Because the Saviour's plan of work has not been followed. "In His service, healing and teaching were linked closely together. To-day they are not to be separated." Christ stands before us as a pattern Man, the great Medical Missionary, an example for all who should come after. The nurses who are trained in our institutions are to be fitted up to go out as medical missionary evangelists, uniting the ministry of the Word with that of physical healing.

With an humble longing to help some one to get a clearer view of the unity of the combined influences of the different parts of the Third Angel's Message, and an earnest desire to open the way for it to go in the spirit and power of Elijah, this new journal, THE MEDICAL EVANGELIST, would enter the field to work as a co-laborer "for the work of the ministry, and for the edifying of the body of Christ."

"One-quarter of what we eat keeps us, the other three-quarters we keep at the peril of our lives."

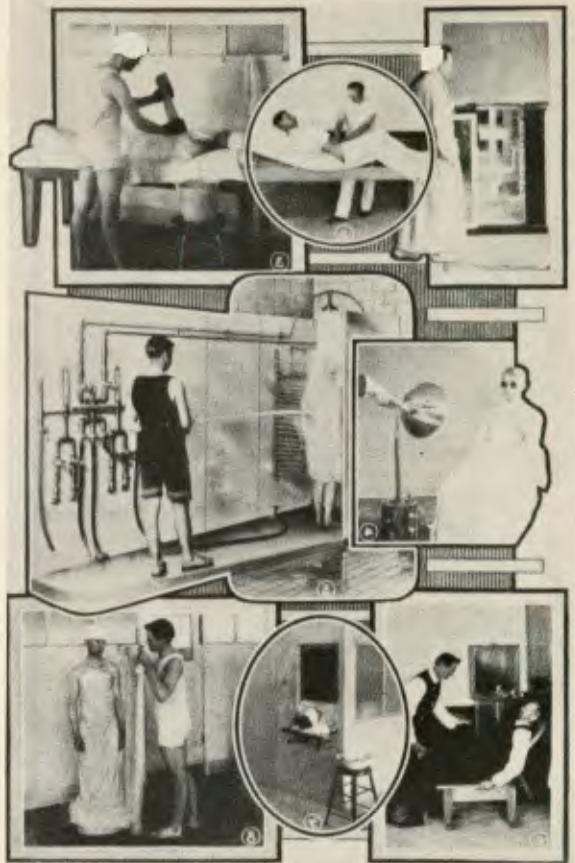


▲Loma Linda Village, about 1912, looking north from the Sanitarium



The Surgery, 1917

Los Angeles Dispensary location, 941 E. First Street, forerunner of the White Memorial Hospital



Physical Therapy Department (The "Hydro"), 1917



First food factory and market (print shop upstairs)

pectus describing courses in nursing, medical evangelism, gospel work, and a general collegiate program, all under the name of College of Evangelists.

Nursing education was the first to get under way, early in 1906, under the direction of Julia A. White, M. D. Members of the first class, all transfer students, were placed in the senior class of the three-year course, and graduated on July 10, 1907. They were Ellen Cornich (Foster), Ethel Shelten (Hayes), Lavina Baxter (Herzer), Alameda Kerr, Lola Lucas (Lowery), Clyde Lowery and Adrien Striplin.

President of the faculty Howell was a casualty of the first year, John Burden sadly recording that Brother Howell seemed to have trouble understanding medical education. The board decided that with construction of a medical curriculum ahead, the next president should be a physician. The mantle fell on George K. Abbott, M. D.

The School of Medicine may be said to date from December 9, 1909, when the College of Medical Evangelists was incorporated, with authorization to grant degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, dentistry, and medicine. New articles were approved on June 15, 1910, absorbing the sanitarium into the college. This 1910 charter remains, with

Hospital on the campus, completed 1913



some revisions, the legal franchise of the Loma Linda University.

Six medical students admitted in 1909 were graduated on June 11, 1914. They were Lavina Baxter (Herzer), Fred Herzer, Robert Hall, Zenobia Nightengale (Bulpitt), John Wier and Leroy White.

Providing adequate clinical teaching was a prob-



"Jericho," galvanized shed used for anatomy dissection, 1911

Students of Nursing on outing, 1911

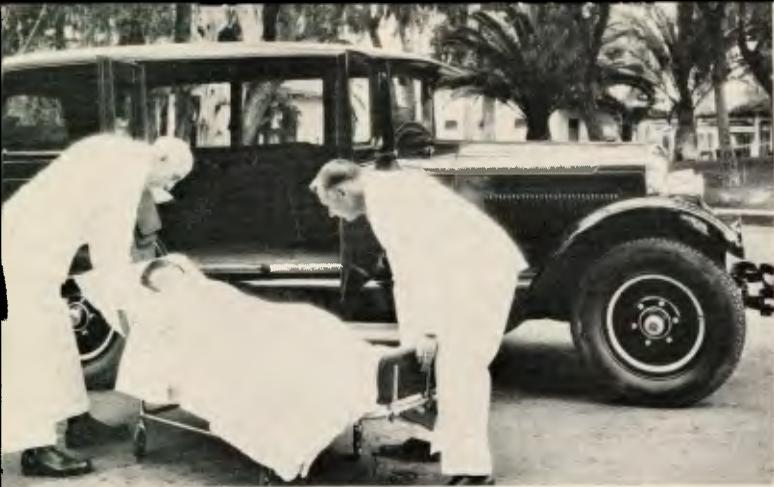


First freshmen "Medics" on mountain outing, 1909



Teachers and students off for a medical missionary trip, 1913





A vintage ambulance



The "new" Loma Linda Sanitarium and Hospital, 1929



The Patients' Dining Room



Sun Parlor in the new Sanitarium and Hospital

lem in the early days. To meet this need in 1913 a hospital was built at the west end of the quadrangle on the Loma Linda campus, and a dispensary was opened at 941 East First Street in Boyle Heights, Los Angeles. Out of the small beginning in the city grew the White Memorial Hospital and the teaching affiliation at the Los Angeles General Hospital. Meanwhile at Loma Linda a beautiful new sanitarium and hospital was built on the hill and dedicated on April 7, 1929. This replaced the old resort hotel sanitarium and the newer hospital on the quadrangle.

The community of Loma Linda grew without planning. At first the CME built houses for its staff and employees on and around the hill and on Pepper Drive (Anderson Street) and Orange Grove. Elsewhere private developers sold lots and water to the growing community. These were the valley people, in distinction to the former, who were the hill people.

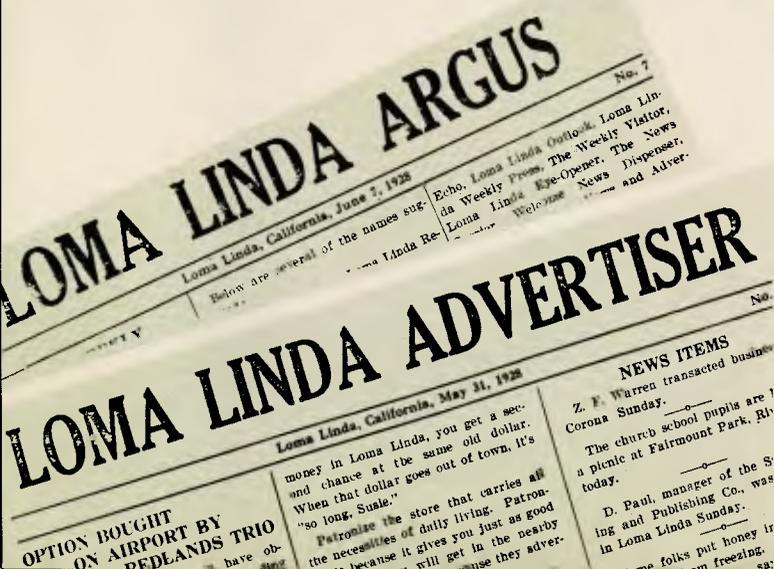
Hill people and valley people worshipped together in the chapel on the hill until the college church was organized in 1928, but they held separate midweek prayer meetings. Hill and valley shared the volunteer fire and police forces, both dating from 1922. Each section of town had its own neighborhood grocery. The CME operated a food factory, bakery and grocery, but on Saturday nights the young hill people congregated at Digneo's valley store on Court Street, because it alone was open, and it alone sold soda pop. The CME had its own publication, *The Medical Evangelist*, beginning in 1908. Twenty years later the community got its first newspaper, when Wesley K. Nary began the *Advertiser*, soon changed to the *Loma Linda Argus*.

So began Loma Linda, a tradition, a city, a great educational and medical complex, under its modern veneer still retaining its original philosophy, character and concept, "To Make Man Whole." □

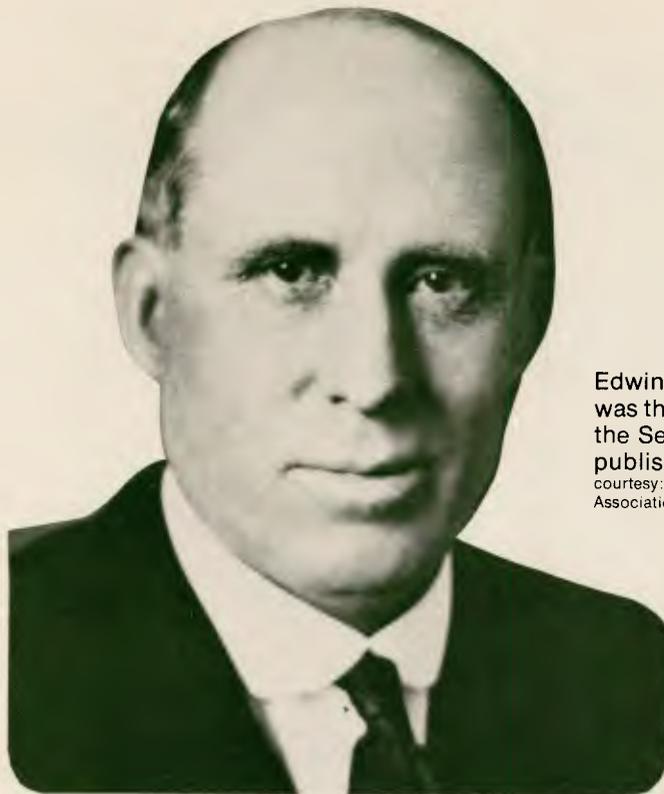
SOURCES

Letters and records in the Archives of Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California.

Pictures courtesy: Loma Linda University and Asistencia Mission, Redlands, California



First Loma Linda community newspapers



Edwin R. Palmer (1869-1931) was the primary organizer of the Seventh-day Adventist publishing program.
courtesy: Review and Herald Publishing Association

EDWIN R. PALMER

Publishing Secretary Extraordinary

Donald R. McAdams



Edwin R. Palmer was not a particularly handsome man. His picture shows us a prominent forehead dominating a massive face. A large head sits squarely on heavy shoulders leaving little room for the neck, and a protruding lower lip takes one's attention away from ears that are just a bit too small. Like his neck, they are swallowed up

in a heavy jowl. But one finds it hard to turn away from this face. There is a power in the dark eyes that tells of an iron will and boundless enthusiasm, and a touch of a smile on the lips and in the eyes gives evidence of a joyous humor waiting to burst upon the unsuspecting.

Donald R. McAdams is an associate professor of history at Andrews University.



Palmer attended South Lancaster Academy in Massachusetts, which later became Atlantic Union College.
credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association



Some of these teachers at South Lancaster Academy undoubtedly had Palmer as a pupil.
credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

This was E. R. Palmer, a young lad from Vermont who grew up to be one of the great powers in the Seventh-day Adventist church. He efficiently managed Avondale College in Australia, California's Paradise Valley Sanitarium, and for nineteen years the Review and Herald Publishing Association near Washington, D. C. But his finest achievement came in the area of his greatest love, book publishing. As the first secretary of the General Conference publishing department, in the key years 1901-1913 when institutional foundations were being poured, he, more than any other man, shaped the denomination's publishing program. As F. M. Wilcox said in his obituary in the *Review and Herald*, those years "witnessed a wonderful advance in the extension of our publishing work throughout the world, and the operation of the department as never before, was placed upon a strong, substantial basis, a foundation upon which it has stood unmoved through all succeeding years."

By 1869, the year Edwin was born in West Charleston, Vermont was already an old center of Adventism. William Miller had preached in several Vermont towns, and Ellen White visited there on some of her earliest travels. In 1862 the Vermont believers organized the first Adventist conference in New England. Years later Ellen White said of them: "In no state have the brethren been truer to the cause than in old Vermont." Here in this old center of Adventism, secure in a strong Adventist home, young Edwin grew to manhood.

Because he had given his life to Christ, and, no doubt also because he needed money to continue his education, Edwin left secondary school for two years to sell Adventist books door to door before graduating from South Lancaster Academy in Massachusetts. Immediately upon his graduation the Vermont conference appointed him state canvassing agent, in charge of the door-to-door book salesmen. The responsibilities of marriage soon followed. On June 1, 1893, Edwin married Eva Maynard, who subsequently bore two sons and two daughters.

The next year state agent Palmer took his bride west to Oklahoma. What a change from old Vermont. Oklahoma had been opened to white settlement only five years before, and the Oklahoma conference was organizing. In August, 1894, the Oklahoma leaders called E. R. Palmer, just twenty-five, to serve as the first conference secretary-treasurer as well as secretary-treasurer of the Oklahoma Tract and Missionary Society and state canvassing agent. The young man's leadership attracted so much attention that before one year had passed the Adventists in Australia had asked him to take charge of the canvassing work in that field. On April 6, 1895, the Palmers sailed for the South Pacific.



Palmer's years in Australia were formative. Here he came under the influence of Ellen White, whose counsels he thereafter cherished even when they were rebukes; here he formed close friendships with W. C. White, Ellen's son, and A. G. Daniells, president of the Australian union conference. These two men, his elders by fifteen and eleven years, became his comrades in implementing a reorganization of the publishing work in Australia. These principles of organization became the model that Palmer struggled to institute on his return to America in 1901.

The problems in Australia were complex. At root was the question of the proper relationship between the Echo Publishing Company and the conference tract societies. The first Adventist missionaries to Australia, a team of five men and their families led by S. N. Haskell in 1885, included, significantly, a canvasser and a printer. When the Adventists organized the Australian conference in 1888 they also organized the Australian Tract and Missionary Society. That same year the Echo Publishing Company opened. At first the work went well, though the publishing house meddled with the tract society's business by employing its own canvassing agents, and selling retail.



Palmer was principal of Avondale College in Australia in 1899.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

But as the work grew and the constituency expanded the Echo Publishing Company could not adequately supervise the local workers nor efficiently supply the numerous small orders coming in from a distance. The tract societies in New South Wales and New Zealand, on the other hand, were ordering books directly from the Pacific Press in California. Since it took six months for books from Pacific Press to arrive, the two tract societies had to carry a large and varied stock of books. Sometimes these books remained unsold, becoming a financial burden on the societies; at other times orders arrived too late, causing heavy losses and discouragement to the canvassers. By 1894 the New South Wales society had closed, and the New Zealand society had declared bankruptcy.

The leadership agreed upon a solution to these problems at a campmeeting held in Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, in 1894. Each tract society received a monopoly for all the retail book business in its district and full responsibility for managing the subscription book business. In return they had to agree to order all their books from the Echo Publishing Company rather than dealing directly with the Pacific Press. The principle was to put the local book work into the hands of the conference committees, thereby making it an integral part of the evangelistic thrust of the church, rather than leaving it in the hands of a commercial institution far away.

It was Palmer's job as the first general agent for the Australasian union conference to make the new policy work, and work it did. Though the Echo Publishing Company management vigorously opposed the plan, Palmer had the full support of Daniells, W. C. White, and Ellen White. By 1900 the union with a membership of only 2,000 was supporting up to seventy book agents and selling \$61,000 each year. Most important, the foundation was laid so well that Australia remained for a decade the model field for the book work.

Throughout the Australian struggle Palmer thrived. With Daniells as the union conference president, he was working as a member of a team with a strong leader who supported him completely, the kind of work situation Palmer preferred. He also enjoyed a short stint as book and periodical department manager for the Echo Publishing Company. However, 1899, the year he served as principal of the school in Avondale, with 165 students to supervise, was a great strain upon his nerves. In 1903, in the midst of heavy pressures at denominational headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, Palmer looked back on these years in a long and very personal letter to W. C. White:

As far as I have been able to judge my own work, I have not been able to give as good satisfaction in a leading responsible position as in a secondary position; that is, when I have stood at the head of a department of work where great interests are involved, I am likely to think

and work with such intensity that it wears upon my nerves, and am likely to be critical if my brethren do not see the situation as I do and co-operate with me. I think you know my work sufficiently to recognize the truthfulness of this statement. Before leaving America for Australia my work was wholly in subordinate positions, where I had good counselors and where men of longer experience carried the burdens. When I went to Australia my work was wholly in subordinate positions, for several years, and I was never troubled with that nervousness and perplexed feeling which has sometimes troubled me since. When I was called to the Avondale School, I was thrust into a position which called for much more experience and ability than I possessed; and, as you know, I worked long days, and, at times, under severe perplexity. Little by little it worked upon my nerves until the day when I had that very serious talk with you concerning the advisability of my continuing that work. When I left the School, and went back to the Echo Publishing Company's office, I rapidly picked up. There the Board, headed by a strong manager, carried the responsibility, and I was free to push the details.

Of course, Palmer was only thirty years old the year he ran Avondale, and when writing this letter four years later had just endured the painful experience of losing his wife. During his forties and fifties he managed the Review and Herald Publishing Association with distinction. Palmer was too much of a perfectionist, though, a man who insisted on knowing every detail in his area of responsibility, to enjoy heavy administrative chores. But as an idea man, a promoter and pusher, or a trouble shooter with a special assignment, he flourished.



Just such a man was needed in America, for the denomination's efforts in Adventism's homeland were in trouble. Near the head of the list of troubles was a stagnating canvassing work. In 1891 the literature sales had stood at \$819,000; a general canvassing agent, F. L. Mead, had worked out of Battle Creek; each district had a district agent; and each conference had a state agent and a tract society. In 1892 business fell off a bit. Then in 1893, with a nationwide depression, book sales plummeted. Districts and conferences laid off their agents, many state tract societies practically ceased to operate, and publishing houses more and more dealt directly with the colporteurs. By 1895 literature sales had fallen to \$250,000. Nothing had improved by 1901; the Church did not then even employ a general agent in Battle Creek. The man chosen to assist A. G. Daniells, the new General Conference president, in revitalizing the book work was his lieutenant from Australia. So E. R. Palmer travelled home with his growing family, to become in effect world canvassing agent.

The Palmers settled in Battle Creek, and by October, 1901, E. R. was busy at work, acting as general agent for the Lake Union, corresponding with the other union agents, and doing all he could to "get the work moving." Officially he was only secretary to the new publications committee (after 1902 called the publishing department) of the General Conference. The chairman was W. C. White. In fact, however, Palmer was the active, full-time, moving force, who directed the world publishing work of the Adventist church, by no means an easy job. As he explained it to White:

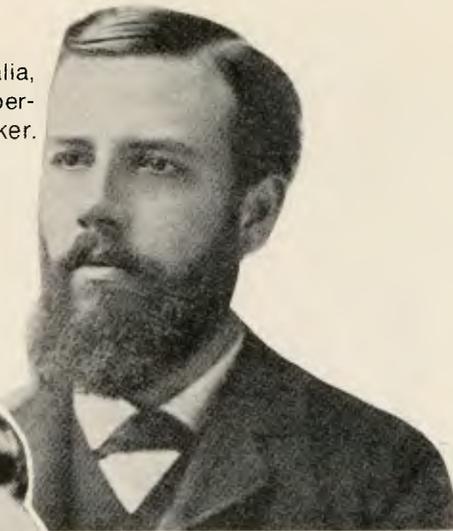
When I came back to this country, I was appointed General Canvassing Agent and Secretary of the General Conference Publishing Department. I took great interest in the work and tried to do it well, and, as you may know, I spent an entire year with the exception of six weeks out in the field with the workers. I have no doubt, Brother White, but that I pushed my plans and policy very vigorously; and quite a goodly number of our brethren have not agreed with me in that policy. Besides this, the word General Canvassing Agent, is to a good many of our workers, and particularly to the managers of our publishing houses, like a red-rag shaken in the face of an angry bull. Some experiences — I don't know what they were — have made the term an unpleasant one. Somebody tried to fix it by calling it the World's General Canvassing Agent; but that simply fixed it worse.

Besides carrying heavy responsibilities for the publishing work without any clear authority to act, Palmer was asked in May, 1903, to be manager of the circulation department at the Review and Herald Publishing Association. Along with this he became, in effect, an administrative secretary at the General Conference. On May 18 he wrote to W. C. White that since Daniells and W. A. Spicer, the General Conference secretary, would be away often during the summer he would take care of the routine office work. It was natural that he take this extra responsibility, for Palmer had a gift for correspondence. At one point, to help Spicer during a difficult time, he answered sixty-five of Spicer's correspondents within a few days. As Palmer matter-of-factly stated in a letter to White shortly after this, "the ease with which I use stenographic help enables me to turn over quite a volume of business."

Reviving the canvassing work remained Palmer's primary concern. In his opinion the main reason for the low book sales had been the decline of strong tract societies. This essentially spiritual work had become commercialized as the conferences had lost interest and allowed the publishing houses to manage literature distribution. Palmer explained his view in a letter to J. H. Kellogg, January 27, 1902, a copy of which he sent to C. H. Jones, manager of the Pacific Press:

I think the publishing houses should be servants of the message; to manufacture the books which are needed for circulation, instead of the great machinery and organization of the message being used as a servant of the publishing houses to find a sale for what-

Beginning in Australia, W. C. White was Palmer's personal friend and co-worker.



credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

ever will be for the greatest financial interest of the publishing houses. In other words, our evangelical organizations should create the demand, and the publishing houses should supply them.

To my mind this is the reason for the existence of the publishing houses. Our book work should be spiritualized rather than commercialized . . . I believe this principle lies at the foundation of a permanent flourishing book business and that the reversal of this policy is the primary and almost the only cause of the decline of our book business in this country. And this is the reason why the General Canvassing Agent should be directed by the General Conference independent of any publishing house. And the Union Conference General Agent should be appointed by the Union Conference officers, and the book business of every state should be directed by the State Conference through its Tract Society department.

This system of organization places the burden upon the right set of men. . . . Our conferences in many places have not taken the interest which they should in the book work. . . . But without exception, as far as my knowledge of the field is concerned a bad matter has been made worse in every attempt of publishing houses to [step in and themselves try to] manage the field, and whenever the book work is flourishing at the present time, the opposite policy is being followed.

When the conferences began to lose their interest in this department the difficulty should have been met right where it was instead of dismissing General Agents and many of the District and State Agents and letting the work drift into a position where the publishing houses felt the necessity of taking hold of the situation themselves.

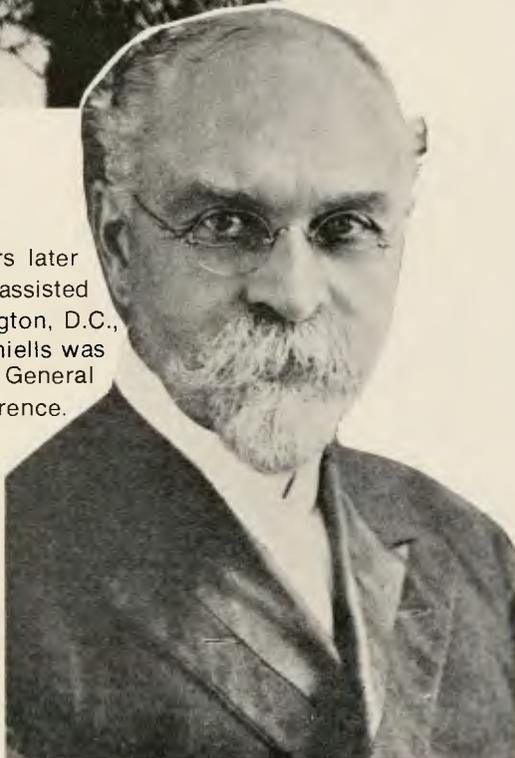
◀ A. G. Daniells was president of the Australian conference when Palmer went there in the 1890's to organize the literature program.

Palmer's reason for sending a copy of this letter to Jones is easily understood. The Pacific Press had requested that it be allowed to manage directly the subscription book business — selling books door to door — in the Pacific Union. In Jones, Palmer had a worthy contestant. On February 7 he replied to Palmer and sent a copy of his letter to White, who, always anxious to cut out middlemen, supported Jones's approach. Jones's argument was simple. The conferences were doing nothing. In the Pacific Union, with 10,000 Seventh-day Adventists and a population as big as Australia, only \$20,000 worth of books had been sold in the past two years. In Australia 2,000 members were supporting a book business of \$80,000 in one year.

Jones argued further:

If the Conference and Tract Societies will take hold of the work and do it, all well and good. We will cooperate with them heartily, but rather than allow the territory to remain unworked, we are willing to assume the added responsibility and take hold of it ourselves. . . . All our Conferences are loaded down with local responsibilities — Health Institutions and Branches, Health Food Company's [sic] and Branches, Educational work, etc., etc. These [are] important lines, and the burden rests upon the Conference officials. They find in these about all that they can attend to. When it comes to the Book work, that is, I was going to say a secondary consideration, but it is much father [sic] down the list than that; say fourth or fifth, and we consider that right here is where the difficulty lies.

Many years later Palmer again assisted Daniells in Washington, D.C., when Daniells was president of the General Conference.



credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

The great question of how the subscription book work was to be managed in America was not settled quickly. It remained the central problem of Palmer's years as publishing secretary, and he would have to confront it again and again. Meanwhile he was determined that in new fields right principles be followed from the beginning. The first major test came in South Africa.

In 1902 the newly-formed South African Union Conference, with local conferences in the Cape Colony and Natal-Transvall, received a proposal from the Echo Publishing Company offering to establish a book depository in Durban, Natal, and in return take over from the South African Tract Society responsibility for working that field. Naturally Palmer opposed this move. He argued that whenever a foreign publishing house had in the past received special rights in a mission field it had used the field as a feeder for its own business, charging high prices for books and then demanding an excessive amount for its property and stock when the field grew strong enough to take over. Daniells, Palmer, and the General Conference Committee and the Mission Board all agreed that each large mission field should establish its own distribution depot and be given wholesale rates by all the other publishing houses. If the South African leaders felt their constituency was too small to support the overhead of their own depository, Palmer would arrange for canvassers from America, England, and Australia to get the work started.



In Australia Palmer worked with the Echo Publishing Company to begin literature evangelism programs.
credit: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists



Employees of the Echo Publishing Company pose outside the main entrance.
credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

The Echo Publishing Company responded that their books, published without "Americanisms," would sell much better in a British colony, that they had made the agreement with the Natal Conference without knowing that the General Conference did not approve, that they had no intention of treating the African field unfairly, and that the Natal Conference was unable to work the field adequately. All these arguments appeared in a ten-page pamphlet which quoted Palmer's long letters on the subject, paragraph by paragraph, interspersed with the Echo Publishing Company's refutations.

The controversy ran on from August, 1902, till February, 1903, when the Echo Publishing Company agreed that it would retire from the field at the end of the year. Throughout the controversy Palmer never lost his composure. On November 26, 1902, he wrote to Harry Camp, an old friend from Australia and the Echo representative in Durban:

Now, my good Brother, you must not begin to get "Scotch", and shoot with your long ranged gun all the way from the Boer country; for I haven't a "Long Tong" with which to reply. I enjoyed your letter very much, even the little hot one that you wrote as a supplement; for it seems just a bit like old times to get a good square one from you.

But the circulation of the Echo Publishing Company's pamphlet, which attempted to refute him, hurt. On January 25, 1903, Palmer wrote to Camp explaining his feelings on this:

I appreciate your letter, my Brother, more than I shall attempt to explain. I felt very much cut up over the step which the Echo Publishing Company evidently thought it necessary to take in order to sufficiently expose my evil policy. Of course, as you could easily imagine, I wrote a reply to the Echo Board; but I have rolled it up in a nice little roll, and put it aside, and have not sent it. Naturally it goes against the grain of a man and particularly against the grain of a red-headed man to have his attitudes and work entirely misrepresented in such a universal public way; but it has been best probably for me to let the matter drop altogether.

In March, 1903, tragedy struck the Palmer family. Mrs. Palmer died. Palmer referred to it as "the most terrible experience through which I have ever passed." Placing the death in the context of the year's work, he wrote to W. C. White that he

did not sleep in a proper bed, but got my rest wherever and whenever I could most conveniently. This sickness followed by her death, the breaking up of the home, and the separation of the children, in addition to the perplexities of the year's work gave me more than I could bear, and led me to the brink of nervous prostration.

In spite of his bereavement, Palmer attended the General Conference in Oakland which opened late that month. Then a few weeks after the Conference he received a five-page message of counsel from Ellen White written May 21. The burden of the testimony was that he should avoid taking on responsibilities he was unprepared to carry. It opened:

"Dear Brother Palmer: In the past I have felt perplexed about saying to you all that I desired to say for I feared you would not understand me . . . The Lord has given you a special and important gift in your experience as a canvasser, and your ability to teach others how to engage successfully in this work. You are not to become discouraged when you find that many do not see in all points as you do, and that there is a diversity of plans. The Lord has not given you the responsibility of governing the work, but He has given you wisdom as a teacher, and He will help you to help others to learn how to carry the canvassing work forward to success."

Palmer's response was characteristic. He wrote to W. C. White on May 27 expressing gratitude for the "two good letters just received from your mother" and her wonderful counsel, which he loved and accepted. "I have always been helped and strengthened by her letters . . . I recognize the words which she has written me as the voice of God which I have heard again and again in regard to this same matter" From his days in Australia Palmer had learned to treasure the counsel of Ellen White. Now, even when the counsel was a mild reproof, he accepted it without reservation. Such was the measure of the man.



hen in October, 1903, Palmer's own health broke. He had come near the brink of nervous prostration at the time of the General Conference in Oakland, but mercifully no new responsibilities were laid on him and he was able to skip many of the meetings and rest. For a week following his return to Battle Creek he remained weak, but about the first of May he began to get stronger and by May 27 was carrying more than his usual amount of work, handling correspondence for Daniells and evidently enjoying it. But about the middle of July, however, Palmer developed a bronchial infection which got progressively worse, and by mid October he could no longer work. Reluctantly he resigned his job as circulation manager for the Review and, taking his physician's advice, left for Arizona. "This step has been the most painful one I have ever taken," he lamented.

On November 8, 1903, Palmer wrote Ellen White from the Arizona Sanitarium, an Adventist institution in Phoenix, that the attack had extended to his left lung, giving him great pain. The invalid suffered, but he found the strength on December 31 to marry Mrs. Cora E. Hutchins, widow of Frank J. Hutchins, the pioneer missionary to the Bay Islands who had died of a tropical disease in 1902 in Panama. Obviously Palmer expected to recover.

The convalescence, however, lasted longer than expected. In late January when C. H. Jones replied positively to Palmer's inquiry concerning the possibility of finding a ranch near Mountain View where he could live while working for the Pacific Press, Palmer, dictating to his wife from his bed, responded that it might be three years before he could leave Southern California, where he had decided to go for recovery. As for Jones's enthusiastic offer to employ Palmer as an assistant to H. H. Hall in the book and periodical department (where, Jones made it clear, the policy of dealing directly with canvassers would be followed), Palmer answered that he would be happy to accept, though he added that he remained convinced that the policy was a mistake.

But I frankly confess to you, Brother Jones, as I am willing to confess to everybody, that I find myself and my policy "bushed" in this United States jungle, in view of the stubborn conditions of things in nearly every state. The Conference officials will not take the steps nor permit the steps to be taken which would most surely revive the prosperity which our publications once enjoyed in the hands of the Tract Societies.



As manager of the Pacific Press Publishing Association in California, C. H. Jones struggled with Palmer for several decades to establish policies to be used around the world.▶

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Palmer assisted H. H. Hall in the book and periodical department of the Pacific Press.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

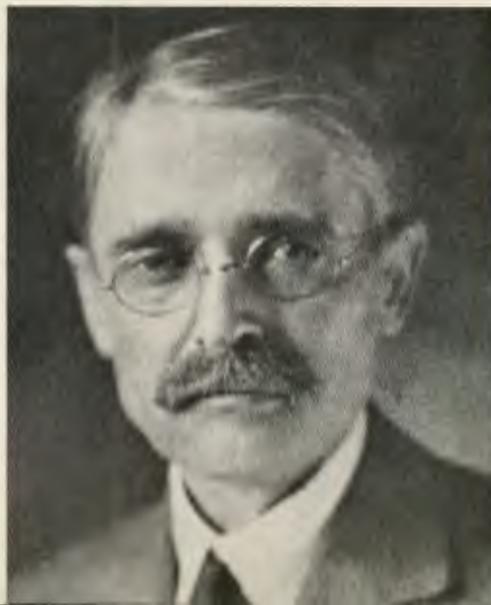
A few weeks after writing this letter Palmer moved his family to National City, near San Diego, where he became the first manager of the Paradise Valley Sanitarium. A medical superintendent, T. S. Whitelock, provided the medical care while Palmer handled the business. Palmer was pleased to be doing something useful for the Lord while convalescing in sunny southern California.

After one year at the Sanitarium Palmer felt well enough to accept the job Jones had offered him at the Pacific Press. He continued, however, to suffer pain in his left lung, and a year later missed a General Conference because of it. At Mountain View Palmer took on a variety of jobs. As Hall's assistant he pushed missionary campaigns, that is, the circulation of periodicals and small books by church members working door-to-door among their neighbors. He also took on the job of secretary of the relief bureau, a committee set up to push the sale of *Ministry of Healing* as a source of funds for the world-wide medical work. Like *Christ's Object Les-*



▲In 1904 Palmer became the first manager of Paradise Valley Sanitarium near San Diego, California.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association



sons several years before, this book was dedicated by Ellen White for relief of indebted institutions. She gave up her royalties, the publishing houses donated their labor, and church members donated their money and time to produce and sell the book. In addition to these tasks, Palmer remained responsible for the general publishing work of the church.

These three jobs created considerable frustrations for Palmer. In each case he was the chief promoter of the work, but in no case could he freely follow his own convictions. Jones and Hall supervised his work at the press, and W. C. White, as chairman of both the publishing department and the relief bureau, disagreed with him on policy.

Palmer's frustration came to a head on January 2, 1906. In a fifteen page single-spaced letter to White he offered to resign from the relief bureau and publishing department.

I can put up very well, as you know, with the criticism, and even the censure, of many who are at a distance, and who have only local connection with cer-

tain phases of the work; but I will not be able to continue my work if I am to be held liable to a constant succession of criticisms . . . from those who stand closest to me in any organic way, and particularly from the man who is the chairman of both departments of which I am secretary.

I have nothing to complain of as far as your intimate connection with me is concerned since I took up this work at the last General Conference, but it has been unfortunate for us both that we are entirely at variance on the most fundamental principles underlying the prosperity of both departments. I have known all along that this was so in the publishing department, but had received only the most distant intimations of it in the Bureau, until I received your recent letters; and since there is no possibility of my working in harmony with you as far as these vital points are concerned, . . . I will have to leave the way entirely open for you to decide whether I am to continue to work as secretary of these two departments. . . .

The vital question is one of general policy. Shall we centralize power and responsibility in the hands of a few, and thus foster the present weakness of local organizations, or shall we decentralize power and responsibility and strengthen local organizations and the hands of local workers? From ten to fifteen years ago, and perhaps longer than that, the testimonies began to come to this people that the centralization of power in Battle Creek, or anywhere else for that matter, was a sin against God, against the best interest of his cause, and against the workers out in the field. No message that has ever come to this people has to my mind had greater truth or greater possibilities wrapped up it than is contained in this one. . . .

During the past four years no effort of the general administration has been stronger than the effort to work through local organization instead of past them. In that policy lies our strength. The Ministry of Healing work will be as strong as the local workers through our encouragement and help are able to make it and no more and no less. With the organic power which they now hold we might expend a mint of money or exhaust our enthusiasm on the field in a general way and never get returns enough to pay the running expenses, and in the end we would get on the weight side of balances a host of criticisms and complaints which would help make the field still harder to work than it is now.

As far as I am concerned, I would far rather see New Jersey, or Eastern Pennsylvania delay for two years before selling a single copy of Ministry of Healing, and then see them take hold of it upon plans which they could work out to their own satisfaction, than to see an effort made to work up an enthusiasm from our office at Mountain View in spite of the canceling influences of the president and conference committee that might disagree with our plans. In the end we will have more books sold and have the field in a condition where something further can be done instead of making the field almost unworkable, as has been done by the Object Lessons work.

I cannot comprehend, Brother White, why you are switching off from this fundamental principle of General Conference organization simply from a sort of expediency argument. When we were in a subordinate field like Australia, you and I both believed in the policy of our being counted competent to launch and manage local enterprises; and now when we are in the harness at headquarters and the tables are turned, why should we not recognize the ability and responsibility of union and state conferences? and more; since the plan is evidently from God, and has worked out



This contemporary sketch shows both front and rear views of the Pacific Press building in Oakland, California.
credit: General Conference Association of Seventh-day Adventists

thus far with such great success, would we not as leaders in such movements insist upon all local organizations taking responsibility?

The letter goes on and on. But Palmer's point is clear. The relief work had to be a local work. He could not push the work on churches over the heads of the conference officials.

The disagreement with White extended to the question of dealing directly, where the principles were the same. During the first six months of 1904 the conferences in western Oregon, western Washington, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and California all gave up their tract societies and turned the subscription book work over directly to the Pacific Press. W. C. White stood fully behind these changes for he believed that something had to be done to cut out the middlemen so authors and publishers could receive more profits on their work.

All went well for a year, but by 1906 the experiment had failed. In his long letter of January 2, Palmer pointed out to White that the Pacific Union, the richest union and the best territory for book business in all the world, stood at the bottom in sales whereas the Atlantic Union (where four years before, direct connections between canvassers and the publishing house had resulted in only two canvassers in its entire field) was now, under the leadership of strong tract societies, standing first. Furthermore the Pacific Press book department was losing more money than it had ever lost before. Palmer summarized:

The principles involved are just the same as in the case of the Relief work. It is a question of whether we shall centralize power in the publishing houses and take it away from the states and thus make them irresponsible weaklings like the Russian peasantry, or whether we will throw the responsibility directly upon the states and then with all our united forces endeavor to build up the states and make them strong in every part.

 Palmer never wavered from these principles. As the poor results of dealing directly in the Pacific Union became more and more apparent and men began to swing behind his position, his spirits began to pick up. On August 23, 1906, he wrote Daniells, "Now is the opportune time to bring the publishing work into general harmony with the spirit of reorganization begun in 1901." Then following the fire that destroyed the Pacific Press on July 20, he wrote to White asking if he understood him correctly that it was time to revive local control. By February 25, 1907, the old principles of local control had been re-established everywhere. In a very long letter to union and state conference presidents Palmer sketched out a grand design for the publishing work that centered around local control and strong tract societies with conference-employed

field agents in each state. This, he said, is the program all were working for.

The dispute with White was over. When C. H. Jones replaced White as chairman of the publishing department, Palmer wrote White saying that he would continue to rely on him, for his many years of experience in several countries gave him a breadth of insight into the work which few men possessed. I hope to lean upon your counsel, wrote Palmer,

as much as I did when you were chairman of the Department. I cannot boast, however, of any special ability to lean. I am naturally independent and perhaps too much so in my ways of thinking and working, and yet I am bound to believe that you and I accord and join in our counsels as heartily and pleasantly as any two men who are given to thinking for themselves.

The crisis in publishing organization and in Palmer's relationship with White had passed. Palmer's ideas were at last being accepted everywhere in the church.

Despite some job frustrations the years at Mountain View were happy ones for the Palmer family. When early in 1907 Daniells began urging Palmer to come at once to Takoma Park, Maryland, where denominational headquarters had been relocated in 1903, he hesitated. "We are not overjoyed at the thought of going East," he wrote White, "for we have enjoyed our work here very much and have never had a home that we had become so attached to." But the move was inevitable. The home was sold, and in late June the family departed, traveling in tourist sleepers via New Orleans.

During Palmer's stint as publishing secretary he pushed proper organization and increased sales. By April, 1909, he was reporting, "For the first time in many years I believe we now have a general agent in each of our 12 union conferences in North America, and a state agent in every conference with the exception of two or three in Eastern Canada." At the same time sales were booming; between 1905 and 1910 they increased from \$548,000 to \$1,560,000. The key to further expansion, Palmer said, was *local responsibility, local prayers, earnestness and work*. These were Palmer's golden years.

As if to extend his pattern of leaving jobs once success was achieved and moving on to new challenges, Palmer took on new responsibilities. In 1909 the publishing department was reorganized. Because there was no longer a chairman, Secretary Palmer reported directly to the General Conference Committee. Then in May of 1910 N. Z. Town, a man six years Palmer's elder who had served with distinction in South America, joined the publishing department as Palmer's assistant. As Town gained experience, Palmer took on new duties. On July 1, 1910, the General Conference Committee voted that Palmer should act as assistant or private secretary to Daniells as well as overseeing the publishing department. In this capacity Palmer took an

interest in the whole work of the church, advising Daniells on all manner of problems and handling much of Daniells' correspondence, especially when Daniells traveled. His influence had never been greater.

Then in 1912 Palmer accepted a call to manage the Review and Herald Publishing Association, though he retained his position as secretary of the publishing department until the next year. Palmer had canvassed, served as state, union, and general agent, managed a tract society, a school, and a sanitarium, and worked in three different publishing houses. He had promoted, as publishing secretary, every aspect of the literature ministry. One can hardly imagine a man better prepared to take on the responsibilities of chief administrator of one of the denomination's largest institutions.

The job turned out to be his last. He remained as manager of the Review and Herald for nineteen years, till his death in 1931. Despite his earlier misgivings about his ability to carry top administrative responsibilities, Palmer was a superb administrator.

Palmer's efficiency was readily apparent. For example, the morning the newspapers carried the headlines concerning Turkey's entrance into World War I, probably October 30, 1914, Palmer called a meeting of the editors at the Review. On the basis of Biblical prophecies Adventists had been expecting Turkey to fight and now a magazine seemed called for to place this event in its prophetic setting. Palmer explained to Town, several months later, how quickly the decision was made:

within sixty minutes from the time we received the news our editors had the subjects assigned, our artist was looking up the cuts, the superintendent had ordered fifteen tons of paper for the job, the Missionary Department was preparing a circular letter to send out to tract societies, and our Periodical Department was preparing advertising matter.

This *Eastern Question Extra* sold 1,275,000 copies by May 4, 1915. A similar response followed when a young woman colporteur suggested that the Review and Herald bring out a twenty-five cent illustrated book carrying the material from the three extras the Review had printed. The decision to do so was made in one hour, and two weeks later page proofs were being sent to the field. The booklet was an immediate success.



The Review and Herald Publishing Association appeared this way when the Palmers moved to Washington, D.C., in 1907. The General Conference headquarters are on the left, the Review on the right.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association



In 1912 Palmer accepted an invitation to become manager of the Review and Herald Publishing Association, a position he held for nineteen years.

courtesy: Review and Herald Publishing Association

Palmer's efficiency also showed up in his general management. His years at the Review and Herald Publishing Association were marked by the shortages of war and the hardships of depression. Yet year by year the publishing house showed a substantial profit. The heavy debt he had taken over was paid off and a large surplus built up. At the same time new additions and new equipment increased the efficiency and productive capacity of the house. No area escaped his attention. Palmer had his office located near the machinery, and according to the traditions still circulating at the publishing house, his keen ear could detect a change in the hum of the machinery that indicated something was working incorrectly. Out would come the manager to take oil can in hand or direct the repair until once again the machines made the right sound.

The spirit and morale of the house was uniformly high during Palmer's years of leadership. The Review and Herald employees loved Palmer, who was noted for his ability to secure enthusiastic cooperation from others and handle cases requiring discipline without losing the respect of those involved. His worship talks were a model of sane and practical advice, and when he talked in the councils of the General Conference, his voice always demanded serious attention. The years at the Review and Herald Publishing Association were not easy years by any means, but in some ways they were an anti-climax in the life of E. R. Palmer. No longer was he struggling from a subordinate position to reorganize the work so that it could carry the gospel to the homes of the world. Now he was a senior statesman, basking in the glow of achievement and respect, and watching day by day as millions of

pages of literature containing the truth he loved spun through the presses and out into the denomination's missionary efforts.

Edwin R. Palmer died prematurely at the age of sixty-two, after struggling heroically against a painful illness. Two nights before he died, when the doctors finally told him that he could not recover and that the end was near, he called his family to his bedside and, like the patriarch of old, gave each of them a charge and a blessing. Palmer died as he had lived, with his first thoughts on the work of the Lord. He left a legacy of a mighty publishing program, organized to endure, and a spirit of commitment that ranks him with the foremost Seventh-day Adventist pioneers. □

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PERIODICALS

Review and Herald, 108 (May 5, 1931).

The author wishes to thank the Ellen G. White Estate trustees and the Publishing Department of the General Conference for permission to cite from and quote material in their possession. The staffs of both offices have been extremely helpful.

BOOK MARKS

FATHER BATES'S STORY

by
Wayne Judd

Joseph Bates, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, Battle Creek, Michigan: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868. Facsimile reproduction, Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1970, pp. 306. \$2.95, paper.

When in 1868 Joseph Bates's *Autobiography* rolled off the Adventist steam press in Battle Creek, James White exclaimed in the *Review*,

This is . . . one of the most interesting books in our country. . . . It is one of the best books in the world. . . . It should be in every family. The old friends of Father Bates should all take a special interest in this book. We have all been blest with the labors of this good man. Let none be too stingy to purchase a copy of his good book. When the printer and binder are paid, what remains from the sale of the book will go for the benefit of this pioneer of the cause, whom we all love. For sale at the Review Office, price \$1 . . . Turn out some of those worthless books from the library, and let good ones take their places.

Although James White's statement reflects more salesmanship than actual acquaintance with the world's collection of great books, his appraisal of the man who wrote *Autobiography* is hardly exaggerated. The handful of defeated young Adventists who survived the disappointment of 1844 leaned heavily on the age and experience of "Father Bates." During the developmental period of the infant



"Father Bates" was one of the first to champion Sabbatarianism among Adventists, writing two tracts on the subject in 1846 and 1847.

denomination, Bates chaired almost every important committee, wrote regularly for the *Review*, and traveled extensively as an evangelist.

In his autobiography, however, Bates does not choose to review extensively his contributions to the church. A book version of fifty-one articles published in *The Youth's Instructor* from 1858 to 1863, *Autobiography* deals largely with Bates's life at sea. In a brief preface, Bates emphasizes that he wrote the articles and consented to the book in compliance with the requests of his "friends in the West."

A second edition of the book, edited by James White and published in 1877, became one of C. C. Crisler's "most treasured possessions." Crisler lamented the fact

that only a few of his acquaintances had read the book, which he said was "rarely found even in large libraries." He deplored the fact that some had not even heard of the book, and that "students in our schools have been unable to obtain it." In response to this situation, Crisler prepared an abbreviated edition titled, *The Life of Joseph Bates*, which the *Review* and *Herald* published in 1927. Now the Southern Publishing Association has produced a facsimile copy of the first edition.

The book bulges with the action of oceans, ships, storms, wars, and prisons. We catch only a glimpse of teen-aged Bates and his family before he takes on the high seas as a cabin boy. Three years later, before his eighteenth birthday, Joseph Bates is impressed into the British navy, to divide his next five years equally between navy service and imprisonment. During these five years he is tireless in his zeal to achieve freedom, but each escape effort is thwarted. He and other Americans are finally released from Dartmoor prison in England and returned to their homeland on a British merchant ship — a voyage which included near destruction of the ship by islands of ice and mutiny by the American sailors.

Free to pursue his seafaring life once more, Bates wastes little time at home in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. His descriptions of the perils of each voyage during his years at sea, which include endless brushes with death, incline one to attribute his survival to divine intervention. It is during these encounters that Bates is compelled to

For the past two years Wayne Judd has been working on religion textbooks for Seventh-day Adventist secondary schools.

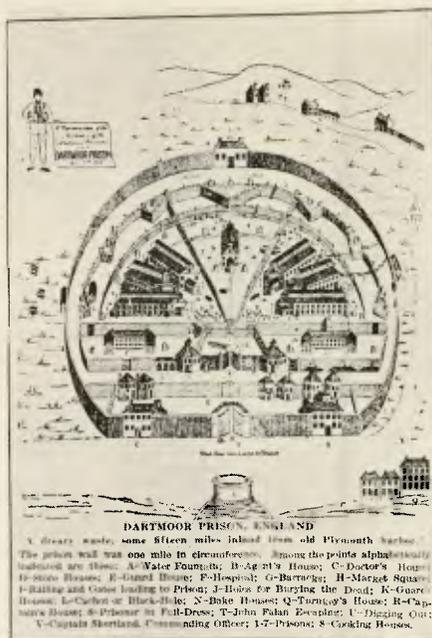
have long thoughts about his spiritual condition. On one of his earlier voyages young Bates faces death as his broken ship fills with water.

We placed our arms around each other's necks, and gave up to die. Amid the creaking and rending of the ship with her grappled foe, we could once in a while hear the screams and cries of some of our wretched companions, on deck above us, begging God for mercy, which only augmented our desperate feelings. Thoughts came rushing like the light, that seemed to choke, and for a few moments block up all way to utterance.

Oh, the dreadful thought! Here to yield up my account and die, and sink with the wrecked ship to the bottom of the ocean, so far from home and friends, without the least preparation, or hope of Heaven and eternal life, only to be numbered with the damned and forever banished from the presence of the Lord. It seemed that something must give way to vent my feelings of unutterable anguish!

Not surprisingly, it is on ship where Bates, now captain, finally ends his intense spiritual struggle. He confesses,

I longed to be a Christian; but the pride of my heart and the vain allurements of the wicked world, still held me with a mighty grasp. I suffered intensely in my mind before I decided to pray. It seemed as though I had delayed this work too long. I was also afraid that my officers and men would learn that I was under conviction. Furthermore, I had no secret place to pray. When I looked back on some of the incidents in my past life, how God had interposed his arm to save me, when death was staring me in the face again and again, and how soon I had forgotten all his mercies, I felt that I must yield. Finally I decided to try the strength of prayer, and confess all my sins. I opened the "run scuttle" under the dining table, where I prepared a place so that I might be out of sight of my officers, if they should have occasion to enter the cabin during my prayer season. The first time I bowed the knee here in prayer, it seemed to me that the hair on my head was *standing out straight*, for presuming to open my mouth in prayer to the great and holy God. But I determined to persevere until I found pardon and peace for my troubled mind.



After impressment into the British navy, Joseph Bates spent two and a half years in British prisons, the last eighteen months in Dartmoor.

But peace did not come at once.

A fortnight passed, and no light beamed on my mind. One week more, and still my mind was like the troubled sea. About this time I was walking the deck in the night, and was strongly tempted to jump overboard and put an end to myself. I thought this was a temptation of the Devil, and immediately left the deck, and did not allow myself to go out of my cabin again until the morning.

Even after he signed a covenant with God, Bates sensed more deeply a conviction of his sins than he did the forgiveness of God. But he pursued his covenant and the Christian life with complete commitment.

Retiring from the sea in 1828, Bates spent the rest of his life promoting causes. Consistent with his approach throughout the book, he does not present a history of the advent movement, the great cause of his life, but shares instead his personal experiences as one who now travels to preach and teach the soon return of Christ.

An autobiography provides opportunity for a reader to develop a more intimate acquaintance with a great person, whether he portrays himself as the person he actually is, or as the person he wants us to re-

member him as being. If Joseph Bates wanted to be remembered as a great man, he did not betray his wish in *Autobiography*. His references to promotions to first mate and captain are so casual one could wish for more detail on his qualifying performances. The only insight he provides regarding his promotions is found, not in his book, but in a presentation he made in his seventy-ninth year at a Battle Creek health reform convention in 1871.

If the reader wishes to know what I have gained by my efforts from the first to reform, I answer:—

1. From the ruinous habits of a common sailor, by the help of the Lord, I walked out into the ranks of sober, industrious, discerning men, who were pleased to employ and promote me in my calling, so that in the space of nine years I was supercargo, and joint owner, in the vessel and cargo which I commanded, with unrestricted commission to go where I thought best, and continue my voyage as long as I should judge best for our interest.

Bate's contribution to his denomination's health reform program also had its origins at sea. Long before he heard William Miller or met Ellen White, he had progressively become a temperance and health reformer. His book reveals his stages of conviction and commitment in discarding alcohol, tobacco, tea and coffee, which, along with his refusal to swear, made him a very strange sailor indeed! His chapter describing his recital of rules to the crew of the *Empress* reveals a delightful reversal in the traditional life-style of the nineteenth century sailor. He reports good success in his voyage, however, and soon other "temperance ships" sailed the seas.

The antique style of the book, the beneficent refusal of a century of editors to clean up the idioms and grammar, and the jargon of men who sailed ships a hundred years ago all contribute to an authentic and satisfying reading experience in *Autobiography*. It is a volume which deserves to be read not only for what Joseph Bates says, but also — perhaps more so — for who he was. □

THE FUNDAMENTALS AND FUNDAMENTALISM

by
Gary Land

Ernest R. Sandeen, THE ROOTS OF FUNDAMENTALISM: BRITISH AND AMERICAN MILLENARIANISM, 1800-1930, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970, 328 pp. \$12.00.

Scholarly works usually do not catch the interest of the general reader. Ernest Sandeen's *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, however, merits the attention of every Adventist who is interested in the historical relationship of Adventism and Protestantism. For such a reader, this volume holds rich rewards, not only because of the information it presents but also because of its very readable style.

Sandeen argues that the Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920's over evolution and liberal theology was only part of a much larger movement. As he states several times, we must distinguish between the Fundamentalist controversy and the Fundamentalist movement. Failure to do so has caused historians to oversimplify to the point of error, mainly by assuming that Fundamentalism was a rural, anti-intellectual defense of traditional conservative Protestant dogma.

The Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920's, in Sandeen's view, to a large degree represented the disintegration of the millenarian movement of the nineteenth century — the "real" Fundamentalism. This millenarian tradition began about 1800 in both the United States and



◀Edward Irving (1792-1834) was the leader of the British Adventist Awakening.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association

▼From the Regent Square Presbyterian Church of London Edward Irving proclaimed the prophecies of the Advent of Christ.

credit: Review and Herald Publishing Association



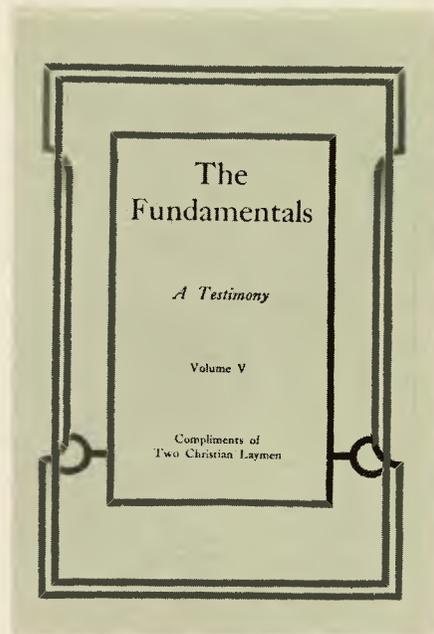
Great Britain. Led by such men as Edward Irving and William Miller, this first phase was dominated by the historicist interpretation of Biblical prophecy in which the Bible was presented as foretelling the broad sweep of history up to the climax of Christ's second coming.

After the failure of William Miller's prediction that Christ would come in 1844, the dispensationalist view of John Nelson Darby, an Englishman and founder

of the Plymouth Brethren, began to gain the ascendancy. This doctrine taught an any-moment coming of Christ in the form of a secret rapture and appealed to Americans now skeptical of precise predictions. Dispensationalism held sway in millenarian circles for the remainder of the period covered by this volume, except for a short time around the turn of the century when challenged by post-millennialists who believed the church must pass through tribulation before Christ's coming.

Meanwhile, the millenarians were looking to Princeton Theological Seminary where Charles Hodge and Benjamin Warfield were developing a theory of inspiration that would support belief in the

◀Two Laymen, Lymon and Milton Stewart, wealthy oil men of Los Angeles, teamed with Rev. A. C. Dixon, pastor of the Fundamental Baptist Temple Auditorium of Los Angeles, to produce these eleven pamphlets. Three million copies were distributed to save Christians from Modernism.



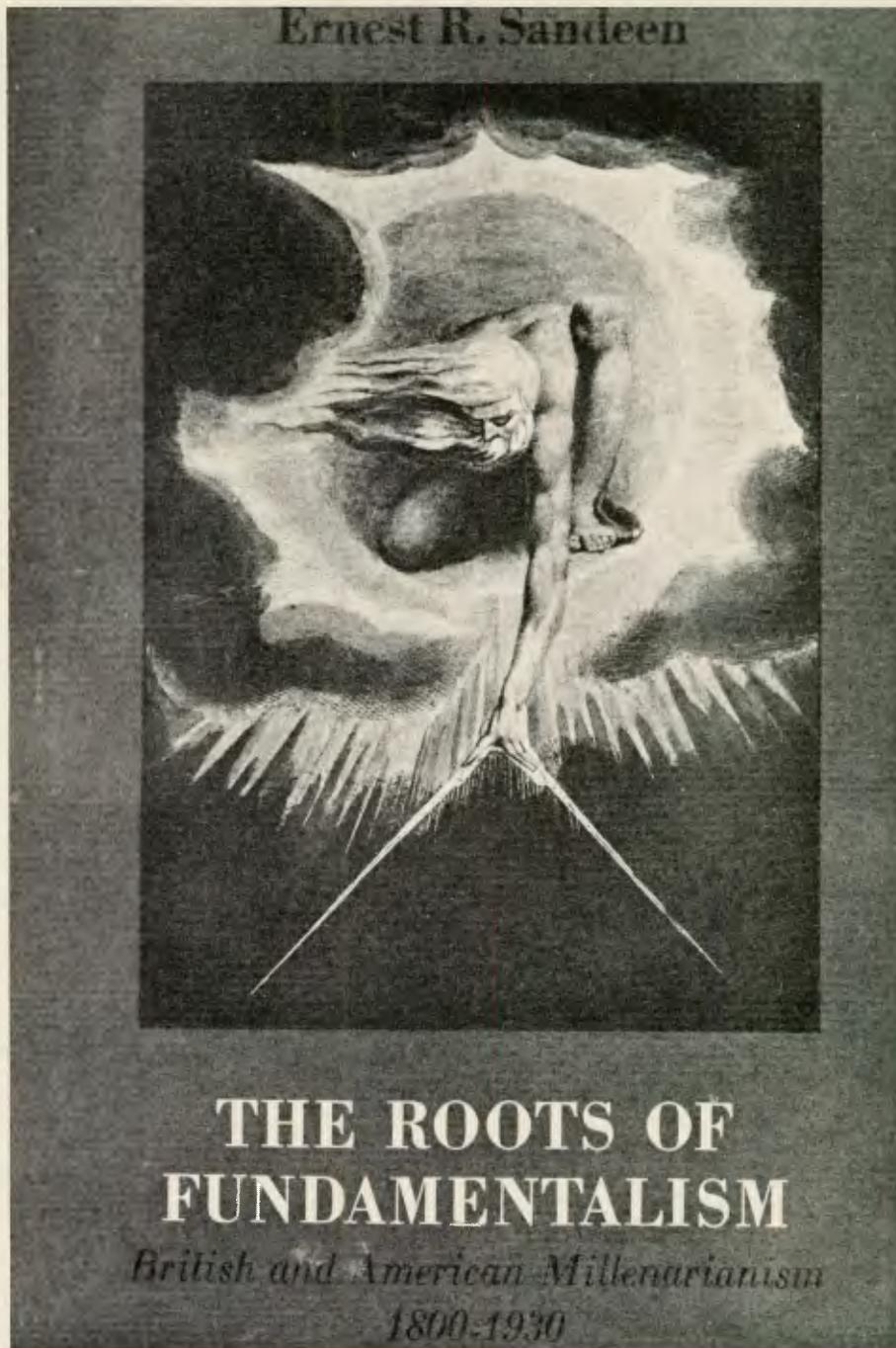
Gary Land teaches American intellectual and cultural history at Andrews University.

Bible's infallibility. The efforts of the Princeton theologians gave academic and scholarly sanction to a literal approach to the Biblical text such as the millenarians used. Princeton theology and millenarianism came together in the Niagara Bible Conferences held near the end of the century. Conservative evangelicals in many churches drew upon the Princeton theology-millenarianism combination for theological support of their mission programs and Bible institutes. The theology reached its widest public through the popular evangelist Dwight L. Moody.

When *The Fundamentals* were published beginning in 1910 they gave systematic expression to this school of thought and named the movement. Yet these volumes also showed the emphasis shifting from millenarianism to defense of Biblical infallibility, a change that would become clearer in the 1920's. Sandeen suggests that the decline of scholarly rigor and intellectual respectability into the cranky obscuratism that characterized Fundamentalism in the 1920's was partly the product of the smaller role that millenarianism played in the movement once the original leaders died.

One wishes that Professor Sandeen had explained more fully the decline of millenarianism in the twentieth century. Part of the problem may lie in the fact that he does not carry through his comparative approach. Although he traces the beginnings of millenarianism in both Great Britain and the United States, he does not continue the British story into the twentieth century. A comparative study such as this might have attempted to identify British-American cultural and social phenomena that would help explain millenarianism's original appeal and its later decline.

This criticism, though, does not deprecate the book's value. As it



stands, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* is a significant work. It reveals how a respectable millenarianism of the nineteenth-century broadened its doctrinal concerns under the impact of higher criticism and evolution and thereby helped produce the ill-reputed Fundamentalist controversy of the

1920's. For the Adventist in particular, the book shows how and why other millenarians departed from the historicist school of prophetic interpretation that most Adventists still support.

THE SEVENTH DAY BAPTIST CONNECTION

by
*Margaret Schone
Kearnes*

Russel J. Thomsen, SEVENTH DAY BAPTISTS - THEIR LEGACY TO ADVENTISTS, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971, pp. 95. \$2.75, paper.

Desiring to know more of the connection between Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists, Russel J. Thomsen, a physician and lay historian, researched and wrote this history. The first third of the book treats Seventh Day Baptist history prior to the rise of Adventism; the remainder traces the relationship of the two religious groups.

In 1617 London's Mill Yard Seventh Day Baptist Church was founded, the first organized group of Baptist Sabbath keepers. The Sabbath doctrine, however, brought persecution and sometimes death. One significant Sabbath martyr was Francis Bampfield, who, during confinement for other religious reasons, found the Sabbath. After his release he organized Pinner's Hall Seventh Day Baptist Church in London. After three more arrests his weakened body yielded to death in 1784. However, it was from his London church in 1664 that Stephen Mumford went to plant the Sabbath doctrine in America. Because he had no Seventh Day Baptist church to attend in Rhode Island, Mumford attended the Baptist church in Newport. Soon he convinced others to keep Saturday as the Sabbath. In 1671 five others banded together with Mumford and his wife and formed the First Seventh Day Baptist Church of Newport. From this small beginning grew the Seventh Day Baptist denomination in the United States, the denomination

that gave Seventh-day Adventists an important legacy

The legacy began when Mrs. Rachel Oakes left New York in 1843 to live with her schoolteacher daughter, Delight, in Washington, New Hampshire. After accepting the Adventist hope, she convinced a Methodist minister, Frederick Wheeler, to begin keeping the Sabbath in March, 1844. In August a Free-Will Baptist Minister, Thomas M. Preble, also accepted the Sabbath. It was Preble's article on the Sabbath in *Hope of Israel* of February 28, 1845, that brought the seventh-day Sabbath doctrine to Joseph Bates who later wrote his own tract on the Sabbath, and which in turn led James and Ellen White to accept it as truth.

In addition to this doctrinal legacy, several hymns, some of which appear in the Seventh-day Adventist church hymnal, were authored by Seventh Day Baptists. Samuel Stennet, D. D., a Seventh Day Baptist preacher, wrote "Majestic Sweetness Sits Enthroned," "Tis Finished" and "On Jordan's Stormy Banks." A relative, Joseph Stennett, authored "Another Six Day's Work;" and Roswell F. Cottrell penned "The Wonders of Redeeming Love," "The Time is Near," and "O Solemn Thought."

Thomsen also discusses the differences between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists (the greatest being Seventh-day Adventist belief in Ellen White as a prophet of God) and outlines Baptist-Adventist relations in mission work, particularly at the Malamulo mission in Africa. Albert N. Rogers, Seventh Day Baptist historian, concludes the book with a chapter on Seventh Day Baptist history in the twentieth century.

Although Thomsen oversimplifies to some extent the story of how the Sabbath doctrine came from the Baptists to the Adventists, his wide-ranging book contributes to our understanding of the common heritage. □

Margaret Schone Kearnes is a free-lance writer living in Billings, Montana.



This Seventh Day Baptist meeting house at Newport, Rhode Island, was built in 1729.



Malamulo Mission, a major Seventh-day Adventist mission in Africa, was founded by the Seventh Day Baptists.



William A. Spicer, eighth president of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference, was born into a Seventh Day Baptist home.

Songs - from page 39

It is difficult, if not impossible, to re-create with words the music that was an integral and essential part of these temperance hymns. But listening to the tunes and following the printed scores, one is reminded of the few far-better songs from this age that have survived the benevolent sifting of time — Civil War ballads such as “Just Before the Battle Mother,” “Marching through Georgia,” “Rally Round the Flag, Boys,” or “Just As the Sun Went Down,” still-popular tunes like “Daisy Bell” or “Ben Bolt,” and hits from contemporary musicals and operettas familiar today only to the historian of popular music.

Reflecting on these songs, modern readers could well raise at least three questions: the lover of fine poetry might ask, “Who could tolerate such shallow, sentimental, and tawdry verse?” the musician might question, “How could anyone really appreciate such trite melodies?” and the theologian might wonder, “Why were those intemperate and highly secular selections included in hymnals used for divine worship?”

At the risk of generalizing too broadly, I would answer the first two with an observation: Anyone who has listened extensively to the words and music of other popular songs, not composed by Seventh-day Adventists, from the same period — ditties such as “Hello, Central, Give Me Heaven,” “Redwing,” “A Handful of Earth from Mother’s Grave,” and thousands more — will recognize that the same faults — shoddy verses, extreme sentiments, trite tunes — run through nearly all popular music, both sacred and secular, of the late 1800’s. These Adventist temperance songs mesh perfectly with their contemporaries. And their inclusion in church hymnals, seemingly incongruous today, would not have offended devout churchmen living at a time when temperance was a vital part of the message that Adventists felt compelled to carry to an intemperate world.

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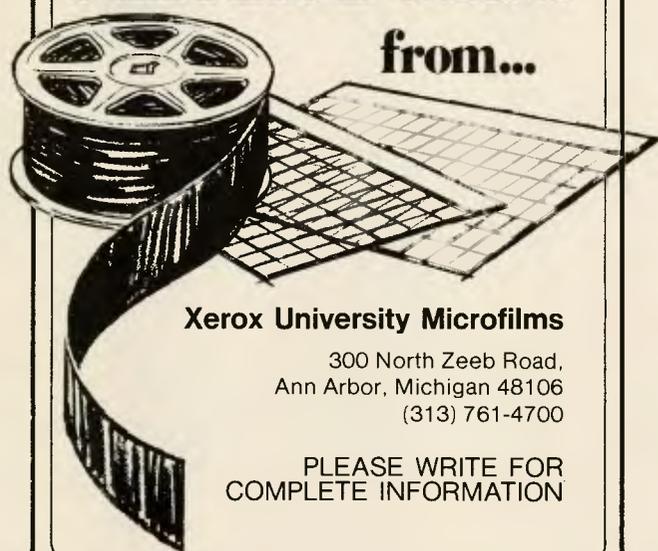
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